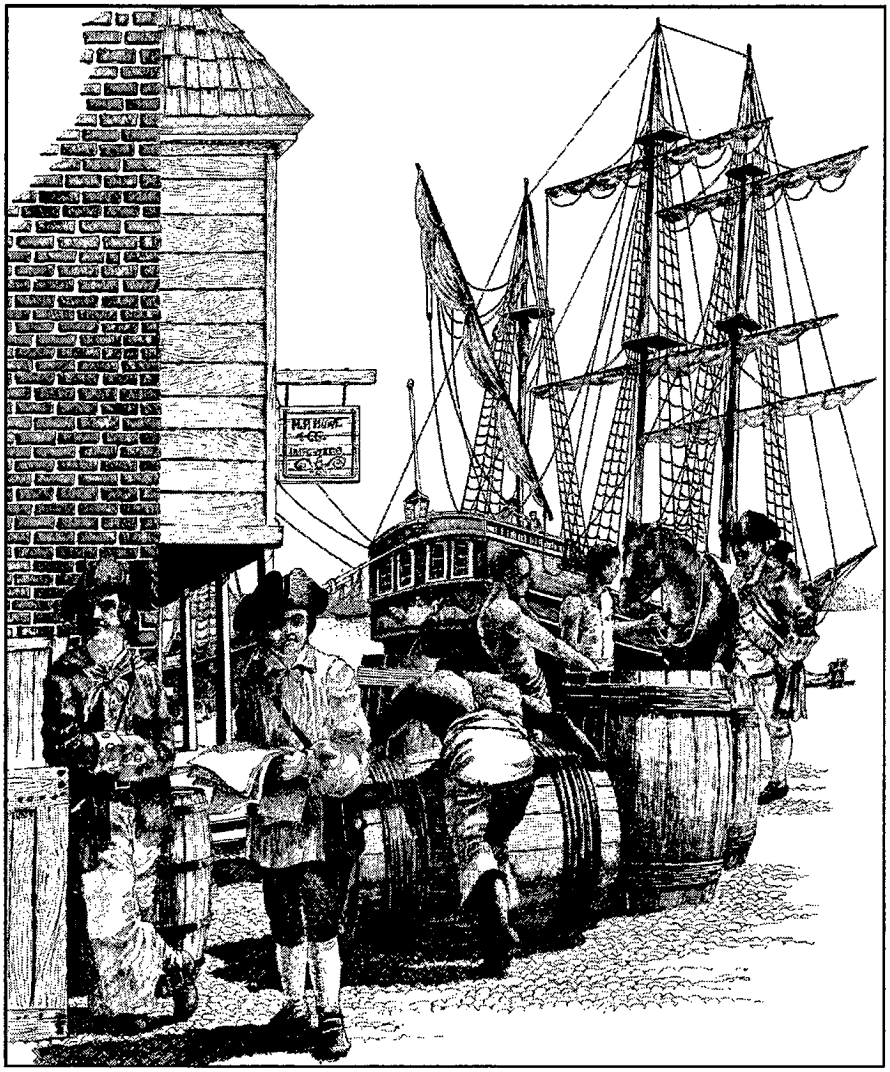
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Historical Overview of Africans and African Americans in Yorktown, at the Moore House, and on Battlefield Property, 1635-1867 Colonial National Historical Park

by

Julie Richter and Jody Allen



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Historical Overview of Africans and African Americans in Yorktown, at the Moore House, and on Battlefield Property 1635-1867

Volume I

Colonial National Historical Park
National Park Service

Julie Richter and Jody Allen
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Foreword

In 2008, Colonial National Historical Park updated the Yorktown Long Range Interpretive Plan. At the stakeholders' workshop, the "untold" story of African Americans and slavery was identified as a priority for future interpretive programs. In order to accurately interpret this aspect of Yorktown's history, a study focusing on the African Americans who worked and lived in the area within the Yorktown unit of the park was needed. The study would focus on the primary periods of significance, from the colonial period to the establishment of the Yorktown National Cemetery, with emphasis on the primary sources associated with the park's resources.

With funding from the park's Eastern National donation, historians Julie Richter and Jody Allen were selected to prepare this study. Ms. Richter is a lecturer with the Lyon G. Tyler Department of History and the National Institute of American History and Democracy at the College of William and Mary. She was the project historian for the *Yorktown Archaeological Overview and Assessment* and is the editor of the *Enslaving Virginia Resource Book* (Colonial Williamsburg, 1998). Ms. Allen is a Visiting Assistant Professor of History and the Managing Director and Co-Chair of the Lemon Project at the College of William and Mary.

The findings of this study will be used in the development of exhibits, waysides, and formal programs conducted by park staff. Recommendations for additional research were provided by the authors.

I would like to acknowledge the assistance of the following Colonial National Historical Park staff members in reviewing and preparing the report for publication, Diane Depew, Catharyn Ryan, and Dave Frederick.

Karen G. Rehm
Chief Historian
Colonial National Historical Park

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Introduction

Julie Richter and Jody Allen

Goal and Purpose of the Report

The following report focuses on the lives and experiences of Africans and African Americans who lived and worked in Yorktown, at the Moore House, and on Battlefield Property between 1635 and 1867. The goal of this study is to highlight the role that Africans and African Americans played in Yorktown and the surrounding rural area. A wide variety of primary documents contain details about the enslaved men, women, and children who labored in the homes of Yorktown's elite residents, worked in the shops of the town's skilled artisans, and tended fields on nearby plantations. In addition, Yorktown was home to free people of color who worked to support their families and to maintain their freedom. Details about the black residents—enslaved and free—of Yorktown, the Moore House, and portions of the Battlefield is essential information that will be included in future exhibits at the Colonial National Historical Park, waysides located throughout the park, and in interpretive programming offered to visitors to Yorktown. Knowledge about the variety of experiences of the Africans and African Americans in and near Yorktown will help the staff of the Colonial National Historical Park to enhance the experience of their visitors and to add complexity to the information that they provide about the history of Yorktown and its peoples.

Brief Historical Overview

The beginning date of the study marks the year in which Nicholas Martiau gained possession of the land that became Yorktown. This study concludes in 1867, the year in which the Union army left the Yorktown area. During this 232-year period, the labor of Africans and African Americans—enslaved and free—was essential to the establishment and development of Yorktown and the surrounding area. First, in the seventeenth century, enslaved blacks and free people of color turned Martiau's property into a tobacco plantation. After the death of Martiau, George Read and his wife, Elizabeth (née Martiau), made their home on this land. Read imported a large number of Africans to clear the land, produce tobacco, raise livestock, and grow food items including corn and vegetables. He also had free blacks and indentured white servants who worked on his land.

It is likely that Read purchased several of his enslaved laborers from ships that anchored a short distance from his home. Other Virginia planters also gathered on Read's property to buy slaves, drink in the tavern on the waterfront, and to take the ferry across the York River to Gloucester County. This land became a center of activities in York County, due to both Read's prominence and the harbor area near his home. In 1691, when the General Assembly established a port in specified counties in Virginia, a portion of the Read property was the logical choice for Yorktown, the town for York County.

During the first part of the eighteenth century, Yorktown was the primary port of entry for Africans who were imported into Virginia. As a result, a number of the town's inhabitants were people who benefited from the slave trade. Tavern keepers served food and drinks to those who traveled to Yorktown to purchase slaves. The Digges family owned a vessel that carried Africans into the York River. Other Yorktown residents—including Thomas Nelson the Immigrant, President William Nelson, Secretary Thomas Nelson, John Norton, and David Jameson—helped to sell the slaves from the ships anchored in the Yorktown harbor.[1]

Inhabitants of Yorktown also depended on enslaved men, women, and children to labor in their households. Africans and African Americans worked as personal slaves, cooks, coachmen, gardeners, butchers, and laundresses. In addition, some of Yorktown's enslaved residents unloaded crates and barrels from ships anchored in the harbor, carried these containers to warehouses and stores, and then loaded the vessels before they set sail from their port. The lives of enslaved men, women, and children in Yorktown differed from the experiences of slaves who labored on nearby plantations. Urban slaves lived on the same property as their owners and many of these individuals labored seven days a week. In contrast, rural slaves tended fields located a few miles or several hundred miles away from their master. These men, women, and children tended tobacco plants and produced the food consumed in urban households.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the focus of the overseas slave trade to Virginia shifted as colonists pushed westward and claimed land in the Piedmont region. Captains of slave ships guided their vessels to the James River where planters purchased the imported Africans to labor in the Piedmont and on the south side of the James River. During the 1760s, just six slave ships entered the York River, and 1771 was the last year in which imported Africans arrived in this part of Virginia.

Yorktown residents continued to prosper in spite of this decline. This port served as the main port of entry for Williamsburg, Virginia's colonial capital. Elite families in both Williamsburg and Yorktown imported an increasing number of elegant items for their households and Yorktown's merchants—including the Nelsons, Jameson, and Nortons—filled many of these orders. Members of middling households also demanded a greater number of consumer goods than their parents and grandparents and purchased imported items.

Trade between Virginia and Great Britain came under question as colonists began to re-examine and reassess their place in the British Empire. During the 1760s and the 1770s, some Virginians stopped importing specified goods as a way to protest legislation approved by Parliament. Reduced orders and the inability of planters to pay debts placed Yorktown's merchants in a difficult financial position. Still, merchants continued to live in the town and to stock the shelves of their stores with imported items.

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[1] In this report, the name "Thomas Nelson the Immigrant" refers to "Scotch" Tom Nelson. William, the eldest son of Thomas Nelson the Immigrant and his wife Mary, is called "President William Nelson" in order to distinguish him from a cousin known as William Nelson Senior. "Secretary Thomas Nelson" is used for Thomas, son of Thomas Nelson the Immigrant and his wife Mary and "General Thomas Nelson" is used for Thomas, son of President William Nelson and his wife, Elizabeth.

During the American Revolution, inhabitants of Yorktown saw only a small number of ships anchor in the harbor. Imported goods became scarce and inflation raised the price of necessities and increased financial troubles. The physical devastation that the town suffered during the Siege of Yorktown meant that some town residents abandoned their homes. Some of the town's slaves decided to run from their masters and claim their independence. Other enslaved men, women, and children found themselves in different parts of the state after an owner's decision to leave Yorktown. Both voluntary and involuntary migration disrupted the connections that slaves formed with one another and with free blacks who lived in the Yorktown area.

As the town's residents worked to rebuild Yorktown, they decided to focus on the waterfront area because they thought that ships would return to the harbor and trade would help prosperity to return. Although Yorktown residents received permission to sell waterfront lots and had the privilege of municipal government, the town did not return to its pre-war standing. The Yorktown Hustings Court met for just six years, and many of the lots on the waterfront remained vacant. By 1800, it was clear that Yorktown's days as a center of trade were over.

Yorktown remained a small port with a locally based trade in the Early National Period. In 1804, William T. Barry noted that Yorktown's "situation is far from handsome; the houses inelegant, and many of them are in ruinous state . . . There is little or no trade carried on in the place; the County Court sits there once a month."[2] Like the rest of the South, Yorktown's economy was largely agrarian and because of its location on the river, residents were also able to make a living as fishermen and oystermen. The town's slave and free population had declined since 1790, but blacks still outnumbered whites by almost half. While still recovering from the impact of the Siege of Yorktown at the end of the Revolution, the community suffered another severe hit in the spring of 1814 when a fire destroyed many of the homes and businesses on the waterfront and in the town proper.

Ten years later, it was apparent that the highlight of Yorktown's history remained the town's role in the American Revolution. This is evidenced by the excitement engendered by the return of the Marquis de Lafayette in 1824. After the celebrants left, the town went back to sleep, if the annual report of the Norfolk Baptist Association is to be believed. The annual reports of this association, the governing body of the two Baptist churches in the area, stated that there was nothing of note to report in Yorktown for several decades.

Indeed, it would take another war to bring significant action back to the sleepy town. In the fall of 1861, the Confederate Army arrived in Yorktown and began to refortify the remaining British earthworks and to build new fortifications throughout the town. The Confederate Army used the labor of slaves from neighboring plantations to do much of this work. Union Troops arrived in Yorktown on 4 May 1862 as part of the Peninsula Campaign. Once it was determined that the Peninsula Campaign was a failure, there was talk of the Union Army leaving Yorktown. However, the decision, based partly on the town's Revolutionary glory, was made to remain.[3]

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[2] Edward M. Riley, "The Founding and Development of Yorktown, Virginia, 1691-1781," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1942), p. 324.

[3] Diane Depew, "They Had Bidden a Final Farewell to Slavery": The African-American Civil War Experience at Yorktown, Virginia," (unpublished conference paper).

The town would continue to struggle with emancipation and reconstruction for many years to come.

Organization of Project

Historians Julie Richter and Jody Allen conducted research, analyzed data, and wrote the following report. They focused their work on the properties owned by the National Park Service, in both Yorktown proper and the surrounding rural area. The report includes information about the lots and plantations where Richter and Allen could document as places where enslaved men, women, and children lived and labored. The following text also includes details about properties that do not have direct evidence of the presence of slaves for two reasons. First, the 1998 Yorktown Archaeological/Historical Assessment did not include historical information for all of the lots that the National Park Service owns.[4] Second, it is likely that enslaved residents of Yorktown and the adjoining plantations spent some time on these properties.

Richter and Allen divided the project at 1800 because, by that date, it was clear that Yorktown would not regain its pre-war prominence as a major shipping center for Virginia. Yorktown remained a sleepy little town waking periodically to celebrate its Revolutionary success. Today, it is an important part of tourism in the region where people come to visit and learn about the war for independence.

Richter, with the assistance of Anna Cloninger (a M.A./Ph. D. candidate in the Lyon Gardiner Tyler Department of History at the College of William & Mary), read a wide variety of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century documents to find information about the slaves and free people of color who lived in Yorktown and the surrounding area. Together, they identified key documents about the lives of individual enslaved men, women, and children and free blacks. In particular, Cloninger assessed the information about slaves owned by the Lightfoot family.

Allen read a variety of nineteenth century sources in an effort to gain insight into the black population, enslaved and free, in Yorktown. York County Court records (including the Registry of Free Blacks, Wills, Deeds, Orders, Tax Records, and Censuses), family records, and documents from church affiliated organizations have been of great value in gaining an overall picture of black life in Yorktown between 1800 and 1867. Unfortunately, these sources offer limited insight into where these individuals lived and how they labored. Newspaper accounts and the written account of a Quaker teacher have provided some clues into circumstances faced by "contraband" and later freedmen and women in Yorktown, and Freedmen's Bureau Records have been invaluable in painting a picture of life during the early days of freedom.

[4] Elizabeth Gryzmala Jordan and Julie Richter, "Yorktown Archaeological/Historical Assessment," 3 vols., (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Department of Archaeological Research submitted to the Colonial National Historical Park, National Park Service, 1998), Vol. 2. Historical Summary.

Sources and Evidence—Overview of Africans and African Americans in Yorktown, at the Moore House, and on Battlefield Property, 1635-1800

Primary documents provide much of the information about the Africans and African Americans who lived in and near Yorktown. Details in the York County Court records (housed at the York County-Poquoson Courthouse in Yorktown) contain the names of Yorktown residents—white and black, free and enslaved. For the purposes of this study, wills left by inhabitants of the town as well the inventories of their personal property were useful. Both of these documents include the names of slaves and often some details about family connections. In addition, on occasion, appraisers included descriptions of a slave's age and/or occupation on the lists they took.

Another valuable source is the *Virginia Gazette*, printed in Williamsburg between 1736 and 1780. The various editions of the colony's newspaper provide information about the dates when slave ships entered the York River District and when the vendue master held sales of imported slaves in Yorktown as well as enslaved laborers owned by town residents. Many of the notices of slaves available for purchase often included details about a slave's gender, skills and/or age. Masters placed details about runaway slaves in the *Virginia Gazette*, and these documents can contain information about a slave's gender, skills, age, family connections, and motivation (in the eyes of the owner) for escape.

Unfortunately, missing entries in the York County Court records limit the information about the development of slavery in York County and Yorktown.[5] Extant entries from the latter part of the eighteenth-century lack the detail that earlier clerks included in the written record. As a result, it is difficult to follow the lives of some of the slaves and free people of color who lived in Yorktown at the end of the century. In addition, not all of the issues of the *Virginia Gazette* survive today. Gaps in the extant records make it impossible to determine the full extent to which Yorktown residents were involved in the overseas slave trade and to determine how many imported Africans were sold on the town's waterfront.[6]

Details from other primary sources help to add to what is known about the role of slavery in Yorktown's history and to what can be learned about the lives of individual slaves and free blacks. The following sources contributed important information to this study: the Robert Anderson Papers, the Memorandum Books of Thomas Jefferson, the Ballard Family Bible, the Ambler Papers, the Booth-Lightfoot Account Book, the Bruton Parish Birth and Baptism Register, the Letter Book of William Reynolds, the records of the mercantile business of John

[5] There are four gaps in the extant York County Court orders: from December 1648 through September 1657; from January 1662/3 through January 1664/5; from July 1676 through March 1676/7; and from December 1754 through December 1758. It is important to note that deeds, wills, and inventories survive for these time periods.

[6] The gaps in the extant issues of the *Virginia Gazette* cover a large portion of the news reported in the 1740s and early 1760s. No papers survive for the time period from 8 February 1740 to 14 March 1745 or from 25 September 1746 to 3 January 1751. In addition, there are scattered papers printed between 1753 and 1766: one issue in 1753 (2 March), two editions in 1754 (19 July and 7 November and the 7 November supplement), two papers in 1756 (27 August and 3 September), two issues in 1757 (22 April and 2 September), a single issue in 1761 (16 January), one paper in 1762 (12 September), an issue in 1763 (4 November), no papers printed in 1764, one supplement from 1765 (25 October), and a single issue in 1766 (7 March).

Norton and Sons, the Williamsburg Personal Property Tax Lists (1783, 1784, and 1786), the York County Land and Personal Property Tax Lists, and the York County Free Black Register.

It is important to place these primary sources and Yorktown in a wider context in order to assess the ways in which slavery shaped the town's establishment and development. Both primary documents and secondary sources detail this context. First, primary records—including *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, From the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619*; the *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*; the *Journals of the House of Burgesses*, the *Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, and the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database (http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces)—contain details about the establishment of legal slavery in seventeenth-century Virginia and its expansion during the eighteenth century.

A number of secondary sources expand the historical context for the impact that slavery had upon Yorktown. These sources include: Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*; Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia*; Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia*; Lorena S. Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community*; John E. Selby, *The Revolution in Virginia, 1775-1783*; and Emory G. Evans, *A "Topping People": The Rise and Decline of Virginia's Old Political Elite, 1680-1790.*

Secondary sources also contain information about the history of Yorktown. Reports and articles written by Edward M. Riley and Charles E. Hatch, Junior provide the historical background of the physical development of York County's port. In addition, archaeological reports include information about many of the structures that stood in eighteenth-century Yorktown. Details about the homes and outbuildings make it possible to identify the spaces in which some of Yorktown's slaves and free blacks labored.

Sources and Evidence—Overview of Africans and African Americans in Yorktown, at the Moore House, and on Battlefield Property, 1800-1867

It is very challenging to find specific evidence about the African Americans who lived and worked on the town lots covered in this section of the report. The sources most readily available, such as county records, do not give much more information about the enslaved other than their given names, their masters, their monetary value, and occasionally their occupations. At the same time, wills, deeds, tax records, court orders, and other county records provide important clues to additional records to investigate. The Registry of Free Blacks and Legislative Petitions have provided valuable information regarding slaves who were freed by wills and deeds and those who were born free. Church records have also provided some insight into the religious experiences of blacks. In addition, several newspapers, including the *Virginia Gazette*, while limited copies from this time period remain, have also provided information on local and statewide issues impacting blacks. This is especially true of papers published during the Civil War years. The census records and slave schedules of 1850 and 1860 have helped to identify the number of slaves associated with the properties in question. Lastly, the Freedmen's Bureau

records provide invaluable information on the post-Civil War period, and also shed light on some antebellum concerns.

A good deal of scholarly attention has been focused on Yorktown's colonial and Revolutionary era history, but the post-Revolution and antebellum periods have been largely untouched. As a result, scholarly treatments of this time period are non-existent. However, secondary sources that have aided in the placement of this period in Yorktown history within the larger context of the South and the country include: *There Is A River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America* by Vincent Harding; *In the Matter of Color: Race and the American Legal Process* by A. Leon Higginbotham; Ervin Jordan's *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*; Allan Kulikoff's *Tobacco & Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800*; and *Slave Religion* by Donald Mathews. For a complete list of sources please the bibliography.

Acknowledgements—Julie Richter

First, I would like to thank Karen Rehm of the Colonial National Historical Park for giving me the opportunity to work on this project. In addition, I want to thank Karen Rehm and Diane De Pew, also of the Colonial National Historical Park, for their assistance during the time I worked on this project. I appreciate their willingness to sort through many details to answer questions regarding the history of Yorktown. Jody Allen helped me sort through the many people who lived and worked in Yorktown. Next, I want to acknowledge the assistance of Linda Rowe and Cathy Hellier of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation who gave me access to the York County Project files. Andy Edwards, also of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, helped me to sort through the data from the 1998 Yorktown Assessment. Cary Carson, Nick Luccketti, and Hank Lutton each shared their expertise on the buildings that once stood in Yorktown and helped me to envision the spaces in which enslaved men, women, and children lived and labored. In addition, to serving as a research assistant, Anna M. Cloninger of the Lyon Gardiner Tyler Department of History at the College of William & Mary helped organize notes from the primary sources we consulted. Kate Egner provided last minute assistance and checked entries in the York County Court records so I could complete some of the many footnotes in my section of this report.

Acknowledgements—Jody Allen

I wish to thank Karen Rehm and Diane Depew of the Colonial National Historical Park for the opportunity to contribute to such an important project. I am also happy to have had the chance to work with Dr. Julie Richter, my colleague and my teacher. I really appreciate the willingness of the Rev. Barbara Lemon, Pastor of Shiloh Baptist Church, Yorktown, Virginia to encourage her members Cassie Phillips, Trustee and Mrs. Carr, Deacon Giles, and Mrs. Hattie Williams Waller to meet with me and share their stories. As always, my gratitude for and awe of the archivists and staff at the Library of Virginia is limitless. Finally, I thank my husband, Anthony Keitt, for his continuing support and encouragement in all things.

Part I.

Historical Overview of Africans and African Americans in Yorktown, At the Moore House, and on the Battlefield Property, 1635-1800

Section 1.
Africans in and Around the Yorktown Area
During the Seventeenth Century

Introduction

This section focuses on the seventeenth-century owners of the land that became Yorktown and the battlefield during the 1781 Siege of Yorktown. Nicholas Martiau, the Read family, and the Ludlows made changes to the land in order to turn their property into tobacco fields, cornfields, kitchen gardens, and orchards. Martiau, the Reads, George Ludlow, and Thomas Ludlow also added houses, outbuildings, and fences to their plantations. The laborers who helped to transform this land along the south side of the York River included white indentured servants as well as Africans and their children. Martiau, the Reads, and members of the Ludlow family were among the first residents of York County to purchase African men and women to labor on their plantations and they held these individuals as lifelong slaves before Virginia's lawmakers established legal slavery in the colony.

The Labor Force of the Martiau and Read Families

Nicholas Martiau held land in York County by July 1633, the first month that he served as a York County justice of the peace.[1] In addition, Martiau had a house by June 1638 when the York County court met at his dwelling.[2] His service as a magistrate and the fact that he had a home large enough for a meeting of York County's justices of the peace suggests that he held 1,300 acres of land along the York River before he received his 1639 patent for the property. Martiau claimed this land because he paid for his own transportation to Virginia as well as that of his wife, Jane; his children, Nicholas Martiau and Elizabeth Martiau; and Jane Barkley, his wife's daughter. His patent also noted that he covered the costs of the journey to Virginia for Edward Bowles, Giles Tavernor, Robert Brown, George Brook, Elizabeth Sharples and two Africans. Based on the wording of the patent, Martiau intended to have Bowles, Tavernor, Brown, Brook, Sharples, and the two Africans work on his new plantation at "Cheskiake."[3]

Gaps in the extant York County Court records make it difficult to determine how Martiau used his land in the late 1630s and early 1640s or who tended the crops on his fields. It is

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[1] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 2, 12 July 1633. All biographical information for residents of York County and Yorktown is from the York County Project Master Biographical File, Department of Training and Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.

[2] Ibid., p. 46, 12 June 1638.

[3] Nell Marion Nugent et al., eds., *Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants*, 8 vols., (Richmond: Library of Virginia, 1934-98), I:121. Martiau also paid for the transportation of Henry Cunney, Mark Leech, John Smith, Allin de Cude, John Galliott, William Turner, Thomas Cartwright, John Cooper, Henry List, John Brouch, an African woman, Robert Ashly, John Felton, and John Vallet to the colony. Extant documents do not indicate where Martiau had these headrights work or if he transferred them to another colonist.

likely, however, that a man of Martiau's prominence had indentured servants and/or Africans growing tobacco and corn, planting apple trees, and cutting down trees for timber.[4] If Giles Tavernor arrived in Virginia as an indentured servant, he could have worked for Martiau before he moved to Charles Parish where he acquired land. It is possible that Martiau considered the two Africans to be life-long slaves and hoped to have their labor for many years.[5]

By 1646, it is clear that Martiau decided to keep cattle on a portion of his property. In May of that year he agreed to look after the two heifers that George Beech inherited from his father, George Beech Senior, late of Hampton Parish.[6] In June 1646 Martiau promised to take Ann Snowden, a seven-year old orphan, as an apprentice in his household. He also set aside a female calf that would become Snowden's property when she reached the age of sixteen.[7]

Martiau depended on Joseph Bates to watch the cattle that belonged to George Beech Junior and Ann Snowden as well as his own livestock. In December 1647 Martiau reached an agreement with Bates in which he "conditioned with Capt Niccholas Martian to Looke to his catle & hogs this present for wch he had house & grounds to plant on & the milk of 2 cowes & half the increase of sixe sowes."[8] Later that year, however, it was clear that

> Bates hath neglected the looking to the sd Catle whereby many of them are wanting The Ct doth ord that the sd Bates shall doe his best endeavour to find the sd catle & hoggs wanting and to bring them to the plantation late Capt Rob Felgatts & there to deliver them to the sd Capt Niccholas Martian other wise to pay unto sd Martian for the house & ground and [torn] cowes milke such satisfaction as shalbe hereafter allowed him by this Ct [.][9]

Bates followed the order of the court and worked for Martiau in 1648 and possibly in other years.

In addition to setting aside part of his acreage for livestock, by 1647, Martiau decided to rent another portion of his property to a joiner named William Light. According to the terms of the lease, Light was to pay Martiau one barrel of corn on December 20 or within

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[4] April Lee Hatfield, *Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), chapter 6; John C. Coombs, "Building 'the machine': The Development of Slavery and Slave Society in Early Colonial Virginia," (Ph.D. dissertation, College of William & Mary, 2003).

[5] Giles Tavernor remained in York County and settled in Charles Parish. There is no additional information on Bowles, Brown, Brook, or Sharples.

[6] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (2) 124, 25 May 1646. The elder Beech died between 20 December 1645 and 25 May 1646 without evidence of landholding or slave ownership. The following month, Martiau became the administrator of Beech's estate and he married Isabella, the widow of George Beech. Ibid., p. 188, 5 November 1646.

[7] Ibid., p. 144, 16 June 1646. In July 1648, Joseph Bates informed the York County Court that the "calfe given by Capt Niccholas Martian to Ann Snooden . . . appeares to be dead." Ibid., p. 381, 24 July 1648.

[8] Ibid., p. 312, 16 December 1647.

[9] Ibid.

ten days of Martiau's request for payment. Light did not pay his 1647 rent, and in July 1648 Martiau took his tenant to court. Martiau

> hath made it appear by the oaths of Sarah [Holg (torn)] & Eliz Banister that he made demand of the sd rent & alledged that the same is not yet satisfied It is therefore ord that sd Capt Martian shalbe repossesst with sd land & houses thereon so leased unless the sd Wm Light shall at next Ct prove paymt of sd rent or any part thereof to the sd Martian and also that Wm Hockaday & Henry Loody take a view of certain timber made use of by Light whether it be upon the land of sd Martian or the land so leased as aforesd[.][10]

Perhaps Martiau found another tenant for the land once leased by William Light. It is unknown whether Thomas Vines and William Lee, two other Martiau tenants, rented the house and ground used by Light or different portions of Martiau's tract.[11]

Martiau leased portions of his York Parish land as a way to generate income. In addition, he had his tenants develop his land as part of their rental agreement. The structures that William Light built on Martiau's plantation changed the appearance of the property and added to its value. Martiau continued to transform his land when he paid William Brown to construct several structures. However, upon inspection of the buildings, Martiau decided to take Brown to court. In July 1648, the justices ruled that

> Whereas Wm Browne hath build certain houses for Capt Niccholas Martian and hath received paymt for the same and the sd houses so built being altogether unsufficiently covered and very leakey the Ct doth therefore ord that the sd Wm Browne shall make the sd houseing suff & tyte or otherwise to pay to the sd Capt Niccholas Martian so much as the sd worke shalbe thought to be worth the doing and also to pay unto sd Martian 81 lbs tob & 3 days work wch he confest to be due with costs ells exec.[12]

No doubt Brown returned to the York River property and completed the work to Martiau's satisfaction.

Martiau lived on his plantation on the southern bank of the York River until his death between 1 March 1656/7 and 24 April 1657.[13] In his will, Martiau divided his land

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[10] Ibid., pp. 388-9, 25 July 1648.

[11] In December 1662, George Read took Vines to court to regain possession of the tract that Vines leased from Martiau. In this case, the justices noted that Vines pretended he had a "purchase or title from Capt Nicholas Martian deced It appearing to the Court that Captain Martian being an Alien had an Estate but for life in his Lands & that therefore the said Read purchased of the Kings Majesty to whom the same was found to come by Escheat as well the said parcel as the other Land held by the said Coll Read belonging formerly to Capt Martian It is ordered that the said Vines who pleaded nothing in Barre therefore surrender the said Land to the said Coll Read to whom the same belongeth & pay Costs als Exec." York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (3) f. 181, 29 December 1662.

[12] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (2) 381, 24 July 1648.

[13] Martiau's second wife, Isabella (1) Beech (2) Martiau, died by early 1651. An April 1651 patent noted that Martiau was married to Sibella, the widow of Robert Felgate. The patent conveyed land "Upon the north side of Charles River, abutting NW by N upon Perins Creek which divides this and the land of

between George Read, the husband of his daughter Elizabeth, and John Scasbrooke, the husband of his daughter, Mary. Elizabeth Read received all of her father's land in York Parish except the property lying beyond the swamp on the southward side of the swamp called "Broccas Swamp." The property that lay south of Brocas's Swamp was to go to Mary Scasbrooke.[14]

Nicholas Martiau also left legacies to three of his laborers. He bequeathed a one to three year old heifer to Hugh Ray whom he described as "lately my servt." Next, Martiau wrote that

> After next crop is finished, my two negroes Phill and Nicholas shall be free; each to be delivered (by exeters) the following: one cow, 3 barrels corn, cloaths, nayles to build them a house but they or either of them shall hire themselves after their said freedom or before or shall remove from the land hereunder appointed them [then or they] or he soe doing to returne to my executors [for] the good of them and their children And my will is that they have land sufficient for themselves to plant in the field where William Leigh lived for their lives or the life of the longer liver of them.[15]

In his bequest to Phil and Nicholas, Martiau provided these two men with freedom dues that were more generous than those given to white indentured servants in Virginia at the end of their terms of servitude. The terms of Martiau's will gave Nicholas and Phil "nayles" so they could build a house and a field to plant. It is clear, however, that Martiau placed limits on the freedom that he gave to Phil and Nicholas. In order to be free, these two men had to remain on Martiau's land. Perhaps Martiau hoped that the use of land to grow tobacco would convince Nicholas and Phil to remain on his plantation.

If Phil and Nicholas spent the rest of their lives as free men on the Martiau land, they would have planted fields on part of the 850 acres on the south side of the York River that George Read inherited after the 1657 death of his father-in-law, Nicholas Martiau.

Ashwell Battin, north into the maine woods, adj NE & E upon the land of Thomas Bell, SE by S upon the River" to John Perines. The land was due for the transportation of eight people to Virginia: Captain Robert Felgate, Erasmus his son, Sibella his wife (twice), and three Africans. Felgate held the 400 acres (in what became Gloucester County) at the time of his death (by 29 January 1644/5) and Martiau gained possession when he married Sibella Felgate. Martian assigned the land to Abraham Mooney who, in turn, transferred the property to John Perines. It is unknown if Martiau moved the three African headrights to his York River property or if he had these Africans labor in Gloucester County. Nugent et al., eds., *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, I:210.

[14] George Read and John Scasbrooke disputed the boundary in their father-in-law's will and, in January 1657/8, two arbitrators, John Walker of Gloucester County and York County's Thomas Ballard, decided that "the land bequeathed to Mary Scarsbricke by Martiaus will to include the land late in the possession of John Hilli[er] and all the land lying on the southward side of all the branches of Brownes swamp mentioned in the bequea[st] as well as the main swamp." York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (3) f. 12, January 1657/8.

[15] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 232-4, dated 1 March 1656/7 and recorded 24 April 1657. It is possible that both Phil and Nicholas had labored on Martiau's plantation for many years. In February 1646/7, Martiau took Richard Lee to court "concerning the seizure of a man servt of the sd Capt Martians for Country levyes[.]" York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (2) 218, 5 February 1646/7.

This land included Martiau's house, outbuildings, tobacco fields, grazing areas for livestock, and houses in which Martiau's tenants lived.

The York County records indicate that Read had several white indentured servants. In November 1657, the justices of the peace ordered Thomas Hull to serve Read an extra six months because he had run away from his master's plantation for three months.[16] In February 1657/8, Read added a boy named Joseph Oldfield to his labor force.[17] In April 1659, Read purchased the indenture of a nine or ten year old girl.[18]

In 1661, Read had at least one male slave on his plantation who was reported to have "kept company" with Rebecca Noble, a white indentured servant, who labored on a plantation that her master, Bartholomew Miller, leased in Charles Parish. In August 1661, Thomas Hayrick told the York County justices of the peace that he was not the father of Noble's illegitimate child and "further that she kept company with a Negro man of Coll. Mathews & would have had him had it not been for Coll Carey and that she was to have maryed a Negro of Coll reads, further that by the common fame she is a woman of very evil life & conversacon [.]" Hayrick's testimony convinced the justices of the peace that Noble had falsely named him as the father of her child.[19]

The fact that Rebecca Noble, a servant on a plantation in Charles Parish, met and considered marrying an African man who labored on George Read's York Parish land is an indication that there was some freedom of movement for indentured servants and slaves as they worked in tobacco fields and accompanied their masters on visits to friends or meetings of the county court. More prosperous colonists also wanted to be able to travel from York County to other areas of the colony. By April 1662, York County residents asked to have a ferry over the York River to Gloucester County. The justices of the peace decided

> that there be a free ferry for men over Yorke River & aboard Shipps from the south side and soe back againe for the Inhabitants of this County onely and John Webbar to keepe the same & to have 2500 lbs tob for keeping the same, to be kept on Coll Reads Land who hath promised to give him timber & spare him ground for a 15 foot house neare the River.

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[16] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (3) f. 5, 16 November 1657.

[17] Ibid., f. 18, 25 February 1657/8. In February 1658/9, Read received a certificate for 1,900 acres for transporting 38 persons, including a Negro named Grace, to Virginia. It is possible that Read added Grace to the labor force on his York County plantation, instead of moving her to the 1,900 acres in Westmoreland County. Ibid., f. 47, 24 February 1657/8; Nugent et al., eds., *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, 1:389-90.

[18] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (3) ff. 57, 60, 24 June 1659.

[19] Ibid., f. 129, 26 August 1661. For details about the punishment that Rebecca Noble received, see Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1996), pp. 188-9, 191.

The ferry house, built of wood from Read's land, stood on Read's plantation by October 1662 when York County paid John Webbar 2,500 pounds of tobacco for operating the ferry.[20]

In the late 1660s, another court case included a few additional details about Read's property. The March 1668/9 deposition of William Collis mentioned meeting Thomas Read, one of George Read's sons, at "Coll Reads landing" and the "house of Coll Read." According to Collis, the Read house had a front door as well as a back door through which Thomas Read escaped to avoid arrest. Collis told the justices of the peace "I continued at the door for my prisoner til it was night when I was informed that Thomas Read was quite escaped by the back part of the house through the garden."[21] Collis no doubt lived in a smaller dwelling that had just one door.

George Read Senior made his home on land along the York River until the time of his death. His will is not extant because it was recorded in the General Court. Details about the transfer of his land to his heirs survive in an eighteenth-century York County deed. The elder Read bequeathed the 850-acre tract to his wife Elizabeth during her lifetime and, after her death, to two of their sons, George Junior and Robert, and the heirs of these two sons. However, if either the younger George Read or Robert Read died in his minority, or if neither had any heirs, the remaining portion/s of the plantation were to go to Read's other sons, Francis and Benjamin.[22]

If appraisers took an inventory of George Read's personal possessions, it was recorded in the records of the General Court and does not survive. As a result, it is impossible to determine how many indentured servants and slaves were included on the list of Read's personal estate. Based on Read's social and economic standing, it is likely that he had a small number of white indentured servants and several enslaved Africans at the time of his death and that they tended tobacco fields on his plantation.[23]

After the death of her husband, Elizabeth Read continued to live on the plantation that had been her father's. In November 1673, the widow Read attended the meeting of the York County court to complain about a road that passed through the "old field" on her land. She noted that her late husband

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[20] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (3) f. 162, 24 April 1662; ibid., f. 177, 25 October 1662.
[21] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (4) 236, 10 March 1668/9.
[22] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 3-6, dated 16 May 1741 and recorded 18 May 1741.
There is some confusion about Read's death date. Two sources list 1671 as the year that his will was probated. According to Robert Anderson's extracts of General Court records, George Read Senior wrote his will on 29 September 1670 and it was recorded in the General Court on 21 December 1671. However, the inscription on Read's tombstone noted that he died in October 1674. Robert Anderson Papers, 1693-1877, (Williamsburg: Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation), Folders 309 and 319; Charles E. Hatch, Jr., *Grace Church: A General Study*, (Washington, D. C.: Office of History and Historic Architecture, Eastern Service Center, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 1970), p 85.
[23] Perhaps John Mackdonah (imported in 1667) and Edward Elleston alias Cooley (imported in late 1669 or early 1669/70) were part of Read's labor force at the time of his death. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (4) 140, 24 May 1667; ibid., p. 279, 24 February 1669/70.

> Col. George Reade deced permitted the roade to be through your Pet. Old Feild by her now dwelling house & wch she findes very prejudiciall to her stocke, whereupon she hath taken in a calfe pasture and unless confirmed by this Ct she has no conveniency at all to rear so much as a calfe or to preserve a sick or weake beast And further sheweth that pet. hath cleared & marked a very suff roade that is not above one third part of a mile farther then the late Roade.

Next, Elizabeth Read asked "to tender the condition of the widd Altering of road accord. to the new road by her marked & cleared & that your pet. & her son Robert Reade heire to sd land will oblige themselves to the Ct never to alter sd Road again."[24] The justices of the peace honored the widow Read's request and changed the road according to the details in her petition.

Like her husband, Elizabeth Read continued to have white indentured servants work on her plantation and tend her cattle. The widow Read added seventeen-year old John Leason to her labor force in November 1677 and Richard Brooks, a sixteen-year old, in April 1678.[25] Unfortunately, extant documents do not contain details about the work that Read assigned to the white indentured servants or to the enslaved men, women, and children who labored on her property.

In addition to managing her labor force, Elizabeth Read maintained the buildings on her plantation. Sometime in 1680, the widow Read decided to hire a man to construct a small house on her property. In February 1680/1, the justices of the peace summoned "Madam Read" to appear in court to answer the petition of Abraham Preston. Two months later, in April 1681, Preston persuaded the county officials that the widow Read owed him "450 lbs tobo for the building of a dwelling house by the well called Webbers Well."[26] Although the court case did not mention who would use the dwelling, it is possible that this new structure replaced the ferry house constructed in 1662.

Elizabeth Read lived on her York River plantation until the time of her death. The widow Read died between 10 February 1685/6—the date she wrote her will—and 24 January 1686/7—the day her will was probated in the York County Court.[27] The widow Read's will contains information about the enslaved men, women, and children who worked on her plantation as well as a small number of white indentured servants. Read listed the names of her children and the laborers whom they would inherit. The widow Read bequeathed Peter and his wife Bridget; a mulatto boy named Harry; a woman known as Black Betty and Dick, her mulatto son; a man called Tony; Nicholas Morrell, a French boy; a white indentured a French boy; a female servant known as Mary Jane Tesso; and any children born to Bridget and Black Betty to her son, Robert. Another son, Francis Read, gained possession of Sandy, a man; a woman known as Bess; a boy called

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[24] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (5) 58, 24 November 1673.
[25] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (6) 20, 12 November 1677; ibid., p. 35, 24 April 1678.
[26] Ibid., p. 291, 24 February 1680/1; ibid., p. 300, 25 April 1681.
[27] In February 1681/2, Robert Read took Nicholas Morrell to the meeting of the York County Court to have his age adjudged. The justices of the peace decided that Morrell was sixteen years old. Ibid., p. 374, 24 February 1681/2.

Peter; and any children born to Bess. Benjamin Read became the owner of Will, his wife Jone, and all sons and daughters Jone might have. The widow Read left Jeffery, his wife Nimino, and Nimino's child, a boy named Tom; another boy known as Will; Jack, an enslaved man; and any other children born to Nimino to her son, Thomas. Read's daughter, Elizabeth Chisman, the wife of Thomas Chisman Senior of Charles Parish, inherited a woman known as Kate; a woman called Peg; Dina, Peg's mulatto daughter; and any children born to these three females. Elizabeth Read also left legacies to three grandchildren. Mildred Chisman received a girl named Murriah, Elizabeth Chisman gained possession of a girl named Hannah, and Thomas Chisman Junior inherited a girl named Kate.

After listing the legacies to her children and grandchildren, the widow Read specified that all slaves, cattle, and moveable estate given to her sons Benjamin and Thomas were to be in the care of her son Robert until Thomas and Benjamin reached the age of twenty-one. In addition, Elizabeth Read determined that the profits of their slaves' labor were to be used to pay for any necessary items and apparel during her sons' minority. When his brothers Benjamin and Thomas turned twenty-one, Robert was to allow each of them enough corn for themselves and their slaves, and the enslaved laborers were to be sufficiently clothed.[28]

The death of Elizabeth Read marked a turning point in the lives of the enslaved men, women, and children who worked on her York River plantation. Read's daughter Elizabeth Chisman and her three children—Thomas, Mildred, and Elizabeth—lived in Charles Parish, in the southern end of York County. The division of Elizabeth Read's estate took two women—Kate and Peg—and four girls—Dina, Murriah, Kate, and Hannah—from the Read plantation and relocated them to the Chisman household.

The assignment of legacies to the Read sons led to further separations for the family's slaves. During the 1690s, three of the widow Read's four sons left York County and settled in Gloucester County. In August 1691, Benjamin Read and his wife Lucy lived on the north side of the York River in Gloucester County when they conveyed the land that became Yorktown to Joseph Ring and Thomas Ballard, the town's trustees.[29] Perhaps Benjamin and Lucy Read moved Will and his wife Jone to Gloucester County.

Another Read son, Thomas, was a resident of Gloucester County by January 1692/3 and it is possible that he took the five slaves whom he inherited from his mother—Jeffrey, his wife Nimino, Nimino's son Tom, a boy known as Will, and Jack, a man—with him when he moved to the northern side of the York River.[30] A court case suggests that at least one of Thomas Read's slaves tried to maintain ties to the enslaved laborers whom Elizabeth Read left to members of the Chisman family. In October 1710, John Parsons, a Charles Parish resident, took up an enslaved man who ran from Read's Gloucester plantation.[31]

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[28] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (7) 257-9, dated 10 February 1685/6 and recorded 24 January 1686/7.
[29] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 64-8, dated 18 August 1691 and recorded 24 September 1691.
[30] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 372, dated 20 January 1692/3 and recorded 24 May 1693.
[31] York County Orders and Wills (14) 37, 5 October 1710.

A third Read son, Francis, lived in York County for several years after his mother's death. Francis Read had four indentured servants—Robert Colvert, Eve Man, Cornelius Sheeham, and Prudence Barber—in addition to the slaves whom he inherited from his mother.[32] Read left York County and settled in Gloucester County sometime between May 1694 and 24 September 1695. If Read's enslaved laborers—a man named Sandy, a woman known as Bess, and Peter, a boy—lived long enough, the move to Gloucester County would have placed them near some of the other slaves who had been a part of Elizabeth Read's estate.[33]

Perhaps the fourth son, Robert, remained in York County because he inherited a large portion of his father's 850-acre plantation. In early 1679/80, Read gained possession of twenty-one servants, and it is possible that he added some of the seventeen white laborers and four Africans to the labor force on his plantation.[34] Between April and August 1681, details in the York County records indicate that Read had some troubles with his indentured white servants. John Twigger and John Spillman had their times of servitude extended because they ran from their master.[35] In August 1681, Read petitioned the York County Court

> setting forth that a man servant of his named William Stevens did wound & cutt another of his servants & the care of wch wound cost the sd read 3 £ Sterl & 259 lbs tobo besides dyett for one to supply his place in the ferry & the sd Stevens confessing the same it is therefore ord that hee serve the sd Read 9 months after the expiracon of his time by indenture for sd offence.[36]

The fact that Read did not include the name of the servant who worked at the ferry suggests that this man might have been an enslaved laborer.

According to the terms of his mother's will, Robert Read gained possession of eight laborers. This group included six slaves—Peter and his wife Bridget; a mulatto boy named Harry; Black Betty and her son, Dick, a mulatto boy; and a man known as Tony. Read's labor force also included Nicholas Morrell, a French boy, and Mary Jane Tesso. It is likely that Read had the enslaved men and women work in the tobacco fields on his plantation. The two boys—Harry and Dick—might have carried firewood to the kitchen and dwelling house in addition to learning how to tend tobacco and corn. Perhaps Nicholas Morrell supervised the slaves as they labored or helped with the operation of the

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[32] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (6) 512, 24 August 1683; ibid., p. 535, 10 December 1683; York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 234, 24 August 1693; York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (10) 230, 25 November 1695.

[33] A September 1697 court case noted that Francis Read's inventory was recorded in Gloucester County. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (10) 462, 24 September 1697.

[34] Elizabeth Read assigned a certificate for the importation of twenty-one servants to her son Robert. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (6) 177, 26 January 1679/80.

[35] Ibid., p. 300, 25 April 1681.

[36] Ibid., p. 329, 24 August 1681.

ferry across the York River and the ordinary that Read had near the ferry.[37] Mary Jane Tesso probably assisted Mary Read with domestic work.[38]

The presence of both whites and enslaved laborers on Read's plantation gave these men and women opportunities to interact with each other. It is possible that Mary Hanson, an indentured servant, and Dick Brooks considered themselves to be husband and wife. Hanson and Brooks had at least two sons—James and Richard—during the time that she was Read's servant. In May 1706, the York County justices of the peace ordered Mary Hanson to appear at the next session to answer the charge of bearing an illegitimate mulatto child. Two months later, Hanson told the local magistrates that Dick Brooks, a mulatto slave owned by her master, was the father of her child.[39]

Mary Hanson's sons, Richard and James, were part of Robert Read's labor force when he wrote his will on 30 December 1712.[40] First, Read distributed his land among his sons. He bequeathed three Yorktown lots and a five-acre parcel that adjoined Yorktown to his son Thomas (which Read purchased from his brother Thomas). If Thomas died without heirs, this legacy was to pass to Read's daughter, Mildred.[41] Next, Read gave 744 acres in King and Queen County (lately bought of his son, John) to his sons George, Samuel, and Francis to share equally.

Having distributed his real property, Read turned to his laborers. He left slave men Grinig and Jeffery; enslaved women Jeney and B[ess] with all of their increase after the date of the will; and one mulatto man named Harry to his wife, Mary. Read's daughter, Margaret Nelson, became the owner of a man named Will, a woman called Ebo Hannah, and a girl known as Grace "with all the increase they shall have after the date of this my Will."[42] Thomas Read's bequest included the mulatto man known as Dick Brooks; two women, Belk and Nimino; and any children born to these women.

Another daughter, Mildred, inherited a man named Peter; a "servant boy named James Hanson bound by ye Churchwardens to serve" until he was thirty-one years old; a woman

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[37] In February 1689/90, Read received a license to keep an "Ordinary or place of publick entertainment at the place where the ferry now is kept upon the south side of York River in this county[.]" York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (8) 395, 24 February 1689/90.

[38] In addition to their seven children, by 1693, a woman named Elizabeth Moore lived with the Reads. Perhaps Elizabeth Moore helped Mary Read. Read had at least one tenant, John Bowler, on his rural land. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 308, dated 5 July 1693 and recorded 26 February 1693/4; ibid., p. 323, recorded 24 August 1696; ibid., p. 345, dated 9 October 1696 and recorded 25 November 1696. During the 1690s, Read also leased a Yorktown lot to a tenant. By August 1694, John Seborne rented Lot 83 from Read and lived in the structure on this half-acre. See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 80, Lot 81, Lot 82, and Lot 83.

[39] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (12) 414, 25 May 1706; ibid., p. 424, 2 July 1706. See Part I. Section 5—Free Blacks in Yorktown and the Yorktown Area, 1680s to 1783.

[40] York County Orders and Wills (14) 241-3, dated 30 December 1712 and recorded 16 March 1712/3.

[41] See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 73, Lot 74, and Lot 83.

[42] Margaret née Read Nelson was the first wife of Thomas Nelson the Immigrant. See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 52.

named Bridget and any children she might bear; and £ 10 current money.[43] George Read received a boy named Tony, a man known as Boy Will, a girl called Betty, and any children born to this female. Three slaves—Ned, a boy; another boy named Jemey; and Jone and any children born to this enslaved girl—were to go to Read's son, Samuel. Finally, Read left his son Francis a "servant boy named Richard Hanson bound by ye churchwardens to serve" until the age of thirty-one; two boys, Grinig and Frank; and a girl known as Sue and all of the children Sue might bear.[44]

Read also included instructions concerning the time of year that his children would gain possession of their slaves. He noted "It is my will that when my children cum to age, if it be in crop time then such of my Children with there Estates shall stay with whom they shall live with untill the Christmas following & that then they with there Negroes or other servants be well cloathed & have for themselves & Negroes or other servants each of them 3 barrells of Indian corn & that there Negros or other servants carry away with them such beding as they then shall have."[45]

In April 1713, the appraisers of Read's estate included a list of the decedent's enslaved laborers and mulatto servants among his personal possessions. However, these men did not value "Grinidge, Jeffery, Will, Boy Will, Harry, Dick, Peter, Ned, Tony, Jemmy, Grinny, Jenny, Bess, Hannah, Beck, Bridget, Nemonah, Betty, Jone, Sue, Grace, Sarah, [and] James & Richard Hanson Indented Mulattoes[.]" Read's inventory also included the tools that his enslaved workers used as they worked on his plantation—hoes, axes, carpenter's tools and cooper's tools. Female slaves ironed clothes, churned butter, made cheese, spun flax, cooked food, and produced cider.[46]

When several of Robert Read's sons reached their majority, they decided to leave York County. John Read joined members of the extended Read family in Gloucester County. It is likely that he moved the slaves whom he inherited from his father to the north side of the York River. Extant documents suggest that Francis Read and George Read settled in King and Queen County. If they moved to this land, these two men would have taken their enslaved laborers to clear land, plant tobacco, and tend livestock.

One of Robert Read's sons, Thomas, remained in the Yorktown area until his death between 21 May 118 and 15 June 1719. Thomas Read wrote a will in which he left "one Mulatto man named Dick, one Negro woman named Beck, one Negro woman named Nimmonah, one Negro boy named Bille, one Negro boy named Phill, and all of their increase" to his mother, Mary. In July 1719, appraisers noted the following values of Read's slaves:

To one Mulatto man named Dick £ 27

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[43] Mildred née Read married James Goodwin by 21 May 1718 and her second husband, Lawrence Smith Junior, by 20 February 1720/1. See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 53 and Lot 72 and Part I. Section 10—The Moore House and Adjoining Rural Land Owned by the Smith and Moore Families.
[44] York County Orders and Wills (14) 241-3, dated 30 December 1712 and recorded 16 March 1712/3.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid., pp. 251-3, dated 7 April 1713.

To 1 Negro woman named Nimner £ 30
To 1 Negroe woman named Beck £ 8
To 1 Negroe boy named Billy £ 15
To 1 Negroe boy named Phil £ 6

The value assigned to Nimner (Nimmonah) suggests that she was the mother of Billy and Phil and that these boys were born after Read inherited Nimner from his father. The appraised value of £ 8 indicates that Beck was an older woman and was not able to work as much as she had. It is possible that Beck watched Billy and Phil so Nimner could do a full day's work.[47]

Thomas Read's mother, Mary, added Dick, Nimner, Beck, Billy, and Phil to her labor force. A few years earlier, the widow Read had trouble with one of her slaves, a mulatto man named Harry, who, with two other enslaved men, decided to break into the Yorktown home of Richard Cary. Harry, Sam, and Guy were captured and stood trial. On 10 September 1715, the clerk of the York County Court noted

> Harry a mulatto slave late belonging to Mary Read Widdow Sam a negro slave late belonging to William Buckner gent & Guy a negro slave late belonging to Edward Powers ordinary keeper being indicted for that they the sd Harry Sam & Guy on the 7th day of July last past about the eleventh hour of the night of the same day with force & armes &c the mansion house of one Richard Cary gent in the county of York did feloniously & Burglariously break & enter & 224 ounces of silver money of the value of 70 pounds ten guineas of the value of 13 pounds & one pair of linen sheets of the value of 40 shills currt mony of the goods & chattles of the sd Richard Cary in the sd house then & there found feloniously & burglarily did take & carry away, to which indictmt upon their arraignment they the sd Harry Sam & Guy pleaded severally guilty wherefore the Ct are of opinion that they are guilty of the sd facts & thereupon pronounced the following sentence that they the sd Harry Sam & Guy be conveyed to the place from whence they came and from thence to the place of Execution to be hanged by the necks untill they & every of them are dead.[48]

The justices of the peace valued Harry at £ 40. Six days later, Governor Alexander Spotswood being "moved with compassion & hoping that the punishment of one the most notorious offender will be a sufficient example, & terror to the others, . . . do pardon remitt & release" Sam and Guy.[49]

Four years later, it was clear that the execution of Harry had not been a deterrent to another one of Mary Read's slaves. On 3 July 1719,

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[47] York County Orders and Wills (15) 452-3, dated 21 May 1718 and recorded 15 June 1719; ibid., pp. 478-9, dated 17 July 1719 and recorded 17 August 1719.
[48] York County Orders and Wills (14) 443, 10 September 1715.
[49] Ibid., p. 453, 19 September 1715.

> Will a Negroe slave late belonging to Mary Read Widow being indicted for that he the sd. Will on the 27th day of May last past about the 12th hour afternoon in the night of the Same day with force & arms &c the Store house of Philip Lightfoot of York Town Gent feloniously & burglariously did break & enter & 50 lbs. of Sugar 2 Gallons of Rum & 5 Gimblets of the value of £ 3 lawfull money did feloniously & burglariously take & carry away - - to which Indictment upon his arraignment he the sd. Will pleaded Guilty Whereupon the Ct. pronounced the following Sentence that he the Sd. Will be conveyed to the place from whence he came & from thence to the place of Execution there to be hanged by the Neck untill he be dead.[50]

The justices of the peace decided that Will was worth £ 40. They also determined that any goods found in Will's possession were to be returned to Philip Lightfoot.[51]

Mary Read did not have another slave stand trial for theft during her lifetime. In October 1722, the clerk of the York County Court recorded her will in which she left "one Mulatto Boy [torn]ks" to her son Samuel. Francis Read gained possession of "a Negro Boy named Will & one Negro Boy named Phil." Read's granddaughter, Mary Nelson, inherited "one Negro Man named [torn] one Negro woman named Sarah and [one] Negro [torn]bina" and if she died without heirs, the slaves were to go to her brother, John. It is possible that Mary Read also left an enslaved laborer to her grandson, William Nelson.[52] The inventory of the widow Read's personal property included the following slaves:

To 1 negro man named Grinage	1.-.-
To 1 negro man named Jeffery	7.-.-
To nego. woman named Jenny	8.-.0
To 1 negro man Named Dick	30.-.-
To 1 negro woman named Beck	9.-.0
To 1 negro Boy named Sibby	5.-.0
To 1 mulatto Boy named Wm. Banks	8.-.0
To a mulatto Girle named Elizabeth Banks	7.-.0

The inventory listed several slaves whom Mary Read did not bequeath in her will, an indication that the names of these enslaved men, women, and children were torn after the York County clerk recorded her last testament.[53] The low values of adult slaves—Grinage, Jeffery, Jenny, and Beck—suggest that these individuals were older and unable to labor as much as they had in their younger years. The values of the children—Sibby, William Banks, and Elizabeth Banks—indicates that they were young and not yet able to do as much work as an adult slave. The widow Read's inventory included agricultural

[50] York County Orders and Wills (15) 444, 3 July 1719.
[51] Ibid. In November, the Attorney General received 500 pounds of tobacco, "his fee for prosecuting Mrs. Reads Negroe." Ibid., p. 505, 17 November 1719.
[52] York County Orders and Wills (16) 165, recorded 17 October 1722. Mary Read's will is badly torn.
[53] Ibid., pp. 207-10, recorded 17 June 1723.

tools used by enslaved laborers in the tobacco fields, shoemaker's tools, sheep shears, cooking utensils, cider casks, milk pans, and butter pots.[54]

Samuel Read gained possession of a mulatto boy named William Banks after the 1722 death of his mother. Nine years earlier, when his father Robert Read died, Samuel Read inherited Ned, a boy; another boy named Jemey; and Jone and any children born to this enslaved girl. Read lived on the 425 acres of land that his father, Robert, inherited from his grandfather, George Read.

Read married Mary, daughter of Richard and Mary Sclater, by 21 February 1731/2. On this date Read petitioned for his wife's share of her father's estate in the hands of Richard Armistead who married the widow of William Sheldon who served as Sclater's executor. In 1718, Richard Sclater left three slave girls—Phillis, Sarah, and Jenny—to his daughter, Mary. The 1731/2 petition also enabled the Reads to gain possession of Nell, an enslaved girl bequeathed to Mary by William Sheldon in his 1727 will.[55]

Samuel and Mary Read left the family plantation in Yorkhampton Parish by 21 May 1744, the date that Read received an appointment to take a list of tithes in the upper precinct of Charles Parish.[56] Read moved his enslaved men, women, and children to a plantation in the upper portion of Charles Parish. In addition, Read managed the work of slaves at his quarter in King and Queen County.

* * * *

Extant documents indicate that the Read family had slaves on their land on the south side of the York River between 1661 and the second quarter of the eighteenth century. It is likely that the Reads' seventeenth-century slaves—male and female—spent most of their time laboring in tobacco and corn fields, tending livestock, and cutting down trees.[57] Each of these tasks helped to transform the land into a Virginia plantation. By the 1670s, the Reads had a house large enough to have two doors and a garden located a short distance from this dwelling. Enslaved laborers no doubt cut down the trees used to

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[54] It is possible that Elizabeth Banks and William Banks were related to a white woman named Elizabeth Banks. In June 1683, Banks, a "servt to Major James Goodwin having presented for fornication & Bastardy with a Negroe slave it is ordered that the sher take her into custody & give her 39 lashes on the bare back & that she serve her master according at Act." York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (6) 498, 25 June 1683. See Part I. Section 5—Free Blacks in Yorktown and the Yorktown Area, 1680s to 1783.

[55] York County Orders and Wills (15) 350-2, dated 7 November 1718 and recorded 17 November 1718; York County Orders and Wills (16) 456-7, dated 7 April 1727 and recorded 15 May 1727; York County Orders and Wills (17) 260, 21 February 1731/2.

[56] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 279, 21 May 1744.

[57] It is possible that some of the Reads' enslaved females helped make cider. In her 24 September 1686 deposition, Elizabeth Wilson told the justices of the peace "that shee see Mrs Agnes Rogers come into the orchard of Mr Francis read and Mr Jno Sheldon wch they bought of Coll Tho: Beale with 8 negroes & one English wench one of the negroes being imployed by her the said Agnes Rogers to splitt the Syder Trough The other two negroes with the English wench to beat downe the fruite The next day after the English wench came downe again into the orchard and beat downe of fruite what shee thought fitt and after wards carrye away of fruite what soe much as she could well undergoe And further saith not[.]" York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (7) 221, 24 September 1686.

construct the Read home as well as the landing at the ferry over the York River, a small house near the ferry, and a tavern near the ferry. Perhaps members of the Read family had their slaves help white tenants construct modest houses, tobacco barns and fences on the ground that they rented.

While court records provide evidence of the presence of structures on the Read property, these documents do not contain details about the living conditions of either this family's white indentured servants or black slaves. The documents do, however, indicate that these men and women had opportunities to interact with others. In 1661, Thomas Hayrick reported that one of Read's enslaved men was to marry a white indentured servant named Rebecca Noble. The description of "mulatto" with the names of three slaves—Dick, Dina, and Harry—in Elizabeth Read's 1685/6 will is evidence that their mother (or mothers) found a white male partner. Twenty years later, Dick (also known as Dick Brooks) was the father of at least two boys, James and Richard, born to Mary Hanson, a white indentured servant in the Read household. According to Virginia law, James and Richard Hanson served members of the Read family until the age of thirty-one and then gained their freedom.

Opportunities to form families brought some stability to the lives of the Read slaves. These enslaved men, women, and children experienced instability and uncertainty when members of the Read family died. The death of a slave owner meant that he (or she) could write a will in which he (or she) distributed slaves among white family members. Elizabeth Read, Robert Read, and Mary Read bequeathed slaves as a way to strengthen the social and economic standing of their families. Their attempts to bolster white family members served to weaken the ties that bound enslaved families because members of the Read family took slaves with them when they left York County for Gloucester County in the late seventeenth century and for Gloucester and King and Queen counties in the early eighteenth century.

The Ludlow Family and Temple Farm

In July 1646, George Ludlow received a patent for 1,452 acres of land that adjoined Wormeley's Creek. This grant included 750 acres that Ludlow purchased from George Menefie who acquired the property via a mortgage from Sir John Harvey, former Governor of Virginia. The 750-acre tract was known as York Plantation.[58] It is possible that Ludlow possessed this property before he received the patent. In the summer of 1644, the Elizabeth City County court ordered goods to be stored at "the house of George Ludlow, Esq. on York river."[59]

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[58] Nugent et al., eds., *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, I:164. Ludlow re-patented his plantation in March 1652. This grant noted that Ludlow's land adjoined the Green Swamp that divided his property from Nicholas Martiau's tract. The 1652 patent also gave Ludlow 1,500 acres of land. Ibid., I:239.

[59] H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia*, 2nd edition, (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1979), pp. 562-3 (quotation p. 563). The goods stored at Ludlow's house were to be used by soldiers who marched against the Pamunkey Indians.

Extant documents contain few details about the way in which Ludlow used his York River plantation. Ludlow no doubt had tobacco fields, cornfields, and an area for cattle to graze.[60] It is possible that Ludlow had enslaved Africans to work on his plantation. As a member of the Council, Ludlow knew of other colonists who decided to purchase slaves. Also, Ludlow had connections to Dutch traders and during his lifetime he owed money to Richard Glover, an Amsterdam merchant who did business with a number of York County planters.[61] Ludlow also was indebted to John Treworgie and Nicholas Shapleigh, both of New England. Perhaps Ludlow sent foodstuffs grown on his plantation to New England and received goods—including enslaved African laborers—in exchange.[62]

Ludlow's house stood close enough to either the York River or Wormley Creek to allow for goods to be unloaded from a shallop and taken to this building.[63] It is likely that Ludlow had a storehouse near his dwelling for the storage of items he imported. George Ludlow owned the property known as "Ludlow's land" until his 1656 death.[64] In his will, dated 8 September 1655 and probated in England on 1 August 1656, Ludlow bequeathed "all my whole estate of lands and servants, &c. that I have now in my possession in Virginia" to Thomas Ludlow, his nephew.[65]

Thomas Ludlow held the 1,500 acres in York Parish that he inherited from his uncle until the time of his own death between 8 May 1659 and 20 December 1660.[66] The 1 January 1661 inventory of Lt. Col. Thomas Ludlow's estate includes details about his house and York County plantation.[67] Ludlow, his wife Mary, and their children George, Mary, and Elizabeth lived in a dwelling larger than most that stood in York County or in other areas in seventeenth-century Virginia. The appraisers of Ludlow's estate recorded items in the following spaces on his property: the "Inner Roome," the "Little middle Roome," "Lt Coll Ludlows chamber," the "Hall," the "Buttery," the "Loft," the "Kitchin," the "Stoare," and the "Milke House." Of these nine spaces, "Lt Coll Ludlows chamber" was the location of the finest items. Ludlow had books, clothing and accessories (including gloves and silver breeches buttons), and jewelry in this room. The presence of items such as cooking utensils, tablecloths, and lumber indicates that the Ludlow family had not yet made this space a private area for just the head of the household and his wife. In 1661, "Lt Coll Ludlows chamber" was still a room that served several different functions for members of this family.

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[60] Ludlow purchased cattle from Thomas Beale. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (2) 117, 27 March 1646.
[61] Ibid., p. [95], [2 February 1645/6].
[62] Ibid., p. 423, 26 September 1648.
[63] Ibid., p. 164, 25 July 1646.
[64] [Lyon G. Tyler], "Temple Farm," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1st ser., Vol. II, No. 1 (July 1893):4.
[65] Will of George Ludlow, dated 8 September 1655, codicil dated 23 October 1655, and recorded 1 August 1656 in Henry F. Waters, comp., *Genealogical Gleanings in England. Abstracts of Wills Relating to Early American Families, with Genealogical Notes and Pedigrees Constructed from the Wills and Other Records*, 2 vols., (Boston: New-England Historic Genealogical Society, 1901; reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1969), I:172-4 (quotation p. 172).
[66] On 20 December 1660, John Ludlow became the administrator of his deceased brother's estate. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (3) f. 100, 20 December 1660.
[67] Ibid., ff. 108-9, dated 1 January 1660/1 and recorded 25 January 1660/1.

In contrast, the Ludlows seem to have reserved the "Hall" for dining. This room included "One long table & green cloth Carpet a Chest One green Couch 2 Leather chaires 3 low chaires 1 low Stoole & 4 high chaires with green cloth, a joynt stool and [illeg] ten cushions One pr of Andyrons fyreshovel & tongues & tinne Candlestick & a brish all old." Eleven chairs and a stool provided enough seats for the Ludlows to dine as a family and perhaps to include the white indentured servants at the "long table."

Although Ludlow had furnishings in each of the spaces in his dwelling house, his greatest investment was in his labor force. As the owner of 1,500 acres of land, Ludlow could find work for workers, white and black, male and female, young and old. The appraisers listed his laborers in two groups. These men listed the following individuals under the heading "Servants":

Alice Cooke 10 Monthes to Serve & Corne & Clothes to be pd	0400
John Sayers a new hand 4 yeares	1400
Maurice Herbert a boy a seasoned hand 6 yea.	1500
William Starman seasoned 3 yeares	1200
Robert Wilkins a new hand 4 yea	1400
Will an old Negro man	2000
Robin an old Negro man	2000
George a Negro boy about 12 yeares	2500
Tom a Negro boy abt 5 yeares old	1800
Jugg a Negro woman	3000
Mall a Negro woman	3000
Bridgett a Negro woman	2500
Anne a Negro girle about 5 yeares	1200
Besse a Negro girle about 7 yeares	1400
Pegg a Negro girle about 4 yeares	0900

Near the end of Ludlow's inventory, the appraisers added the following note: "Several Cattle Negroes and One English Servant whereof wee had not the view & therefore vallued according to the Information given by the Administratr. and by Cuthbrt Mullinoux." This group included nine people:

Lawrence an old Negro man	2000
Sue a Negro girle abt 7 yeares	1400
Jane about 5 yeares a Negro	1200
Margery a Negro about 2 yeares	0800
William Iles an Anntient man Seasoned abt 3 yea	1200
Besse a Negro woman his wife	3000
Sarah a Negro girle about 10 or 11	2000
Nanne a Negro about 3 yea	0900
Besse a Negro abt Six monthes	0400

The absence of a surname and the lack of a notation about the amount time left to serve after the names of Will, Robin, George, Tom, Jugg, Mall, Bridgett, Anne, Besse, Pegg,

Lawrence, Sue, Jane, Margery, Besse, Sarah, Nanne, and a second female named Besse is an indication that Ludlow and the appraisers of his estate considered these men, women, and children to be lifelong slaves. In Ludlow's opinion, the children born to Jugg, Mall, Bridgett, and Besse inherited the status of their mothers before 1662 when Virginia's legislators determined that a child born to an enslaved woman also was a slave.[68]

Another indication of the status of the majority of Ludlow's labor force is the fact that appraisers determined that the values of the white workers—Alice Cooke, John Sayers, Maurice Herbert, William Starkman, Robert Wilkins, and William Iles—were lower than the assessments of many of the decedent's slaves. Maurice Herbert, a boy who was "a seasoned hand" and who had six years to serve, was valued at 1500 pounds of tobacco. In contrast, a five-year old boy named Tom was worth 1800 pounds of the weed. Each of the enslaved women—Jugg, Mall, Bridgett, and Besse—was assessed at 3000 pounds of tobacco, double Herbert's rate.

Although the appraisers carefully noted the name and value of each of Ludlow's laborers, they did not include information about where these men, women, and children slept. The inventory does not contain enough beds for each of his laborers to have had one. The lack of an adequate number of beds suggests that the appraisers might have considered bedding to be the property of the person who used it. It is also possible that the appraisers decided that the slaves' bedding was of no value and did not include it in Ludlow's inventory.

In addition, Ludlow's appraisers failed to list the clothing worn by the white and black laborers. However, these men noted that they found clothing in the "Stoare" on the property, and these items were similar to what Ludlow's laborers would have worn. The appraisers listed "Fourteen Servants Shutes of Course cloth," "Two womens pettycoats of course Cotton," "3 Servants Shirts of course Lockram One Collar & belly peeces [aprons]," and "Thirty two paire of Irish Stockins & one pr of plaine Shooes 4 Monmouth Capps & Five Servants Shirts." Perhaps Ludlow imported these articles and intended to sell them to neighbors who also had indentured servants and African laborers. It is also possible that Ludlow intended to give the clothing, stockings, and shoes to his laborers.[69] After Ludlow's death, Mullineux noted an expenditure of ten shillings and six pence for "making 8 pr of drawers & cutting 9 coats p negro."[70]

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[68] William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, From the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619*, 13 vols., (Richmond, New York, and Philadelphia, 1819-23; reprint, Charlottesville, Virginia: The University Press of Virginia for the Jamestown Foundation of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1969), II:170.

[69] Before his death, Thomas Ludlow invested 100 pounds sterling in the cargo shipped on board the ship *Thomas & Ann*. In late January 1660/1, Governor Berkeley ordered the York County justices of the peace to take the cargo into their hands and have it "sold to the best advantage of the widdow & orphans." In addition, the administrator was to make sure "that the servants be supplied with necessary provisions of Clothes out of the Cargoe." York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (3) f. 100, 20 December 1660; ibid., f. 107, 25 January 1660/1.

[70] Ibid., ff. 108-9, dated 1 January 1660/1 and recorded 25 January 1660/1.

The inventory included a list of tools that Ludlow's laborers would have used. The appraisers counted "10 weeding hoes 5 hilling hoes 5 Narrow Axes 1 broad Ax One hatchet 3 old useless Sawes 4 wedges a Smith's hammer" and "one Spade" among the tools in the "Milke House." They also found "6 yoakes wth Staples & Rings 2 plough chaines & 2 more broaken chaines." It is likely that the indentured male servants and enslaved adults performed many of the same tasks on the Ludlow plantation.[71] According to a 1659 account kept by Cuthbert Mullineux, eight laborers produced 8,741 pounds of tobacco in that year. During the following year, 1660, nine people helped to grow, harvest, and pack 10,919 pounds of the weed. Based on the information provided by Mullineux, both indentured male servants and enslaved adults—John Sayers, William Starman, Robert Wilkins, William Iles, Will, Robin, Lawrence, Jugg, Mall, Bridgett, and Besse—worked in the fields on the Ludlow plantation.[72] In addition, Maurice Herbert and a number of the enslaved children—George, Tom, Anne, Besse, Sue, Jane, and Sarah—would have assisted in any way they could.

The laborers on this plantation also included white men whom Ludlow hired to do specific work. In January 1660/1, the York County justices of the peace decided that Thomas Crouch was to be paid 300 pounds of tobacco from Ludlow's estate as compensation for his work looking after the cattle, horses, and sheep. Crouch continued in his position until the end of March 1661.[73] At the same court session, the justices also ordered Ludlow's administrator, his brother John, to pay Cuthbert Mullineux 495 pounds of tobacco "according to the Condition made between him & Lt Coll Thomas Ludlow since deced the same appearing due to him in balance for the 2 last yeares wages and disbursements necessarily expended for the use for the said family."[74]
The work of the indentured white woman was also important to the Ludlow family. Alice Cook—who, as of January 1660/1, had ten months to serve—would have helped Mary Ludlow and her daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, prepare meals in the kitchen. Mary Ludlow would have made sure that her daughters knew how to milk a cow and to make

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[71] An apprentice to a tin-man, James Revel was born near Temple Bar in London. Revel was convicted of a felony and transported to Virginia where he served an indenture between 1656 and 1671. His account of his time in Virginia—"The Poor UNHAPPY Transported FELON'S Sorrowful ACCOUNT of his Fourteen [!] Years Transportation, at *Virginia, in America*"—was published in Dublin in 1680. Revel noted that the white female servants waited on the master's wife and daughters. In contrast, the men—white and black—wore similar clothing, labored together in the tobacco fields, and ate their meals together. Revel recounted the long hours that he and other men spent in their master's tobacco fields from Monday to Saturday. He also mentioned that the laborers were expected to grow their own food on Sunday. John Melville Jennings, ed., "The Poor Unhappy Transport Felon's Sorrowful Account of his Fourteen Years Transportation at Virginia in America," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 56, No. 2 (April 1948):180-94.
[72] Unfortunately, Mullineux's account did not include the names of the eight individuals who were tithable laborers (white males and blacks—male and female—over the age of sixteen) in 1659 or the nine persons counted as tithes the following year. The notation of "a new hand" after the names of John Sayers and Robert Wilkins suggests that they were not part of the 1659 labor force. Perhaps Ludlow acquired them in 1660 when he realized that several of the older men—William Iles, Lawrence, Will, and Robin—might not be able to do a full share of labor.
[73] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (3) f. 104, 25 January 1660/1.
[74] Ibid. In addition, the justices of the peace ordered "that Mr John Ludlow Admr of his Brother (Lt Coll Thomas Ludlow) his Estate in trust pay unto Cuthbert Mullineux 495 lbs of Tob from such Estate of Mr John Crayes of London as was in the Custody of the said Thomas Ludlow at his death, being due for salary for Receiving Tob for the said Cray to be pd with Costs als Exec." Ibid.

both butter and cheese. It is likely that she supervised Mary and Elizabeth as well as Alice Cook when they poured milk from the "2 Small milke tubbs" or "4 Earthen potts" into the "12 Milch treys" so the cream could rise. Once the milk had separated, the females could pour the cream into the "Charne" to make butter. The women used "3 cheese [illeg] and "One Skrew cheese presse" to help them to turn a portion of the milk into cheese.[75]

With the assistance of Thomas Crouch, Cuthbert Mullineux, and Alice Cook, Mary Ludlow managed this household for a little over two years before she married the Reverend Peter Temple of York Parish.[76] Before their marriage, the widow Ludlow entered into two deeds. First, on 10 May 1664, with Temple's consent "to secure some part of her estate to her selfe & to be at her owne disposal either by her last will or otherwise did by their deed poll," Mary Ludlow sold "to Robert Ellison & Thomas Ballard of James City County . . . eight Negroes & their increase . . . upon trust & to sole & only use of Mary her executors" forever. The eight slaves included old Lawrence and "his brood with their increase."[77]

Second, also on 10 May 1664, Mary Ludlow conveyed additional items to the children of her first marriage, George, Mary, and Elizabeth Ludlow. This deed gave the Ludlow children property "over & Above their respective shares in their father's estate." George Ludlow gained possession of Ralph, the two-year old son of a woman named Jugg, and Mulatto Moll. The widow Ludlow gave Besie, a five-year old girl and the daughter of old Lawrence, to Mary. Elizabeth Ludlow became the owner of Nanne, old Lawrence's six-year daughter. These four slaves were to remain with the Temples until the Ludlow children reached their majority.[78]

The Temples remained in York Parish for several years and then left Virginia to settle in England. Peter and Mary Temple depended on Ellison and Ballard to manage their plantation and the labor of their slaves. In October 1673, the Temples entered a second deed with Thomas Ballard. This conveyance mentioned the terms of the 1664 deeds and noted "the expense of keeping the Negroes & servts is great & unprofitable" to the Temples. Peter and Mary Temple gave Ballard permission to sell "Besse old Lawrences widd. & all her children, and grandchildren except Negro George her eldest son." Lawrence's family included "Negro Will, Negro Moll, Besse, Nan, Bille, Molatto Moll, Negro Jugg, Pegg, Thom, Negro George, Bridgett & Her children." In addition, the

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[75] Ibid., ff. 108-9, dated 1 January 1660/1 and recorded 25 January 1660/1.

[76] An account submitted by Thomas Ballard noted that Ludlow's estate owed him twenty pounds of tobacco for "a hue & cry after the runneaways." It is likely that the runaways were indentured servants, not slaves, because Ballard did not describe the escaped individuals as "negroes." Ibid., f. 125, recorded 24 June 1661.

[77] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (4) 258-60, dated 10 May 1664 and recorded 27 July 1669. In July 1674, Mary Temple noted that she retained the right to sell or transfer the ownership of Lawrence and his family. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (5) 82, 24 July 1674.

[78] The deed of gift also conveyed cattle, silver plate, linens, and furniture. The Temples determined that George Ludlow would gain possession of Ralph and Mulatto Moll when he turned twenty-one. Mary and Elizabeth Ludlow would receive their additional slave at the age of seventeen or the time of their marriage as long as they married with the consent of their mother. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (4) 258-60, dated 10 May 1664 and recorded 27 July 1669.

Temples transferred title to "all other Negroes & cattle belonging to or in disposition of sd Temple in Va to better enable the sd Ballard in managemt of the sd trust."[79] It is possible that some of the Ludlow slaves continued to labor on this plantation until February 1678/9 when Peter Temple appointed John Scasbrooke his security in the conveyance of "their just right from their Decd father's estate" to the children of Thomas Ludlow.[80] Extant documents do not contain details about when and to whom Ballard sold these slaves.[81]

Ballard no doubt found one or more tenants to work the Temple land and pay rent to the family. On 6 November 1686, Peter and Mary Temple and John Wiles and his wife Elizabeth nee Ludlow Wiles conveyed "Ludlow's Land" to Thomas Ballard and Peter Temple the younger of Queen's Creek in York County as their attorneys to sell the property to Lawrence Smith of Gloucester County.[82] The deed transferred the title to 1700 acres, now or late in the occupation of Peter Temple, to Lawrence Smith. The property was between the mouth of Wormeley's Creek and George Read Esquire on the south side of the York River. Smith remained in Gloucester County, and it is possible that he rented portions of the plantation to tenants. The elder Lawrence Smith wrote his will on 8 August 1700, and it was probated in Gloucester County. He bequeathed his 1700-acre plantation in York County to his son and namesake, Lawrence Smith Junior of York County.[83]

Conclusion

During the mid-seventeenth century, Thomas Ludlow, Mary Ludlow Temple, and Peter Temple depended on enslaved men, women, and children to tend fields on the property known first as Ludlow's Land and later as Temple Farm. Profits from the work done by slaves enabled the Ludlows and the Temples to have a large house that contained multiple rooms, a fact that set them off from most of their contemporaries. Both families designated spaces within their dwelling for specific functions.

Documents relating to the settlement of Thomas Ludlow's estate and the management of the property after the Temples returned to England provide details about the slaves who labored on this property. Ludlow had a large labor force composed of men, women, and children. The family connections that bound these individuals suggest that they had been together for a number of years. The Ludlows and Temples saw old Lawrence as the head of his family even though he had no way to protect his wife or children from being sold

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[79] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (5) 81, 24 July 1674.
[80] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (6) 78, 24 February 1678/9; ibid., p. 85, dated 18 March 1678/9 and recorded [10 April 1679].
[81] When the York County clerk recorded the deed from the Temples to Ballard, he noted that Mary Temple, "by her deed poll of 10 May 1664 to reserve & confirme to herself in absolute power by her will or otherwise to dispose of all those Negroes of old Lawrences his brood with their increase." York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (5) 82, 24 July 1674.
[82] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (7) 275-8, dated 6 November 1686 and recorded 24 February 1686/7.
[83] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 70-3, dated 16 June 1703 and recorded 24 June 1703.

to a new owner. The details about ages of slaves and their family connections indicate the Ludlows and Temples kept close track of their enslaved laborers and knew about the tie that bound old Lawrence and Bess. The way in which the Temples managed the Ludlow estate helped to keep this family together on Temple Farm.

Section 2.
The Establishment and Growth of Yorktown

Introduction

The area that became Yorktown and the port for York County had been a place where English ships anchored since the first half of the seventeenth century. Soon after establishing tobacco plantations along the York River, prosperous colonists had ship captains sail vessels to their landings in order to unload goods imported from England and to load hogsheads of tobacco to be shipped across the Atlantic Ocean. York County's leading planters—including Nicholas Martiau, George Ludlow, Thomas Ludlow, and George Read—used profits from their tobacco crops to buy enslaved Africans to labor in their fields and to acquire a wide range of items that colonists did not produce in Virginia such as kitchen utensils, dishes, agricultural tools, clothing, and shoes.

Colonial legislators realized that landings and warehouses were places where colonists gathered to exchange news and visit. They hoped that they could promote the benefits of these locations for Virginians and to create a series of urban areas in the colony. During the second half of the seventeenth century, members of the General Assembly passed a series of statutes designed to promote urbanization in the colony. Each of these laws—1652, 1655, 1680, and 1691—stated that markets and trade centers would benefit the colony. For most of the seventeenth century, York's residents showed little interest in the establishment of a single urban center within their county. In 1691, however, a wide range of the county's inhabitants decided to purchase half-acre lots in the legislated town. These purchases helped to make Yorktown a reality.

This section begins with a discussion of the seventeenth-century statutes concerning urbanization and details about the interest of York County residents in these plans. Next, there is an examination of the way in which colonists created Yorktown from land owned by the Read family and the people who purchased lots in the port after its 1691 establishment. Many of Yorktown's early residents were merchants and, as a result, the discussion turns to a look at the ways in which they helped to develop the town's waterfront area and the activities that took place in this part of the port. The section concludes with a look at the merchants who acquired lots in the Gwyn Read Addition to Yorktown and the mercantile activities in Yorktown between 1740 and 1776.

Shipping, Trade, and Attempts at Urbanization in York County During the Seventeenth Century

During the seventeenth century, ships docked at landings and warehouses along the York River. Often, the vessels anchored near the homes of the area's prosperous planters including Nicholas Martiau, George and Thomas Ludlow, and George Read. York County residents, like other colonists, focused their attention on tobacco production and the acquisition of additional land to be cleared for more fields.

This focus on tobacco meant that the colonists depended on trade with merchants to obtain a wide range of items—agricultural tools, material for clothes, and dishes. Virginia's legislators hoped to use the exchange of goods as a way to convince colonists of the benefits of urban areas. In April 1652, the members of the General Assembly approved *Act the 20 Concerninge townes and corporations*. The members of the Council and House of Burgesses explained

> Whereas nothinge will more Conduce to the good subsistence and wellfare of this Countrey of Virginia in the peaceable government thereof, and the Increase and maintenance, of trade, and Commerce, then the gatheringe, and settlinge the people, and Inhabitants into townes, and Corporations.

They decided it would "be lawfull for the Inhabitants and freemen of any, or Everye Countye, to agree, and Joyne amongst themselves in a societye, and Incorporated bodye, or bodyes in one, or more places, accordinge as they shall finde Conveniencyes to Establish amonge themselves." Colonists did not establish towns even though the statute noted that the towns would have their own system of government.[1]

In July of the following year, another piece of legislation mentioned markets. In *Act 2nd Noe buyinge on board. Pennalty of Carringe Tobacco on board*, Virginia's lawmakers determined that

> all buyinge and sellinge aboard Shipps be prohibited and all Valeable goods to bee brought on Shoore to severall places and markets in the severall Counties respectively, and the merchants and owners of the goods to bee free to Chose such places on shore, to which they will carrie and sell theire goods.[2]

The merchants no doubt continued to unload and sell their goods at the landings and warehouses on the plantations owned by prosperous planters.

Two years later, in March 1654/5, the General Assembly tried a second time to encourage the establishment of towns. They approved Act VIII. *An Act for regulateing of Trade and establishing Ports and Places for Marketts*. The provisions of this law required

> That in every county respectively within this collony there be one or two places and no more, ten miles distant forthwith appointed and sett apart by the comissioners with the consent of the inhabitants if it may be within the extent of one mile and a halfe or two at the most vpon one or both sides any small river or creeke within the same where the marketts and trade of the county shall be and not else where.

In order to direct shipping and trade to the newly established "Ports and Places for Marketts," the legislators declared

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[1] Warren M. Billings, "Some Acts Not in Hening's 'Statutes': The Acts of Assembly, April 1652, November 1652, and July 1653," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 83, No. 1(January 1975):26, 70 (quotation).
[2] Ibid., pp. 27, 75 (quotation).

> That all shipps or vessells whatsoever arriving after the expiration of this Assembly shall be comanded & compelled to make, vpon oath, a true entry, att the place and to the officer appointed for that purpose, of theire shipps, vessels, and all their merchandises and servants that are to be putt off, according to their severall bills of ladeing, and the boatswaines booke; and that they and all the merchants and others haveing any of them to sell shall be hereby enjoyned, vpon penalty of being adjudged fforestallers and to incurr the penalty thereof sett by the lawes of England, before any vnshipping or vnlading thereof, to declare and accordingly to transport and carry the same to some one or more places of markett appointed by this act, and there to sell the same.

To provide further support for each county's port and markets, the General Assembly wanted the local justices of the peace to "appoint the day of the week for their markett, differring from the adjoyning marketts, and shall keep their courts, the clerkes and sherriff's office and prison within the circuit of the said marketts, and endeavour to have their meeting places or churches & ordinaryes for entertaynement and lodging within the same."

The legislators also realized that it was important to encourage merchants to transport their goods to Virginia. They noted "that all merchants or traders, att theire pleasure, shall and may with certificate transport any of their goods from one markett to another within this collony." In addition, "after 8 months tyme of the arrivall and first landing of all goods and merchandizes they may be sold and vended at any other place or places not within the circuit of the said marketts and shall not incurr the penalty of forestallers or any other provided by this act."[3]

Perhaps a number of the colony's leading planters protested the regulations in this act because they wanted to have ships anchor at their docks, not at a public landing for the entire county. Just a year later, in March 1655/6, Virginia's legislators passed *An Act for the repealing the Act for Marketts and regulating of Trade* because "divers inconveniences are like to ensue by reason of the act for marketts and regulateing of trade." It is clear, however, that these men wanted to encourage merchants to transport their goods to Virginia. At the end of this act, the colony's lawmakers noted "if any countrey or perticular persons shall settle any such place whither the merchants shall willingly come for the sale or bringing of goods, Such men shall be lookt vpon as benefactors to the publique."[4]

Two years later, the members of the General Assembly reminded colonists of the importance of trade. In March 1657/8, the members of the Council and House of Burgesses approved Act XCVI. *Encouragement for Markett Places*. This short statute stated that "if any countie or particular person shall settle any place whether the merchants shall willingly come for the sale or bringing of goods such men will bee lookt uppon as benefactors to the publique." This statute did not include a provision to establish towns.[5]

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[3] William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, From the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619*, 13 vols., (Richmond, New York, and Philadelphia, 1819-23; reprint, Charlottesville, Virginia: The University Press of Virginia for the Jamestown Foundation of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1969), I:412-4.

[4] Ibid., p. 397.

[5] Ibid., p. 476. Warren M. Billings notes that Virginia's legislators might have dropped the provision to create towns because colonists had not established towns. Billings, "Some Acts Not in Hening's 'Statutes,'" p. 70 n. 142.

It is difficult to determine the reaction of York County's elite planters to the measures designed to promote urban areas within the colony. The difficulty stems from the fact that the court orders do not exist for much of the decade of the 1650s. A clue, however, can be found in an entry recorded in late 1662. On 30 December 1662, the York County clerk noted that Wormeley's Creek and Landing was the place "where they imagine the Towne for Yorke River shall be built."[6] It is likely that York's justices of the peace selected the area known as York Village because it had an urban appearance. York Village was the location of the York Parish Church, a twenty-eight foot by seventeen-foot structure, a landing, and possibly a ferry.[7] In addition, the home of the late Thomas Ludlow stood in this area. The widow Mary Ludlow and her children George, Mary, and Elizabeth lived in a dwelling larger than most that stood in York County or seventeenth-century Virginia. The Ludlow house had nine distinct spaces: the "Inner Roome," the "Little middle Roome," "Lt Coll Ludlows chamber," the "Hall," the "Buttery," the "Loft," the "Kitchin," the "Stoare," and the "Milke House."[8] Although York Village stood out in the rural landscape, the county's inhabitants were not yet ready to make this area into a town. The choice of the word "imagine" suggests that York's residents preferred to have ships anchor at their plantations and did not support the idea of a single market place for the sale of goods in their county.

Eighteen years later, in 1680, the colonial legislators returned to the subject of creating urban areas within their colony. The establishment of towns was a key aspect of the plan developed by English officials to rebuild Virginia after Bacon's Rebellion and Lord Culpeper, the colony's governor, wanted to have a town on each of the main rivers.[9] The General Assembly had a different perspective on the way to develop towns in Virginia; they proposed the creation of a town in each of the counties in their legislation. The members of the Council and the House of Burgesses began Act V. *An act for cohabitation and encouragement of trade and manufacture* by telling colonists that they had

> taken into their serious consideration the greate necessity, usefullnesse and advantages of cohabitation in this his majesties country of Virginia, and observing and foreseeing the greate extremities his majesties subjects here must necessarily fall under by the present and continued lownes of the price of tobacco, the only comodity and manufacture of this country (if the same be not by all prudentiall meanes and wayes prevented) and considering that the building of storehouses for the reception of all merchandizes imported, and receiving, secureing and laying ready all tobaccoes for exportation and for sale and disposall of all goods, merchandizes and tobaccoes imported or exported into or from this his majesties colony of Virginia wilbe one greate meanes for advancement thereof

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[6] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (3) f. 183, 30 December 1662.

[7] Marley R. Brown III and Kathleen J. Bradgon, eds., "Toward a Resource Protection Process: James City County, York County, City of Poquoson, and City of Williamsburg," 2nd. ed., (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1986), p.131.

[8] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (3), f. 108-9, dated 1 January 1660/1 and recorded 25 January 1660/1. See Part I. Section 1—Africans in and Around the Yorktown Area During the Seventeenth Century.

[9] Paul Musselwhite, "Contesting Cohabitation: Reconsidering the Debate over Towns in the Chesapeake, 1652-1710," (paper presented at "The Early Chesapeake: Reflections and Projections" conference, November 2009), pp. 12-5.

In order to bring about the improvement of the colony, the legislators called on each county, within the next two months, to purchase fifty acres of land and to lay out "a towne for storehouses." The General Assembly determined that the town for York County would be on "Mr. Reeds land where the Ship Honors store was, including the low beach for land, wharfes, &c. and the old field where Webber dwelt for cohabitation."[10]

Next, the lawmakers turned to the ways in which they could encourage people to "build a dwelling house and a ware house" on Mr. Read's land and in other locations throughout the colony. These men decided that

> every such person and persons shall have assigned him or them by the justice or justices of the county ffeoffee or ffeoffees in the deed named, or in case of the death or absence of one or more of them, then by such other as shall be appointed by the court, one halfe acre of the said land in ffee simple, he pay to the county one hundred pounds of tobacco and caske and building such dwelling house and ware house thereupon as by this act is enjoyned.

If a person wanted to purchase more than one lot, the legislators directed the "ffeofees" (trustees) to assign a second half-acre to this individual who would pay the county "one hundred pounds of tobacco and caske" for the additional property. To retain ownership, the purchaser had to build "one other dwelling house and one warehouse" on the second lot.[11]

In addition to encouraging colonists to buy lots in the new towns, the members of the General Assembly knew that it was necessary to direct trade to these locations. They stated that

> all goods, wares, English servants, negroes and other slaves, and merchandizes whatsoever that shalbe imported into this colony from after the twenty ninth day of September, which shall be in the yeare 1681, shalbe landed and layd on shore, bought and sould at such appointed places aforesaid and at noe other place whatsoever, under like penalty and forfeiture thereof.[12]

The decision to include "negroes and other slaves" in the list of persons imported into Virginia reveals that the legislators—the colony's leading planters—wanted to purchase additional enslaved Africans to labor on their plantations.

In addition to wanting to control the slave trade, it is clear that the members of the Council and the House of Burgesses planned to use *An act for cohabitation and encouragement of trade and manufacture* to manage the tobacco trade for their financial gain. They concluded this legislation by noting

> that for the better advancement of the price of tobaccoes and lessening of freight, that noe merchant, factor, or adventurer whatsoever arriveing with any goods, wares, servants, slaves or other merchandizes whatsoever into this colony shall presume to buy, ship off

[10] Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large*, II:472.
[11] Ibid., pp. 473-4.
[12] Ibid., p. 475.

> or freight any tobacco whatsoever from of the before appoynted places att any tyme or tymes before the twentyeth of March 1681.

These men hoped, by 20 March 1680/1, "it may be presumed and beleived all tobaccoes whatsoever which shalbe made in this colony may be brought to the said appointed places, under the penalty of forfeiting and loosing all such goods, wares, &c."[13]

The shift of the location for York County's town from Wormeley's Creek and Landing to "Mr. Reeds land where the Ship Honors store was" indicates that George Read's property was a place well suited to trade. It had at least one wharf and a warehouse as well as a good harbor for ships. Captains already were accustomed to anchoring their vessels along the edge of the Read property. The reference to "the low beach for land, wharfes, &c." is an indication that the legislators believed that this place could be transformed into a town.

In spite of the potential that members of the General Assembly saw in Read's land, there is no evidence that York's justices of the peace acted on the 1680 legislation. In addition, on 26 October 1680, the York County clerk noted that Mrs. Elizabeth Read, the widow of George Read, failed to appear "to treat with his Maj[esty]'s justices ab[ou]t laying out Land for towne." Although other Virginians, including residents of Middlesex County, drew up plans for towns, the 1680 act did not generate any urbanization before 21 December 1681, the date King James II disallowed the portion of the bill that focused on trade. The king did so because the statute "created county towns, administered by existing county officials, and they intended to use them to better control the economic output of their county to their own ends."[14]

In 1684 and 1685, the members of the General Assembly proposed the establishment of ports that would be controlled by local justices of the peace, not newly elected town officials. Each time the governor, Lord Howard of Effingham, rejected the legislation because he wanted to insure the creation of towns that were "accommodating to merchants and more independent of county administration."[15]

Virginia's legislators did not abandon their plan to encourage the establishment and growth of urban areas. These men returned to urbanization in April 1691 when they approved Act VIII. *An Act for Ports, &c.* The legislators began with instructions concerning trade. They mandated

> That from and after the first day of October, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred ninety and two, all shipps, barques, and other vessells whatsoever, arriving into, or sayling out from this country for trayd, shall unload and put on shoare, and take from shoar to load on board, all tobaccoes, goods and merchantdises, at some one or other of the poarts, Wharfes, keyes, or places hereafter mentioned in this act, and at none other place or places whatsoever, under the penalty and forfeiture of such ship,

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[13] Ibid., p. 477.
[14] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (6) 256, 26 October 1680; Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large*, II:508; and Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, *A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia 1650-1750*, (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984) p. 214; Musselwhite, "Contesting Cohabitation," p. 16.
[15] Musselwhite, "Contesting Cohabitation," pp. 1-3, 16-8 (quotation p. 17).

> barque, or other vessell, with all her gunns, tackle, ammunition, furniture and apparrell."[16]

After specifying the ways in which trade would be controlled, the colony's lawmakers turned to the procedures by which the colonists would create ports. The legislators determined that

> the justices of each county are hereby authorized, commanded, and impowered, within three months after publication of this act, to appoint and command the surveyor of each county to lay out and survey fifty acres of land, at such place and places as are hereafter in this act named, appointed, and set down for the ports, wharfes, keyes, and places for receiveing on shoar, and shipping, all goods, tobaccoes, wares, and merchantdises as aforesaid; and for the erecting ware houses, or any other houses, for the better secureing all such good, tobaccoes, wares and merchantdises to be imported or exported as aforesaid.[17]

Having specified the plans to create ports, the General Assembly outlined the way in which a colonist could secure the title to a half-acre lot in one of Virginia's ports. Once a person purchased a lot, this person or his heirs or assignees

> shall within the space of four months next ensueing such grant begin and without delay proceed to build and finish on each halfe acre granted to him one good house, to containe twenty foot square at the least, wherein if he failes to performe then such grant to be void in law, and the lands therein granted lyable to the choyce and purchase of any other person.[18]

Finally, the legislators designated the location for the colony's ports. The location of the port "ffor Yorke County" was "upon Mr. Benjamin Reads land begining at the lower side of Smiths Creeke, and so runing downward by the river towards the ferrey."[19]

After finishing their work at the April 1691 General Assembly session, York's burgesses returned home and began the necessary work to create a port on the York River. This time, residents of York County followed the directives in *An Act for Ports, &c.* In addition, inhabitants of several other counties lent their support to the port for York County.

The Creation of Yorktown from Land Owned by the Read Family

In late July 1691, York County's local officials began the process of creating Yorktown out of fifty acres of land held by the Read family. The justices of the peace decided that "on the 29th day of this instant July" they would "meet upon Mr Benjamine Reads land . . . being the land appointed by law for a port etc in ord to laying out the same for a towne." They nominated "Mr.

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[16] Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large*, III:54. It is likely that the members of the General Assembly intended that imported slaves would be unloaded from ships anchored at one of the colony's ports.
[17] Ibid., p. 55.
[18] Ibid., p. 56.
[19] Ibid., p. 59.

Joseph Ring & Mr. Thomas Ballard to take & receive of Mr. Benjamine Read affirm & authenticke deed or conveyance of sd land as fees in trust." On 18 August 1691, Benjamin and Lucy Read of Gloucester County granted the designated fifty-acre tract to Joseph Ring and Thomas Ballard for 10,000 pounds of sweet scented tobacco and cask.[20]

Soon after the port's trustees received the title to the land, Lawrence Smith, the York County Surveyor, laid out eighty-five lots on the fifty-acre tract. Smith's instructions required him to begin the town at Smith's Creek and follow the shoreline. Instead, Smith started about 1,000 feet to the east of this creek and placed the fifty-acre port on the top of the bluff. Smith noted that there were "about five acres land laid out between the line and the River for a Comon Shore of noe value except att the poplar." This surveyor decided not to include the land between the bluff and the river in York County's port.[21] It is possible that Smith had other men—white and black—help him carry his tools as he measured the boundaries of the port, drew a map of the lots in Yorktown, and made notes about his work. The assistance of several adult males to move the surveyor's chains as Smith marked off the town's boundaries and its lots would have enabled Smith to complete his work in a timely fashion.

Once Ring and Ballard had a copy of Smith's plat of Yorktown, they began the process of transforming plantation land into a port. In October 1691, York County's justices of the peace appointed Thomas Mountfort to be the surveyor of the streets and landings in the new town. Mountfort was to "take immediate care to see that there bee soe many good & convenient landings made for rowling or carrying upp to sd towne any sort of goods whatsoever that any person shall or may hereafter have occasions to send there by water, & to be landed & laid in the town, as he shall think fitt & necessary."[22] This section of Mountfort's directions indicates that York's justices of the peace expected that goods would be transported from the ships in the harbor to warehouses and stores in the town.

Finally, Mountfort was to "give notice to all persons that hath taken up land in sd towne, each person send a good able hand to be assistant therein."[23] The fact that Mountfort finished his work laying out the streets in Yorktown before the sale of lots began on 24 November 1691 suggests that people interested in purchasing a lot sent "a good able hand" or two to help. The

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[20] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 42-3, 24 July 1691; ibid., pp. 64-8, dated 18 August 1691 and recorded 24 September 1691.

[21] Edward M. Riley, "The Founding and Development of Yorktown, Virginia, 1691-1781," (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1942), pp. 34, 36; York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 69-70, 24 September 1691; Charles E. Hatch, Jr., "*'York Under the Hill': Yorktown's Waterfront*, (Denver: Historic Preservation Team, Denver Service Center, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 1973), pp. 3-4.

[22] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 71, 10 October 1691.

[23] Ibid. Charles E. Hatch, Jr. noted that Smith left seven and one-half acres for the streets in Yorktown. The Main Street was approximately 2,500 feet long and thirty-three feet wide. It ran parallel to York River and was straight except for a bend at Read Street. The southeastern end of the road curved southward and connected to the road to Hampton. On the western end of Yorktown, Main Street joined with the road to Williamsburg. The cross streets (seven south of Main Street and five north of Main Street) were about twenty-eight feet wide. Charles E. Hatch, Jr., *Yorktown's Main Street (From Secretary Nelson's to the Windmill) and Military Entrenchments Close In and Around the Town of York*, (Denver: Denver Service Center, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 1974), pp. 3, 5, 7.

"good able" hands that assisted Mountfort create the port's streets and landings no doubt included enslaved Africans because many of the individuals who purchased lots in Yorktown were slave owners.[24]

Yorktown's Early Lot Holders

The next step in the creation of Yorktown began on 24 November 1691, the first day that one could buy a lot in York's port. During Yorktown's first year, fifty men purchased fifty-four of the eighty-five lots "upon Mr Benjamine Read's land begining at the lower syde of Smyths Creeke & so runing downwards by the river towards the ferry." The cost of each lot was 180 pounds of tobacco and by the end of 1692, the income from the sale of lots covered the purchase price of the land.[25]

The men who purchased half-acre lots in 1691 included Lieutenant Governor Francis Nicholson; Edmund Jenings, the Secretary of the Colony; and two members of the Council, William Cole and Nathaniel Bacon. Other prominent purchasers were York County residents William and Dudley Digges, Isaac Sedgwick, Francis Page, Robert Read, William Buckner, and Thomas Mountfort. Gloucester County's Francis Read paid for a lot in Yorktown.

The lot holders also included several men from the lower end of York County. The Charles Parish purchasers included Thomas Chisman Senior (whose wife Elizabeth was the daughter of George and Elizabeth Read), Daniel Taylor, and Francis Callowhill. Just three of the original lot holders purchased more than one half-acre parcel. Governor Nicholson acquired three lots and Nathaniel Bacon and the elder Thomas Chisman who each bought two lots.

It is likely that this diverse group of men invested in Yorktown because they believed that the port would be a benefit to their financial interests. Each of the York County residents was a planter who needed to ship tobacco to England. Perhaps they hoped that it would be quicker to load a ship anchored at Yorktown than a vessel that had to make stops at several different landings before it sailed across the Atlantic. In addition, it is possible that the elite purchasers—Nicholson, Jenings, Cole, and Bacon—bought lots as a way to prove to English officials that colonists would support their vision of urbanization and would purchase lots in a port in each of Virginia's counties.

After the initial investment in Yorktown lots, many of these purchasers did not take the necessary steps to retain ownerships of their property. Twenty-four of the original lot holders defaulted within the first year because they did not build a dwelling house as specified in the General Assembly act, and eight others had deserted their town property by 1696. Many original lot holders must have looked on their properties as passive investments that they hoped a lessee would develop. When the port did not materialize overnight, many of the planters were unwilling or unable to maintain their investment.

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[24] See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Town Lots.

[25] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 42-4, 24 July 1691; ibid., pp. 188-9, 25 November 1692; Ronald E. Grim, "The Absence of Towns in Seventeenth-Century Virginia: The Emergence of Service Centers in York County," (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1977), pp. 326-56, 401-24.

The growth of Yorktown was also hurt by the 2 March 1692/3 decision by the Governor, Council, and House of Burgesses to suspend the April 1691 *An Act for Ports, &c.* The members of the General Assembly noted "the said act is of great moment, weight and consequence and the said act lying before their majesties, and their majesties pleasure relating thereto not yet signified." Because they did not know the reaction of King William and Queen Mary to this statute, the colonial legislators declared "That the execution of the said law and every article, clause, branch and provision therein contained shall be and is hereby to all intents, constructions and purposes, suspended till their majesties pleasure shall be known therein or till the next assembly."[26] This resolution suggests that the councillors and burgesses believed that William and Mary would disallow the bill because it created a port in each of Virginia's counties.

In addition to stopping further development of Yorktown, the decision to suspend *An Act for Ports, &c* caused concern to those individuals who had built on their lots and had continued the transformation of Yorktown into an urban area. They wondered if they still had a title to their property. The port's trustees and the county's justices of the peace no doubt worried about the prospects for Yorktown's survival. In September 1696, the General Assembly passed the first of two measures that helped to support Yorktown. First, in September 1696, they approved Act. VIII. *An act for ascertaining the place where the court of York county shall bee kept.* In the preamble to the statute, the members of the General Assembly noted "upon the complaint of divers inhabitants of York county it hath been made appear to this assembly, that the place where the court for the said county hath usually been held and kept is verry inconvenient and remote to a great part of the inhabitants of the said county and may bee appointed elsewhere to the greater ease and advantage of the people in gennerall." In order to make it more convenient for York's residents to attend monthly meetings of the court, the legislators stated

> That from and after the last day of October which shall be in the year of our Lord 1697, the court for York county be constantly held and kept by the justices upon those dayes and in such manner as the lawes of this countrey and the governours comission shall from time to time provide and direct, within the limitts and bounds of a certain parcell or tract of land, which by vertue of the eighth act of assembly made att James Citty the 16th day of April 1691, entituled an act for ports &c. was designed and laid out for and is now comonly called York Towne, and att noe other place or places whatsoever, any law, usage or custome to the contrary notwithstanding, and to the end due provision may be made for keeping the said court according to this act.[27]

The use of the name "York Towne" indicates that the General Assembly saw the port as a separate area within York County.

In order to make sure that there would be a suitable structure for the court sessions, the legislators required

> the justices or members of the said court take care that an house suitable and fitt to hold courts in and as bigg in dimension att least as the present court house now is, be errected built and finished att the charge of the county upon some certain place within the said

[26] Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large*, III:108-9.
[27] Ibid., p. 147.

> limitts of York Towne between the end of this session of assembly and the last day of October 1697, upon pain that each respective justice or member of the said court for his default shall forfeit the sume of fifty pounds sterling, one moyety thereof to our sovereign lord the king, his heirs and successors for and towards the better support of the government and the contingent charges thereof, and the other moyety to the informer to be recovered by action of debt, byll, plaint or information in any court of judicature within this collony.[28]

Henry Cary, a resident of Warwick County, supervised the construction of York County's new courthouse on Lot 24.[29] Cary might have hired slaves to cut down trees used to frame the structure and to make the bricks that covered the exterior of the building. It is also possible that enslaved men helped to construct the prison that stood near the courthouse. The sheriff might have had male slaves help him to "remove to Yorke Towne the standard of this country & all other implemts & materialls that are movable & belonging to this county from the old ct house" as well as "the prisson stocks & pillary."[30]

The area near the York County courthouse had an urban appearance in April 1699 when the General Assembly passed Act X. *An act for confirming titles to towne Lands.* In this legislation, Governor Francis Nicholson, the Council, and the House of Burgesses acknowledged the confusion caused by the March 1692/3 suspension of the April 1691 port act. They observed

> forasmuch as pursuant to the said act for ports divers tracts of land have been purchased and laid out for ports and towns in the respective places appointed by the said act and vested in trustees many of which conveyed lots or halfe acres therein to severall persons who have built thereon and have made considerable improvements and severall others having accepted lots of halfe acres for which they have no conveyances and by reason of the aforesaid act for suspention they cannot obtaine also some of the trustees being dead and others departed the country, so that the remaining lands cannot be conveyed to such persons as desire to build thereon.

To remedy these problems, the General Assembly proposed

> That where any county or countyes have purchased, laid and paid for any lands for ports or townes pursuant to the said acts for ports, &c. or to any other act of assembly and have vested the same in feofees or trustees according to the said act or acts such feofees or trustees so invested are hereby declared to have a good, absolute and indefeasible estate in fee in such lands respectively which have not been disposed of by former trustees in trust and confidence to and for the uses in the said act for posts [sic, ports] &c. mentioned, and for no other use or purpose whatsoever and the said land or lands are hereby confirmed to the said feofees or trustees in fee to such use or uses — any thing in

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[28] Ibid. After the completion of the building, the county court ordered the sheriff to move all items from the old courthouse to the new structure.

[29] Harold B. Gill, "'building the Capitoll': Obscure Henry Cary gave form to a design hailed as 'an ornament and honour to the country,'" *Colonial Williamsburg: The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*, (Summer 1998), pp. 53, 55.

[30] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (11) 3-4, 24 March 1697/8.

> the said suspention or any other law, statute, usage or custome to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

In addition, the people who held Yorktown lots would have taken comfort in the statement that

> if any person or persons have purchased and paid for any lott or lotts, half acre or halfe acres of land in any of the said places of any feofees or trustees pursuant to the said law and have fully complyed with the conditions in the said law mentioned and sett downe, such person and [sic, or] persons are hereby invested with and declared to have a good, absolute and indefeasible estate in fee to such lott or lotts, halfe acre or halfe acres of land, and the same is hereby confirmed to such person and persons and to his and their heirs forever.

The colonial legislators made provisions for those individuals who purchased a lot or lots and had not received a title to the property before March 1692/3. They directed

> That if any person or persons have taken up and paid for any lott or lotts, halfe acre or halfe acres in any land laid out for ports or townes, &c. as aforesaid, and have yet received no conveyance for the same, the respective feofees or trustees already made or by virtue of this law hereafter shall be made are hereby impowered and required to give and make a firm and absolute estate in fee to such person or persons for such lott or lotts, halfe acre or halfe acres, as if the said suspention had never been made.

Finally, the members of the General Assembly turned to the conditions that a lot holder need to meet in order to retain ownership of the urban property. They decided that an easing of building requirements would make it easier for a person to secure the title to the lot. The legislators informed colonists

> That if any person or persons have taken up and paid for any lott or lotts, halfe acre or halfe acres in any such lands for ports and townes, &c. pursuant to the said law an have laid timbers upon the same or any wayes proceeded in order to comply with the conditions of building upon such lott or lotts, halfe acre or halfe acres according to the said act for ports, &c. but upon suspention thereof have neglected to proceed to therein, such persons or persons are allowed and permitted twelve months time for the same after publication of this act.[31]

Yorktown's lot holders no doubt welcomed news of both the September 1696 and April 1699 measures, because these laws helped to secure the existence of the port and to make it easier to become a property holder in the town. These two statutes also reflect the determination of Virginia's legislators to support their view of urbanization and to maintain control of both the process of creating town and the governance of these areas.

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[31] Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large*, III:186-9. The statute also outlined the way in which a trustee could be appointed to take the place of a trustee who died while in office or who moved to a different county.

Another factor helped the late 1690s become a time of growth for York County's port. During this time, Yorktown's role in the York River shipping trade and the overseas slave trade grew.[32] As the number of ships that anchored in Yorktown's harbor increased, a greater number of sailors spent longer periods of time in the town. It is likely that the economic opportunities of both of these developments attracted ordinary keepers Robert Leightenhouse, Samuel Dickenson, Joshua Broadbent, and Alexander Young (also a cooper); carpenter Robert Harrison; blacksmith James Darbyshire; and tailor William Simpson to claim lots and move to this port. Both Harrison and Simpson left their homes in Gloucester County and moved their businesses to Yorktown. In addition, port residents Thomas Pate and Thomas Sessions added the role of ordinary keeper to their work as a ferry keeper and carpenter, respectively. These purchasers were not members of the gentry; instead the people "who would prosper most by town life were the ones attracted to Yorktown."[33]

The late seventeenth-century growth of Yorktown continued into the early eighteenth century because both the county's planters and merchants supported the town and benefited from its existence. York was home to prosperous planters who wanted to increase the number of slaves who labored in their tobacco fields and the county's port was the main port of entry for ships that transported enslaved Africans to Virginia.[34]

Yorktown was a busy port in October 1705 when the General Assembly returned to the question of urbanization when they revised the colony's laws. In CHAP. XLII. *An act for establishing ports and towns*, Governor Edward Nott, the Council, and the House of Burgesses informed colonists that Queen Anne directed the new governor

> to take notice that the building of towns, warehouses, wharfs and keys, for the more expeditions [sic] lading and unlading of ships at proper places in this colony, exclusive of others, will be particularly usefull and serviceable to her majesty, in bringing our people to a more regular settlement and of great advantage to trade, and has therefore caused it to be recommended by her said governor to this generall assembly to pass an act for that purpose, suitable to the interests and conveniencys of this colony.[35]

Next, the legislators turned to a discussion of the ways in which the colony's ports would become the center of trade for each county. They declared

> That from and after the twenty-fifth day of December, which shall be in the year of our Lord 1708, all goods, wares and merchandises which shall be imported into this colony by water (servants, slaves and salt, excepted) shall be entered, allowed and landed at some one or other of the ports, wharfs, keys or places hereafter mentioned and appointed in this act, and at none other place whatsoever, until they shall have been first landed at one of the ports or wharfs aforesaid, and a certificate thereof obtained from the officer of the port, appointed or to be appointed by his excellency the governor or the governor and commander in chief of this colony for the time being, by advice of the councill of state

[32] See Part I. Section 4—African and African American Life in Yorktown.
[33] Riley, "The Founding and Development of Yorktown," pp. 54, 57.
[34] See Part I. Section 4—African and African American Life in Yorktown.
[35] Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large*, III:404.

> here for collection of the Virginia dutys, upon pain of forfeiture and loss of all such goods, wares and merchandises.[36]

In addition, they decided

> That from and after the said twenty-fifth day of December, 1708, all servants, slaves and salt, which shall be imported into this colony by water, shall be reported and entered at some one or other of the ports, wharfs, keys or places by this act appointed as aforesaid, and a certificate thereof obtained as aforesaid, before they shall be landed, bought or sold, upon pain of forfeiture and loss of every such servant and slave so landed, sold, or put to sale.

Virginia's ports would also be the places from which "all goods, wares and merchandises of what nature and kind soever, to be exported out of this colony by water, coal, corn and timber excepted."[37]

Next, the lawmakers observed that ports would thrive in the colony if the locations also had "ware houses and other convenient buildings for the reception of all sorts of goods and persons." They observed that it was essential to have "a township or burgh" in each of locations designated as a port. After 25 December 1708,

> all goods, wares and merchandises whatsoever, which shall be imported for sale into this colony (servants, slaves and salt, excepted) shall be bought and sold in one or other of these towns hereinafter appointed, or not within five miles of any of them water born or on the same side the great river the town shall stand upon, except such persons as are all ready inhabited, and their heirs and such other persons as having been for the space of three years inhabitants of this colony, shall reside at the time of claiming such priviledge within the said five miles, on pain of forfeiting and paying by the vendor the full value.[38]

The legislators knew that they needed to encourage Virginians to settle in the towns. They also included a series of incentives to attract colonists to the urban areas in each county. The statute stated that "Neither shall any ordinary keeping be licenced or allowed without the limits of these towns, unless above ten miles, from every of them, or at a public ferry or court-house." In addition, "no goods, wares nor merchandises whatsoever, which shall be imported into this colony (servants, slaves, and salt excepted) shall be bought or sold while they are water born in the sea vessels."[39]

In order to appeal to colonists who practiced trades and to encourage these individuals to settle in one of the colony's ports and towns, the General Assembly determined

> That all persons whatsoever, comeing to live and reside in any of the ports and towns by this act to be constituted, or that at any time hereafter shall come to live and reside in any

[36] Ibid., pp. 404-5.
[37] Ibid., p. 405.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid., p. 406.

> of them shall be thereafter free and acquitt from all levys that shall be laid on the poll in tobacco for the space of fifteen years next after the five and twentyeth day of December, 1708, except for their slaves only, and also except for the payment of parish levys where the church already stands, or shall hereafter be built within any of the said ports or towns respectively.[40]

The legislation also informed colonists that once a town's population reached thirty families (not including ordinary keepers), its residents would have the chance to govern themselves. The statute included provisions for the establishment of a Hustings Court, the creation of a town government, and the election of a burgess to represent the town in the House of Burgesses.[41]

When the General Assembly recorded a list of towns, they noted that there would be two places where ships would anchor on the York River. "York town and Tindals point" would be one port and "West point" was the second location on the York to be designated a port. The legislators noted that the port "at York Town" was to "to be called York, and to have Wednesdays and Satturdays in each week for market days, and the first Tuesday in October and four following days annually their fair."[42] It is clear that the legislators saw a connection between Yorktown and Williamsburg. Established as the colony's capital in 1699, Williamsburg was located inland and did not have its own port. The statute contained the following provision:

> That it shall be lawfull from time to time for any of the inhabitants of the city of Williamsburgh to land or ship off by permit from the officer of any port in York or James river any goods or commoditys in this act mentioned, at either of the publick landings belonging to that city, any thing in this or any other law to the contrary, notwithstanding.[43]

According to Musselwhite, the 1705 "town act was an effort to thwart the machinations of English merchants and officials who were again attempting to gain a foothold in colonial local government."[44]

Like other attempts to promote town growth, the Crown disallowed the 1705 *An act for establishing ports and towns*. It is important to note that Virginians did not learn of the rejection of this statute until 1710. English officials nullified the bill due to concerns that it would promote manufacturing and their worries over the creation of independent towns. In addition, members of the Board of Trade realized "that these places could become real social and political foci, and by 1709 they feared they may have already assumed that role."[45]

Between 1705 and 1710, Yorktown grew quickly. Colonists received the title to twenty-three lots in the port. The trustees of Yorktown conveyed thirteen of these half-acre parcels, a sign that development expanded into areas that had not yet been developed at the same time that

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[40] Ibid., pp. 406-7.
[41] Ibid., pp. 407, 408, 414.
[42] Ibid., pp. 415, 416.
[43] Ibid., p. 415.
[44] Musselwhite, "Contesting Cohabitation," p. 26.
[45] Ibid., p. 27.

forfeited lots were resettled. The new lot holders included Thomas Nelson the Immigrant, Lawrence Smith (son of Lawrence Smith Senior of Gloucester County, the surveyor of Yorktown), Philip Lightfoot, and Miles Cary. Each of these men purchased one lot and Joseph Walker paid for half of a lot.

The decision of both Thomas Nelson the Immigrant and Philip Lightfoot to settle in Yorktown indicated that each of these men believed York's port would prosper and be a beneficial place in which to establish their mercantile business. Nelson and Lightfoot recognized that Yorktown had a focus by the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century. The focus of life in this town was trade. Many of the people who settled in Yorktown were men and women who participated in the overseas slave trade and worked as merchants.

When Nelson the Immigrant and Lightfoot purchased property in Yorktown, they were not the first merchants to settle in the port. William Buckner and Thomas Mountfort were among the men who purchased property in the port during its first year of existence. John Martin, an English merchant and mariner, already had a storehouse on Lot 42. Brothers Micajah and Richard Perry, also from England, owned a Yorktown lot in the early eighteenth century. By the 1710s, English merchant Arthur Bickerdike and his nephew, Richard Ambler, lived on Lot 39. During this decade, William Rogers, a merchant, a brewer, and the operator of a pottery kiln, moved to Yorktown and purchased Lot 51 and Lot 55. Cole Digges built and used a storehouse on property that he inherited from his father.[46]

Between 1691 and 1720, merchants decided to settle in Yorktown because they knew that it was a good location for shipping and trade. This decision helped the port to grow and thrive. The presence of the merchants gave Yorktown an identity as a place in which trade shaped life for all of the town's residents. Tavern keepers provided food, drink, lodging, and entertainment for the ships' crews. Artisans made necessary repairs to vessels and sails during the time that a ship was anchored at Yorktown.

Merchants—especially the Nelsons and members of the Lightfoot family—were the prominent residents in the port. Profits from trade—including the overseas slave trade—helped Yorktown's merchants to establish themselves at the top of the town's social and economic ladder. This town's merchants gained power from their service as justices of the peace on the York County Court and as men who provided the goods that colonists wanted to have.

Yorktown's Merchants and the Development of the Town's Waterfront

Yorktown residents showed an interest in the land between the town and the York River in spite of the fact that Lawrence Smith thought that the land was "of noe value."[47] The river front property turned out to be valuable to merchants, ferry keepers, and ordinary keepers. Several of Yorktown inhabitants made use of this land within the first decade of the town's existence. In June of 1705 an English merchant named John Martin sold Lot 56 and Lot 57 to John Penton, another merchant. The deed also conveyed the store, storehouse, and still house that a previous

[46] See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Town Lots.
[47] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 69-70, 24 September 1691.

owner, Robert Snead, had built in the valley near Session's Landing on the waterfront. Thomas Sessions, the first owner of these two lots, was an ordinary keeper. Perhaps he built a landing to make it easier for seamen to get to his tavern.[48]

Two 1714 deeds indicate that the owners of lots that bordered on the northern edge of Smith's survey assumed that the land between their property and the York River was an extension of each of their lots. First, in January of 1713/4, Cole Digges bought Lot 42 from John Martin. The deed transferred Lot 42 and "a warehouse under the bank commonly called Martin's Store." Next, five months later, John Cook became the owner of "one Storehouse, or Warehouse Scituate and being in York Town aforesaid upon the bank or Shoar of York River abutting North upon the said River, East upon the Storehouse of Mr. Thos. Nelson & West upon the Storehouse of Mr. Cole Digges."[49]

It is clear that several of the individuals who had buildings along the waterfront wanted to make sure that they could use this property. In May 1716, Charles Chiswell petitioned the Council for waterfront property. He asked for a patent for a tract along the York River that measured one hundred feet in length and eighty feet in width. The Council approved his petition in October of the same year.[50]

In the latter part of the 1720s, four of the town's leading merchants—John Ballard, Richard Ambler, Thomas Nelson the Immigrant, and Cole Digges—petitioned the Council for the right to build on the waterfront land. Ambler and Nelson submitted their requests to the Council on 15 August 1728; Digges and Ballard made their requests on 12 June 1729. The petitioners set "forth that between the land appropriated for the said Town & the River there lies a beach of sand which at high tides is overflowed, but nevertheless may with some expence & labour be made convenient for building warehouses for the securing merchandizes of great bulk and weight." Each of these men continued, "praying that eighty foot square of the Beach may be granted him by patent for the purpose aforesaid, with power to enlarge the same by making a wharf into the river w[hi]ch may be of great benefit to the trade of that Town." The Council granted the requests with the stipulation that the wharves and warehouses did not "encroach upon the publick landings or the Streets leading through the said Town to the River side."[51] It is known that Ambler had a wharf by the end of the 1720s, and Philip Lightfoot's landing was in place by the early 1730s.

By the late 1730s, the town trustees decided they should officially annex the waterfront property to the town. On 8 December 1738, in response to a petition from Yorktown's trustees, the Burgesses concluded that "Lawrence Smith. . . . did survey and lay out Fifty Acres of Land, to be divided into Lots and Streets." In addition, there was "about Five Acres more upon the Face of the River, being most of it narrow Points, unfit for Habitation, for the common Benefit of such Persons as then were, or thereabouts should be, Inhabitants of the said Town." These men

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[48] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 124-6, dated 5 June 1705 and recorded 9 June 1705.
[49] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 12-4, dated 14 and 15 January 1713/4 and recorded 18 January 1713/4; ibid., pp. 24-6, dated 18 and 19 June 1714 and recorded 19 July 1714.
[50] H. R. McIlwaine et al., eds., *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, 6 vols., (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1927-66), III:426, 430. This is the only evidence that Chiswell held Yorktown property, and it is unknown if he built a warehouse or a wharf on the section of land granted him by the Council
[51] Ibid., IV:183-4 (Ambler and Nelson), 207-8 (Digges and Ballard).

concluded "that it likewise appears to have been the Intent and Design of the said Benjamin Read, that the said Five Acres, between the lines of the said Fifty Acres, proposed to be laid out into Lots and Streets, and the River, should pass to the said Feofees, with the said Fifty Acres."[52] However, because Gwyn Read, son and heir of Benjamin Read, disagreed, claiming "a Title to the before mentioned Five Acres of Land, as Heir in Tail, the Committee submit to the Judgment of this House, whether it be reasonable to bring in a Bill according to the Prayer of the said Petition."[53]

Both the Councillors and the members of the House of Burgesses approved CHAP. XVIII. *An Act, for better securing title of certain Lands to the Feofees of the Town of* York; *and for settling the same, for a Common, for the use of the Inhabitants of the said Town.* The legislators concluded

> it is plain, from the words of the said act for ports . . . that the fifty acres of land . . . ought to have been laid off next and adjoining the river; and it will be a manifest prejudice to the inhabitants of the said town of York, and to the trade and navigation of the same, and will discourage people from settling and inhabiting there, if the small parcels or points of land, next the river, are not preserved, continued and kept, for the use of the said town.

The colonial legislators decided to give possession of the five acres to Yorktown's trustees who were to compensate Read for this land.[54]

In mid-December 1738, the members of the Council noted

> by an Act passed this Session of Assembly there is Vested in the Feofees of the Town of York a Small parcel of Land lying on the River Side to be Used as a Common for the said Town Upon payment of One Hund[re]d Pounds Current Money to Mr Gwyn Reide which is to be Raised by Taxing the Several proprietors of Land in the said Town.

The members of the Council and the House of Burgesses also noted "part of the said Common hath been Appropriated for Erecting a Fort and Battery for the Defence of the Road and Port of the said Town." They ordered "that the Sum of Twenty pounds being proportionable to the Vallue of the Lands so Appropriated besides the charge of passing the Act out of the Revenue of 2s [shillings] per hdd [hogshead] be paid to the Feofees" who would then give "the said Gwyn Reid in full Satisfaction for the Land afforesaid pursuant to the Act of Assembly."[55]

A 19 February 1738/9 entry in the York County Court records noted "that a c[our]t. be held on Fryday next to assess the Value of the Common lately taken into this Town on the Inhabitants &

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[52] The 1680 Act for Ports included the waterfront land as part of the town on the York River. Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large*, II:472.

[53] H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses*, 13 vols., (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1905-1915), 1736-1740:368.

[54] Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large*, V:68-72 (quotation p. 70). Although this statute made the waterfront part of Yorktown, it did not include instructions to divide this area into lots and to offer these parcels for sale.

[55] McIlwaine et al., eds, *Executive Journals*, IV:436. See also McIlwaine, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses*, 1736-40:385, 387; idem, *Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, 3 vols., (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1918-19), II:880, 881; Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large*, V:68-72.

owners of the Lotts therein." At that meeting, York County's justices of the peace assessed "the Inhabitants & owners of Lotts in York Town the Sum of 100 pounds to be paid to Gwyn Read of the County of Glocr. Gent for 5 Acres of ground lately taken from him for the use of a common." On 20 March 1738/9, Gwyn Read acknowledged that he had received payment for the land from Thomas Nelson the Immigrant, one of the town trustees.[56]

According to the assessment, thirty-two men and four women held eighty-two lots, and the Yorkhampton Parish Church and the York County courthouse occupied two lots and one lot, respectively. Two men—Philip Lightfoot and Thomas Nelson the Immigrant—controlled just over a quarter of the property in Yorktown. Lightfoot owned ten lots and Nelson had the title to twelve lots. In addition, William Rogers held three lots, Richard Ambler was the owner of three and one-third lots, Cole Digges possessed four lots, and Lawrence Smith had four lots. In February 1738/9, merchants held close to half of Yorktown's lots.

Activities on Yorktown's Waterfront

The waterfront area was the location of the ferry, the battery, the public wharf and tobacco warehouses in addition to privately owned structures. The ferry across the York River to Gloucester County was probably located in front of Lot 34 and Lot 40 when Yorktown was established. This site was near a ravine that gave access to the higher land. Hatch noted that it is possible that this location was close to the poplar that Lawrence Smith mentioned in his plat of the town. In addition, colonists could take a ferry from Yorktown to Hampton, Norfolk, and the Eastern Shore.[57]

A battery was constructed soon after the establishment of Yorktown in order to defend the town from an attack from the York River. Evidence suggests that the battery was in place by 1696, and possibly as early as 1692. In 1696, Thomas Ballard received £ 10 "for tarr timber and transport of 8 Carriages over york River for the use of the Fort."[58] When Edmund Jenings and Matthew Page inspected the forts at Yorktown and Tindall's Point in late 1698 or early 1699 they found "that the platforme and Carriages of the Gunns at Yorke and Tindalls Pointe are decayed and Rotten."[59] The Council decided not to repair the fortifications until 1710-1711, when there was a threat of an attack from the French. Records from the October 1711 Public Claims Court indicate that slaves helped to construct the "fortefications at Yorktown." William Gordon presented a claim "for Eight days labour performed by his slaves" and Philip Lightfoot presented a claim to the justices of the peace "for 60 days work wrought by his slaves." Cole Digges asked for payment "for 180 days work appearing to have been done by his slaves." The claims indicate that just two white men labored on the fortifications.[60]

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[56] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 471, 19 February 1738/9; ibid., pp. 478-9, 23 February 1738/9; ibid., p. 496, 20 March 1738/9.
[57] Hatch, Jr., "*York Under the Hill*," pp. 19, 22. See Part I. Section 5—Free Blacks in Yorktown and the Yorktown Area, 1680s to 1783.
[58] McIlwaine et al., eds., *Executive Journals*, I:349, 410-1, 432-3 (quotation p. 432).
[59] Hatch, Jr., "*York Under the Hill*," pp. 24-5.
[60] York County Orders and Wills (14) 113-4, 13 October 1711.

Twenty years later, in 1731, the Council decided to change the location of the Yorktown battery to higher ground. It is likely that the original site of the fort was on the flat ground in front of Lot 16 and that the second position was on the slope of the bluff in front of Lot 34 and Lot 40. Enslaved men probably provided most of the labor needed to construct the second battery. In 1736, Edward Kimber wrote down his impressions of the town's battery. He noted

> But before I leave York entirely, I should just mention the Battery, that is the defense of the Town, which at this Time was under the Direction of an aukward Engineer, by trade of a Barber, and is as despicably contriv'd for the Safety of the Place, as it, no doubt, would be conducted in a time of Danger.[61]

Soon after his 1751 arrival in Virginia, Lieutenant Governor Robert Dinwiddie echoed the words of Kimber when he noted "There are two small Batteries on the York River, are only of Service to protect the Merch't Ships in y't River, and no Defence ag'st an Enemy y't have force sufficient to attack them by Land, or a Ship Force to run up the River, may demolish them both." There is no evidence that the York battery was used against an enemy; it was, however, used for ceremonial occasions and celebrations.[62]

In contrast, the public wharf and warehouses at the waterfront received a great deal of use. In February 1713/4, the York County justices of the peace directed William Buckner to build the first public wharf and storehouse.[63] It is likely that the buildings were located in front of Lot 1 and Lot 4 that Buckner owned. The Buckner family managed the wharf and storehouses until 1746 when John Buckner, William's son, refused to repair the structures after a 1744 hurricane damaged these structures. The justices of the peace decided to take over the operation of the wharf and the storehouses after Buckner refused to make the necessary repairs. They appointed Samuel Read, William Lightfoot, and Thomas Reynolds to find a convenient location for a new tobacco warehouse and the workmen to build the structure. Three years later, in 1749, John Goodwin, Thomas Reynolds, and John Norton received a charge to construct a wharf at the public warehouse.[64] The Buckners and later the York County justices of the peace no doubt relied on the labor of enslaved men and boys to help make necessary repairs to the public wharves and storehouses. Also, merchants would have depended on slaves to carry barrels and boxes to and from these public areas.

In addition to the public wharf and storehouse, Yorktown's waterfront had warehouses, landings, and taverns as well as private wharves and storehouses. This area was a busy, crowded section of town. People from all levels of Yorktown's social ladder played a part in the activities that took place at the waterfront, from the Nelsons and the Lightfoot families to the slaves who unloaded the goods that arrived on ships from England. Yorktown's waterfront was also the location of the sales of recently imported African slaves. On the days on which colonists purchased enslaved men, women, and children, potential purchasers gathered in this common area and bid on Africans.[65]

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[61] Hatch, Jr., "*York Under the Hill*," pp. 25-7 (quotation p. 27).
[62] Ibid.
[63] York County Orders and Wills (14) 302, 15 February 1713/4.
[64] Hatch, Jr., "*York Under the Hill*," p. 30.
[65] See Part I. Section 4—African and African American Life in Yorktown.

The waterfront section of town was the focus for the businesses of the many merchants who established their operations in Yorktown—Thomas Nelson the Immigrant, Philip Lightfoot, Francis Jerdone, Mordecai Booth, James Pride, John Norton, David Jameson, John Thompson, William Cary, Thomas Reynolds, William Reynolds, and others. In 1736, an English traveler named Edward Kimber commented on the difference between residents of the Eastern Shore and Yorktown. He observed "The amiable Hospitality I have just passed an Eulogium upon, on the other Side the Bay, seems on this Shore to have found no great Footing: Schemes of Gain, or Parties of Gaming and Pleasure, muddy too much their Souls, and banish from amongst them the glorius Propensity to doing good." In addition, Kimber wrote that

> Gloucester, Hampton, and Norfolk, are Towns of near the same Structure [as Yorktown], there being little Difference, save that at the last mentioned Place, a Spirit of Trade reigns, far surpassing that of any other part of Virginia. A great number of Vessels are fitted out from thence, to trade to the Northward and the West Indies; and the Inhabitants are, from the great Intercourse with strangers, abundantly more refin'd.[66]

The "Spirit of Trade" that gave Yorktown its identity also helped to make the waterfront area a busy, bustling part of the town. Expansion into the waterfront allowed Yorktown's merchants to operate their businesses and prosper.

Merchants and Gwyn Read's Addition to Yorktown

In 1739, soon after he received payment for the waterfront property, Gwyn Read decided to divide a fifty-acre tract of land on the south side of Yorktown into lots. Read knew that a number of town residents rented houses from the prosperous inhabitants. If Read hoped that the low price for lots in his addition would make it possible for a large number of tenants to become lot owners, he was wrong. During the 1740s, merchants gained possession of many of the Read lots: Philip Lightfoot purchased four lots, John Ballard held six lots, the Nelson family acquired twelve lots, and Richard Ambler bought twenty lots. In 1751, Gwyn Read decided to sell the remainder of his land adjoining Yorktown to President William Nelson. Read sold Nelson "all the residue of the said one hundred acres of lands not already sold and disposed of by the said Gwyn Reade by deeds executed & recorded in the General Court of this colony (a late sale of part of an acre to Edmund Tabb excepted) being about twenty acres be the same more or less and all houses &c" for £120.[67]

It is important to note, however, that individuals from all levels of York's social and economic ladder acquired lots in Read's Addition.[68] Prosperous residents, their less successful contemporaries, and individuals from the middle portion of the town's society held lots and

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[66] [Lyon G. Tyler, ed.], "Observations in Several Voyages and Travels in America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1st ser., Vol. XV, No. 3 (January 1907):222-3.

[67] The copy of the deed from Read to Nelson contains the notation "Copied from the original by R. A. 20 feby 1848 lent him by Wm. Nelson." William Nelson retained ownership of this parcel of land and in the nineteenth century it was known as "Nelson's Twenty Acre Lot." Robert Anderson Papers, 1693-1877, (Williamsburg: Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation), Folders 309 and 319.

[68] See Part I. Section 9—Part II. Lots in the Gwyn Read Addition to Yorktown.

made their homes in this section of Yorktown. The small size of Yorktown made it difficult for members of the gentry, such as the Nelson and Lightfoot families, to remove themselves from the other inhabitants of the town and to create a "residential" section in the town that was separate from the commercial activities. The leading families acquired several adjoining lots in order to establish their urban estates. However, neither the Nelsons nor members of the Lightfoot family could isolate themselves from the mercantile activities that were the source of their social and economic standing in Yorktown.

Yorktown's Mercantile Activities Between 1740 and 1776

It was impossible to remove oneself from mercantile activities because trade shaped life in Yorktown and gave the town its identity. During the 1740s, merchants continued to move to York's port and establish their businesses in this town. New residents included Francis Jerdone, Mordecai Booth, and John Norton, the representative of the London mercantile firm Flowerdewe and Norton (later John Norton and Sons). Norton purchased his first lot in March 1745/6 and owned a total of six lots in 1764, the year he returned to England.

The decade of the 1750s marked a time when it became harder for a merchant to operate his business in Yorktown. By mid-century, both Daniel Fisher and Francis Jerdone noted that the power of the Nelson and Lightfoot families made it difficult for a man to establish himself as a merchant in Yorktown.[69] Perhaps the Nelson brothers—President William Nelson and Secretary Thomas Nelson—and Armistead Lightfoot tried to control a greater portion of Yorktown's trade because they realized that this port was no longer the focus of the overseas slave trade to Virginia.[70]

Yorktown, however, continued to serve as the port for Virginia's colonial capital. By the decade of the 1750s, Williamsburg was the social center for the colony and the gentry gathered in this city to socialize, attend plays at the theater, and purchase imported goods at the stores on Duke of Gloucester Street and the side streets.[71] Elite colonists used material objects to define their social standing and to separate themselves from the rest of colonial society. Yorktown

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[69] Daniel Fisher, "The Fisher History," in Louise Pecquet du Bellet, ed., *Some Prominent Virginia Families*, 2 vols., (Lynchburg, Virginia: J. P. Bell, 1907), II:752-73; [Lyon G. Tyler, ed.], "Letter Book of Francis Jerdone," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1st ser., Vol. XI, No. 3 (January 1903):154.

[70] See Part I. Section 4—African and African American Life in Yorktown and Part I. Section 5—Free Blacks in Yorktown and the Yorktown Area, 1680s to 1783. In addition, see Peter V. Bergstrom, *Markets and Merchants: Economic Diversification in Colonial Virginia*, (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1985), pp. 141, 143-6; James O'Mara, "Urbanization in Tidewater Virginia During the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Historical Geography," (Ph. D. dissertation, York University, 1979), pp. 340-5, 378, 411, 412; Paul B. Moyer, "The Yorktown Waterfront, 1691-1814," (report for the Colonial National Historical Park, 1998).
An outside force that might have influenced Yorktown's fortunes was the French and Indian War. After 1758, the war was no longer a threat to the Virginia frontier. However, the colony's economy suffered from what Virginians viewed as a just contribution to the war. In addition, a credit crisis and the first decline in tobacco prices since the 1740s affected individuals. Warren M. Billings, John E. Selby, and Thad W. Tate, *Colonial Virginia: A History*, (White Plains, New York: KTO Press, 1986), pp. 265, 266, 296.

[71] Mark R. Wenger, "Boomtown: Williamsburg in the Eighteenth Century," in Robert P. Maccubbin and Martha Hamilton-Phillips, eds., *Williamsburg, Virginia: A City before the State: An Illustrated History*, (Williamsburg: City of Williamsburg distributed by the University Press of Virginia, 2000), pp. 39-48.

merchants benefited from the desire of Virginia's colonists to acquire goods made available to them and to be active participants in the "Consumer Revolution."

Shipments of clothing, dishes, eating utensils, and other items arrived on vessels that docked in Yorktown's harbor. Slaves unloaded barrels and crates from the ships and moved them to their master's warehouses and storehouses that stood along both Main Street and on the town's waterfront. In 1755, a British sailor named John Gauntlett painted a picture of Yorktown from his position on board the British vessel HMS *Norwich* in the York River.[72] Gauntlett depicted a Yorktown that was a more active place than the port described by Edward Kimber twenty years earlier. This port grew and prospered between 1732 and 1755 because of Yorktown's role as the main port for the colony's tobacco trade, the overseas slave trade, and the city of Williamsburg. As Hatch observed, "clearly the area around the mouth of the 'Great Valley' and that down which Read Street followed was the busier area where houses were tucked into all of the available spaces. Some sixteen structures of all types were drawn."[73]

The waterfront structures served as places of work and entertainment for Yorktown's merchants, craftsmen, and ordinary keepers. People continued to be drawn to York's port by the opportunities in a town experiencing physical and economic growth. In 1752, David Jameson, a bookkeeper and merchant, settled in Yorktown. Jameson prospered and held several lots along Yorktown's Main Street and a waterfront warehouse.[74]

The following decade, John Thompson, a mariner and merchant of Gloucester County, moved across the York River and settled in Yorktown. In 1761, Thompson purchased three lots from Robert Ballard.[75] Nathaniel Littleton Savage, an inhabitant of Northampton County, also relocated to Yorktown for several years. In 1767, Savage acquired six town lots from Griffin Stith. Savage held these lots until 1770, when he conveyed them to a mariner named Thomas Lilly. The fact that Thompson and Savage became Yorktown residents indicates that the port continued to be a place of opportunity as colonists imported material goods and exported food to northern colonies and islands in the Caribbean.

A mid-1760s description of Yorktown reveals that this port remained a busy place. A traveler noted that he started his day in Hampton and then journeyed twenty-eight miles to Yorktown. He described the port as

> a fine situation and a very prety litle town Inhabited by some of the genteelist people in virginia, who have some very prety buildings here, it is on an Elevated Spot of grownd by the side of the river to which it gives its name on which it has a beautiful prospect. ships

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[72] Earl G. Swem "Views of Yorktown and Gloucester Town, 1755," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (April 1946):99-105.

[73] Hatch, Jr., "*York Under the Hill*," 49. The increase in the volume of business in Yorktown had an impact on the condition of the roads. In April 1757 the General Assembly noted that "whereas the streets and landings in the town of York are in so ruinous a condition that they cannot be repaired in the ordinary method by the surveyor and his hands without a considerable expence, it being necessary in some places to widen and support them with a brick wall from being washed away by the hasty showers of rain." They authorized the York County justices of the peace to assess the lot holders for the money needed to repair the streets. Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large*, VII:189.

[74] See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 42 and Lot 53.

[75] See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 54.

> of any burthen Can Come here, and 40 miles farther up. there was at this time three large vessels rideing here. this and hampton road are the general rendevous for the homeward bound ships.[76]

Perhaps he saw ships that belonged to John Thompson or one of Yorktown's other merchants as he looked at the harbor and waterfront area.

The expansion and prosperity that Yorktown enjoyed in the middle of the eighteenth century began to slow in the 1770s. After 1750, the York River ceased to be the main port of entry for slaves transported to Virginia from Africa. Both Yorktown and Williamsburg fell behind the growing urban centers on the James and Rappahannock rivers as the center of the colony's population moved westward to the Piedmont region. In addition, in the late 1760s and early 1770s, many of Virginia's colonists decreased the volume of goods imported from England as a way to protest the Crown's decision to impose taxes in the Stamp Act, the Sugar Act, the Townshend Act, and the Tea Act.[77]

[76] Hatch, Jr., "*York Under the Hill*," p. 50.
[77] T. H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence*, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Section 3.
Yorktown and the Slave Trade

Introduction

York County planters acquired enslaved laborers to tend the fields on their plantations soon after they settled on tracts along the York River. In the eighteenth century, Yorktown residents continued to purchase slaves to work in their households and on their rural property. This section begins with an overview of the slave trade to Virginia during the seventeenth century and the ways in which members of the General Assembly used laws to try to control this trade. Next, there is discussion of the overseas slave trade to the York River District, Virginia's main port of entry for enslaved Africans between 1698 and 1750. Extant documents, especially announcements in the *Virginia Gazette*, provide details about sales of recently imported Africans that took place on Yorktown's waterfront. Finally, this section looks at the impact of the sale of enslaved men, women, and children on Yorktown.

The Slave Trade to Virginia During the Seventeenth Century

During the first part of the seventeenth century, planters with connections to Dutch merchants were able to acquire Africans to labor in the tobacco fields on their plantations. These elite colonists often lived along the colony's major waterways and the ships that carried enslaved Africans to Virginia anchored at the planters' own wharves. By the middle of the seventeenth century, most members of the Council and the House of Burgesses held slaves.[1]

During the 1650s, Virginians found that it was difficult to trade with Dutch merchants. First, in 1651, Parliament passed an act that prohibited trade between English colonies and other countries. Second, fighting during the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652-54) limited the opportunities for trade between planters in the Old Dominion and Dutch merchants in New Netherland (later New York) and the Caribbean. Virginia planters lost revenue because of the limits on trade, and therefore they purchased fewer slaves to labor on their plantations.

In March 1659/60, members of the General Assembly decided to pass a law to re-open legal trade with the Dutch. In ACT XVI. *An Act for the Dutch and all other Strangers for Tradeing to this Place*, the legislators declared

> WHEREAS the restriction of trade hath appeared to be the greatest impediment to the advance of the estimation and value of our present only commodity tobacco, *Bee it enacted and confirmed*, That the Dutch and all strangers of what Xpian nation soever in amity with the people of England shall have free liberty to trade with vs, for all allowable comodities, And receive protection from vs to our vtmost powers while they are in our jurisdiction, and shall have equall right and justice with our own nation in all courts of

[1] April Lee Hatfield, *Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), chapter 6; John C. Coombs, "Building 'the machine': The Development of Slavery and Slave Society in Early Colonial Virginia," (Ph.D. dissertation, College of William & Mary, 2003).

judicature, *Provided* they give bond and pay the impost of tenn shillings per hogshead laid vpon all tobacco exported to any fforreigne dominions and give bond according to act, *Allwaies provided*, That if the said Dutch or other forreiners shall import any negro slaves, They the said Dutch or others shall, for the tobacco really produced by the sale of the said negro, pay only the impost of two shillings per hogshead, the like being paid by our owne nation.[2]

The decision to drop the export duty from ten shillings per hogshead of tobacco to two shillings "if the Dutch or other forreiners shall import any negro slaves" indicates that these lawmakers wanted to buy enslaved laborers and had connections to Dutch merchants who would transport African slaves to Virginia.

This statute drew the attention of English merchants who convinced members of Parliament that colonists should not be allowed to trade with the Dutch or with individuals from other countries. In 1660, Parliament approved the *Act for the Encouraging and increasing of Shipping and Navigation*. This legislation—one of a series of laws known as the Navigation Acts—required Virginians to trade with only English merchants and to ship tobacco directly to England. As a result, it became more difficult, but not impossible, for Virginians to trade with and to acquire African laborers from Dutch merchants. In addition, the colony's planters received a lower price for their tobacco because English merchants did not have to compete with Dutch traders who offered higher prices for the weed.

In 1661, Charles II was restored to the English monarchy, and two years later, in 1663, King Charles II decided to compete with the Dutch in the overseas slave trade. The English king granted a monopoly to the Royal Adventurers into Africa to carry slaves from the African continent to English colonies in the Caribbean and in North America. The charter to the Royal Adventurers required this company to transport 3,000 enslaved Africans each year to the English colonies.[3] The majority of the Africans whom the Royal Adventurers into Africa transported across the Atlantic spent the remainder of their lives laboring for masters in the Caribbean, not in Virginia, because sugar planters could afford to pay higher prices for slaves than tobacco planters could.

Confirmation of the small number of slaves transported to Virginia in the 1660s can be found in a letter written by Governor Berkeley. In 1671, Sir William Berkeley answered a series of questions posed to him by the Lords Commissioners of Foreign Plantations. Three of the inquiries addressed the slaves held by Virginia's residents. First, Question 15 asked "What number of planters, servants and slaves; and how many parishes are there in your plantation?" In his response, Virginia's governor noted

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[2] William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, From the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619*, 13 vols., (Richmond, New York, and Philadelphia, 1819-23; reprint, Charlottesville, Virginia: The University Press of Virginia for the Jamestown Foundation of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1969), I:540.

[3] Elizabeth Suttell, "The British Slave Trade to Virginia, 1698-1728," (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1965), p. 4.

> We suppose, and I am very sure we do not much miscount, that there is in Virginia above forty thousand persons, men, women, and children, and of which there are two thousand *black slaves*, six thousand *christian servants,* for a short time, the rest are born in the country or have come in to settle and seat, in bettering their condition in a growing country.

The two thousand slaves made up approximately five percent of Virginia's population.

Next, Question 16 queried "What number of English, Scots or Irish have for these seven yeares last past come yearly to plant and inhabite within your government; as also what *blacks* or *slaves* have been brought in within the said time?" Berkeley responded "Yearly, we suppose there comes in, of servants, about fifteen hundred, of which, most are English, few Scotch, and fewer Irish, and not above two or three ships of negroes in seven years."

Finally, in Question 17, the Lords Commissioners of Foreign Plantations asked "What number of people have yearly died, within your plantation and government for these seven years last past, both whites and blacks?" The governor's reply indicated that all immigrants, white and black, faced a difficult time in adjusting to life in Virginia. Berkeley noted "All new plantations are, for an age or two, unhealthy, 'till they are thoroughly cleared of wood; but unless we have a particular register office, for the denoting of all that died, I cannot give a particular answer to this query, only this I can say, that there is not often unseasoned hands (as we term them) that die now, whereas heretofore not one of five escaped the first year."[4]

Although the governor's answers to the queries provide information about the number of slaves in Virginia, he did not mention the reasons why just a few slave ships arrived in the Old Dominion between 1664 and 1671. First, planters on Caribbean sugar plantations continued to purchase the majority of Africans transported across the Atlantic Ocean on the ships of the Company of Royal Adventurers. Second, in 1667, financial strains from the drop in trade during the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-1667) caused the collapse of the Company of Royal Adventurers. Governor Berkeley also failed to note the fact that a small number of elite planters had both the connections to Dutch merchants and the wealth to afford to purchase Africans to labor on their tobacco plantations. It is possible that the governor did not include Dutch ships in his count of vessels that transported African slaves to Virginia.

In 1672, King Charles II re-chartered the Royal Adventurers into Africa as the Royal African Company and gave the company a monopoly on the slave trade between Africa and England's colonies in the Caribbean and North America. Although Jamestown was the sole port of entry for the colony and the legal destination for slave ships, it was common for ship captains to carry slaves to different areas of Virginia, including the wharves of elite planters.

Eight years later, in 1680, Jamestown lost its role as the only port of entry for all white indentured servants and slaves imported into the colony. According to the terms of ACT V. *An act for cohabitation and encouragement of trade and manufacture* (approved in June 1680), all white indentured servants and slaves imported into Virginia after 29 September 1681 were to be sold at the places designated as ports in each of the colony's twenty counties. The location

[4] Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large*, II:515.

selected as York County's port was "Mr. Reeds land where the Ship Honors store was, including the low beach for land, wharfes, &c. and the old field where Webber dwelt."[5]

It is likely that "Mr. Reeds land" was a place where planters had gathered to purchase African slaves. On 19 June 1681, William Fitzhugh, a resident of Stafford County, wrote a letter to Ralph Wormeley of "Rosegill" in Middlesex County.[6] Fitzhugh noted

> I understand there are some Negro Ships expected into York now every day, I am so remote, that before I can have notice, they'll be all dispos'd of, or at least none left but the refuse, therefore Sr. I request you to do me the favour, if you intend to buy any for yours self, & it be not too much trouble to you, to secure me five or six whereof three or four boys if can, & please to send me word of it, & shall readily come down, & thankfully acknowledge the favour.[7]

This letter indicates that there was a high demand for slaves among the elite planters who lived along this river, and Fitzhugh worried that he would not be able to purchase an enslaved laborer. Fitzhugh and other planters knew that the number of shipments of slaves to Virginia was still small and infrequent.[8]

The king's December 1681 decision to disallow the sections of *An act for cohabitation and encouragement of trade and manufacture* that focused on trade meant that Virginia planters could not expect to see many slavers sail into the colony's rivers. Poor tobacco crops also reduced the ability of the colony's planters to buy slaves. Governor Culpeper commented on the connection between tobacco profits and the acquisition of slaves when he noted "Our poverty this last year has quite spoiled that Trade." When questioned about the number of slaves imported into the colony, Lord Culpeper observed that "formerly about 5 or 600 in a Year by Estimate but now our Poverty deters Every one from dealing with Us."[9]

By early 1682/3, Fitzhugh believed that Virginians wanted to buy enslaved laborers. In February of that year, Fitzhugh responded to a plan proposed by Mr. Jackson, a mariner of New England:

> As to your Proposal about bringing in Negros next fall, I have this to offer, & you may communicate the same to your owners & Employers, that I will deal with them for

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[5] Ibid., pp. 472-8. See also Part I. Section 2—The Establishment and Growth of Yorktown.

[6] William Fitzhugh, the youngest child and second son of Henry and Mary Fitzhugh of Bedford, England, settled on Virginia's Northern Neck by early 1674. Trained as a lawyer, Fitzhugh soon acquired land along the Potomac River in Stafford County and became a tobacco planter. Fitzhugh learned how to produce large quantities of tobacco, both Oronoco and sweet-scented, on his plantation. He also realized that he needed laborers, white indentured servants and enslaved Africans, to work in his fields. Richard Beale Davis, ed., *William Fitzhugh and His Chesapeake World 1676-1701: The Fitzhugh Letters and Other Documents*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Virginia Historical Society, 1963), pp. 3-55.

[7] William Fitzhugh to Ralph Wormeley, 19 June 1681 in ibid., pp. 92-3 (quotation p. 93).

[8] Between 1673 and 1688, less than three percent of the slaves sold by the Royal African Company became the property of Virginia planters. Charles L. Killinger, III, "The Royal African Company Slave Trade to Virginia, 1689-1713," (M. A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1969), p. 11.

[9] Thomas, Lord Culpeper, to the Board of Trade, [December 1681], in Elizabeth Donnan, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, 4 vols., (Washington, D.C., 1935; reprint, New York: Octagon Books, 1969), IV:56 n.

> so many as shall amount to 50000lb Tobo. & cash which will be about 120 hhds., under the Condition & at these ages & prices following, to say to give 3000lb Tobo. for every Negro boy or girl, that shall be between the age of seven & eleven years old, to give 4000lb Tobo. for every youth or girle that shall be between the age of 11 & 15 & to give 5000lb Tobo. for every young man or woman that shall be above 15 years of age, & not exceed 24. the said Negroes to be delivered at my Landing, some time in Septr. next & I to have notice whether they will so agree some time in August next, And I do assure you & so you may acquaint them that upon your delivery & my receipt of the Negroes, according to the ages abovementioned, & that they be sound & healthfull at their Delivery I will give such sufficient Caution for the payment of the Tobo., accordingly, by the 20th. Decr. Then next following, as shall be approved of. The ages of the Negros to be judged & determined by two or three such honest & reasonable men here, as your self shall nominate & appoint. The whole Sum of Tobo. to be paid in the Compass of twenty miles perhaps not so remote[.][10]

If Fitzhugh handled slaves transported to Virginia by Mr. Jackson, it is likely that he would have found men to purchase these laborers. Improved tobacco prices meant that colonists could use the profits from their crop to purchased additional slaves. However, between 1684 and 1686, the Royal African Company sent just three slaves ships—the *Sarah*, the *Two Friends*, and the *Speedwell*—to the colony. Other English sea captains, known as separate traders because they were not part of the Royal African Company, decided to transport enslaved Africans to Virginia. During these three years, the three Royal African Company vessels and ships belonging to separate traders transported between one hundred and two hundred Africans to the colony.[11] In 1687, a ship captain decided to sell a group of Angolan slaves along the York River. He chose this location for his illegal cargo because York River planters were "the ablest men to purchase for the Money."[12]

Fitzhugh also turned to English merchants when he needed to acquire enslaved Africans. In an August 1690 letter to Oliver Luke, Fitzhugh offered advice on how Luke could best establish his son as a planter in Virginia. Fitzhugh suggested

> That you continue your resolutions of settling him here, as Mr. Secretary told me you always designed, then Sr. I will presume at his Instance to give you the best method for such a Settlement, which is by lodging in some Merchants hand in London 150 or 200 £ for the buying, a good convenient seat of land, which upon so much ready money some may in a short time be purchased, & then about such another sum lodged in the hands of some of the Royall African Company who for that will engage to deliver Negroes here at 16 or 18 or to be sure at £ 20 p head[.][13]

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[10] Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*, II:508; and William Fitzhugh to Mr. Jackson, 11 February 1682/3 in Davis, ed., *William Fitzhugh and His Chesapeake World*, pp. 127-8.

[11] Killinger, "The Royal African Company Slave Trade to Virginia," p. 94.

[12] CO 5/1308, ff. 36-7, Public Record Office. Until 1698, the Royal African Company directed its agents in Virginia to prevent the illegal entry of slave ships. Killinger, "The Royal African Company Slave Trade," p. 33.

[13] William Fitzhugh to Oliver Luke, 15 August 1690 in Davis, ed., *William Fitzhugh and His Chesapeake World*, pp. 279-80. Luke did not follow Fitzhugh's advice and in a 21 July 1692 letter, Fitzhugh wrote "I could heartily Sr. have wished, that the money bestowed upon goods & brought in with him, had been lodged in some able Merchants

Micajah Perry, Thomas Lane, and Jeffrey Jeffreys were three of the London merchants who arranged to ship enslaved Africans to Virginia planters.[14]

Disruption to trade during King William's War made it hard for Virginians, even those with connections to English mercantile firms, to acquire slaves. In 1692, colonists complained that it was difficult to find laborers. They informed the Privy Council that fewer white indentured servants left England for Virginia and the Royal African Company had not brought Africans to their colony since 1689, the year when the war began. The following year, 1693, the Royal African Company sent just one slaver to Virginia. In January 1695, the London office of the Royal African Company wrote William Sherwood, the firm's new agent in Virginia. They informed Sherwood "At present we have no concerns in Your Parts." However, "upon the return of Peaceable times tis probable we may."[15]

The year 1698 marked the end of King William's War and peace enabled trade across the Atlantic to grow. It was also the year when the Royal African Company lost its monopoly on the overseas slave trade to English colonies and ceased to be the only English company to legally transport slaves to Virginia's planters. In that year, the Crown opened the slave trade to all English subjects. Edmund Jenings, a prominent resident of Virginia, commented on the change in the overseas slave trade in a letter to the Board of Trade. Jenings wrote

> How the Country was supplyed with Negros before the Trade to Affrica was laid open in the year 1698, I have endeavoured to Inform my Self from some ancient Inhabitants conversant in that Trade as well as by recollecting what hath happened in my own knowledge, and find that before the year 1680 what negros were brought to Virginia were imported generally from Barbados for it was very rare to have a Negro ship come to this Country directly from Africa

Next, Jenings commented that between 1680 and 1698, "the Trade of Negros became more frequent, tho not in any proportion to what it hath been of late." During this time period "the Affrican Company sent several Ships and others by their Licence (as I have been informed) having bought their Slaves of the Company brought them in hither for Sale." The typical price for slaves was "from £ 18 to 25 per head for men and women and never exceeded that Rate."

Jenings also reported on the number of slaves imported into Virginia "from the 24th of June 1699 to the 12th of October last past [1708]." He noted that the Royal African Company transported 679 slaves from African and that "Separate Traders" carried 5,928 enslaved Africans to the colony. Of the 5,928 slaves transported by "Separate Traders," 236 individuals arrived on vessels from Barbados and the rest on vessels from the west coast of Africa. Jenings noted that 12,000 of the colony's 30,000 tithables were slaves and that the growth in Virginia's population was "chiefly by the importation of negroes."

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hand in London, ready for a purchase of Negroes, or laid out with some of the Royal African company for such an intent, according to my letter last year[.]" William Fitzhugh to Oliver Luke, 21 July 1692 in ibid., p. 313.

[14] Suttell, "The British Slave Trade to Virginia," p. 15 n. 39. For information about Micajah Perry, his role in the British overseas slave trade, and his ownership of Yorktown lots, see Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 37 and Lot 49.

[15] Killinger, "The Royal African Company Slave Trade to Virginia," pp. 95-8.

Next, Jenings described the prices that colonists paid for new slaves. He noted

> As to the particular Rates at which those Negros have been sold, they have been variable according to the Different times of their coming in and the quality and ages of the Slaves, but the medium for men and women may be reckoned from 20 to 30 pounds a head for those sold by the Company and from 20 to 35 £ a head for the like kinds sold by the Separate Traders, who in gen'll have sold theirs at a higher rate than the Company.

Jenings was aware that both the number of slaves carried to Virginia and their price increased after the overseas slave trade was opened to all Englishmen. He wondered

> Whether the opening the Trade to Africa having created an Emulation between the Company and the Separate Traders which should outbid the other in the purchase of their Slaves there, or whether the dexterity of their Factors there in taking advantage of the prevailing humour of our Inhabitants for some years past of buying Negros even beyond their abilities, or the Concurrence of both, hath raised the Rates of Negros so extravagantly I shall not pretend to determine.

Jenings speculated "that it will be much harder to lower the price again now 'tis raised unless there be the same Freedome of Trade continued as formerly for tho the Inhabitants of his Country will in gen'll will not be so fond of purchasing Negros as of late being sensibly convinced of their Error which has in a manner ruined the Credit of the Country." Jenings, however, observed

> there will still be some that must, and others that will at any rate Venture to buy them, and if the Company alone have the Management of the Trade, they'l find pretences enough to keep up the price if not to impose what higher rate they please, which the buyer must submit to, knowing he cannot be supplyed by any other hand.

With regards to "Vessells trading directly from this place to the Coast of Africa," Jenings reported that he "never knew of any nor is the same practicable this Country not being provided with Comoditys suitable for carrying on such a Trade."[16]

Edmund Jenings used a second letter to the Board of Trade to convey additional details about the slave trade to Virginia and clarify statements in his previous communication. He noted

> The difference in the price of negros between the Company and the separate traders was occasioned by the dilligence of the latter in sending their ships early, and thereby gaining the advantage, once or twice, of a better market than the Company who came after them; for when negros come in about the beginning of summer, the planters are abundantly more fond of them, and will give greater prices for them, because they are sure of the advantage of their labours in that years crop, whereas negros bought at the latter end of the year, are of little service till the next Spring.

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[16] Edmund Jenings to the Board of Trade, 27 November 1708, in Donnan, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade*, IV:89-90.

Jenings believed that "this is the true reason of that difference of price, and not that the Company have been at all more favourable to the planters in the sale of their slaves than the separate traders, for both have sold as dear as they could."[17]

Extant documents reveal that Jenings conveyed accurate information to the Board of Trade concerning both the increased number of slave ships that carried enslaved Africans to Virginia and the time of year that these vessels sailed into the Chesapeake Bay and up the colony's main rivers. The 1698 decision to end of monopoly of the Royal African Company and to open the overseas slave trade to all Englishmen dramatically increased the number of enslaved Africans carried across the Atlantic Ocean to Virginia and the number of colonists who purchased slaves to labor in their tobacco fields.[18] The growth in the colony's enslaved residents enabled prosperous planters to expand tobacco production. Gentry and middling planters who owned land in the York River District held much of the best property for tobacco production and, as a result, had the financial ability to buy many of the enslaved Africans imported into the colony during the first half of the eighteenth century.

The Overseas Slave Trade and the York River District

Between 1698 and 1750, the York River District was the center of the overseas slave trade to Virginia. Lorena S. Walsh's research on the Chesapeake slave trade indicates that until the middle of the eighteenth century, over eighty percent of the "imported Africans were disembarked on the shores of the York and Rappahannock Rivers. There planter wealth and political power was most concentrated and transatlantic mercantile connections most developed." These planters prospered because they produced sweet-scented tobacco on their plantations on the Lower and Middle peninsulas. In addition, Walsh observes that these men "either had sufficient resources on hand or could command sufficient credit from English tobacco merchants to finance the purchase of large numbers of African slaves."
Between 1698 and 1745, the York District "was the destination for a majority of the nearly 50,000 Africans transported to Virginia." Walsh finds that

> Most arrived directly from Africa in vessels that carried, on average, 125 captives. London slavers predominated in the York at the turn of the century but were then soon supplanted by Bristol shippers. Region of embarkation is known for 60 percent of the Africans arriving by 1745. Just over 9,000 (56 percent) came from the Bight of Biafra, one-fifth from West Central Africa, a tenth from the Windward and Gold Coasts, and two additional twentieths from Senegambia and Madagascar.[19]

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[17] Edmund Jenings to the Board of Trade, 11 January 1709/10, in ibid., pp. 90-1.
[18] Between 1689 and 1713, four York County residents purchased one or more slaves from the Royal African Company. In 1690, Nathaniel Bacon spent £ 50 on three slaves. Fourteen years later, in 1704, Edward Wade acquired one enslaved African for the price of £ 35. In 1705, Thomas Barber paid £ 13 for one slave and Baldwin Matthews purchased three enslaved laborers for £ 90. Killinger, "The Royal African Company Slave Trade to Virginia," p. 144.
[19] Lorena S. Walsh, "The Chesapeake Slave Trade: Regional Patterns, African Origins, and Some Implications," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., Vol. LVIII, No. 1 (January 2001):150. In the mid-1740s, the Upper James district led the colony in the importation of slaves and during the 1760s this region received close to two-thirds of the Africans imported into Virginia. Ibid., pp. 148-9.

Slave traders recognized that planters along the York River wanted slaves and paid high prices to acquire additional laborers for their plantations. As early as 1700, Governor Francis Nicholson worried that there might not be enough slaves carried to Virginia to satisfy the demands of the colony's planters. In his 1 August 1700 letter to the Board of Trade, Nicholson reported

> Capt. Joseph Moonday who came lately from Guiney and brought into Yorke River about 230 negroes, and I heard they sold from £ 28 to £ 35 per head; the greatest price that has been known. There were as many buyers as negroes, and I think that, if 2000 were imported, there would be substantial buyers for them. They expect several ships from Guiney with negroes but I am afraid no more will come.[20]

Later in the same month, Nicholson again discussed the overseas slave trade in a letter that he wrote to the Board of Trade. Virginia's governor noted

> I do not hear of any more negroes being come in, which I am sorry for, being they would make so much more tobacco, which I hope would increase His Majesty's revenue; therefore wish that the African Company and others that trade thither would send in some, and that whilst the people have money to buy them for it may so happen that if negro's don't come in within a year of two that people may dispose of their money some other way.[21]

In 1700, Captain Monday's ship, the *Nicholson*, was the only vessel known to have transported slaves to Virginia.[22] Colonists waited an entire year, until July 1701, for other slave ships to sail into the York River (see Table 1—Slave Ships Entering the York River District, 1698-1771).[23]

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[20] Francis Nicholson to the Board of Trade, 1 August 1700, in William Noel Sainsbury, ed., *Calendar of State Papers: Colonial Series: America and West Indies Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office*, 45 vols., (London: H. M. S. O., 1860-; reprint, New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1964-), vol. 18, p. 452.

[21] Francis Nicholson to the Board of Trade, 27 August 1700, in ibid., p. 497.

[22] It is possible that the *Success* carried slaves on its voyage from Africa to Virginia and that the ship's captain disembarked enslaved Africans in the York River District.
The number of slaves carried to Virginia varied from year to year. Several factors influenced the decision of ship captains to anchor in the colony's rivers. During most years between 1699 and 1718, Virginia's legislators placed a duty on each slave imported into the colony. From 1699 to 1708, the duty was low—fifteen shillings paid by the individual who imported the enslaved African. Virginia's lawmakers imposed the duty because they wanted to raise funds to pay for the construction of public buildings in the new colonial capital of Williamsburg. However, between 1710 and 1718, the burgesses and Councillors raised the duty to £ 5, a sum designed to raise revenue and to decrease the demand for slaves. The colony's leaders told Governor Alexander Spotswood that planters needed to stop buying new laborers and to pay off their debts. Spotswood, in a letter he wrote to the Board of Trade soon after his 1710 arrival in the colony, suggested that Virginia was not a good place for ship captains to sell slaves even though, in January 1709, the Board of Trade determined that 4,000 slaves should be transported on British ships to the Chesapeake each year. In July 1712, Spotswood observed that ship captains had not carried enslaved Africans to Virginia for almost two years. In addition to the high duty on slaves for much of the 1710s, tobacco prices dropped during the War of the Spanish Succession. Several years with bad weather reduced the amount of tobacco that planters produced. Although tobacco prices improved by the mid-1710s, overproduction and a decrease in demand for the weed meant that Virginia planters found it necessary to buy slaves on credit during much of the 1720s. Suttell, "The British Slave Trade to Virginia," pp. 19-65.

[23] Table 1—Slave Ships Entering the York River District, 1698-1771 includes information about voyages from African ports to the York River District included "The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database" (http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces) as well as voyages between Caribbean Islands and the York River

Between July and December 1701, eight ships transported at least 863 slaves to the York River district. Almost 800 of these slaves arrived in July and September. Virginia's planters would have purchased these enslaved Africans to help bring in the year's tobacco harvest. The *Expectation*, built in Virginia in 1698, carried sixty-seven slaves.

During 1702 and 1703, a total of four ships brought slaves to the York River area. Colonists no doubt purchased the slaves, 233 in 1702 and 156 the following year. After a year without the appearance of a vessel carrying slaves, 1705 proved to be a year in which a great number of slaves were sold. Six captains guided ships carrying 1,355 enslaved Africans to the York River. The next year, 1706, saw the arrival of 363 slaves in two cargos.
Between 1707 and 1711, the ongoing conflict between England and France prevented slave ships from carrying slaves to Virginia. It is likely that planters eagerly awaited the arrival of new slaves in 1712. If so, it is likely that they were disappointed to learn that seven ships carried just twenty-five slaves. One vessel brought a slave for Yorktown's William Rogers and Captain Frederick Jones transported two Indian slaves on his ship. Jones sailed to Virginia from North Carolina and it is possible that the slaves whom he transported were individuals captured during the Tuscarora War (1711-1715) between North Carolina's colonists and the Tuscarora Indians. In the following year, 1713, there was a small increase in the number of African slaves transported to the York River area. Colonists had a chance to purchase the 275 slaves that five vessels brought to the York River District. In that year, John Martin, a mariner and former Yorktown resident, carried twenty-eight slaves on the *Duke of Cambridge*.

Planters waited through an additional four years of small slave cargoes. Between 1714 and 1717, nineteen ships carried just under a thousand enslaved Africans to the York River area. It is known that Martin guided the *Duke of Cambridge* into the York River in 1714 and again in 1717. First, in 1714, Martin transported 152 slaves, and three years later, he and William Keeling carried 147 enslaved Africans to the York River district. The year 1717 was also the time that Thomas Ballard, the captain of the *Richard and Alice*, transported one slave from Barbados.

During 1718 and 1719, twenty-eight ships carried 3,010 enslaved Africans into the York River region. The majority of these slaves were sold to Virginians between the months of May and

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included in Walter E. Minchinton, Celia King, and Peter Waite, eds., *Virginia Slave Trade Statistics, 1698-1775*, (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1984). I thank Lorena S. Walsh for sharing her database of the two groups of voyages. In addition to the ships known to have entered the York River District, extant documents indicate the date when some vessels departed this district for other ports in the colonies and in the Caribbean. Between 1725 and 1771, nine vessels transported slaves out of the York River District. On 28 June 1725, a ship known as the *Thomas and Betty* left the York River and then headed to Maryland. Its cargo included 21 slaves. Two years later, on 18 May 1727, another vessel, the *Fancy*, owned by Dudley Digges left the York River for Maryland. A sloop built in Virginia in 1723 and registered in Williamsburg on 29 October 1717, the *Fancy* carried fifty passengers to Maryland. Soon after the departure of the *Fancy*, another ship, the *Lark*, set sail on 18 June 1727 for North Carolina with ten passengers.
On 24 October 1728, the *Gloucester* carried four slaves when it cleared the York River for Maryland. Five years later, on 10 October 1733, the sloop *Diamond* sailed from the York River for Maryland with twenty-one slaves. The brig *Abingdon* departed the York River on 30 March 1737 with three slaves and sailed to Madeira. In September 1739, the sloop *Thomas and Tryal* left the York district and headed to North Carolina with two slaves. Nearly seven years later, the *Cunliffe* cleared the York River on 2 June 1746 and sailed for Maryland with a cargo that included ten slaves. Finally, on 27 September 1771, the sloop *Polly* sailed from the York River with two slaves and headed toward Nevis. Minchinton, et al., eds., *Virginia Slave Trade Statistics*, pp. 190-3, 195.

September. Almost seventy percent of the 4,306 slaves who arrived in Virginia during the 1710s reached the colony in the decade's last two years.

In the next decade, the number of enslaved Africans imported into Virginia surpassed 9,000 individuals. Between 1720 and 1729, ships transported at least 9,088 slaves to the Old Dominion. Three years saw over 1,000 slaves sold to the colony's planters: 1,734 in 1721; 1,615 in 1726; and 2,883 in 1727. Planters throughout the York River region added to their labor forces and expanded production.

The decade of the 1730s was a time when many slave ships continued to journey to the York River District. Between 1730 and 1739, ship captains carried a total of 8,404 slaves into the York River. The peak years were 1734, 1735, and 1736. During this three-year span, Virginians purchased 3,953 enslaved Africans, forty-seven percent of the slaves imported in the 1730s.

During the 1730s, vessels owned by John Perrin, a resident of Gloucester County, made six journeys between the York River District and the Caribbean. On 30 August 1732, a sloop called the *John and Mary* sailed into the York River. This vessel carried three slaves from Barbados. The following year, Perrin was the owner of the *Abingdon*. This brig transported one slave from Barbados. On 19 July 1736, the *Abingdon* entered the York River with two slaves from Madeira and Barbados. Four months later, on 8 November 1736, another one of Perrin's vessels, the *John and Mary*, arrived in the York River. Its cargo included one slave from Barbados. In July 1737, the *Abingdon* carried four slaves from Madeira and Barbados. Close to two years later, Perrin's vessel the *John and Mary* entered the York River on 14 June 1739. This sloop transported one slave from Madeira and Barbados. Perrin's ships transported just twelve slaves into the York River District on six voyages. He, no doubt, counted on profits from provisions shipped to Caribbean islands, not from slaves. Perhaps Francis Willis, another Gloucester resident, also made more money from the transportation of food than enslaved laborers. On 27 July 1738, the *Molly*, a sloop owned by Willis, entered the York River. John Thompson, the captain, had three slaves from Barbados in the ship's cargo.

The 1740s was the last decade in which the York River District was the region in which the majority of new Africans arrived. Between 1740 and 1749, thirty-four ships transported a total of 5,216 slaves to the York River. Gloucester's John Perrin remained active in the slave trade to the York River District. On 16 October 1741, Perrin's *John and Mary* arrived in the York River. It carried twenty-seven slaves from Barbados. Four years later, on 10 October 1745, Perrin's schooner, the *Sarah*, entered the York River after a voyage to Barbados. This vessel transported four slaves. In July 1749, the *John and Mary* carried 16 slaves from Barbados to the York River district. Yorktown's John Thompson was the owner of a ship that made one trip to the region. On 24 August 1745, Thompson's vessel, the *Ranger*, arrived in the York River with 185 slaves from Africa.

Slave ships continued to enter the York River after 1750; however, the vessels brought a small number of Africans in their cargos. Between 1750 and 1759, twenty-four ships had a total of 2,477 slaves on board. The year 1752 was the only year in which the count of new slaves approached that of earlier years: thirteen ships transported 1,802 enslaved laborers. A clear sign

of the decline of the York River District as a place to trade slaves can be seen in the fact that no ship arrived in 1757, 1758, or 1759.

John Perrin continued to carry a small number of slaves in the vessels he owned. In May 1750, the *Kingston*, owned by John Perrin and Son of Virginia, carried one slave from Barbados to the York District. Perrin and Son imported five slaves on the *Little Harry* in November 1752. On 10 September 1756, Perrin's sloop, *Kingston*, had one Barbados slave when it entered the York River. Yorktown's John Thompson was the owner of the Fanny, a vessel that carried slaves to the York River District twice in this decade. In October 1751, the *Fanny* counted a slave among the cargo it carried from Barbados. On 29 July 1755, Thompson's vessel had eleven slaves from Barbados when it arrived in the York River.

Family connections tied two other ship owners to Yorktown. George Tucker, an inhabitant of Bermuda, was the owner of the *Charming Anne*, a vessel that arrived in the York River from the island of Bermuda on 6 May 1754. Perhaps Tucker had the ship anchor in Yorktown because of his family connections to Frances Tucker Nelson, the widow of Thomas Nelson the Immigrant. Five months later, on 10 September 1754, the *Judith* arrived in the York River. The sloop's owner, Thomas Reynolds, was the husband of Susannah née Rogers Reynolds. This vessel brought three slaves to the York River district from Barbados.

During the 1760s and the 1770s, the overseas slave trade to Yorktown slowed dramatically as almost two-thirds of the slave ships carried Africans to ports on the James River.[24] In the 1760s, six ships brought 265 slaves into the York River. The *Eadith* transported 154 slaves and the other three vessels carried the remaining 111 enslaved laborers. In September 1763, the *John and Susanna*, owned by Perrin, carried four Antiguan slaves when it arrived in the York River. The following decade, the 1770s, saw just one ship, the *Hope*, enter the York River with slaves. The *Hope* had a cargo that included sixteen slaves from Barbados and Grenada. Beginning with the voyage of the Fairfax in 1698 and concluding with the 1771 trip made by the Hope, slavers made 271 trips to the York River. The vessels carried a minimum of 33,110 slaves into the York River District.

The Sale of Enslaved Africans in the York River District and in Yorktown

It is difficult, however, to determine where most of the slave ships docked and unloaded the enslaved Africans whom they transported across the Atlantic.[25] Once a vessel anchored in one of Virginia's ports, the ship captain consigned the slaves to a local agent who might have been selected by the men who invested in the slaving vessels.[26] Having taken possession of the enslaved men, women, and children, the local agent boarded the vessel to inspect the ship captain's records and to divide the slaves by gender and age. Next, he was responsible for the

[24] Walsh, "The Chesapeake Slave Trade," pp. 148-9.
[25] Personal communication from Lorena S. Walsh, 25 February 2010.
[26] Walsh observes that "London tobacco traders were frequently among the lists of investors in slaving vessels originating from that port, and the choice of local agents to manage slave sales almost certainly depended on knowledge and connections first developed through tobacco dealings. London merchants who dealt primarily in sweet-scented tobacco for the home market, for example, were prominent in the early lower Virginia slave trade." Walsh, "The Chesapeake Slave Trade," p. 151.

sale of the slaves and was the one who decided where and when the sales would take place. Once the date and location of the sale was set, the agent publicized the event. In addition to selling enslaved Africans, an agent helped the ship captain to procure the cargo he carried back to England and collected the money owed for the purchased slaves.[27]

There is little known about the details of the consignment process even though thousands of enslaved Africans were consigned to local agents. In 1710, John Tayloe, the owner of Mt. Airy on the Rappahannock River, served as an agent for English merchants and handled a shipment of enslaved Africans. Tayloe received a commission of eight percent for each slave that he sold for a bill of exchange and five percent for each enslaved laborer that he sold for tobacco.[28]

Thirteen years later, Tayloe served as one of the agents for the *Greyhound*, a ship that entered the York River in May 1723. Tayloe had connections to Isaac Hobhouse and Company, the Bristol mercantile firm that owned the *Greyhound*. This Virginia planter was involved in an iron works on the Rappahannock River as was Lyonel Lyde, a partner in Hobhouse and Company and the individual who decided to send the *Greyhound* to Virginia. Letters written by Tayloe; Augustine Moore, who also served as an agent for this vessel; and Edward Holden, the captain of the *Greyhound*, to Isaac Hobhouse and Company provide details about the many duties of an agent and the decisions that these men made as they sold cargoes of slaves.
The correspondence concerning the *Greyhound* predated the arrival of the ship in the York River. On 6 May 1723, Moore wrote to Hobhouse and Company concerning the cargo of the *Greyhound*. He noted

> She comes consign'd to Maj^{r} Tayloe and Selfe because you believe it may be for y^{e} interest of y^{e} Consernd, and y^{t} you observe many of y^{e} Negroes is Carried to Rapp^{a} for Sale after they come in th[is] River. I do own Negroes are carried there very offen after y^{e} best Sold, not for y^{e} goodness of their bills but to gett rid of y^{e} slaves in time.[29]

Moore and Tayloe consulted about the best location to sell the slaves from the *Greyhound*. On 29 May 1723, Tayloe informed Hobhouse and Company that

> M^{r} Moore and I have Agreed to sell the Cargo Jointly as being most for y^{e} Owners Intrest, There being most money Stiring in that river, the General Assembly being Siting together with the Kings birthday Cellebrated yesterday by the Gov^{r} has drawn a concourse of Gentry to W^{ms}burgh which may be a means to Expedite yr Sale[.][30]

A letter written by Edward Holden, the captain of the *Greyhound*, includes details about the slaves whom he transported to Virginia. Holden reported that it took him twenty-three days to sail from Barbados to the colony and he

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[27] Killinger, "The Royal African Company Slave Trade to Virginia," pp. 36-41, 43, 44.
[28] Suttell, "The British Slave Trade to Virginia," pp. 35-6.
[29] Augustine Moore to Isaac Hobhouse and Company, 6 May 1723, in Walter E. Minchinton, ed., "The Virginia Letters of Isaac Hobhouse, Merchant of Bristol," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 66, No. 3 (July 1958):293-4.
[30] John Tayloe to Isaac Hobhouse and Company, 29 May 1723, in ibid., p. 297.

> brought in hear 172 Slaves & all but 3 or 4 as outt a Littell of flesh y^e^ Rest full & harty free from any destemper or Disorder 89 Men 63 Women 14 boys 6 Girles hear is No Slavs Came into this River this year & do Hope Slavs Will bear a good Price for I may be Bold to Say that tiss almost Imposible to bring in Likelier or Better hear or Elswhere[.]

Holden also noted "as sone as I Came to y^e^ Mouth of y^e^ River y^e^ Pilott Came & M^r^ Moor has Order Me as Sone as Entered to bring the Ship to West Pointt Wich I shall obey[.]"[31] Moore's 4 June 1723 letter explained the decision to have Captain Holden anchor the *Greyhound* at West Point instead of in the Rappahannock River as he had hoped: "Capt Canaday arrived in Rappa wth Near 300 fine Slaves a day or two before ye Greyhound[.]" Next, Moore turned to the particulars of the sale when he wrote

> wee begun our sales of y^e^ Greyhound Yesterday at west point, sett y^e^ price att forty p^ds^ Sterl: a pair, where they took Six or Eight and forty two a Man and woman, a very poor Story after such a Loss in y^e^ voiage, but this price was very well Considerd before Sett, y^e^ times being hazard^s^ and y^e^ great Numb^r^ of Negroes Expected from y^e^ Comp^y^ to Coll: Spottswood and a Ship from London to Coll: Digges has made y^e^ Gent^n^ dull and not willing to buy at these prises, however have Sold upwards of fifty at y^e^ above prises, and hope shant be longue before I get y^m^ off, can only say shall doe my best for Yo^r^ interest, and give all y^e^ Dispatch in my power[.][32]

On 22 June 1723, Captain Holden recorded an update on the sale of the slaves imported on the *Greyhound*. He wrote

> When I came up to West point according to M^r^ Moors Orders he Apointted a day of Sale & Sentt hors & man Throu y^e^ Country to aquaintt Gentellmen & Others of y^e^ Arival of your Ship with Slaves y^e^ Day Came & a Great many Chaps Came from one place or another Likewise Major Tayloe was there so because There shuld be No Exceaptions Major Tayloe Sett ye Price £ 40 Starling apair[.]

Holden's letter also indicated that Tayloe had more than one cargo of slaves to sell. According to the ship captain, after establishing the price for slaves on the *Greyhound*, Tayloe

> Whentt presently for Rapahanock to Dispactt ye Serloo[33] so M^r^ More sold thatt day fivety butt Nott under butt a Littell advance on Sum itt being on Munday & y^e^ Sunday following being as att M^r^ Moors there came Major Tayloe to See how things was So I porpose to Send a Slope Round for Tobaco for I hope he Would Favur you With Sixty or Seventy Hoggd^s^ for to Send your Ship Sone away His answer was he Could Nott Promise for he Must Dispactt the Serloo & y^e^ Tayloo[34] when there & Tobaco being so Scarce he Could Not promise One Hogg^d^ any y^e^ Monday Morning he Whentt over y^e^ River the

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[31] Holden left thirty-three slaves in Barbados, many of whom were "Mawger Slaves." Edward Holden to Isaac Hobhouse and Company, 26 May 1723, in ibid., p. 296.

[32] Augustine Moore to Isaac Hobhouse and Company, 4 June 1723, in ibid., pp. 297-8.

[33] The *Shirley* arrived in the Rappahannock on 24 May 1723 with 230 slaves. Minchinton, et al., eds., *Virginia Slave Trade Statistics*, p. 51.

[34] The *Tayloe* was a ship owned by John Tayloe and Company. Minchinton, ed., "The Virginia Letters of Isaac Hobhouse," p. 299 n. 54.

> World — I have been Inform'd y^{t} you Should say y^{o} wold never be for Rapahanock there was Six or Eight men Coming over to M^{r} Moors to buy Slaves So hee told them thatt taws all one between them both for y^{e} Slaves was Jointtly Consine to both and y^{e} thing Was y^{e} Same So Toke y^{e} Chapts with him to Rapahanock for to Lessen y^{e} Sherloss Complementt M^{r} Moors has Left No Way any thing Slipt in Making y^{e} Utmost Dispactt concarning your Intrust[.]

Next, Holden returned to his responsibilities and what he needed to accomplish before he could guide the vessel back to England. He noted

> I have had a Slope Gon for Tobaco this forttnight & do hope to hav her on bord With Sixty Hogg^{ds} in a few days More M^{r} More Tells me thince tis as itt tis he hops in a Shortt time to gett me My Load of Tobaco, for he is a Man so much Respectted by both Gentell & Simpell thatt if tis posible to be had he will have itt & others go Withoutt itt for Som of y^{e} Bristoll men I belive Will Wantt of being full Considerablebly Major Tayloo has Nott been hear Since Concerning Slaves or Els butt God be praised I have butt 19 left & do hope Thay Will be gon Soone[.][35]

Three days later, on 25 June 1723, Augustine Moore's letter to the Hobhouse Company expressed optimism that his work as one of the agents for the *Greyhound* would soon be complete. Moore wrote that "I am in hopes to make y^{e} Greyhound a full Shipp of tob^{o}, and if weath^{r} proves good I hope she will leave us ab^{t} y^{e} Last of Next Month." In addition, this agent also echoed Holden's hope that he could sell the remaining slaves soon. He noted "what Slaves wee have left goes of Slow and dull, yett am in hopes to gett Clear of y^{m} before y^{e} Ship Sailes[.]" Moore closed his letter by informing Hobhouse that he arranged to have the Greyhound carry ten tons of pig iron on the voyage back to England.[36]

Details included in the correspondence from Augustine Moore, John Tayloe, and Edward Holden to the Isaac Hobhouse Company provide information about the responsibilities of the men who served as agents for English mercantile firms and the ship captains who guided vessels with slaves across the Atlantic Ocean and into Virginia's rivers. The men who arranged the sales of enslaved Africans in Yorktown no doubt had similar tasks to carry out. It is likely that they also earned an eight percent commission on each slave whom they sold. A 1739 letter written by William Byrd II to Mr. Andrews, a resident of Rotterdam reported that eight percent was "the Allowance Our Negro Sellers have[.]"[37]

As the letters from Augustine Moore and John Tayloe to Isaac Hobhouse and Company indicate, it was to the financial benefit of the local agent (or agents) to sell the cargo of recently imported

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[35] Edward Holden to Isaac Hobhouse and Company, 22 June 1723, in ibid., pp. 299-300.
[36] Augustine Moore to Isaac Hobhouse and Company, 25 June 1723, in ibid., p. 300.
[37] Byrd's letter concerned the migration of a group of Palatine indentured servants to Virginia. He informed Andrews that in his colony, a Palatine servant was "sold for Four years and fetch from 6 to 9 Pounds and perhaps good Tradesmen may go for Ten." Byrd believed he could "dispose of two Ships Load every year in this River" and that he would "undertake it for Eight P cent on the sales . . . This is the Allowance Our Negro Sellers have, which Sell for more than Double these People will, and consequently afford twice the Profit." "Colonel William Byrd on Slavery and Indented Servants, 1736, 1739," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (October 1895):88-90 (quotation p. 90).

Africans in an area where the demand for slaves was high. The correspondence of Robert "King" Carter also noted that it was beneficial to the mercantile firm to have their slave ships arrive in Virginia in the spring, the time planters bought Africans to replace the enslaved laborers who died during the winter months. In addition, a cargo that contained more males than females sold at a faster pace than a cargo in which women and girls outnumber men and boys.[38]

It is probable that the majority of the slavers that entered the York River between 1700 and 1730 dropped their anchors at Yorktown. During this time period, planters in this part of Virginia actively added new slaves to their labor forces. Walsh notes that gentry planters who reached their majority at the turn of the eighteenth century tended to inherit a small number of slaves from their fathers and to gain possession of a few laborers as part of their wives' dowries. In many cases, however, a planter did not have enough slaves to produce tobacco on a Tidewater plantation and to create new fields on undeveloped land in the Piedmont. Elite colonists purchased imported Africans to expand their labor forces and "Although most bought only one, two, and seldom more than four slaves from individual ships, they nonetheless acquired their adult labor forces in a span of no more than ten to fifteen years, either through design or because their adult careers ended in an early death."[39]

Investors in slavers knew that planters along the York River wanted to purchase additional laborers. Ships carrying Africans from the Bight of Biafra and Angola arrived in the York district because planters in this region had the reputation of purchasing large numbers of slaves and being able to pay for their purchases. As a result, merchants directed their larger vessels with the most enslaved Africans to the York River because they expected to sell the captives in a short period of time.[40]

Between 1700 and 1730, it is likely that ship owners with connections to Yorktown had their vessels dock at York's port city. They knew that planters in the Lower Tidewater would hear of the ship's arrival and travel to Yorktown to purchase slaves at public sales in the waterfront area. Perhaps John Martin, a merchant and mariner who lived on Lot 42 in the first decade of the eighteenth century, returned to Yorktown during the 1710s to consign slaves to a resident of this port. In 1713, Martin carried twenty-eight slaves on the *Duke of Cambridge*. It is known that Martin guided the *Duke of Cambridge* into the York River in 1714 and again in 1717. First, in 1714, Martin transported 152 slaves and three years later, he and William Keeling transported 147 enslaved Africans. The year 1717 was also the time that Thomas Ballard, the captain of the *Richard and Alice*, carried one slave from Barbados to Virginia. Perhaps Ballard transported this enslaved laborer for a family member who lived in Yorktown.

During the 1720s, several men with ties to Yorktown played a part in the slave trade. The 4 June 1723 letter from Augustine Moore to Isaac Hobhouse and Company noted that he expected "a Ship from London to Coll: Digges" and it is possible that Cole Digges had an interest in the Swift, a vessel that arrived in the York River on 26 July 1723 with 290 slaves.[41] Dudley Digges

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[38] Suttell, "The British Slave Trade to Virginia," pp. 57-9.
[39] Walsh, "The Chesapeake Slave Trade," p. 156.
[40] Ibid., pp. 154-5.
[41] Augustine Moore to Isaac Hobhouse and Company, 4 June 1723, in Minchinton, ed., "The Virginia Letters of Isaac Hobhouse," p. 298; Minchinton, et al., eds., *Virginia Slave Trade Statistics*, p. 51.

was the owner of the *Providence*, built on the Elizabeth River in 1721, and registered in Williamsburg on 13 April 1724. On 8 June 1725, the *Providence* arrived in the York River District with 174 slaves from Sierra Leone. Perhaps Digges arranged the sale of the recently arrived Africans soon after the ship anchored. Yorktown residents no doubt were among the people who bought fifty-three slaves in this cargo. The *Providence* cleared the York River District three days after its arrival and took 121 slaves to a port in Maryland.

On 15 July 1726, the *Providence* entered the York River. Its cargo included 141 slaves from Africa's Windward Coast. A little over a year later, on 22 September 1727, the captain of the *Providence* navigated this vessel into the York River from the Chesapeake Bay. In the fall of 1727, Dudley Digges and his son, Cole, were noted as the owners of the *Providence* and their vessel brought 125 enslaved Africans to Virginia.[42]

During the 1720s, two men with family ties to Yorktown residents participated in the slave trade. On 6 May 1725, John Tucker sailed the *Phoenix*, a Virginia-built sloop, to the York River District. Tucker, the son of Frances Tucker Nelson, carried seven slaves from Barbados to Virginia. Almost three months after the arrival of the *Phoenix*, the *Katherine* sailed into the York River. The *Katherine*, a ship built and registered in Bermuda in 1724, entered the York River on 16 August 1725, after a voyage from Barbados. It is likely that the vessel's owner, Thomas Chisman Junior, had the vessel dock in Yorktown, and the captain unloaded thirty-four Africans in York's port. Chisman, a planter in the lower end of York County, was a relative of the Nelson family. The *Katherine* made another trip to Barbados, and on 23 May 1726 the ship returned to the York River. The younger Chisman probably had the cargo of thirty-one slaves sold in Yorktown.

A British merchant and former Yorktown lot owner, Micajah Perry, was the owner of the *Spotswood*. On 8 December 1725, the *Spotswood* entered the York District from Jamaica with one slave. Perhaps Perry arranged the transportation of an enslaved laborer for someone whom he knew from his time in York's port.

By the 1730s, it is likely that more slave ships unloaded enslaved Africans at West Point than at Yorktown because a greater number of purchasers would have been from that area.[43] Announcements in the extant issues of the *Virginia Gazette* (first published in 1736) provide details about the places in the York River District where some of the newly arrived slaves were sold. The newspaper notices also indicate that several of Yorktown's merchants served as local agents and arranged the details of slave sales.

On 6 August 1736, the *Withers* entered the York River district. Three days later, the 9 August 1736 issue of the *Virginia Gazette* announced

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[42] On 18 May 1727, another vessel, the *Fancy*, owned by Dudley Digges left the York River for Maryland. The *Fancy*, a sloop built in Virginia in 1723 and registered in Williamsburg on 29 October 1717, carried fifty passengers to Maryland. Minchinton, et als., eds., *Virginia Slave Trade Statistics*, p. 191.

[43] John Perrin and Francis Willis, residents of Gloucester County, might have anchored their vessels on the northern side of the York River to make it easier to unload goods and transport these items to their warehouses. It is possible, however, that both Perrin and Willis had their ships dock at Yorktown.

> The Ship Withers is just arriv'd from the Coast of Africa, with near 300 choice Slaves, which are to be put to Sale at York this day, and to continue there 'til Saturday next: And at West Point on Monday, the 16th Instant, and there to continue 'til they are all sold, by G. Braxton.

George Braxton decided to allow six days to sell enslaved Africans in Yorktown before he moved the remaining slaves to West Point.[44]
The following April, Thomas Nelson the Immigrant placed the following announcement in the 8 April 1737 edition of the *Virginia Gazette*. He informed the paper's readers that

> THE Ship Johnston, of Liverpool, Capt. James Gildart, is arriv'd at York, from Angola, with 490 choice young Slaves: The Sale of them is to begin on Tuesday the 12th Instant, at York Town, by Thomas Nelson

The sale began six days after the ship arrived in the York River, and colonists purchased 235 slaves from Angola. The 29 April 1737 issue of the *Virginia Gazette* noted that Captain Gildart left Yorktown for an unspecified port in Maryland on 23 April. The *Johnson* carried 260 slaves who had not been purchased at the sales on Yorktown's waterfront.[45]

It is possible that the 10 June 1737 announcement of the arrival of a ship "on Monday last" from Guinea referred to the *Hobhouse*, a vessel that sailed to Yorktown on 6 June 1737. It is possible that a portion of the *Hobhouse's* cargo was sold in York's port. The 30 September 1737 issue of the *Virginia Gazette* noted that the vessel was at York and that it was expected to set sail later that day.[46]

The 14 April 1738 issue of the *Virginia Gazette* announced "This week a Ship arriv'd in York River from guinea, with upwards of 200 Negroes, which are consign'd to Col. Braxton." It is possible that this notice referred to the arrival of the *Bridget*. A week later, the 21 April 1738 edition of the paper noted the arrival of the *Bridget* and its cargo of 190 slaves.[47] Perhaps Braxton followed his previous practice and began the sale of these slaves in Yorktown and then moved the unsold Africans to West Point.

The 4 August 1738 issue of the newspaper noted the 27 July arrival of the "Sloop Molly, of Virginia, John Thompson, Master, from Barbados, with 45 Hogsheads, 8 Tierces, and 9 Barrels of Rum, 69 Barrels of Sugar, 1 Bag of Cotton, and 3 Negroes."[48] A week later, on 4 August 1738, a ship "arrived from Guinea, with about 300 Negroes, consign'd to Col. Moore." It is likely that this vessel was the *Faulcon*. A more precise entry about the *Faulcon* appeared three weeks later. On 25 August 1738, a notice in the paper announced that the 5 August arrival of the "Ship Faulcon, of London, Haiden Young, Master, from London, but last from Guinea, with 348

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[44] *Virginia Gazette*, 9 August 1736.
[45] Ibid., 8 April 1737 and 29 April 1737.
[46] Ibid., 10 June 1737 and 30 September 1737.
[47] Ibid., 14 April 1738 and 21 April 1738.
[48] Ibid., 4 August 1738.

Slaves, some returned Goods, and 14 lbs. of Elephants Teeth."[49] The local agents, unfortunately, did not note whether the sales of these cargos would take place at Yorktown or at West Point.

In early June 1739, Thomas Nelson the Immigrant and his oldest son, President William Nelson, announced the arrival of a slaver and the sale of its cargo of slaves. On 8 June 1739, the Nelsons informed readers of the *Virginia Gazette*

> THAT the Black Prince, Capt. John Simpson, of London, is lately arrived from the Gold Coast, with a Cargo of choice Slaves, the sale of which began at York Town on the 7th Instant, and is to continue there 'till the whole Cargo is disposed of. She is intended to take in Tobacco at Seven Pounds per Ton, for London; will make a reasonable Allowance to those that bring their Tobacco on board, and will sail the first Week in August, tho' but half Loaded. She is but 3 Years old, and is well fitted. Thomas and William Nelson.

The sale of the slaves was slow, and the Nelsons placed their announcement in the 15 and 22 June 1739 editions of the newspaper to let readers know that they still had a chance to purchase an enslaved laborer.[50]

The sale concluded by 29 June 1739, the day that John Sibson, the captain of the *Black Prince*, placed the following notice in the *Virginia Gazette*. He announced

> WHEREAS the Snow Black Prince, of London, a prime Sailor, mounted with 16 Guns, Burthen 150 Tons, between 3 and 4 Years old, belonging to William Gerrish, Esq, and John Sibson, is now ready to take into Tobacco at Six Pounds per Ton, provided they send it on Board before the First of August next, or Seven Pounds per Ton, if fetch'd at the Expence of the Ship. Part of her Loading is already agreed for. She will be ready to sail the first Week in August, (unforeseen Accidents excepted,) or will carry the Tobacco Freight free.

It appears that Sibson, during his time in Yorktown, heard colonists express some concerns about the ship he guided. Sibson addressed these worries when he stated

> I find it has been industriously reported for many Years, that Ships which come from Guinea here with Slaves, are never after in a Condition to take in Tobacco, which is very absurd and ungenerous, and a great Discouragement to bring Negroes here: But I cannot think any Man, who has any Notion of a Ship, can ever imagine any one will venture his Life and Fortune to Sea in a Vessel that is not Sea worthy. However, to clear up all Doubts of that kind, if any Gentleman has a Mind to ship any Tobacco on board me, I will cause a Survey to be made of my Vessel by whom they shall desire, and her Condition shall be reported accordingly.[51]

Sibson's effort to assure planters of the worthiness of his vessel was successful. The 3 August 1739 issue of the *Virginia Gazette* noted

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[49] Ibid., 4 August 1738 and 25 August 1738.
[50] Ibid., 8 June 1739, 15 June 1739, and 22 June 1739.
[51] Ibid., 29 June 1739.

> THE Snow Black Prince, of and for London, now lying in York River, John Sibson, Commander, being near loaden; those Gentlemen who intend their Tobacco by her, at Six Pounds per Ton, are desir'd to send it on board with all possible Speed; and those Gentlemen who have favour'd him with their Tobacco, are desir'd to send their Bills of Lading; for the said Snow will certainly sail on the 10th of August; but will take no Tobacco on board after the 6th.

The *Black Prince*, under the direction of John Sibson, cleared the York River District on 9 August, a day sooner than the captain expected. The vessel carried 100 hogshead of tobacco.[52]

Another ship, the *Prince of Orange*, arrived in Yorktown two days before the *Black Prince* set sail. The *Prince of Orange* transported enslaved Africans into the York River District and George Braxton was the local agent for this group of slaves. The 10 August 1739 issue of the *Virginia Gazette* included Braxton's announcement

> JUST arriv'd in York River, the Ship Prince of Orange, Japhet Bird, Commander, with Two Hundred and odd Choice SLAVES. The Days of Sale will begin on Friday the 10th of this instant, at York; and on Wednesday the 15th, at West-Point.

Braxton dated his notice 4 August 1739, the day this vessel arrived in York River. This indicates that he expected the *Prince of Orange* to arrive in early August and made plans for the sale before the captain anchored the ship at Yorktown.[53]

The next extant notice of a slave sale in Yorktown can be found in the 18 September 1746 edition of the *Virginia Gazette*.[54] Three merchants—Hubbard, Hill, and Norton—announced

> Just arriv'd, THE Snow Planter, Thomas Foulkes, Master from Guinea, with 226 Choice Gold Coast Slaves, the Sale to be at York, on the 18th, 19th, and 20th of this instant, and on Tuesday the 23rd, at West-Point, to continue 'til the Sale be compleated by Hubbard, Hill, & Norton.[55]

Perhaps John Norton persuaded the two other local agents—Mr. Hubbard and Humphrey Hill—to have the *Planter* anchor in Yorktown and to hold a three-day sale of the slaves this vessel transported from the Gold Coast.

Issues of the *Virginia Gazette* from 1752 provide details about several of the vessels that entered the York River District in that year, the last in which the number of new Africans topped 1,000. The 22 May 1752 edition of the colony's newspaper noted the arrival, on the previous day, "of a

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[52] Ibid., 3 August 1739 and 24 August 1739.
[53] Ibid., 10 August 1739.
[54] Perhaps John King, a Williamsburg merchant, had the ship he owned, the *Williamsburg*, anchor at Yorktown on 28 July 1740 with 230 Guinea slaves and again on 13 June 1743 with 300 slaves from Africa. John Harmer, another Williamsburg merchant, might have ordered the *Sarah* to dock at Yorktown on 15 December 1743 to unload the two slaves she carried from Barbados. A third Williamsburg merchant, Walter King, was the owner of the *Broomfield*, a vessel that entered the York River on 6 August 1745 with 187 slaves from Africa. Minchinton, et al., eds., *Virginia Slave Trade Statistics*, pp. 107, 125, 127, 133.
[55] *Virginia Gazette*, 18 September 1746.

Ship from *Africa*, with Slaves, consign'd to Messrs. *Norton* and *Hill*, in York River."[56] Perhaps this announcement referred to the *Cumberland*, a ship that arrived in the York River District with 103 slaves from Gambia. Two weeks after Yorktown's John Norton and Humphrey Hill of King and Queen County placed their notice, Norton and David Jameson, another merchant in York, informed readers of the *Virginia Gazette*

> Just arrived in York River, from Africa,
> THE ship Alice, Richard Jackson, Master, with a Cargo of choice healthy Slaves, the sale of which will begin at York Town, on Monday the 8th Instant, and at West-Point on Friday following, and be continued 'til all are sold.[57]

On 12 June and 18 June 1752, Norton and Jameson announced that the *Alice* was at West Point, and the vessel was ready to be loaded with tobacco to be shipped to Liverpool.

In late June 1752, President William Nelson and his brother, Secretary Thomas Nelson, served as the local agents for the *Boyne*, a ship that arrived in the York River on 22 June. Three days after the vessel's arrival, they announced

> Just arriv'd in York River, from Africa,
> The Ship Boyne, William Wilkinson Commander, with a Cargoe of fine healthy Slaves, the Sale of which will begin at York Town, To-morrow, and at West-Point, on Wednesday next; and continue there 'til all are sold.[58]

A month later, in July of 1752, President William Nelson was part of a group who informed Virginians that a ship had just arrived from Angola. Nelson, Tucker, and Company announced the following details about the vessel and its cargo:

> THE Ship Molly, Captain Isaac Lane with a Cargoe of fine Slaves, the Sale of which will begin at York Town, on Monday the 6th of July, and at West Point, on Wednesday, the 8th; and be continued there 'til all are sold.
>
> N. B. She is an entire new Ship, and will taken in Tobacco at 6 l. per Ton, with Liberty of Consignment to any Merchant in London: Notes may be delivered to the Captain on Board, and at the adjacent County Courts, or to Nelson, Tucker, & Company.[59]

In late October 1752, John Robinson and Humphrey Hill noted that

> Just arrived from Africa, THE Ship Tryal, Joseph Little, Master, with a Cargo of choice healthy Slaves; the Sale of which began at York-Town, on Thursday the 26th Instant, and on Tuesday the 31st will begin at West-Point, and continue 'til all are sold.[60]

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[56] Ibid., 22 May 1752.
[57] Ibid., 5 June 1752.
[58] Ibid., 25 June 1752.
[59] Ibid., 3 July 1752.
[60] Ibid., 27 October 1752.

Details in extant issues of the *Virginia Gazette* provide evidence that nine slave ships anchored at Yorktown and local agents conducted sales of enslaved Africans in the port's waterfront area. With the exception of the *Black Prince*, the sales of slaves began within a week of the ship's arrival in the York River District. Thomas Nelson the Immigrant and President William Nelson waited almost four weeks before they held the sales of enslaved Africans transported on the *Black Prince*.

Purchasers tended to be those planters who lived a short distance from the harbor where the vessel anchored, learned of the sale from a friend, or who sent an agent to bid on the enslaved Africans.[61] A sale might last six days as was the case with the slaves transported to the York River District on the 1736 voyage of the *Withers*. Three years later, the Nelsons found that it took several weeks to sell the enslaved Africans from the *Black Prince*. The Yorktown sale of the cargo of the *Prince of Orange*, another ship that sailed into the York River in the summer of 1739, lasted for just one day.

The decision by George Braxton to limit the sale of slaves from the *Prince of Orange* to one day is an indication that he did not expect many purchasers to gather at Yorktown's waterfront. Perhaps he reduced the sale to one day once he learned that it took the Nelsons almost a month to find purchasers for the slaves from the *Black Prince*. Information in announcements in the *Virginia Gazette* between 1746 and 1752 indicates that other local agents followed Braxton's pattern—a sale of no more than three days in Yorktown followed by a longer purchase period in West Point. On 16 September 1746, the *Planter* carried 226 slaves into the York River District. The colonists gathered on Yorktown's waterfront to purchase newly arrived slaves from 18 to 20 September. The sale continued at West Point on 23 September 1746.

Six years later, purchases of the slaves transported on the *Alice* began on 8 June 1752, a week after its arrival. The local agents authorized the ship captain to move the vessel to West Point by 12 June 1752 so planters in this area could bid on enslaved Africans. The Nelsons began the sale of slaves on 26 June 1752, four days after the *Boyne* sailed into the York River. Any unsold slaves would be transported to West Point for a sale that began the following week. It appears that Nelson, Tucker, and Company did not expect many colonists in the Yorktown area to buy slaves from the *Molly*. This company allotted one day to a sale in York's port town and then planned to have the rest of the enslaved Africans sold at sales in West Point.

Extant documents indicate that one more slaver anchored at Yorktown. On 10 June 1761, the *Eadith* entered the York River District with a cargo of 154 enslaved Africans.[62] President William Nelson served as the local agent for the vessel, and the surviving account documents the many activities that took place in guiding a ship into Yorktown, provisioning the crew on the ship, advertising the sale, and piloting the vessel as it left the York River for its return voyage to its home port of Liverpool.

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[61] Walsh, "The Chesapeake Slave Trade," p. 155.

[62] Lorena S. Walsh generously shared her transcription of documents concerning the *Eadith*. See Yale University Microfilm Collection, *Abolition and Emancipation*, Part 2: Slavery Collections from the Merseyside Maritime Museum, Liverpool; Adam Matthew Publications, Marlborough Wiltshire England Reel 18, Invoice Book of the Brig *Eadith*, July 1760.

On 24 July 1761, Nelson submitted bills for expenses that he incurred as the *Eadith's* local agent. Nelson noted he spent £ 1.15 for "express with advertisements" so he could let prospective purchasers know about the sale. The £ 1.10 that Nelson put towards "printing & publishing ads" indicates that he advertised the sale of enslaved Africans in the *Virginia Gazette*. Nelson paid another £ 4.16.3 for "sale liquors, etc."

The list of men who stood along Yorktown's waterfront and bought slaves reveals that residents of the Yorktown area still wanted to purchase new slaves. On 16 July 1761, Secretary Thomas Nelson paid £ 245 for five male slaves and two enslaved women. Thomas Archer spent £ 36 on an enslaved woman, the same amount of money that Thomas Gibbs paid for an adult female slave. William Nelson, the local agent, decided to add three enslaved women to his labor force at the cost of £108. The crowd gathered in Yorktown also included residents of Williamsburg. Robert Carter Nicholas acquired two adult male slaves and four enslaved women for the sum of £ 210. George Davenport spent £ 36 for an enslaved boy and Joseph Davenport paid the same amount of money for a young female slave. The following day, 17 July 1761, Thomas Gibbs was the only person to purchase a slave from the *Eadith's* cargo. Gibbs expended £ 8.12.5 for a girl who was described as "meagre." Near the end of the sale, Secretary Nelson decided to spend the sum of £ 35 for an enslaved woman.

On 18 July 1761 and 23 July 1761, the auctioneer sold most of the slaves to merchants in wholesale lots. The firm of Taylor and Snelson purchased twenty slaves—eight men, four women, four boys, and four girls—for the sum of £ 666.13.4. Eight enslaved Africans—four adult males, one boy, and three girls—became the property of Smith and Allen, another mercantile firm. A total of eight mercantile firms bought twenty-four men, twenty-three women, twenty-four boys, and twenty-six girls at the sales of the slaves transported by the *Eadith.* Having purchased these enslaved Africans, the merchants then took the *Eadith's* slaves to the upcountry portion of the Piedmont for resale. The captain and crew of the *Eadith* prepared the vessel for the return voyage to Liverpool and departed Yorktown on 24 July 1761, just over six weeks after it arrived in York County's port.

The Impact of the Sale of Enslaved Africans on Yorktown

Details in the accounts of the ship *Eadith* indicate that the presence of a slaver in Yorktown's harbor changed the pace of life in this port. All areas of Yorktown bustled with activity as the port's residents provided goods and services needed by the ship's crew. In addition, the prospective purchasers who gathered in Yorktown on the days of sales

As a ship sailed into Yorktown and dropped its anchor, local officials no doubt waited to talk to the ship captain and to inspect the vessel's cargo. For many years, James Pride served as the administrator for the York River District and Richard Ambler held the position of the Collector of Customs for the York River District. The local agent also talked with the ship captain and finalized arrangements for the sale of the enslaved Africans on the vessel. After the completion of the necessary paperwork, slaves owned by Yorktown's merchants would have unloaded any goods ordered by their masters and moved these items to nearby warehouses or to storehouses in the main part of the town.

It is likely that the ship's crew eagerly departed from the vessel and walked to one of Yorktown's taverns for food and drink. Tavern keepers—on the waterfront and along Main Street—would have made sure to have a large supply of food and drinks on hand. As part of their preparation for the arrival of a ship, these men and women might have made arrangements with local butchers—including Yorktown's Patrick Matthews and Benjamin Hanson—to make sure that they had a sufficient amount of beef, pork, and mutton. The tavern keepers would also have wanted to have a sufficient amount of hard cider, beer, wine, and liquors to serve their customers. The increased number of patrons in a tavern meant that the tavern keepers' slaves had a greater amount of work to do. Perhaps the keeper of the Swan Tavern and other establishments hired free blacks to make sure that food was served, dishes were cleared, and mugs were full.

Perhaps the ferry keeper had a greater number of passengers to convey across the York River on both the day before the sale and the day of the sale. On the morning of a slave sale, local planters arrived in Yorktown and inspected the enslaved Africans to be sold. The prospective purchasers might have enjoyed the "sale liquors" provided by the local agent as they waited for the sale to begin. At the conclusion of a day's sale, some men would have returned home in order to take their new slaves to their plantations. Several of these individuals would have used the ferry to cross to the northern side of the York River or to the Eastern Shore. Other colonists would have remained in Yorktown to enjoy a night of entertainment in one of the taverns and to be in town for the start of the next day's sale.

The port's tavern keepers remained busy as long as the ship stayed in Yorktown. In some cases, the slaver was in port for less than a week. In other instances, vessels including the *Black Prince* and the *Eadith* were in Yorktown's harbor for an extended stay of six weeks or longer. If a ship needed repair work, the local tradesmen also experienced an increase in their business. Yorktown's blacksmith's—including Ephraim Goosley and Reginald Orton—could have repaired broken or damaged metal work. John Thompson might have hired out one of his slaves to help mend a ripped or torn sail.

Yorktown's role as a port of entry for slave ships shaped the way its residents lived. A number of the town's residents chose to live in Yorktown because they provided services needed by a ship's crew. Other inhabitants established themselves in Yorktown because they were merchants who ordered fashionable imported goods for customers in their town, in Williamsburg, and in nearby rural areas. The arrival and departure of vessels increased and then decreased activity in all areas of the town and the number of colonists who gathered in Yorktown.

The presence of a slave ship continued to influence life in Yorktown, even after the vessel set sail and left the York River. The enslaved Africans purchased by Yorktown residents became laborers in town households and in tobacco fields on their master's Yorkhampton Parish plantations. The presence of enslaved men, women, and children helped the area's population to grow as slaves formed families. Section 4 of this report focuses on the many experiences of Yorktown's slaves as they adapted to life in this town.

Table 1
Slave Ships Entering the York River District, 1698-1771

Date of Arrival	Ship Name	Principal Region of Slave Purchase	Number of Slaves Taken to York District	Notes
1698-05-30	Fairfax	Guinea	139	ship took 50 slaves to port in Maryland
1700-00-00	Success	Africa		not clear if ship disembarked slaves in York District
1700-07-08	Nicholson	Guinea	229	
1701-07-09	Two Brothers	Bight of Biafra	60	
1701-07-10	Constant Jane	Barbados		unknown number of slaves
1701-07-10	Shrewsburg Gally	Africa	154	
1701-07-26	Neptune	Africa	79	140 slaves disembarked in Barbados
1701-07-28	African Gally	New Calabar	57	
1701-09-01	Warner	Africa	184	
1701-09-02	Nicholson	Africa	262	
1701-12-27	Expectation	Guinea	67	123 slaves disembarked in Barbados
1702-02-10	Ann Bonaventure	Africa	90	174 slaves disembarked in Barbados
1702-05-27	Mary	Africa	143	
1703-06-04	Angola Frigate	Angola	92	
1703-09-01	Ann	Guinea	64	
1705-06-26	Dorothy	Cape Coast Castle	80	
1705-07-09	John Bonaventure	Africa	420	
1705-07-09	London Gally	Africa	240	
1705-08-13	Thomas and John	Guinea	292	
1705-08-18	Angola Frigate	Cape Coast	214	
1705-08-20	Aaron Frigate	Africa	109	
1706-04-19	William	Africa	120	
1706-04-24	Neptune	Whydah	243	60 slaves disembarked in Jamaica
1712-00-00	Digges Frigot	London	1	
1712-00-00	Lane Frances	Barbados	2	
1712-00-00	London Merchant	London	1	
1712-00-00	Sea Flower	Fyall	2	
1712-00-00	Tryall	Barbados	16	
1712-00-00	unnamed ship	Africa	1	imported for William Rogers
1712-00-00	unnamed ship	North Carolina	2	Indians brought into York District by Captain Frederick Jones
1713-00-00	Annah and Sarah	Africa	136	54 slaves disembarked in Barbados
1713-00-00	Duke Cambridge	Africa	28	unknown number of slaves disembarked in Barbados
1713-00-00	Elizabeth	Barbados	1	
1713-00-00	Mary	Africa	109	unknown number of slaves disembarked in Barbados
1713-00-00	Princess Ann	Bristol	1	
1714-00-00	Ann Gally	Gambia	111	
1714-00-00	Betty	South Carolina	1	
1714-00-00	Duke Cambridge	Barbados	152	
1714-00-00	George	Maryland	3	
1714-00-00	Greyhound Gally	Africa	64	126 slaves disembarked in Barbados
1714-00-00	Oak	Barbados	2	
1714-00-00	Robert	Maryland	1	
1716-00-00	Snow Rebecca	Africa	129	6 slaves were not taken off the vessel
1717-00-00	Bewdley	Barbados	2	

Table 1
Slave Ships Entering the York River District, 1698-1771

Date of Arrival	Ship Name	Principal Region of Slave Purchase	Number of Slaves Taken to York District	Notes
1717-00-00	Duke Cambridge	Africa	147	unknown number of slaves disembarked in Barbados
1717-00-00	Emra	Nevis	2	
1717-00-00	Little Betty	Antigua	5	
1717-00-00	Maidstone	Africa	111	unknown number of slaves disembarked in Barbados
1717-00-00	Mary	Barbados	6	
1717-00-00	Mary Anne	Philadelphia	1	
1717-00-00	Rachell	Jamaica	43	
1717-00-00	Richard and Alice	Barbados	1	
1717-00-00	Three Sisters	Cape Coast Castle	109	
1717-05-08	Parnel Gally	New Calabar	106	117 slaves disembarked in Barbados
1718-00-00	Baylor	Africa	66	unknown number of slaves disembarked in Barbados
1718-00-00	Diligence	Jamaica	58	
1718-00-00	Mary	Africa	82	unknown number of slaves disembarked in
1718-00-00	Oak	Barbados	24	
1718-00-00	Pink Sarah	Barbados	1	
1718-00-00	Robert and Jane	Antigua	96	
1718-00-00	unnamed ship	Africa	1	brought in by Goodrich Lightfoot
1718-01-07	Ellen	Gold Coast	29	40 slaves disembarked in Barbados
1718-05-26	Bootle	Sierra Leone	84	
1718-06-09	Ramsey	Bonny or New Calabar	126	
1718-06-10	Higginson	Old Calabar	166	
1718-06-23	Peterborough	Calabar	93	116 slaves disembarked in Barbados
1718-06-26	Berkley Gally	New Calabar	143	2 slaves were not taken off the vessel
1718-07-23	Parnel Gally	Calabar	142	67 slaves disembarked in Barbados
1718-08-11	Greyhound Gally	Bonny	182	
1718-08-18	Ferrand Gally	Old Calabar	61	
1719-05-18	Prince Eugene	Madagascar	340	
1719-05-18	Violet	Guinea	128	
1719-06-28	Africa Brigtantine	Guinea	84	
1719-06-30	Anna and Sarah	Calabar	159	
1719-07-04	Mayflower	Gold Coast	104	
1719-07-09	Little John	Calabar	53	
1719-07-25	Berkley Gally	Calabar	185	
1719-08-18	Sierralone	Calabar	103	
1719-08-21	Moorhampton	Bonny	61	
1719-09-01	Greyhound	Calabar	170	
1719-09-08	Colston	Calabar	123	
1719-10-27	Noblett Sloop	Angola	146	
1720-04-20	Calabar Merchant	[Old] Calabar	156	
1720-05-11	Commerce	Calabar	130	
1720-05-31	Berkley	Calabar	160	
1720-06-01	Betty	Calabar	82	
1720-07-07	Twerton	Calabar	210	
1720-08-04	Hunter	Calabar	55	
1720-08-16	Mayflower	Gold Coast	109	

Table 1
Slave Ships Entering the York River District, 1698-1771

Date of Arrival	Ship Name	Principal Region of Slave Purchase	Number of Slaves Taken to York District	Notes
1721-04-06	Greyhound	Calabar	222	
1721-04-24	Margaret	Gold Coast	160	
1721-05-09	Swift	Cabinda	153	
1721-05-13	Gascoigne	Madagascar	133	
1721-06-21	Prince Eugene	Madagascar	103	
1721-06-26	Sarah Gally	Cabinda	233	
1721-06-26	Snow Rebecca	Madagascar	59	
1721-06-27	Commerce	Calabar	124	
1721-06-27	Henrietta	Madagascar	130	
1721-08-14	Otter	Gambia	193	
1721-10-16	Baylor	Gambia	117	
1721-10-30	Mayflower	Gold Coast	108	
1722-06-05	Greyhound	Calabar	166	
1722-07-18	Happy Adam	Calabar	73	
1723-05-01	Greyhound	Calabar/Bonny	174	33 slaves disembarked in Barbados
1723-07-26	Swift	Angola	290	
1724-04-30	Commerce	Calabar	231	
1724-06-11	John and Mary	Windward Coast	135	
1724-09-22	Little Stephen	Calabar	98	
1725-05-05	Dispatch Brigantine	Calabar	170	3 slaves disembarked in Barbados
1725-05-06	Phoenix	Barbados	7	
1725-05-18	Commerce	Calabar	278	
1725-05-28	Mary and Anne	Barbados	15	
1725-06-07	Sarah	Barbados	4	
1725-06-08	Providence	Sierra Leone	53	cleared York District on 11 June with 121 slaves to port in Maryland
1725-08-16	Katherine	Barbados	34	
1725-10-21	Thomas and John	Barbados	10	
1725-12-08	Spotswood	Jamaica	1	
1726-04-28	Betty	Calabar	144	
1726-04-28	Chester Gally	Calabar	145	
1726-05-23	Katherine	Barbados	31	
1726-05-23	Sea Horse	Barbados	38	
1726-06-06	Commerce	Calabar	143	
1726-06-07	Malmsberry	Calabar	135	20 slaves disembarked in Nevis
1726-06-10	Norman Gally	Calabar	120	
1726-07-01	Swift	Gold Coast	154	
1726-07-15	Providence	Windward Coast	141	
1726-09-03	Speedwell	Calabar	196	
1726-09-16	Greyhound	Calabar	205	124 slaves disembarked in Barbados
1726-10-04	Molly Galley	Windward Coast	163	
1727-03-23	Job and Jane	Barbados	15	
1727-04-13	Dispatch	Calabar	223	
1727-04-18	Happy	Africa	217	
1727-04-19	Cape Benda	Loango	240	
1727-04-24	Angola	Africa	177	
1727-04-24	Providence	Barbados	2	
1727-05-16	Susanna	Gold Coast	202	

Table 1
Slave Ships Entering the York River District, 1698-1771

Date of Arrival	Ship Name	Principal Region of Slave Purchase	Number of Slaves Taken to York District	Notes
1727-06-02	Kings Fisher	Africa	143	
1727-06-20	Margaret	Angola	244	
1727-07-04	Redland Galey	Africa	227	
1727-08-22	Commerce	Africa	232	
1727-08-25	Pearl Galley	Africa	245	
1727-08-25	Sarah Galley	Africa	400	
1727-09-04	Antelope	Africa	190	
1727-09-22	Providence	Africa	125	
1727-11-14	Resolution	Turks Islands	1	
1728-03-16	Castle Gally	Calabar	211	
1729-00-00	Content	Africa		unknown number of slaves disembarked in Barbados and in Virginia
1729-03-10	Olive Branch	Barbados	1	
1729-03-10	William	Hampton	3	
1730-07-24	Content	Bonny	266	
1731-00-00	Greyhound Gally	Bight of Biafra	259	unknown number of slaves disembarked in Barbados
1731-02-16	Martin Gally	Barbados	6	
1731-02-18	Haswell	Madeira and Barbados	9	
1731-07-23	Three Sisters	Antigua	2	
1731-07-31	Abingdon	Barbados	19	
1731-12-02	Haswell	Barbados	6	
1732-04-22	Dreadnought	New Calabar	226	
1732-04-25	St. Michael	Barbados	19	
1732-05-10	Stanton	Madeira and Barbados	8	
1732-06-06	Indian Queen	Bonny	236	16 slaves disembarked in Barbados
1732-06-06	Liverpool Merchant	Gambia	95	cleared York District on 12 June with 65 slaves to North Potomac District
1732-06-10	Abingdon	Madeira and Barbados	14	
1732-06-14	William and Betty	Gambia	51	cleared York District on 22 June with 89 slaves to North Potomac District
1732-06-26	Blackmoor	Angola	260	
1732-08-30	John and Mary	Barbados	3	
1733-04-09	Bridget Gally	Angola	182	68 slaves disembarked in Barbados
1733-04-27	Elenora	Calabar	160	123 slaves disembarked in St. Kitts
1733-05-28	Goldfinch	Calabar	260	
1733-06-25	Charming Ann	Barbados	9	
1733-10-06	Indian Queen	Africa	280	
1733-12-06	Abingdon	Barbados	1	
1734-00-00	George	Africa	283	ship continued to Lower James River
1734-06-11	Aurora	Africa	180	44 slaves disembarked in Barbados
1734-06-26	William	St. Kitts	3	
1734-07-04	Bridget Gally	Angola	225	46 slaves disembarked in Barbados
1734-07-24	Thomas	Gambia	54	cleared York District on 10 August with 46 slaves to North Potomac District
1734-10-22	Antelope	Angola	286	
1735-04-04	George	Old Calabar	284	

Table 1
Slave Ships Entering the York River District, 1698-1771

Date of Arrival	Ship Name	Principal Region of Slave Purchase	Number of Slaves Taken to York District	Notes
1735-04-08	Indian Queen	Bonny	172	
1735-04-15	Bodmin	Africa	210	
1735-06-18	Doddington	Gold Coast	155	cleared York District on 21 July with 12 slaves to the James River
1735-07-28	Brice	Angola	414	
1736-04-05	Prince of Orange	Calabar	251	
1736-05-05	Thomas	Gambia	137	
1736-05-22	Rebecca and Batchelor	Bermuda	1	
1736-06-10	Prince William	Gambia	114	cleared York District on 25 June with 52 slaves to North Potomac District
1736-07-02	Betty Snow	probably Angola	400	
1736-07-19	Abingdon	Madeira and Barbados	2	
1736-08-06	Withers Galley	Africa	275	
1736-08-11	Swallow	Africa	196	
1736-10-23	Ann	Bonny	310	
1736-11-08	John and Mary	Barbados	1	
1737-04-06	Johnson	Angola	235	cleared York District on 23 April with 260 slaves to Maryland
1737-06-06	Hobhouse	Africa	310	
1737-07-04	Brice	Angola	409	
1737-07-23	Abingdon	Madeira and Barbados	4	
1738-04-14	Bridget	Africa	190	
1738-07-27	Molly	Barbados	3	
1738-08-05	Faulcon	Angola	348	
1738-10-26	Grampus	New England	1	
1739-02-19	Hopewell	Rhode Island	1	
1739-05-12	Black Prince	Gold Coast	112	
1739-05-28	Crosse Gally	Africa	266	
1739-06-14	John and Mary	Madeira and Barbados	1	
1739-08-07	Prince of Orange	Africa	200	
1739-09-08	Sea Nymph	Cabinda	1	282 slaves disembarked in Maryland
1740-05-13	Cornwall	Africa	284	ship stopped in Barbados before sailing to the York District
1740-06-04	Marlborough	Calabar	260	
1740-07-28	Williamsburgh	Bonny	229	cleared York District on 20 October with 1 slave for Bristol
1740-08-11	Chesterfield	New Calabar	186	11 slaves disembarked in St. Kitts
1740-09-12	Palmtree	Bonny	120	
1741-07-09	Seaflower	Calabar	169	
1741-10-16	John and Mary	Barbados	27	
1741-10-28	Sarah and Elizabeth	Bermuda	1	
1742-07-06	Amoretta	Bonny	195	
1742-07-13	James Gally	Africa	450	
1742-07-19	Vernon	Africa	140	
1742-09-07	George	Calabar	28	entered Upper James District on 25
1743-05-23	Broomfield	Bonny	164	
1743-06-11	Henrys Gally	Africa	298	

Table 1
Slave Ships Entering the York River District, 1698-1771

Date of Arrival	Ship Name	Principal Region of Slave Purchase	Number of Slaves Taken to York District	Notes
1743-06-13	Goldfinch	Africa	200	
1743-06-13	Williamsburg	Bonny	150	entered Upper James District on 24 June
1743-07-30	Little Betty	Antigua	13	
1743-08-13	Young David	Barbados	13	
1743-09-07	Vernon	Bonny	145	
1743-12-15	Sarah	Barbados	2	
1744-09-12	Molly	Antigua	2	
1744-10-08	Shepherd	Old Calabar	207	76 slaves disembarked in St. Kitts
1745-08-06	Broomfield	Africa	187	
1745-08-24	Ranger	Gambia	185	
1745-10-13	Sarah	Barbados	2	
1746-00-00	Saint George	Africa	131	
1746-06-26	Cunliffe	Barbados	80	
1746-07-21	Gildart	Gambia	50	cleared York District with 200 slaves to Rappahannock District
1746-07-28	Two Brothers	Bonny	254	
1746-09-16	Planter	Gold Coast	226	
1749-05-23	William	Calabar	350	ship stopped in Antigua before sailing to the York District
1749-06-26	Susanna	Africa and Barbados	200	
1749-07-07	John and Mary	Barbados	16	
1749-08-09	Levant	Bonny	252	
1750-05-01	Kingston	Barbados	1	
1751-05-21	Tryall	Angola	402	
1751-10-11	Fanny	Barbados	1	
1751-12-09	St. George	St. Kitts	6	
1752-04-02	Lilly	Africa and St. Kitts	19	
1752-05-23	Cumberland	Gambia	103	
1752-06-01	Alice Gally	Windward and Gold Coasts	260	
1752-06-22	Black Prince	Anamboe and Bite of Biafra	214	
1752-06-22	Boyne	Bonny	203	
1752-06-30	Molly	Angola	205	
1752-08-13	Orrell	Gambia	81	
1752-09-02	Greyhound	Angola	336	
1752-10-08	Levant	Old Calabar	184	
1752-10-24	Tryall	Africa	182	
1752-11-04	Little Harry	Barbados	5	
1752-11-06	Betsie	Nevis	2	
1752-11-06	Samuel and James	St. Kitts	8	
1753-07-07	Black Prince	Bonny	209	
1754-05-06	Charming Ann	Bermuda	4	
1754-05-06	Pride	Barbados	6	
1754-06-13	Nancy	Barbados	31	
1754-09-10	Judith	Barbados	3	
1755-07-29	Fanny	Barbados	11	

Table 1
Slave Ships Entering the York River District, 1698-1771

Date of Arrival	Ship Name	Principal Region of Slave Purchase	Number of Slaves Taken to York District	Notes
1756-09-10	Kingston	Barbados	1	
1761-05-08	Industry	Barbados	5	
1761-06-10	Eadith	Basse	154	
1761-06-11	Granby	Goree	37	
1762-04-01	Little Betsey	Africa	64	
1763-09-26	John and Susanna	Antigua	4	
1769-04-08	Success	Piscataqua	1	
1771-05-31	Hope	Barbados and Grenada	16	

Table 2
Annual Total of Ships with Slaves Entering the York River District, 1698-1771

Year	Number of Ships in York District	Number of Slaves Imported
1698	1	139
1700	2	229 minimum
1701	8	863
1702	2	233
1703	2	156
1705	6	1,355
1706	2	363
1712	7	25
1713	5	275
1714	7	334
1716	1	129
1717	11	533
1718	16	1,354
1719	12	1,656
1720	7	902
1721	12	1,734
1722	2	239
1723	2	464
1724	3	464
1725	9	572
1726	12	1,615
1727	16	2,883
1728	1	211
1729	3	4 minimum
1730	1	266
1731	6	301
1732	9	912
1733	6	892
1734	6	1,031
1735	5	1,235
1736	10	1,687
1737	4	958
1738	4	542
1739	6	580
1740	5	1,079
1741	3	197
1742	4	813
1743	8	985
1744	2	209
1745	3	374
1746	5	741
1749	4	818
1750	1	1
1751	3	409
1752	13	1,802
1753	1	209
1754	4	44
1755	1	11
1756	1	1
1761	3	196
1762	1	64
1763	1	4
1769	1	1
1771	1	16
Total	**271**	**33110**

Section 4.
African and African American Life in Yorktown

Introduction

First and foremost, slavery in Virginia was an economic institution designed to benefit the slave owner. During the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Yorktown residents bought slaves to work in their households and their businesses because they wanted laborers. Although slave owners made these acquisitions when they needed to add to their work force, the timing of many of these purchases helped the imported Africans to maintain elements of their shared cultures after their arrival in the colony. Common cultural aspects no doubt helped men, women, and children adapt to life in Virginia and to the colonists' views about the place that slaves would occupy in society. In spite of legal and social restrictions placed on enslaved laborers, there were opportunities for Yorktown's slaves to find friends and form families. These connections were hard for slaves to maintain because their owners determined the type of work that their slaves performed and where these individuals labored.

African Background of Enslaved Laborers in Yorktown and the Surrounding Area

Lorena S. Walsh's research on the Chesapeake slave trade provides details about the origins of the enslaved men, women, and children who were forced to migrate to the Yorktown area. Walsh finds that "More than nine out of ten slaves brought into the Chesapeake in the eighteenth century either arrived directly from Africa or were transshipped from the West Indies after only a brief period of recuperation from their transatlantic ordeal."[1] Only three percent of the slaves carried into the York naval district arrived directly from the West Indies. Extant documents indicate that almost three-quarters of the Africans who

> disembarked in the lower Chesapeake (York and Upper James basins) came from more southerly parts of Africa east and south of the Bight of Benin, from the Bight of Biafra (present-day eastern Nigeria) and West Central Africa (termed Kongo and Angola in contemporary sources). Fewer than 1 percent were from the Bight of Benin; indeed almost twice as many were brought from distant Madagascar.

Walsh finds that the "patterns of importation and subsequent distribution of Africans of different origins in the Chesapeake largely coincide with the geographical divisions between sweet-scented, Oronoco, and peripheral tobacco growing areas, an outcome apparently unrelated to the crop itself but instead the result of complex interactions of African, British, and colonial trading patterns."[2]

Until the middle of the eighteenth century, over eighty percent of the "imported Africans were disembarked on the shores of the York and Rappahannock Rivers. There planter wealth and

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[1] Lorena S. Walsh, "The Chesapeake Slave Trade: Regional Patterns, African Origins, and Some Implications," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., Vol. LVIII, No. 1 (January 2001):144.
[2] Ibid., p. 145.

political power was most concentrated and transatlantic mercantile connections most developed." These planters prospered because they could produce sweet-scented tobacco on their plantations on the Lower and Middle peninsulas. In addition, Walsh observes that these men "either had sufficient resources on hand or could command sufficient credit from English tobacco merchants to finance the purchase of large numbers of African slaves."[3]

Between 1698 and 1745, the York District "was the destination for a majority of the nearly 50,000 Africans transported to Virginia." Walsh finds that

> Most arrived directly from Africa in vessels that carried, on average, 125 captives. London slavers predominated in the York at the turn of the century but were then soon supplanted by Bristol shippers. Region of embarkation is known for 60 percent of the Africans arriving by 1745. Just over 9,000 (56 percent) came from the Bight of Biafra, one-fifth from West Central Africa, a tenth from the Windward and Gold Coasts, and two additional twentieths from Senegambia and Madagascar.

An examination of the lives of Lower Peninsula colonists indicates

> that a significant proportion of the Africans purchased in the 1720s and early 1730s remained on Lower Peninsula estates. Through the mid-1730s, larger planters still had to buy additional African hands of working age in order to staff recently established ancillary tidewater farms as well as to open new ones farther west. This need ended abruptly in the 1740s, when enough Creole children were coming of age to replace aging and dying Africans in the workforce, and imports into the York basin rapidly diminished.

Approximately 4,000 Africans were brought to the York basin after 1745, and the origins of these men, women, and children "were more diverse than in earlier years, with somewhat higher proportions from West Central Africa and Upper Guinea, a distribution reflecting Liverpool's greater share in the remaining York trade. Most of these new Africans likely ended up on upland quarters in the hinterlands of the York River."[4]

Walsh notes that the origins of the slaves who disembarked in the upper Chesapeake differed from the Africans taken to the York district. In her opinion, the initial explanation of the differences between these two regions "lies in differing combinations of shippers supplying captives to the various Chesapeake destinations. London and Bristol traders especially favored the York River, whereas traders from Liverpool and the out ports concentrated their efforts along the Rappahannock and Potomac." In addition, because

> London, Bristol, and Liverpool slavers were concentrating their African trades on differing sources of supply, varying combinations of suppliers would result in peoples of different ethnic mixes arriving in the various naval districts. London and Bristol traders also discriminated between destinations in the Chesapeake. Ships from these two ports delivered primarily Gambian, Windward, and Gold Coast slaves to the Rappahannock River and to Maryland while marketing most of their Biafran cargoes on the York and

[3] Ibid., p. 149.
[4] Ibid., p. 150.

> Upper James. Liverpool merchants, who entered the Chesapeake slave trade only in the mid-1730s, in contrast, were not selective; they sent ships from many West African regions to all the naval districts in which they traded.[5]

Evidence indicates that planters had little success in persuading English merchants to deliver slaves from a specific region in Africa. As Walsh notes, "The predominance of Africans from the Bight of Biafra and Angola in southern Virginia underscores planters' general inability to influence the ethnic composition of new arrivals." Her research indicates "No Chesapeake planter is known to have expressed a preference for laborers originating in the Bight of Biafra." In addition, "Ibo and to a lesser extent Angolan slaves were held in particularly low esteem in much of the Caribbean and in South Carolina. Insofar as Chesapeake planters expressed any preference, it was for Gambian and Windward and Gold Coast slaves as well as for predominately adult males."[6]

Ships carrying Africans from the Bight of Biafra and Angola arrived in the York district because planters in this region had the reputation of purchasing large numbers of slaves and being able to pay for their purchases. As a result, merchants directed their larger vessels with the most enslaved Africans to the York River because they expected to sell the captives in a short period of time.[7]

Sales of imported Africans usually began within a week of the ship's arrival.[8] Purchasers tended to be those planters who lived a short distance from the harbor where the vessel anchored, learned of the sale from a friend, or who sent an agent to bid on the captives. Men who purchased slaves at sales on the banks of the York River might put these laborers to work on their Tidewater plantations. Some York River planters also sold the new slaves to planters on the Lower and Upper James as well as the Rappahannock if these men could not purchase a sufficient number of slaves at sales in their districts. It was also common for elite planters in the York District to initially "staff western quarters primarily with Africans purchased in the same tidewater ports where they earlier (or simultaneously) bought African laborers for their home plantations."[9]

Surviving evidence about the ways in which York planters put together their labor forces suggests that the majority of the enslaved in the lower Tidewater came from the Bight of Biafra and West Central Africa. Walsh notes that gentry planters who reached their majority at the turn of the eighteenth century tended to inherit a small number of slaves from their fathers and to gain possession of a few laborers as part of their wives' dowries. In many cases, however, a planter did not have enough slaves to produce tobacco on a Tidewater plantation and to create new fields on undeveloped land in the Piedmont. Elite colonists purchased imported Africans to expand their labor forces and "Although most bought only one, two, and seldom more than four slaves from individual ships, they nonetheless acquired their adult labor forces in a span of no more

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[5] Ibid., p. 151.
[6] Ibid., pp. 152-4; quotation pp. 153-4.
[7] Ibid., pp. 154-5.
[8] See Part I. Section 3—Yorktown and the Slave Trade.
[9] Walsh, "The Chesapeake Slave Trade," pp. 155-6.

than ten to fifteen years, either through design or because their adult careers ended in an early death."

Walsh notes that

> Temporarily concentrated purchases in themselves increased the probability that many new Africans on a given estate originated from the same geographic area, and this probability was further enhanced by temporal concentrations in the African trading regions of London, Bristol, and Liverpool suppliers. Furthermore, if a number of well-endowed young planters living in a particular neighborhood came of age at roughly the same time—a likely outcome of sequential European settlement in the Chesapeake—their individual estate-building strategies could well unwittingly result in larger concentrations in that neighborhood of Africans from one or two West African areas. Then even isolated, recently arrived Africans were likely to find members of their own coastal or interior region on adjacent plantations if not on their home quarter.[10]

York River planters and their contemporaries inadvertently supported emerging African and Afro-Virginian slave communities when they wrote their wills. Many elite colonists used the practice of entail when they bequeathed both land and slaves to their heirs. If a planter entailed a group of slaves to a specific plantation, his heir could not sell these enslaved laborers. In addition, the legatee could move the entailed slaves to another plantation only after receiving permission from the General Assembly to do so. As a result, "elite gentry inheritance strategies, especially common in the York and Rappahannock districts, afforded the largest and most ethnically concentrated enslaved communities more settled places of residence and more generational continuity than was the lot of most Chesapeake slaves."[11]

Imported Africans could draw upon the commonalities in their backgrounds because "Half the Africans brought to lower Virginia whose geographic origins are known came from the Bight of Biafra" and another "quarter was from West Central Africa. The Ibo, who predominated among captives shipped from the Bight of Biafra, spoke closely related dialects of eastern Kwa that were broadly understood among all groups and shared manners and customs." In addition, the many "self-contained villages in which they lived had similar social institutions and a similar root-crop agriculture centered on culture of yams."[12]

The men, women, and children imported from "West Central Africa spoke closely related western Bantu languages, primarily Kikongo and Kimbundu, and possessed many common conceptions of religion and aesthetics." In spite of some differences in agricultural practices and local environment, "overall, greater linguistic and cultural homogeneity among the main groups brought to the Lower Chesapeake seems reasonably established and, with it, the possibility of greater and different cultural continuities than emerged in the upper tidewater Chesapeake and in parts of the Piedmont."[13]

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[10] Ibid., p. 156.
[11] Ibid., p. 157.
[12] Ibid., pp. 159-60.
[13] Ibid., p. 160.

Walsh also argues that a relatively balanced sex ratio helped the Africans in the Lower Chesapeake to maintain elements of their cultures: "sex ratios among captives from the Bight of Biafra were nearly evenly balanced, so Ibos in the Lower Chesapeake had greater chances to find a mate from the same ethnic group and perhaps to retain more elements of their homeland culture."[14]

Archaeological evidence supports the information that Walsh finds in the historical record. Information from excavations in the Chesapeake helps historians to learn "how transported Africans created new identities in the Chesapeake." It is possible that decorations on excavated ceramics and tobacco pipes indicate the influence of African cultures.[15]

Some archaeologists are beginning to reinterpret radically what were initially thought anomalous artifacts unearthed on eighteenth-century slave sites—pierced or incised spoons, white stones, fossilized shells, pieces of chalk, and virtually intact wine bottles, tobacco pipes, and iron tools, for example. Such objects demonstrably had spiritual significance among contemporary West Africans and, it is now being suggested, may have been employed as protective or healing charms and perhaps used in recreated rituals honoring ancestors. To cite one example, a root cellar excavated on a plantation on the Lower Peninsula, where slaves from the Bight of Biafra are known to have lived, contained artifacts such as cow or horse bone, fossil scallop shells, a kaolin pipe bowl, wrought iron nails, wine bottle glass, a piece of quartzite, and tin-enameled earthenware concentrated in a mounded area in the center of the pit, objects (along with the white color of most) that link them to Ibo spiritual traditions. Moreover, high concentrations of grape tannin also were detected in this pit, suggesting that libations of wine or brandy had been poured into it. Incised spoon handles found on an adjacent slave quarter have been tentatively identified as inscribed with symbols used by Ibo diviners.[16]

Objects recovered during excavations at slave sites "lend some credence to the notion that Africans in this neighborhood had managed to recreate spiritual rituals associated with their particular African heritage."[17] Walsh concludes that "Localized concentrations in the New World of forced African migrants who came from a few restricted geographic areas surely must have encouraged retention and perpetuation of some of the specific customs that distinguished them from other Africans as well as from Europeans."[18] The opportunity to preserve aspects of African cultures no doubt helped imported slaves to adapt to life in Virginia's Tidewater region.

Yorktown and the Preservation of African Cultures

Lorena S. Walsh's research on the transatlantic slave trade to Virginia argues that the way in which Tidewater planters acquired slaves inadvertently helped their enslaved laborers to preserve aspects of their African cultures. During the first half of the eighteenth century, several Yorktown residents also purchased imported Africans in a similar pattern.

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[14] Ibid., p. 161.
[15] Ibid., p. 161-2, note 59.
[16] Ibid., pp. 162-3.
[17] Ibid., p. 163.
[18] Ibid., p. 165.

Between March 1707/8 and November 1718, Thomas Nelson the Immigrant bought five slaves and had their ages adjudged in the York County Court. Perhaps Ibo Hannah, an enslaved woman whom Margaret Nelson inherited in 1713 from her father, Robert Read, helped the Nelson slaves to remember stories from Africa.[19] In turn, Jane, Pendrith, Venus, Jack, and Frank might have helped the slaves whom Nelson bought between August 1728 and June 1734—Jeffrey, Lydia, Will, and Isaac—to retell stories they heard before being enslaved.

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Like Thomas Nelson the Immigrant, Philip Lightfoot bought slaves for his Yorktown household in a short amount of time. Between June 1734 and November 1746, Lightfoot had the ages of sixteen enslaved Africans adjudged in the York County Court. On several of these occasions, Lightfoot took more than one slave to the courthouse, and it is likely that these imported boys and girls arrived in Virginia on the same slave ship. In June 1734, the local officials decided that Timothy was fourteen years old and that Simon and Joshua were both fifteen.[20] The following year, on 18 August 1735, the justices of the peace noted that boys Crummell and Stephen were each eleven years old.[21] On 15 November 1736, Lightfoot took a boy, Juba, and a girl named Chloe to the courthouse where the magistrates determined that each of the slaves was eleven.[22] Nine months later, in July 1737, Lightfoot took a girl named Daphey to have her age adjudged. The magistrates noted that she was thirteen years old. In September of the same year, the justices decided that Chip was a fourteen-year old boy.[23]

Lightfoot waited five years before he bought additional laborers for Yorktown and his Yorkhampton Parish plantation. In July 1742, York's officials decided that Lightfoot's enslaved boy Jack was nine years of age and that Sabina was a girl of twelve years. On 15 November 1742, a girl named Alphia was determined to be eleven years old.[24] Four years later, Lightfoot found that Eugene was ten years old, Rose was a thirteen year old girl, and a girl named Diana and Pollux, a boy, were both ten years of age.[25]

* * * *

Between March 1720/1 and June 1724, William Rogers acquired seven imported African slaves. First, Rogers took a slave boy to York County Court. The justices of the peace decided that Scipio was twelve years old.[26] The following July, Rogers purchased three more slaves: Henry, a boy of twelve years; Rumford, a ten year old boy; and Phillis, a girl of nine years.[27] Perhaps the presence of London, a slave whom Rogers acquired in the early 1710s on Lot 51 and Lot 55, made it easier for Scipio, Henry, Rumford, and Phillis to adjust to life in Yorktown. In addition,

[19] York County Orders and Wills (14) 241-3, dated 30 December 1712 and recorded 16 March 1712/3.
[20] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 122, 17 June 1734.
[21] Ibid., p. 216, 18 August 1735.
[22] Ibid., p. 323, 15 November 1736.
[23] Ibid., p. 380, 18 July 1737; ibid., p. 389, 19 September 1737.
[24] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 113, 19 July 1742; ibid., p. 130, 15 November 1742.
[25] Ibid., p. 436, 16 June 1746; ibid., p. 473, 17 November 1746.
[26] York County Orders and Wills (16) 25, 20 March 1720/1.
[27] Ibid., p. 59, 17 July 1721.

Henry, Rumford, and Phillis might have journeyed across the Atlantic on the same ship and had opportunities to form friendship ties during that time and while waiting to be sold into slavery.

Rogers added four laborers to his household in 1724. On 20 January 1723/4, Rogers took an enslaved boy named Joe to the York County court, and the justices determined that Joe was fourteen years old.[28] In June of the same year, Rogers' enslaved girl Betty was adjudged to be fourteen, and a boy named Tony was a year older.[29] Rogers did not acquire another imported African until September 1735 when he took an enslaved boy named Jack to the court, and York's justices of the peace determined that he was thirteen years old.[30] The fact that Rogers purchased eleven Africans in two concentrated periods of time would have helped these enslaved boys and girls to adapt to life in Yorktown and have opportunities to retell African stories. Also, Jack no doubt turned to the other slaves on the Rogers property after his arrival in Yorktown.

* * * *

Yorktown merchant John Ballard added two enslaved Africans to his labor force in the mid-1730s. In 1735, he took Phillis, an imported African slave, to the county courthouse to have her age adjudged as eight years old. Two years later, the local officials decided that Ballard's slave named Dover was twelve.[31]

* * * *

Between July 1717 and August 1723, William Gordon increased his labor force when he purchased recently imported African slaves. In July 1717, the justices of the peace determined that a boy named Pompey was twelve years old.[32] Six years later, in August 1723, Gordon took two more enslaved boys to the courthouse where the magistrates decided that Caesar was fifteen years old and that London was three years younger.[33]

* * * *

In 1719, Yorktown carpenter Robert Ballard took two enslaved boys to the courthouse to have their ages adjudged. The justices of the peace determined that Ben was ten years old and Sawney was seven years of age.[34] Perhaps Ballard planned to train both Ben and Sawney to be carpenters. After a gap of fourteen years, Ballard decided to add to his labor force. In 1733, Ballard purchased three imported African slaves. York's officials determined that Rolinswick was a thirteen-year old boy, Whitehall was a boy of twelve years, and Nanny was a fourteen-year old girl.[35] Ballard's decision to buy three young slaves indicates that his business was prosperous and that he needed more assistance. In addition, he added an enslaved girl to help his wife, Jane, with the domestic work.

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[28] Ibid., p. 248, 20 January 1723/4.
[29] Ibid., p. 280, 15 June 1724.
[30] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 223, 15 September 1735.
[31] Ibid., p. 215, 18 August 1735; ibid., p. 375, 20 June 1737.
[32] York County Orders and Wills (15) 172, 15 July 1717.
[33] York County Orders and Wills (16) 221, 19 August 1723.
[34] York County Orders and Wills (15) 520, 21 December 1719.
[35] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 52, 18 June 1733.

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An examination of the dates when Yorktown residents took imported Africans to the York County Courthouse to have their ages adjudged suggests that a number of the slaves who labored in this town had opportunities to preserve parts of their African cultures because it is likely that they spoke similar languages and had shared customs. It is more difficult, however, to find evidence of the ideas that Yorktown's enslaved Africans shared. Artifacts from archaeological excavations at several sites in Yorktown provide some information about the lives that slaves were able to create. First, the presence of cowrie shells among the artifacts recovered from the "Poor Potter" site indicates that this group of enslaved men, women, and children were able to maintain aspects of their African cultures. Cowrie shells served as money in West Africa, and European slave traders took these shells to Africa; if pierced, the shells could have been worn as a decoration.[36]

Archaeologists have also recovered cowrie shells from the site of Secretary Thomas Nelson's house on the eastern edge of Yorktown. At the end of each day, the enslaved men, women, and children who worked in the outbuildings would have gathered near the large quarter to eat and to visit. The presence of cowrie shells on Secretary Nelson's property suggests that some of his slaves told stories about life in Africa to those gathered near the quarter.[37] Perhaps the slaves who served as personal slaves to Thomas and Lucy Nelson listened to these stories before they returned to the large brick dwelling house where they slept each night.

A third excavation on Lots 10, 11, 16, and 17 found evidence that Lightfoot's slaves were able to preserve aspects of their African cultures. Archaeologists found several hundred cowrie shells in the area near the kitchen and the well. This portion of the service area also included beads and a carved shell.[38] The concentration of the shells and beads near the kitchen and well indicates that slaves gathered in this part of the property. After a day of work, enslaved men, women, and children gathered near the slave quarter located across Ballard Street from the Lightfoot Mansion. The distance between the two parts of Lightfoot's urban estate gave his slaves a chance to separate themselves from their master. At night, on Sundays, and on the few recognized holidays, this group had time to visit, to play games, to sing songs, to tell stories about their lives in Africa, and to relax.

* * * *

In addition to shared African cultures, the slaves whom Yorktown residents imported tended to be between the ages of eight and sixteen years old. These boys and girls lived and labored a short distance from each other in this town. As a result, the imported slaves had opportunities to maintain the ties they created during the voyage across the Atlantic. It is possible that African males and females turned to each other as marriage partners when they reached their late teens and early twenties. Unfortunately, the records kept by Yorktown residents do not contain enough information to determine how many African slaves looked for a spouse who also had

[36] Personal communication from Nick Luccketti, 19 May 2010.
[37] The artifact inventory of the excavation at Secretary Nelson's property includes three cowrie shells. See Hank D. Lutton, "'After me cometh a builder': The Symbolic Landscape of Secretary Nelson's Yorktown Estate and Its Transformation," (M.A. thesis, College of William & Mary, 2004), pp. 123, 124.
[38] Personal communication from Nick Luccketti, 19 May 2010.

been born in Africa. Yorktown's slave owners left few clues about the spouses of their enslaved laborers. The key family relationship for a master was that of mother and child because any children born to an enslaved woman were also slaves. The wills written by Yorktown residents note a small number of mother-child relationships; they do not, however, include the names of any of the fathers of these sons and daughters. The omission of fathers' names is also a feature of lists of slaves in estate inventories.

It is possible that the parish register for Yorkhampton Parish noted the names of both of the parents of an enslaved child. According to a law passed in November 1713,

> That from and after the twentieth day of April, next after the end of this session of assembly the parents of every child which shall be born free, or one of them, and the master, owner, or overseer, of every child which shall be born a slave, shall, within twenty days after the birth of such child or children, give notice, in writing, of the birth of such child or children, together with the name of the parents of such free-born child, and the name of the owner or master of such child born in slavery; and shall distinguish whether such child or children be male or female, to the minister of the parish where such child or children shall be born.

An owner also had twenty days after the death of a slave to give "the name or names such slave was called by, together with the names of the master or owner of such slave, to the minister of the parish" where the slave died. The members of the General Assembly passed this legislation so officials in each county would know when Virginia-born slaves would become tithes. They did not require masters to have their slaves baptized.[39] The colony's legislators knew that many of their contemporaries did not want to instruct their slaves in Christianity or to have them baptized. It is also possible that some of the enslaved laborers rejected their masters' attempts to teach them about Christianity because they wanted to continue the religious traditions they knew from their lives in African or they learned about from imported African slaves.

Yorktown's Slaves, the Established Church, and the Baptists

No doubt the commonalities among their African cultures helped imported Africans adjust to life in Virginia. Shared language, religious traditions, and food ways would have helped one adapt to a colony in which the legal system defined slaves as property and placed restrictions on their actions. In addition, colonists had mixed feelings on whether or not they should instruct enslaved Africans in Christianity and have them baptized. In September 1667, the colony's legislators addressed this concern. According to ACT III., *An act declaring that baptisme of slaves doth not exempt them from bondage*,

> WHEREAS some doubts have risen whether children that are slaves by birth, and by the charity and piety of their owners made pertakers of the blessed sacrament of

[39] William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, From the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619*, 13 vols., (Richmond, New York, and Philadelphia, 1819-23; reprint, Charlottesville, Virginia: The University Press of Virginia for the Jamestown Foundation of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1969), IV:42-4.

> baptisme, should by vertue of their baptisme be made ffree; *It is enacted and declared by this grand assembly, and the authority thereof*, that the conferring of baptisme doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or ffreedome; that diverse masters, ffreed from this doubt, may more carefully endeavour the propagation of christianity by permitting children, though slaves, or those of greater growth if capable to be admitted to that sacrament.[40]

The members of the General Assembly passed the law in order to protect a planter's right to hold slaves as part of his/her property and to clarify the legal status of baptized slaves. The colony's legislators decided that slaves born in Virginia could not become free if they were baptized and that masters should encourage their enslaved laborers to become Christians.

In spite of the 1667 statute, many colonists decided not to give religious instruction to their slaves. In "An Account of the Indians In Virginia And of some Remarkable things in that Country Collected out of some Letters from A minister in Virginia Some few things are inserted concerning the English there, & the Bucaniers in some places of America" (1689), an unidentified minister commented that masters often had Virginia-born slaves baptized and often neglected to provide religious instruction for adults. Perhaps masters did not think that adult slaves would accept instruction in Christianity. He wrote

> No great matter has been done there, as yet towards the conversion of the Indians. Some few have taken pains to instruct the negro slaves; in most parishes, the substantiall planters have of those negro slaves, which the merchands purchase either immediately from the Affrican Company in Guiney, or at second hand from Barbadoes. The children of those slaves that are born there, are generally christened: but till of late, the men and women were neglected. Some Scotish ministers that are there have imployed their endeavours, in preparing the aged negroes for baptism. They have found considerable difficulties in this; their masters keeping them constantly at work, except on Saturday afternoon, and the Lords day.[41]

It is clear that Virginians did not want to reduce the amount of time that their slaves worked in tobacco fields.

Ten years later, members of the House of Burgesses reported on the "Instruccons of their Excellencies the Lords Justices of England" concerning slaves. They noted

> The fourteenth Parag: of the Instructions from their Excellencies the Lords Justices of *England* relateing to the facilitateing and incourageing the Conversion of Negroes and Indians to the Christian Religion being considered by this Comittee they are of Opinion and do accordingly report that Negroes borne in this Country are generally baptized and brought vp in the Christian Religion but for Negroes Imported hither the Gros Barbarity and rudeness of their manners, the variety and Strangeness of their Languages and the weakness and Shallowness of their minds renders it in a manner

[40] Ibid., II:260.
[41] Stanley Pargellis, ed., "An Account of the Indians in Virginia," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd. ser., Vol. XVI, No. 2 (April 1959): 242.

> impossible to attain to any Progress in their Conversion And as to the Conversion of the Indians this Com[tee] doth not doubt of the Care of the Colledge therein being encouraged and obliged thereto by the Donation of a pious and Noble Benefactor.[42]

This response indicated that the burgesses, like the unidentified minister, saw a difference between slaves imported from Africa and enslaved laborers born in Virginia. These men noted that Virginia-born slaves were more likely to receive instruction in Christianity because their masters believed it was easier to teach them about religion. It is possible that Virginians also saw free persons of color who had been born in the colony in a more favorable light than the slaves who had been transported across the Atlantic or from the Caribbean Islands.

The lack of a baptism register for Yorkhampton Parish Church makes it impossible to assess the attitudes of most Yorktown residents towards religious instruction for their slaves. In May 1724, Reverend Francis Fontaine answered a series of questions posed by Edmund Gibson, the recently appointed Bishop of London. Gibson took an active role in the Church of England's missionary efforts, including the baptism of Virginia slaves. He knew that the colony's slave owners had mixed feelings about introducing Christianity to their enslaved men, women, and children. These white men and women worried that the egalitarian message of the Bible would make their slaves unruly; others were indifferent to the spiritual needs of their slaves. There were, however, some slave owners who saw to it that their slaves received religious instruction. Slaves' reaction to the religion of their masters also varied. Many were baptized and instructed in Christianity; others were unmoved by the formality of the services in the local parish church or unable to reconcile the Christian message with the institution of slavery.

Fontaine's answer to one of Gibson's questions contains information about the religious instruction that this minister provided to slaves who lived in and near Yorktown. In response to the query "Are there any Infidels, bond or free, within your Parish; and what means are used for their conversion?" Fontaine noted

> I know of no Infidels in my parish except Slaves. I exhort their Masters to send them to me, to be instructed. And in order to their conversion I have set apart every Saturday in the Afternoon and catechise them at my Glebe House.

Yorkhampton Parish's minister also commented on the religious instruction of slaves when he answered the following question posed by Gibson: "At what times do you Catechise the Youth of your Parish?" Fontaine wrote

> I have appointed every Sunday in the afternoon in Lent and 10 other Sundays in the afternoon Immediately after Evening prayer for the public catechising the youth, servants and slaves in my Parish.

Fontaine's answers suggest that he divided the slaves who received religious instruction into two groups: enslaved adults whom he taught on Saturday afternoons and enslaved boys and girls who learned about the teachings of the Established Church on selected Sunday afternoons.[43]

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[42] H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses*, 13 vols., (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1905-1915), 1695-1702, pp. 173, 174.

Unfortunately, there is no extant record of slave baptisms at Yorkhampton Parish Church or Fontaine's criteria for baptizing an enslaved man, woman, boy, or girl. Perhaps Yorkhampton's minister had a policy similar to that of James Blair, the minister of Bruton Parish Church and the President of the College of William and Mary. Fontaine and Blair might have discussed their answers to Gibson's queries as well as their thoughts on the subject of slave baptism.

In 1724, Blair informed Gibson that "I encourage the baptising & catechising of such of them as understand English [older children, adults?], and exhort their Masters to bring them to Church and baptise the infant slaves when the Master or mistress become sureties." Five years later, in 1729, Blair reported to Gibson on the subject of slave baptism when he wrote:

> Your Lo'ps Letter concerning the Instruction of the Negroes has had this good effect, that it has put several Masters and Mistresses upon the Instruction of them. And the Negroes themselves in our Neighbourhood are very desirous to become Christians; and in order to it come and give an Account of the Lords prayer, and the Creed and ten Commandments, and so are baptized and frequent the Church; and the Negro children are now commonly baptized. I doubt not some of the Negroes are sincere Converts; but the far greater part of them little mind the serious part, only are in hopes that they shall meet with so much the more respect, and that some time or other Christianity will help them to their freedom. But I hope their very coming to church will in time infuse into them some better principles than they have had.[44]

In June of the following year, Blair again commented on the subject of slave baptism when he wrote to the Bishop of London. Bruton Parish's minister noted

> There is a very great number of Negroes lately instructed in the Church-catechism; at least in the Lords prayer, the Apostles Creed and the ten Commandments, and baptized, and great numbers of them frequent the Church. Some allege it makes them prouder, and inspires them with thoughts of freedom; but I take this to be rather a common prejudice than anything else.[45]

Based upon the details in Fontaine's 1724 answers to Gibson's questions and Blair's efforts to educate Bruton Parish slaves, it is likely that Yorkhampton's minister continued his work to instruct enslaved laborers until his 1749 death.

The Reverend John Camm followed Fontaine as the minister of Yorkhampton Parish Church. In 1760, a British philanthropic group known as the Associates of Dr. Thomas Bray established a school for black children—free and enslaved—in Williamsburg. The goal of the school was to instruct black boys and girls in religion, reading, and writing in order to help them become obedient, dutiful slaves. The Associates of Dr. Thomas Bray hoped to open an additional school

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[43] William Stevens Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, 2 vols., (Hartford, 1870; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1969), I:281, 282. See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 35.

[44] The Reverend James Blair to the Reverend Edmund Gibson, 28 June 1729, Fulham Palace Papers, (Williamsburg: Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation), Microfilm M-22; Thad W. Tate, *The Negro in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg*, (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1965), pp. 73-4.

[45] Tate, *The Negro in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg*, p. 74.

for black children in Yorktown. Initially, President William Nelson expressed an interest in the school and received a shipment of seventy-eight books for a Yorktown school. These books probably included titles similar to those sent to the Williamsburg school in 1762: spelling books, Psalters, Bibles, and a volume of sermons published by the Reverend Thomas Bacon of Maryland. The Associates of Dr. Thomas Bray could not, however, find anyone who was willing to find a building for the school, hire a teacher, and supervise the school's operation.[46]

In addition to instruction in the doctrine of the Church of England, it is likely that Yorktown's slaves also learned about the Great Awakening and dissenting religions. Slaves had opportunities to hear the message of dissenting ministers when they accompanied their masters to Williamsburg, listened to owners discuss the ideas of the dissenters, and read accounts of other religions in the *Virginia Gazette*.

In late 1739, the Reverend George Whitfield, a leading figure of the First Great Awakening, passed through Yorktown on his way to Williamsburg. Whitfield accepted the Reverend James Blair's invitation to preach at Bruton Parish Church. After his 16 December 1739 sermon at Bruton, Whitfield noted in his diary that "Several gentlemen came from York, fourteen miles off, to hear me, and were desirous of my going back to preach at their town, on the morrow."[47] The next day Whitfield left Williamsburg and continued his journey to the Carolinas. There is no record that Whitfield returned to either Williamsburg or Yorktown during subsequent trips to Virginia. It is likely that neither Blair nor other devout adherents of the Established Church would have welcomed a return visit from this minister. By the 1740s, Whitfield preached to congregations of Presbyterian dissenters.

Virginia's Presbyterians also listened to the sermons of the Reverend Samuel Davies. As part of his ministry, Davies instructed slaves in Christianity. Davies also provided slaves with Bibles, Psalm Books, and spelling books. This Presbyterian minister traveled to Williamsburg on several occasions during the 1740s and 1750s. It is likely that Yorktown residents, especially members of the Nelson family who traveled to the colonial capital on a regular basis, knew of Davies' work among the slaves in Hanover County. Both President William Nelson and Secretary Thomas Nelson no doubt had a personal slave accompany them on trips to Williamsburg, and it is possible that these enslaved men learned about Davies. In addition, it is likely that the Nelson slaves also knew about the Presbyterian Meeting House in Williamsburg. In 1765, George Davenport, the son-in-law of Yorktown resident Patrick Matthews allowed a group of Williamsburg Presbyterians to have Sunday meetings in the stable on his property.

Of greater concern to Yorktown's slaveholders were the Baptists because these ministers preached a message of equality. Baptist preachers told their audiences that all people—white and black—were equal in the eyes of God. In 1758, a Williamsburg resident named Elizabeth Jones wrote to her husband (possibly in Hanover County) about her concern for their slave Watt. She did not want Watt to be influenced by evangelical preachers. On "consideration that he was very young: and that while I live I should be very watchful of there [sic] corrupting him with

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[46] John C. Van Horne, ed., *Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery: The Correspondence of the Associates of Dr. Bray, 1717-1777*, (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1985), pp. 24, 81, 244.
[47] William V. Davis, ed., *George Whitfield's Journals, 1737-1741*, (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 1969), p. 369.

there new Light principals . . . I think he would not be safe there, for they are a subtil crue and when they find he has quick parts [,] a good membor and a glib Tongue, which are all necessary qualification for an Itenerant preacher, they will leave no stone unturned to bring him over."[48]

Thirteen years later, in 1771, William Lee of Green Spring in James City County (a few miles from Williamsburg) had similar concerns about itinerant preachers. He complained to his overseer about itinerant preachers from the northward having "put my Negroes crazy with their new light and their new Jerusalem: These vagabond preachers . . . encourage in fact, more wickedness than any other kind of men, therefore I wd. have my people discouraged as much as possible, fm going near them; & perhaps the best method of doing it effectually is to encourage them all to go every Sunday to their Parish church by giving those who are the most constant attendants at church, a larger allowance of food or an additional shirt . . ."[49]

In spite of the efforts of masters, a number of slaves heard this message and felt called to travel through the countryside to spread the news to other enslaved people. In September 1775, David Walker placed the following advertisement for a runaway slave named Jemmy who left his Dinwiddie County plantation. He noted that Jemmy was a mulatto man who was

> 5 feet 9 or 10 inches high, well made, has remarkable long feet, the middle toes longer than the rest, which they ride over, has lost part of one of his fore teeth, which occasions the next to it to look blue, is a very artful fellow, and will probably endeavour to pass for a freeman; he is very fond of singing hymns and preaching, and has been about Williamsburg, ever since he went off, passing by the name of James Williams.[50]

After the Revolution, Catesby Jones offered a twenty-five dollar reward for the return of the following runaway slave who had been seen in the Williamsburg area:

> RUN away from the subscriber in June, 1782, a likely negro fellow name TIM, about thirty years of age, five feet seven or eight inches high, and well made; he had on and took with him, a Kendall cotton jacket, two osnabrig shirts, a pair of country cloth trowsers, and other clothes that I cannot recollect; it is probable he has changed his clothes before this. He is an artful fellow, has a very smooth way of speaking, and I am told has changed his name to James Traveller, passes for a free man, and pretends to be a Baptist preacher: he has been lately seen near Williamsburg. Any person delivering him to me, shall receive the above reward, and if secured so that I get him again, fifteen dollars.[51]

By the mid-1770s, Yorktown's slaves and free blacks would have known about Gowan (later known as Gowan Pamphlet), an enslaved Baptist preached owned by Jane Vobe, a Williamsburg tavern keeper. In the early 1790s, it is likely that Gowan, having secured permission from his

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[48] Elizabeth Jones to Thomas Jones Junior, 8 January 1758, Roger Jones Family Papers, Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress.
[49] William Lee to Mr. Cary Wilkinson, 22 May 1771, in Archibald Bolling Shepperson, ed., *John Paradise and Lucy Ludwell of London and Williamsburg*, (Richmond: The Dietz Press, Incorporated, 1942), pp. 51-2.
[50] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie, ed., 8 September 1775.
[51] *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser,* Nicholson and Prentis, eds., 25 October 1783.

master and journeyed to Mathews County in order to apply for his congregation's membership in the Dover Baptist Association. If so, Yorktown's black and white residents would have seen Gowan because his path would have taken him from Williamsburg to Yorktown, then on the ferry across the York River to Gloucester and from Gloucester to Mathews. His return trip also caused him to pass through Yorktown.[52]

Two years later, it is known that Gowan was in Yorktown. On 8 August 1793, William Nelson Junior informed Thomas Newton of Norfolk that "the black preacher Gawin who passed through this town on Sunday last on his way to Norfolk." While in Yorktown, the preacher "dropped a letter on the street from the 'secret keeper'" in Richmond to a similar person in Norfolk. The letter's shocking contents told of arms stockpiled for a slave revolt by thousands of men "of our color" in simultaneous action from Charleston, South Carolina, to Richmond, Virginia. Pamphlet was away from Yorktown by the time the letter fell into Nelson's hands, and he "kept out of the way" and avoided arrest.[53]

From the 1691 establishment of Yorktown to the 1793 incident involving Gowan Pamphlet, religion helped to shape the lives of the enslaved men, women, and children who lived in the town. Some masters no doubt chose not to instruct their slaves in Christianity. Other slave owners encourage their laborers to learn about religion and to be baptized. Richard Ambler's slave woman Phillis was baptized at Bruton Parish Church on 1 June 1752. In the years following the end of the American Revolution, other Yorktown slaves were baptized at Bruton Parish. Lucy, the daughter of Arrabella and the property of Susannah Riddell, was baptized at Bruton Parish Church on 4 May 1783. This was the same day, Corbin Griffin's enslaved woman, Doll, had her daughter Betty. General Thomas Nelson's slave Crinder was the mother of Editha, a girl baptized on 8 June 1783. On 6 March 1785, the general's slave Sarah, the daughter of Penny, was baptized in Bruton Parish Church.

It is likely that some of Yorktown's slaves knew about enslaved Baptist preachers and made attempts to get to meetings to hear their sermons. If so, these enslaved men, women, and children would have heard a minister who told them that all people were equal in the eyes of God. The town's slave owners would not have wanted their slaves to feel that they were the equals of their masters. Virginia's system of slavery depended on the master exerting control over his enslaved laborers and exploiting their labor for his economic benefit.

Work and Yorktown's Slaves and Free People of Color

Yorktown's slave owners owned men, women, and children to do the physical labor needed to operate businesses and an elite household. As a result, work helped to define the lives of Yorktown's enslaved men, women, and children. Six days a week, the town's slaves woke at daybreak, and they labored until the sun set in the late afternoon or early evening. Many, but not all, slaves had time for themselves on Sundays. The work that slaves performed reflected the status and occupation of their owners as well as the skills of the laborers.

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[52] Linda H. Rowe, "Gowan Pamphlet: Baptist Preacher in Slavery and Freedom," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 120, No. 1 (2012):21-2.
[53] Ibid, pp. 22-3.

The labor of enslaved men was essential to merchants before the 1691 establishment of Yorktown and continued to be vital as long as ships anchored in the town's harbor. Male slaves unloaded crates and barrels from ships and placed them on carts. These laborers used the carts to help carry the imported items to storehouses and warehouses located throughout the town. Thomas Nelson the Immigrant and his son, President William Nelson, both had storehouses on the waterfront and near their homes on Main Street. John Ballard, Richard Ambler, David Jameson, Philip Lightfoot, John Norton, Cole Digges, Dudley Digges, and John Thompson also stored their goods near the river and on the lots on which they lived.

Enslaved males also carted barrels down to the waterfront and loaded them on ships before the captain guided the vessel out of the Yorktown harbor and down the York River to the Chesapeake Bay and the Atlantic Ocean. Many of these barrels contained food items—including grains and preserved meat—to be shipped to the Caribbean. The town's prosperous merchants had plantations near Yorktown as well as in other areas of Virginia. Surplus food produced by their rural slaves would have been carted to Yorktown by enslaved men and then loaded on vessels. The slaves who transported food from the plantations to Yorktown had the opportunity to visit with family and friends in rural areas and to carry messages from urban households to the various quarters.

In addition to bringing grains, vegetables, and meats to be carried on ships that left Yorktown's harbors, enslaved men carted food items to the town's taverns. Men and women operated taverns throughout Yorktown as they provided food, lodging, and entertainment for the town's inhabitants as well as travelers and sailors from ships anchored in the harbor. Many of the proprietors depended on slaves to cook food, serve meals, tend to customers' horses, wash dishes, and launder sheets. Yorktown's taverns were in all areas of the town; as a result, slaves worked at taverns on the waterfront and along Main Street. Abraham Archer and his sons, Thomas and Abraham, had slaves who labored in their taverns near the York River. James Mitchell, the keeper of the Swan Tavern, was a slave owner. Several proprietors who operated their businesses on Lot 30—John Gibbons, Ishmael Moody, Edward Powers, and Elizabeth Moody Powers—depended on the labor of slaves.

John Gibbons and James Mitchell, the proprietor of the Swan Tavern, had slaves who worked in the tavern as well as enslaved men who operated the ferry between Yorktown and Tindall's Point. Gibbons and Mitchell had four male slaves who could transport passengers and their horses across the York River. They used poles to guide the ferryboats from one side of the river to the other. The slaves owned by Gibbons and Mitchell—as well as the men who transported passengers from York County to Gloucester County during the time that Thomas Pate, Mungo Somerwell, William Buckner, John Roberts, Thomas Nelson the Immigrant, William Harwood, Thomas Robins, and Lawrence Gibbons—spent time away from their masters while they worked. In addition, these enslaved men had a chance to talk to slaves who crossed the York River with their masters.

Slaves owned by mariners also labored on the York River and other waterways. Arthur Bickerdike might have relied on Sexton, an enslaved boy adjudged to be nine years old in May 1716, to unload cargo from ships anchored in the York River.[54] A mariner named John

[54] York County Orders and Wills (14) 502, 21 May 1716.

Thompson sailed vessels in and out of Yorktown's harbor between the 1730s and the late 1760s. By the late 1760s, Thompson decided that he was not able to carry on his business. In the 18 August 1768 issue of Rind's *Virginia Gazette*, he announced he would sell "several valuable water Negroes, one of them an extraordinary sailmaker."[55] Thompson failed to find a purchaser for his slaves and the following year he decided to hold a lottery to raise money "to pay off his debts and reserve some part of his estate for his wife and family. On 11 May 1769, Thompson published the "SCHEME of a LOTTERY" to be drawn on 20 June 1769. The lots include information about five of Thompson's slaves. He had four enslaved men whom he described as watermen. The directors of Thompson's lottery valued Jack at £ 80, Frank at £ 71, Will at £ 65, and Caesar at £ 55. On the same day, Thompson also noted "As the sum proposed to be raised by my lottery will not be sufficient to satisfy all my creditors, I intend selling privately the following articles, viz. A Negro man who is a good seaman and sailmaker, several other Negroes." He informed potential purchasers "If the above articles are not sold before the drawing of the lottery, they will be set up at publick auction." [56]

The directors cancelled the lottery because tickets remained on 20 June 1769. Six months later, Thompson again tried to sell some of his slaves. On 18 January 1770, he announced that he still wanted to raise funds to satisfy his debts and to return "up the country in the spring." Thompson advertised that he would sell "several valuable Negroes, who understand going by water, and good pilots to any part of the bay, one of whom is an extraordinary good sailmaker, some house servants," and his property in Yorktown.[57] It is possible that William Reynolds purchased one of more of Thompson's slaves to assist in his mercantile business. During the American Revolution, Thompson no doubt experienced a reduction in his orders. In August 1777 when he announced "TO BE SOLD, at York Town, on Monday the 9th of September, three NEGRO MEN that have been used to go by Water, and a Half Worn Mainsail and Foresail, proper for a large Boat."[58] There is no evidence that Reynolds found anyone to buy these slaves.

Skilled slaves also labored as craftsmen under the direction of their masters. In 1719, Ballard took two enslaved boys to the courthouse to have their ages adjudged. The justices of the peace decided that Ben was ten years old and Sawney was seven years of age.[59] Perhaps Ballard planned to train both Ben and Sawney to be carpenters. Ballard completed several projects for York County. In 1725, Ballard received payment for "a door to the cthouse." Eight years later, in 1733, the York County Court ordered payment to Ballard for "twelve chairs and two tables for the use of the Court House." The following year, Ballard earned 500 pounds of tobacco for the construction of a pillory and stocks.[60] In addition to Ben and Sawney, in early 1727/8, Ballard

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[55] *Virginia Gazette*, Rind, ed., 18 August 1768.
[56] Ibid., Purdie and Dixon, eds., 11 May 1769. The directors included Dudley Digges, General Thomas Nelson, Jaquelin Ambler, William Stevenson, George Riddell, and David Jameson.
[57] Ibid., 18 January 1770.
[58] Ibid., Dixon, ed., 29 August 1777. It is possible that these slaves were part of the estate of Thomas Reynolds, father of William Reynolds. The executors of Reynolds' estate placed the following advertisement in the 14 April 1768 edition of Rind's *Virginia Gazette*: "To be sold to the highest bidder, on Wednesday the 20th of this month, at the dwelling-house of the late Capt. Thomas Reynolds, in York, All the household and kitchen furniture, and 10 valuable slaves, among which are a good cook wench, and 3 men used to go by water."
[59] York County Orders and Wills (15) 520, 21 December 1719.
[60] York County Orders and Wills (16) 364, 15 November 1725; York County Wills and Inventories (18) 69, [15] September 1733; ibid., p. 158, 6 November 1734.

gained the labor of his apprentice, William Moss, and that of Moss's slave.[61] In 1733, Ballard purchased two imported African boys. York's officials determined that Rolinswick was thirteen years old and that Whitehall was a year younger.[62]

Other woodworkers owned slaves. William Mitchell, a chair maker and a wheelwright, lost a thirty-year old enslaved man named Pool during the Siege of Yorktown.[63] Mitchell valued Pool at the sum of £ 100, a sign that he was skilled and might have helped his master make chairs or wheels for wagons or carriages. Cabinetmaker James Tyrie worked in Yorktown during the 1780s. On 19 July 1785, Tyrie agreed to take Francis Hern, a free mulatto of York County, as his apprentice and to teach Hern the skills of a cabinetmaker.[64] It is possible that Tyrie hoped that Hern would help him expand his business and earn enough money to pay his debts. In November 1785, Tyrie mortgaged an enslaved boy name Frank to Yorktown's John McClary. Tyrie promised to repay his debt by 1 November 1786.[65] It is likely that Tyrie made his payment to McClary before his death in the spring of 1786. The 27 April 1786 inventory of Tyrie's estate included five slaves: Betty valued at £ 40, Frank who was worth £ 25, Milly and her child Ben who were assessed at £ 60, and Prince who was valued at £ 20.[66]

One of Tyrie's contemporaries was a tailor named John Conrad Ginter. As a tailor, Ginter made clothes for men who lived in and near Yorktown. It is likely that he also cut material to make suits of livery for the personal slaves who tended to the daily needs of their masters. Perhaps Ginter trained one of his enslaved men—Jacob and Colin—to help take the necessary measurements before he cut the material and stitched the fabric into fashionable clothing. Ginter depended on the patronage of elite men to earn money.

Another Yorktown resident, Patrick Matthews, needed customers to prosper. Matthews was a butcher and a gardener. In November 1745, he purchased an enslaved African whom he named Will. The justices of the York County Court decided that Will was nine years old.[67] Perhaps Matthews trained Will to assist him. It is known that Matthews added to his labor force in August 1751 when he agreed to take Jimmy, a free mulatto son of M[torn], as an apprentice. It is possible that he needed another laborer to help butcher cattle, sheep, and hogs.[68]

This Yorktown butcher was dead by May 1762 when the grand jury presented Ann Matthews for failing to list her chair. Six months later, the widow Matthews did not list her enslaved man Jack

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[61] York County Orders and Wills (16) 502, 19 February 1727/8.
[62] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 52, 18 June 1733.
[63] "Claims for Losses of York County Citizens in the British Invasion of 1781," (Williamsburg: Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation), Microfilm M-1.45.
[64] York County Deeds (6) 274, dated and recorded 19 July 1785.
[65] Ibid., p. 304, dated 1 November 1785 and recorded 17 April 1786.
[66] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 109, dated 5 March 1786 and recorded 17 April 1786; ibid., pp. 120-1, dated 27 April 1786 and recorded 18 September 1786.
[67] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 397, 18 November 1745.
[68] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 451, 19 August 1751. In addition to taking several free black children as apprentices, Matthews had a connection to Benjamin Hanson, the free black butcher. In July 1754, Matthews agreed to serve as the security on Thomas Holt's bond for the administration of Hanson's estate. York County Judgments and Orders (2) 461, 15 July 1754. See also Part I. Section 5—Free Blacks in Yorktown and the Yorktown Area, 1680s to 1783.

as a tithe.[69] Perhaps Ann Matthews tried to avoid payment of taxes because her husband was indebted when he died. In January 1772, the creditors of Patrick Matthews appealed to the justices of the peace. These individuals noted "that sundry slaves of the said Patrick Matthews remain in the hands of his Widow and that there is no other Estate to satisfie the Debts due to the said Creditors." In addition, no one was willing to administer the deceased butcher's estate. The justices ordered the York County sheriff to take the "Slaves into his hands and sell the same."[70]

The inventory of the slaves owned by Matthews' estate included Dublin, a man; Will, a man; Phillis, a woman; Betty, Peg, and Phillis, three small children; a boy named Dick; a woman known as Lender; and Jack, an old man. On 23 January 1772, William Russell, the deputy sheriff of York County announced the sale of eight "likely" slaves, "among them a good butcher," belonging to the estate of Patrick Matthews on Saturday, 1 February 1772 in front of the Raleigh Tavern in Williamsburg.[71]

In addition to patronizing business that depended on enslaved laborers, a number of Yorktown's residents owned slaves to work in their households. Mariner and merchant John Thompson owned Hagar, a female slave whom he described as "a good washer and ironer." In May 1769, Thompson decided that she was worth £ 45.15.[72] In January of the following year, he noted that Hagar was "a very good washer, ironer, and sempstress."[73]

Perhaps Ann Matthews, the wife of Patrick Matthews, helped to teach the skills of washing, ironing, sewing, and cooking to two free black girls. In November 1745, a free mulatto named Hannah Banks, with the permission of her mother, apprenticed herself to Matthews. He promised to provide food, clothing, lodging, and washing until she turned twenty-one.[74] In May 1750, Hannah Jones, the orphan daughter of Parish Jones, chose Matthews as her master. It is possible that both girls named Hannah as well as three enslaved girls—Flora, Hannah, and Belinda—did the domestic work in the Matthews household under the supervision of Ann Matthews.[75]

Domestic slaves who labored in Yorktown's gentry households often received training in a specific skill. In 1768 Doctor George Riddell attended the sale of the estate of his deceased partner, Benjamin Catton. Riddell paid £ 150 for Caesar, an enslaved man first owned by Catton's father. The purchase priced indicated Caesar's skills as a barber.[76] Barber Caesar (later known as John Hope, the name he chose to use as a free man) trained at least one other Yorktown slave—a man known as James and owned by John Nelson—to be a barber.[77]

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[69] York County Judgment and Orders (3) 358, 17 May 1762; ibid., p. 437, 15 November 1762.
[70] York County Judgments and Orders (2) 450, 20 January 1772.
[71] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 122, recorded 21 September 1772; *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 23 January 1772.
[72] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 11 May 1769.
[73] Ibid., 18 January 1770.
[74] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 152, dated and recorded 18 November 1752.
[75] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 269, 18 December 1749; ibid., p. 306, 21 May 1750.
[76] York County Wills and Inventories (21) 419-20, dated 11 [torn] 1768 and recorded 19 September 1768; ibid., pp. 434-5, dated 21 November 1768; York County Wills and Inventories (22), 12-7, recorded 18 March 1771; ibid., pp. 452-4, dated [torn] January 1779 and recorded 19 July 1779.
[77] *Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser*, Davis, ed., 20 May 1795.

Yorktown's elite families made sure that they had slaves who could work in their homes. In October 1774, Charles Grymes advertised for the return of an escaped slave named Johnny. Grymes noted that Johnny "has been always bred to the House, and is an extraordinary good Waiter." The fact that Johnny could read and write meant that his owners, first Armistead Lightfoot and later Charles Grymes, could send him on errands.[78] William Nelson Junior might have sent Cue, a mulatto man, to carry items throughout Yorktown. In 1792, the younger Nelson noted that Cue was "a good house servant" and he might have depended on this man to work as a doorman or to serve food to guests gathered around his dining room table.[79]

Members of the Nelson, Lightfoot, and Ambler families would have had personal slaves to tend to their needs during each day. An enslaved man who worked as a personal slave would have learned to read and write so he could assist his master. A personal slave probably helped his master dress in the morning in addition to shaving him and dressing his wigs. It is possible that this enslaved man also knew how to manage horses and supervise the male slaves who worked in his master's garden so he could step in when it was necessary. A personal slave would have worn livery as a reflection of his position in the household and of his master's social and economic status in Virginia.[80] Frank, the personal slave of General Thomas Nelson, no doubt wore livery in Philadelphia in the fall of 1775. Though Frank traveled to the Continental Congress with his master, this enslaved man received two tips of seven shillings and six pence from Thomas Jefferson, the first on 14 October 1775 and the second fifteen days later. On 30 December 1775, Jefferson noted that he gave two shillings and six pence to "mrs. Nelson's Barnaby." It is likely that Barnaby also wore livery while he ran errands in Philadelpia.[81]

Female members of Yorktown's prominent families had personal slaves who helped them to dress each morning and attend to their personal needs during the day.[82] In addition, an enslaved woman who labored as a personal slave might have learned how to perform other household tasks such as sewing, ironing, washing clothes, spinning, and weaving.[83] A female personal slave wore elegant clothing as a reflection of her position in the household and of her master's place at the top of Virginia society.

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[78] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 13 October 1774.
[79] *Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser*, Davis, ed., 9 May 1792
[80] See William Roane's description of the responsibilities his personal slave, Joe, in *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 19 March 1772; James Mercer's account of the duties of his personal slave, Christmas, in ibid.; Thomas Gaskins's advertisement for David, his personal slave, in ibid., 6 August 1772; William Park's announcement concerning Peter in ibid., Dixon, ed., 19 December 1777; Charles Yates's discussion of Robin in *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, Nicolson and Prentis, eds., 20 September 1783; John Breckinridge's report on Joe in *Virginia Gazette or American Advertiser*, Hayes, ed., 10 May 1786; John Fox's list of Gloucester's skills in *Virginia Independent Chronicle and General Advertiser*, Davis, ed., 28 July 1790.
[81] "Thomas Jefferson. Daily Accounts & Memoranda in an interleaved almanac. 1775," HM590, Henry E. Huntington Library, Art Gallery, and Botanical Gardens, San Marino, California.
[82] William Nelson, son of General Thomas Nelson and Lucy Nelson, left his wife the maids who assisted her each day as well as a maid to each of his daughters in his will. York County Wills and Inventories (23) 638, dated 27 April 1799, codicils dated 20 October 1799 and 22 October 1800, and recorded 19 December 1803.
[83] See Martha Massie's description of Moll in *Virginia Gazette*, 27 October 1752; Mary Clay's account of Jude's abilities in ibid., Purdie and Dixon, eds., 20 October 1768; the advertisement for Kate or Catherine in ibid., Purdie, ed., 8 August 1777; Thomas Turner's report of Charity's skills in *Virginia Gazette or American Advertiser*, Hayes, ed., 16 October 1784.

It is clear that members of the Nelson, Lightfoot, and Ambler families depended on slaves to labor in their urban households. It is difficult, however, to determine what kind of work individual slaves performed. In his 1745 will, Thomas Nelson the Immigrant left his wife Frances "the service of my negroes Grace, Penny, Suckey, Frank, Will, Cesar, Tryal, and Little Davy during her life."[84] Two years later, Philip Lightfoot left his wife, Mary, "the Use and Service of ten House Slaves and the Coachman of her own Election."[85] Like Lightfoot, President William Nelson gave his wife, Elizabeth, a life right to ten enslaved laborers who worked in their house.[86] In his 1788 will, General Thomas Nelson left his wife Lucy ten house slaves during her lifetime.[87]

Whether a slave worked as a personal attendant, a domestic laborer, a coachman, a craftsman, or a waterman, enslaved men, women, and children provided essential labor in Yorktown. Slaves unloaded ships, cooked and served food, labored as craftsmen, and tended to the needs of the town's prominent families. Residents of Yorktown, whether or not they owned slaves, would have been used to seeing enslaved men moving in all areas of their town. These slaves might have had time to visit with friends from other areas and to exchange news as they waited for masters to buy items at a store or eat and drink at a tavern. In contrast, much of the work done by slave women and girls restricted them to their owner's property. They would have eagerly awaited the return of men and boys from errands in town, to Williamsburg, or one of their master's plantations.

No matter where a slave labored in Yorktown, their work kept them in close proximity to their masters. The town's enslaved men, women, and children saw their owners each and every day. Personal slaves and enslaved cooks labored seven days a week and had little free time. In addition, these individuals were just a short distance from the waterfront where imported Africans were sold and the York County Courthouse where new slaves had their ages adjudged, slaves stood trial, and convicted slaves received punishment.

In contrast, rural slaves often worked far from the watchful eye of their owners and some of the harsh realities of slavery. The labor that these enslaved men, women, and children performed, however, often was more physically taxing than that of their urban counterparts. Slaves who tended tobacco fields did repetitive, backbreaking work in the heat and humidity of the summer. They wore loose fitting clothing made of osnaburg, a coarse, scratchy fabric that masters imported from England. Rural slaves had fewer opportunities to visit with slaves from other places in the colony. There was a benefit to life on plantations. At the end of the workday, rural slaves could walk to the quarter where they lived, cook dinner, and visit before they slept.

Work shaped the lives of Yorktown's slaves and of the enslaved men, women, and children who tended fields on nearby plantations. In addition to reflecting the social status of their owners, the work that slaves performed indicated the variety of experiences that these men, women, and

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[84] "Copy of a Copy of the Will of Thomas Nelson, of York" in "Berkeley Manuscripts," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1st ser., Vol. VI, No. 3 (January 1898):143-5.
[85] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 103-6, dated 31 July 1748 and recorded 20 June 1748.
[86] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 132-6, dated 6 October 1772 and recorded 21 December 1772.
[87] Emory G. Evans, "The Nelsons: A Biographical Study of a Virginia Family in the Eighteenth Century," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1957), pp. 373-4.

children had. The town was home to enslaved men who served as personal slaves to members of elite families. In this role, these male slaves traveled throughout Virginia and, in the case of Frank and Barnaby, two slaves owned by General Thomas Nelson, they accompanied their master on trips to Philadelphia.[88] Other men wore plain, coarse suits of osnaburg while they unloaded and loaded the ships anchored in the Yorktown harbor. Many of the town's female slaves found that their work restricted them to their master's household. The personal slave of a prominent woman might accompany her mistress when she visited friends and family members or made purchases in one of Yorktown's stores. The majority of her time, however, would have been spent in the family's home. Enslaved cooks, laundresses, and seamstresses labored in the outbuildings behind the white family's home. Women, girls, and young boys also gathered firewood, helped to prepare food for cooking, tended the kitchen garden, milked the cows, and churned butter. Whether they worked in the family's home, in the outbuildings, in a tavern, in an artisan's shop, or on the waterfront, Yorktown's slaves had some common experiences. As they labored for the benefit of another person, these men, women, and children found ways to establish ties to other enslaved residents in Yorktown and to create families.

Trying to Run Away from Slavery

Slaves—whether they worked in Yorktown or in other areas of Virginia—resisted the institution of slavery. Resistance took a variety of forms. Some enslaved men, women, and children worked slowly, broke tools, pretended to be sick, and took extra food or clothing. Other slaves resisted by running away from their master. Enslaved Virginians ran for many reasons. Some of those who escaped no doubt hoped to claim their freedom, while others wanted to escape harsh punishment, deprive their master of necessary labor during the tobacco harvest, avoid a sale to a different master, to visit family members and friends. A runaway slave might hope to escape slavery forever, or he might decide to return to his owner's plantation after a short period of time. Absentees stayed away for a few days and then returned to the place where they lived and worked. A slave described as "lying out" was a person who remained in the area of his owner's plantation. Fugitives might run a short distance to try to put as many miles as possible between themselves and their master's property.

Between 1736 and 1800, some of Virginia's slave owners placed advertisements in the *Virginia Gazette* and other newspapers to let people know about escaped slaves, provide information to identify the individuals who had run, and offer a reward to encourage whites to capture runaways and return them to the advertisers.[89] The details in the advertisements provide information about the reasons why some slaves escaped, the ties that enslaved laborers formed to family and friends, the clothing worn by enslaved laborers, the material objects that slaves used, and the skills that slaves possessed.

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[88] "Thomas Jefferson. Daily Accounts & Memoranda in an interleaved almanac. 1775."

[89] Slave owners wanted to regain possession of escaped laborers for several reasons. First, the act of running away was a direct challenge to the institution of slavery and the laws that whites used to control slaves. Second, masters were dependent upon the work of the enslaved men, women, and children who tended plantation crops, practiced trades, and took care of domestic work. In addition, slave owners wanted to have possession of the people whom they saw as their personal property.

Notices printed in Virginia's newspapers indicate that some escaped slaves ran to Yorktown. In May 1751, William Lindsey of Caroline County believed that Cyrus was "lurking about York River" and planned to get on a vessel. Cyrus likely drew upon the knowledge he gained about Yorktown during the time that he lived in the household of mariner and merchant Humphrey Bell. Cyrus took the clothes that he had on—"a Cotton Vest and Breeches, two good Linen Shirts, a good Felt Hat, a Pair of Stockings and Shoes." These clothes would have helped Cyrus pass himself off as a free man who worked on the water. In April 1766, Sarah Gist thought that Damon left her Hanover County plantation and headed to Yorktown so he could find his way to a vessel. Damon's "Negro cotton clothes" indicated his status as a slave who labored on a plantation. The importance of skills can be seen in an advertisement placed by Thomson Mason of Stafford County. In September 1768, Mason noted that Peter Deadfoot, his escaped slave,

> is an indifferent shoemaker, a good butcher, ploughman, and carter; an excellent sawyer, and waterman, understands breaking oxen well, and is one of the best scythemen, either with or without a cradle, in America; in short, he is so ingenious a fellow, that he can turn his hand to anything; he has a great share of pride, though he is very obliging, is extremely fond of dress; and though his holiday clothes were taken from him, when he first attempted to get off, yet, as he had probably passed for a freeman, I make no doubt he has supplied himself with others, as such a fellow would readily get employment.

Mason received reports that "he was seen on board a vessel in York river, near York town."[90]

Several escaped slaves headed to Yorktown because it had been their home. In September 1751, a Williamsburg resident named James Spiers advertised for the return of a slave named Dick. Spiers noted that Dick "had on a white Coat, with metal Buttons, and a blew Jacket and Breeches." This man "formerly belonged to Doctor Jackson, in York, and was a Ferry-Man there" and that "he can work in a Garden." Spiers believed that he was in the port where he had once lived. In July 1773, John Puryear announced that that one of his slaves, whom he described as a fellow, would "make for York Town, where he was raised, and brought up as a waitingman." According to Puryear, this man took many articles of clothing items when he escaped—"a Bearskin Coat, a Pair of Russia Drill Breeches, a striped Cotton Waistcoat, a white Linen Shirt, a Russia Drill Coat, a pale blue Kersey ditto [coat], a Pair of coloured Jeans Breeches, two Pair of Osnabrug Trousers, a Pair of Thread Stockings, a Pair of Shoes, Steel Buckles, and a leather Cap." It is likely that this enslaved man spent time planning his escape and that he believed clothing would help him to pass as a free man of color as he traveled.[91]

Family connections also prompted some enslaved laborers to leave Yorktown. In October 1751, Northampton County's Griffin Stith noted that Tom ran from York County's port. Stith suspected that Tom would either go to Goochland County to see his wife or to North Carolina. Tom also took "a pair of blue Cloth Breeches, a black Cloth Vest, two close-bodied Cloth Coats, one of them an Orange Colour, a dark colour'd great Coat with Brass Buttons, Worsted Stockings, and English Shoes pretty much worn . . . also several fine and coarse Shirts." Perhaps Tom hoped his clothes would give him the appearance of a free man since they were not the clothes of an agricultural slave. Twenty-two years later, in May 1773, Stith noted that both

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[90] *Virginia Gazette*, 2 May 1751; ibid., Purdie and Dixon, eds., 4 April 1766; ibid., Rind, ed., 22 September 1768.
[91] Ibid., 19 September 1751; ibid., Purdie and Dixon, eds., 1 July 1773.

David and Sam escaped from Yorktown where they both had wives. Stith reported that the men "had on Cotton Clothes, new Felt Hats, Osnabrug Shirts, &c." David and Sam would have looked like slaves who tended fields on a plantation.[92]

Some slaves headed to Yorktown because it was a place of opportunity. In June 1773, Joseph Valentine, the overseer of George Washington's York County plantations advertised for the return of Will. Valentine noted that Will had "passed at York some time for a free man." In May of the following year, Mingo, a man "used to plantation work and going by water," decided to slip off of a ship anchored in the Yorktown harbor and escape.[93]

Other enslaved laborers wanted to escape Yorktown and reach other places in Virginia or other colonies. In 1739, Richard Ambler noted that Kingsale, a twenty-four year old man had escaped from his plantation near Yorktown. Ambler "suppos'd he will shape his Course over James River, and so to North Carolina, having been lately sent from thence." In September 1769, John Conrad Ginter informed readers of the newspaper that George, a tailor by trade, had escaped. Ginter believed it likely that George headed to North Carolina.[94]

Initially, John Norton believed that Cornelius, a slave "who is well known in York, Gloucester, and most Counties of Virginia, having traveled with me for several Years through different Parts of the Colony," would "have gone to Carolina." However, Norton heard information that changed his mind—"within these ten Days he was met about three Miles from Gloucester Town, in company with a Mulatto Woman of Mr. Dedman's of York, who is said to be his Wife." In late July 1774, Norton updated readers of the *Virginia Gazette* on the status of Cornelius. Norton noted that Cornelius was captured in Fredericksburg and imprisoned in the York County Gaol. During the time he and his wife, Sall, were in Fredericksburg, "both were considered as free People, and hired in the Harvest by some Planters. Their scheme was to get Money, and to proceed back upon the Frontiers of Virginia." However, on 26 July, Cornelius broke out of the gaol, and for a second time, Norton offered a reward for his return.[95]

Details that masters included in the runaway slave advertisements provide information about the reasons that some Virginia slaves challenged the authority of their masters and either ran to or ran from Yorktown. Also, these notices demonstrate that enslaved men, women, and children experienced slavery in different ways. Slaves owned by Yorktown residents had a variety of skills, labored in urban areas and on rural plantations, and wore different clothing that indicated the type of work that they did. The town's slave owners knew about the ties that their enslaved men, women, and children had to family members and friends. These bonds connected Yorktown's slaves to one another, to slaves who lived on nearby plantations, and to slaves who labored on distant quarters. The connections that Yorktown slaves formed helped these men, women, and children to endure the harshness of enslavement. In fact, family connections

[92] Ibid., 31 October 1751; ibid., Purdie and Dixon, eds., 13 May 1773.
[93] Ibid., Rind, ed., 18 July 1771; ibid., 12 May 1774.
[94] Ibid., 6 April 1739; ibid., Purdie and Dixon, eds., 21 September 1769.
[95] Ibid., Purdie and Dixon, eds., 16 June 1774; ibid., 28 July 1774.

reduced the likelihood that Virginia slaves—including those enslaved individuals in Yorktown—would run from their masters and seek their freedom.[96]

Westward Migration

In the early eighteenth century, some of Yorktown's prosperous residents turned their attention to the acquisition of land in the Piedmont region of the colony. They wanted to have land to leave to their sons, and there were thousands of acres west of the Tidewater. The elite men knew that they also needed to have enslaved laborers on their new plantations and to leave to their sons. Yorktown's residents used one of two approaches to provided slaves for western lands. First, a colonist could purchase imported Africans and send them to the new property to create plantations for the production of tobacco. Second, a planter could shift enslaved laborers from plantations in the Tidewater region to quarters in the western part of the colony.

The York County Court records provide some information about the ways in which Philip Lightfoot and members of the Nelson family acquired slaves for their western lands. A member of the gentry, Philip Lightfoot began his adulthood as a land and slave owner because he received a legacy from his own father, Philip Lightfoot. Once he himself became a father, the younger Lightfoot no doubt decided to add to his holdings and labor force. He knew it was essential to his sons' social and economic status to inherit a substantial estate. Lightfoot would have attended the sales of imported Africans when he needed to purchase a new laborer for one of his plantations. It is likely that he bought slaves for his Prince George, Brunswick, Charles City, and Surry plantations at sales held at wharves and landings along the James River. Once he bought a slave or group of slaves, Lightfoot would have had their ages adjudged in the nearby courthouse before an overseer might have moved these enslaved individuals to one of the quarters on his plantations. Entries in the York County Court records indicate that Lightfoot took seventeen enslaved boys and girls to the courthouse to have their ages adjudged. It is likely that these slaves labored in and near Yorktown.[97]

At the time of his death on 30 May 1748, Philip Lightfoot owned land in York, Goochland, Charles City, Brunswick, Prince George, and Surry counties.[98] He divided this property among his three sons—William, John, and Armistead—and each of his sons also inherited sixty slaves to labor upon their land. An inheritance of sixty slaves enabled each of Lightfoot's sons to have enslaved men, women, and children to work on several different quarters of their land. Ownership of enslaved women meant that William, John, and Armistead Lightfoot could expect to increase their slave holdings through the children born on their plantations.

In contrast to Philip Lightfoot, Thomas Nelson the Immigrant did not invest in as much rural land or as many enslaved laborers during his first years in Virginia. Instead, Nelson focused

[96] Philip D. Morgan and Michael L. Nicholls, *Runaway Slaves in Eighteenth-Century Virginia: A New World Perspective*, (forthcoming).
[97] See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 23.
[98] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 103-6, dated 31 July 1747 and recorded 20 June 1748.

much of his attention on the establishment and growth of his mercantile business.[99] He acquired urban land in Yorktown so he could have the space to build an elegant brick mansion with all necessary outbuildings for his family as well as warehouses and storehouses for his business. Nelson the Immigrant did gain possession of a plantation in Charles Parish in the lower end of York County.

Thomas Nelson the Immigrant, however, gradually began to acquire land in other counties. In 1719, he patented 3,273 acres in New Kent County (later Hanover County). This merchant gained possession of land in King William County in the mid-1730s when he foreclosed on a mortgage granted to him by Colonel Thomas Jones of Hanover. Jones had mortgaged 3,375 acres of land and thirty-five enslaved laborers to Nelson in order secure the payment of a debt of close to £ 2,000. After Nelson foreclosed on Jones, he acquired most of the 3,375 acres. In addition, Jones hired the thirty-five slaves to Nelson each year until the rest of the debt was paid. In addition, shortly before his 1745 death, Nelson began to speculate in western lands.[100]

Thomas Nelson the Immigrant's decision to acquire rural land indicates his realization that he needed to own land in order to become a prominent Virginian and to pass this position and tobacco plantations to his sons, President William Nelson and Secretary Thomas Nelson.[101] He purchased land in nearby Yorkhampton Parish so slaves could produce foodstuffs and raise livestock that would be used to feed the members of his urban household. The acquisition of land in other counties made it possible for Nelson to produce tobacco that he shipped to Great Britain and food items that he loaded on vessels that sailed along the Atlantic Coast and to the Caribbean.

Thomas Nelson the Immigrant left the majority of estate to his eldest son, William. His inheritance included land in York County and Hanover County as well as slaves to labor on these properties. A native-born Virginian, President William Nelson recognized the importance of land and he acquired property in several counties in the Piedmont region during his lifetime. In June 1752, Nelson patented 1,000 acres in Orange County. He bought land in Albemarle County in 1755 and a second parcel in the same county two years later. In 1758, Nelson acquired land in Louisa County. When Nelson learned in 1764 of an opportunity to acquire 3,500 acres in Albemarle County, he made this purchase. He also counted 369 acres in Fauquier County among his holdings as well as land in Frederick County.[102]

President William Nelson managed the work of his Piedmont slaves from his Yorktown home. During the 1750s and early 1760s, Nelson had his slaves focus on tobacco production.[103] As the price for tobacco dropped and conflicts with Great Britain increased, Nelson and his sons began to diversify the production on their plantations. President Nelson commented on this diversification in a 24 January 1770 letter to John Norton:

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[99] Emory G. Evans, *"A Topping People": The Rise and Decline of Virginia's Old Political Elite, 1680-1790*, (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2009), pp. 97-8.
[100] Evans, "The Nelsons," pp. 10, 19-20.
[101] The economic success of Thomas Nelson the Immigrant enabled his sons, President William Nelson and Secretary Thomas Nelson, to move into Virginia's elite and to serve on the Governor's Council. Evans, "*A Topping People*," p. 97.
[102] Evans, "The Nelsons," pp. 63, 88, 109, 134.
[103] Ibid., pp. 82-3, 90, 94, 118, 120, 133, 134, 149.

> I am glad to find that the Merchants are at last going to bestir themselves, in order to procure the Repeal of the Revenue *Acts*, and I hope they remember a Repeal of one *Act* only, vizt, That for laying a Duty on Glass Paper Colours &ca will be doing the work by halves, and cant give us the Satisfaction & Security We think We ought to have. They have already taught us to know that We can make many things for ourselves, & that We can do very well without many other things we used to indulge in. I now wear a good suit of Cloth of my Son's wool, manufactured, as well as my shirts in Albmarl & Augusta Counties, my Shoes, Hose Buckles, Wigg, & Hat etca of our own County, and in these We improve every year, in Quantity as well as Quality[.][104]

Nelson's letter reveals his pride in the ways in which his family managed the labor of their slaves and found ways in which enslaved laborers could make items the Nelsons previously imported from England.

As President William Nelson worked to diversify the crops that his rural slaves produced, it is likely that he also determined it was time to move some of his Tidewater slaves to work on quarters on his western lands or to establish new plantations. By the 1760s, many areas in eastern Virginia were not as productive as they once had been. Over a century of tobacco production had drained the soil of minerals. As a result, a number of gentry began to shift their slaves from Tidewater plantations to new land in the western portion of the colony.

President William Nelson, in his role as guardian of Nathaniel Burwell, managed the estate of Carter Burwell. Nelson served as the manager from Burwell's 1756 death until Nathaniel Burwell's twenty-first birthday in 1771.[105] During this time, Nelson decided to move a number of Burwell slaves from the Tidewater region to the family's western quarters in Frederick County. President Nelson's accounts detail the names of the slaves whom he sent to the new quarter and the conditions under which they were forced to leave their home at Carter's Grove, a plantation a short distance from Yorktown in James City County, and King's Creek, another Burwell plantation. James Burwell, the first husband of Mary Lightfoot (wife of Philip Lightfoot), held the King's Creek property during his lifetime.

The enslaved men, women, and children from Burwell's holdings in the James City and York County area permanently moved to these quarters and traveled with a wagon carrying their few possessions. They made the long walk from Carter's Grove to Frederick County. As they left their homes, these men, women, and children must have known that they would not return. Nelson required the estate manager, a man named William Graves, to visit the western quarters at least at least twice a year. Graves' visits, in the spring and the fall, were one of the few chances that slaves would have had to get news about relatives left behind in the Tidewater region. Three enslaved men from Carter's Grove—Billy, Daniel, and Tom—accompanied William Graves on some of the trips and, once they had learned the route, sometimes made the journey on their own, probably driving a wagon packed with clothing and other supplies for the quarters. No doubt Bill, Daniel, and Tom collected news from Burwell slaves in York and James

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[104] Frances Norton Mason, ed., *John Norton & Sons Merchants of London and Virginia: Being the Papers from their Counting House for the Years 1750 to 1795*, (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1937), p. 122.

[105] Lorena S. Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community*, (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1997), chapter IV.

City counties before they headed on the journey to Frederick County and did the same before they returned home to Carter's Grove.[106]

Accounts kept by President William Nelson during the time that he managed the Burwell estate reveal his involvement in the decision to settle quarters in Frederick County and to relocate the Burwell slaves. It is likely that Nelson and his brother, Secretary Thomas Nelson, used a similar strategy when they determined it was time to clear land for new fields. The Nelsons wanted to maintain the value of land and slaves so they could insure the social and economic standing of their sons.[107] Initially, the Nelson brothers probably bought imported Africans to labor on the Piedmont plantations. On most occasions, they attended slave sales in areas near their western lands, purchased laborers, and moved these individuals to the plantations as Philip Lightfoot had done. An exception to this pattern occurred in 1761 when President William Nelson handled the sale of the slaves import on the *Eadith*.[108] Secretary Thomas Nelson spent £ 280 for five male slaves and three enslaved women. President William Nelson decided to add three enslaved women to his labor force at the cost of £108. Both men placed the slaves from the *Eadith's* cargo on western plantations.

However, soon after they attended the sale of slaves imported on the *Eadith*, the Nelsons would have limited their acquisition of new slaves because they did not need to buy more laborers. Both President William Nelson and Secretary Thomas Nelson owned enslaved women who had husbands and gave birth to boys and girls. These native-born slaves joined the labor force around the time of their fifth birthdays. After the mid-1760s, William and Thomas Nelson were likely sending primarily native-born slaves to their western quarters.

President William Nelson and other elite colonists forced their slaves to migrate westward because it benefited the interests of white families. The decision to moved enslaved men, women, and children did not support the families created by their slaves. This movement broke apart the families that enslaved men and women created. Both the slaves forced to move westward and those who stayed in Yorktown lost family members. The disruption extended past the Nelson plantations near Yorktown into the town itself and the family's homes along Main Street. Slaves owned by the Nelsons would have found spouses who worked in all areas of Yorktown—the waterfront, the town proper, and the Read Addition. As the slaves owned by the Nelson family watched family members leave the Yorktown area for western quarters, it is likely that they turned to their friends for support.

Inheritance, Debt, and Slaves

In addition to the forced westward migration of slaves, other decisions made by slave owners caused disruption to the bonds that enslaved laborers formed to each other and to free people of color. Yorktown's slave owners—whether they owned one slave or many slaves—used their wills to transfer enslaved laborers to their children. They used bequests to support the social and

[106] Ibid., chapter VII.
[107] Personal communication from Lorena S. Walsh, 25 February 2010.
[108] See Part I. Section 3—Yorktown and the Slave Trade.

economic standing of their families. On other occasions, however, some of the town's residents found themselves indebted and forced to sell slaves in order to raise money.

As a slave owner grew older or fell ill, he or she often decided it was time to write a will in order to convey both real and personal property to family members. Yorktown's male residents—including Philip Lightfoot and members of the Nelson family—often left their wives a life right to the family slaves.[109] This bequest kept enslaved men, women, and children in the town as long as a widow lived. Once a widow died, however, the household slaves became the property of her children and they could be given to other family members.

On other occasions, a slave owner divided his enslaved laborers among his children when he wrote his will. The slaves held by Richard Ambler became the property of his three sons and several grandchildren as soon as Ambler's will was probated in the York County Court in 1766. Ambler's bequests moved some slaves from Jamestown to Yorktown and vice versa.[110]

A bequest of slaves from one's father was not a guarantee of financial success. By the late 1760s, Armistead Lightfoot, the youngest son of Philip and Mary Lightfoot, owed money to several creditors. The justices of the York County Court ordered the sheriff to sell several of Lightfoot's slaves in order to raise money. On 22 September 1768, York County's deputy sheriff and Yorktown resident William Mitchell announced "To be sold, on Monday, the 31st day of October next, before Mr. Hay's door, in Williamsburg, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, about fifty choice slaves, men, women, boys, and girls, belonging to Armistead Lightfoot, taken in execution to satisfy several judgments of York court." Lightfoot himself added the following postscript: "I hope all those indebted to me, and particularly such as I have been obliged to pay money for, will take proper notice of the above advertisement."[111]

In February of the following year, Mitchell placed a notice about another sale of slaves belonging to Lightfoot:

> To be SOLD for ready money, on Wednesday the 15th of this instant (February) before Mr. James Mitchell's door, TWENTY NEGROES, consisting of men, women, and children, belonging to Armistead Lightfoot, Esq; and taken in execution to satisfy several judgements obtained against him. The sale will begin at 12 o'clock.[112]

In the late 1760s, another Yorktown merchant, John Thompson, also advertised the sale of slaves. Like Lightfoot, he needed to raise money to pay his creditors.

The financial troubles experienced by Yorktown residents did not end with the American Revolution. In fact, those who owed money faced a greater problem in the years after the Siege of Yorktown. The town's merchants owed both debts and the interest upon these sums to

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[109] Yorktown residents made sure that their sons inherited both land and laborers because rural property had little value if one did not have slaves to tend the fields. In his 1747 will, Philip Lightfoot left each of his three sons—William, John, and Armistead—plantations and sixty enslaved laborers. York County Wills and Inventories (20) 103-6, dated 31 July 1747 and recorded 20 June 1748.

[110] See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 43, Lot 44, and Lot 45.

[111] *Virginia Gazette*, Rind, ed., 22 September 1768.

[112] Ibid., Purdie and Dixon, eds., 9 February 1769.

mercantile firms in England. These men hoped that a renewal of trade in the 1780s would ease their troubles. When Yorktown failed to regain its role as a trading center, a number of the town's residents had to sell some of their enslaved laborers. Hugh Nelson Senior, William Goosely, and William Reynolds were among the men who auctioned slaves.

Slave owners decided to bequeath slaves to children or to auction enslaved laborers for the same reason. They wanted to preserve their family's social and economic position in Yorktown and Virginia as a whole. In good times, these town residents transferred their labor force to their sons and daughters. In bad times, they hoped to sell a small number of their enslaved men, women, and children to raise money. Proceeds from the sales of slaves would satisfy creditors and enable the slave owner to preserve the remainder of his estate. Both decisions impacted the ties that Yorktown slaves established to one another.

Section 5.
Free Blacks in Yorktown and the Yorktown Area, 1680s to 1783

Introduction

The free people of color who lived in Yorktown and the surrounding area lived under legal restrictions that shaped their experiences. In spite of the limits they faced, members of several free black families managed to find ways to support themselves and maintain their freedom. This section begins with an overview of the key laws that restricted the lives of free people of color in Yorktown and all areas of Virginia. Next, there is information about the lives of the free black men, women, and children who made their homes in and near Yorktown.

Legal Restrictions on Virginia's Free People of Color

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Virginia's legislators approved a series of laws to enslave African men, women, and children and to restrict their actions. In addition, the members of the General Assembly passed legislation to limit the growth of the free black population and to limit their few legal rights. Many of these statutes focused on women—white and black, free and enslaved—and the role in which legislators expected them to play in Virginia's economy and society.[1]

Although Virginians held Africans in life-long servitude during the first half of the seventeenth century, the colony's legislators did not pass a statute that established the legal precedent for lifetime slavery until December 1662 when they approved ACT XII. *Negro womens children to serve according to the condition of the mother.* This law declared

> WHEREAS some doubts have arrisen whether children got by any Englishman upon a negro woman should be slave or ffree, *Be it therefore enacted and declared by this present grand assembly*, that all children borne in this country shalbe held bond or free only according to the condition of the mother, *And* that if any christian shall committ ffornication with a negro man or woman, hee or shee soe offending shall pay double the ffines imposed by the former act.[2]

Virginia's leaders addressed two concerns in this legislation: the status of a child born to a female slave and interracial sex. The decision that a child born to an enslaved mother was also a slave for life represented a dramatic departure from the English tradition in which a child received his or her status from his or her father. The passage of this statute meant that

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[1] Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia*, (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1996).

[2] William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, From the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619*, 13 vols., (Richmond, New York, and Philadelphia, 1819-23; reprint, Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia for the Jamestown Foundation of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1969), II:170.

individuals who had a white father and an enslaved mother could not use their father's race as an argument to gain freedom. The lawmakers decided that ownership of a child born to an enslaved mother was just compensation to a master for the time that a pregnant woman and/or a new mother could not work. Members of the General Assembly also hoped that an increased fine for interracial sex would discourage white men and women from having sexual partners who were African or of African descent. The legislators especially wanted to discourage a white servant woman from bearing a mulatto child because an enslaved man could not provide financial support for this child.

Six years later, in September 1668, Virginia's legislators made another distinction between white and black women with the enactment of ACT VII. *Negro women not exempted from tax*:

> WHEREAS some doubts, have arisen whether negro women set free were still to be accompted tithable according to a former act, *It is declared by this grand assembly* that negro women, though permitted to enjoy their ffreedome yet ought not in all respects to be admitted to a full fruition of the exemptions and impunities of the English, and are still lyable to payment of taxes.[3]

The statute required the head of a household to pay a tithe on free black women, but not on white women. The payment of a tithe was a financial burden on Virginia's free black families and an indication that legislators expected free black women to make a different contribution to the colony based on their agricultural labor.

During the last decade of the seventeenth century, the legislators returned to the role of women as the mothers of free and enslaved children. At the April 1691 meeting of the General Assembly, the legislators addressed a wide range of concerns about slaves and free blacks. In Act XVI. *An act for suppressing outlying Slaves*, the Council and the House of Burgesses wanted to prevent "that abominable mixture and spurious issue which hereafter may encrease in this dominion, as well by negroes, mulattoes, and Indians intermarrying with English, or other white women, as by their unlawfull accompanying with one another." To do so, they decided "that for the time to come, whatsoever English or other white man or woman being free shall intermarry with a negroe, mulatto, or Indian man or woman bond or free shall within three months after such marriage be banished and removed from this dominion forever, and that the justices of each respective countie within this dominion make it their perticular care, that this act be put in effectuall execution."

Next, they turned to the question of "spurious issue"—illegitimate mulatto children—born in the colony. The lawmakers stated "That if any English woman being free shall have a bastard child by any negro or mulatto, she pay the sume of fifteen pounds sterling, within one moneth after such bastard child be born, to the Church wardens of the parish where she shall be delivered of such child." If she could not make the payment, "she shall be taken into the possession of the said Church wardens and disposed of for five yeares." The legislators decided that an illegitimate child should "be bound out as a servant by the said Church wardens untill he or she shall attaine the age of thirty yeares, and in case such English woman that shall have such bastard child be a servant, she shall be sold by the said church wardens, (after her time is expired that she

[3] Ibid., p. 267.

ought by law to serve her master) for five yeares, and the money she shall be sold for divided as is before appointed, and the child to serve as aforesaid."

The lawmakers also wanted to discourage slave owners from freeing any of their slaves. They noted that "as great inconveniences may happen to this country by the setting of negroes and mulattoes free, by their either entertaining negro slaves from their masters service, or receiveing stolen goods, or being grown old bringing a charge upon the country." In order to prevent these "great inconveniences," they decided

> That no negro or mulatto be after the end of this present session of assembly set free by any person or persons whatsoever, unless such person or persons, their heires, executors or administrators pay for the transportation of such negro or negroes out of the countrey within six moneths after such setting them free, upon penalty of paying of tenn pounds sterling to the Church wardens of the parish where such person shall dwell with.

This "money, or so much thereof as shall be necessary, the said Church wardens are to cause the said negro or mulatto to be transported out of the countrey, and the remainder of the said money to imploy to the use of the poor of the parish."[4]

Fourteen years later, in October 1705, the General Assembly met in the recently completed Capitol in Virginia's new capital city, Williamsburg. During this session, the legislators revised the colony's laws. As part of this process, they collected all of the laws regarding slavery into a slave code. In CHAP. IV. *An act declaring who shall not bear office in this county*, the lawmakers noted that free men of color could not serve as officeholders. This suggests that a free man of color served as an officeholder sometime before October 1705. The statute also included the first definition of a mulatto in Virginia's legislation in order to clear "all manner of doubts" about "who shall be accounted a mulatto." They declared "That the child of an Indian and the child, grand child, or great grand child, of a negro shall be deemed, accounted, held and taken to be a mulatto."[5]

In CHAP. VII. *An act concerning Tithables*, the legislators determined "That all male persons, of the age of sixteen years, and upwards, and all negro, mulatto, and Indian women, of the age of sixteen years, and upwards, not being free, shall be, and are hereby declared to be tithable."[6] Perhaps they chose to exempt free black women from the payment of tithes in order to benefit white men who had such women as servants.

The legislators gathered many of the existing restrictions on free people of color in CHAP XLIX. *An act concerning Servants and Slaves*. In section XVIII of this law, the legislators outlined the punishment that a white female servant would receive if she gave birth to an illegitimate child:

> if any woman servant shall have a bastard child by a negro, or mulatto, over and above the years service due to her master or owner, she shall immediately, upon the expiration of her time to her then present master or owner, pay down to the church-wardens of the

[4] Ibid., III:86-8.
[5] Ibid., pp. 250-1, 252.
[6] Ibid., pp. 258-9.

parish wherein such child shall be born, for the use of the said parish, fifteen pounds current money of Virginia, or be by them sold for five years, to the use aforesaid.

If a white woman "shall have such bastard child, by a negro, or mulatto, for every such offence, she shall, within one month after her delivery of such bastard child, pay to the church-wardens for the time being, of the parish wherein such child shall be born, for the use of the said parish fifteen pounds current money of Virginia." If she could not pay the fine, the churchwardens could sell the woman "for five years to the use aforesaid." In either case, the law gave the churchwardens the responsibility to "bind the said child to be a servant, until it shall be of thirty one years of age."[7]

As was the case in 1691, the 1705 legislators wanted to prevent "that abominable mixture and spurious issue, which hereafter may increase in this her majesty's colony and dominion, as well by English, and other white men and women intermarrying with negroes or mulattos, as by their unlawful coition with them." They changed the punishment in the revised statute. The legislators determined "That whatsoever English, or other white man or woman, being free, shall intermarry with a negro or mulatto man or woman, bond or free, shall, by judgment of the county court, be committed to prison, and there remain, during the space of six months, without bail or mainprize; and shall forfeit and pay ten pounds current money of Virginia, to the use of the parish, as aforesaid."

In an attempt to limit marriages between white and black colonists, the Council and members of the House of Burgesses stated "That no minister of the church of England, or other minister, or person whatsoever, within this colony and dominion, shall hereafter wittingly presume to marry a white man with a negro or mulatto woman; or to marry a white woman with a negro or mulatto man." If a minister of the established church or minister of another denomination violated this law, he would be fined ten thousand pounds of tobacco for each illegal marriage he performed.

Near the end of the statute, the legislators turned to points of clarification. They reminded colonists "That baptism of slaves doth not exempt them from bondage; and that all children shall be bond or free, according to the condition of their mothers, and the particular directions of this act." It was important to Virginia's leaders that all colonists—white and black—knew about the provisions of this legislation. They stated "for the better putting this act in due execution, and that no servants or slaves may have pretense of ignorance hereof, *Be it also enacted,* That the church-wardens of each parish in this her majesty's colony and dominion, at the charge of the parish, shall provide a true copy of this act, and cause entry thereof to be made in the register book of each parish respectively." In addition, they wanted "the parish clerk, or reader of each parish, shall, on the first sermon Sundays in September and March, annually, after sermon or divine service is ended, at the door of every church and chapel in their parish, publish the same; and the sheriff of each county shall, at the next court held for the county, after the last day of February, yearly, publish this act, at the door of the court-house."[8]

The May 1723 session of the General Assembly was the next time that legislators made major revision of laws that shaped the lives of Virginia's free people of color In 1723 the legislators

[7] Ibid., pp. 452-3.
[8] Ibid., pp. 453-4, 460, 461.

knew a number of Virginians worried about the possibility of slave rebellions. They also heard the complaints from Northampton County residents about the increasing number of free blacks. The legislation that they wrote and approved—CHAP. IV. *An Act directing the trial of Slaves, committing capital crimes; and for the more effectual punishing conspiracies and insurrections of them; and for the better government of Negros, Mulattos, and* Indians, *bond or free*—imposed new restrictions on the colony's slaves and eliminated the few privileges that free men of color had.

The lawmakers decided that free blacks could not provide testimony in court against white men or women. Free people of color could, however, be witnesses in an oyer and terminer ("to hear and determine") trial of an enslaved man or woman. The law required the justices at an oyer and terminer trial "to take for evidence, the confession of the offender, the oath of one or more credible witnesses, or such testimony of Negros, Mulattos, or Indians, bond or free, with pregnant circumstances, as to them shall seem convincing, without the solemnity of a jury."

The members of the General Assembly wanted to make sure that free blacks and Virginia Indians told the truth when they appeared as witnesses. If the justices determined that a witness provided false testimony, "every such offender shall, without further trial, be ordered by the said court to have one ear nailed to the pillory, and there to stand for the space of one hour, and then the said ear to be cut off; and thereafter, the other ear nailed in like manner, and cut off, at the expiration of one other hour." In addition, "every such offender" would receive "thirty-nine lashes, well laid on, on his or her bare back, at the common whipping-post."

The final stipulation regarding the testimony of free blacks and Virginia Indians noted "That at every such trial of slaves committing capital offences, the person who shall be first named in the commission, sitting on such trial, shall, before the examination of every Negro, Mulatto, or Indian, not being a christain, charge such evidence to declare the truth; which charge shall be in the words following, viz:

> 'YOU are brought hither as a witness; and, by the direction of the law, I am to tell you, before you give your evidence, that you must tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; and that if it be found hereafter, that you tell a lie, and give false testimony in this matter, you must, for so doing, have both your ears nailed to the pillory, and cut off, and receive thirty-nine lashes on your bare back, well laid on, at the common whipping-post.'

Next, the legislators turned to concerns about gun ownership. They noted that

> no negro, mulatto, or Indian whatsoever; (except as is hereafter excepted,) shall hereafter presume to keep, or carry any gun, powder, shot, or any club, or other weapon whatsoever, offensive or defensive; but that every gun, and all powder and shot, and every such club or weapon, as aforesaid, found or taken in the hands, custody, or possession of any such negro, mulatto, or Indian, shall be taken away.

Any free man of color or Indian man found to possess a gun would "receive any number of lashes, not exceeding thirty-nine, well laid on, on his or her bare back, for every such offence."

They made two exceptions to this policy. First, "every free negro, mullatto, or indian, being a house-keeper, or listed in the militia, may be permitted to keep one gun, powder, and shot." Also, the free black men "who are not house-keepers, nor listed in the militia aforesaid, who are now possessed of any gun, powder, shot, or any weapon, offensive or defensive, may sell and dispose thereof, at any time before the last day of October next ensuing."

Second, the legislators allowed "all negros, mullattos, or indians, bond or free, living at any frontier plantation, be permitted to keep and use guns, powder, and shot, or other weapons, offensive or defensive." Before obtaining a weapon and ammunition, it was necessary to obtain a license from a local justice of the peace. The law noted that "the said licence to be had and obtained, upon the application of such free negros, mullattos, or indians, or of the owner or owners of such as are slaves; any thing herein contained to the contrary thereof, in any wise, notwithstanding."

The next group of restrictions on free people of color focused on the desire of white Virginians to limit the growth of the free black population. They decided that "no negro, mullatto, or indian slaves, shall be set free, upon any pretence whatsoever, except for some meritorious services, to be adjudged and allowed by the governor and council, for the time being, and a licence thereupon first had and obtained." If a slave was freed for any reason other than meritorious service, "it shall and may be lawful for the churchwardens of the parish, wherein such negro, mullatto, or indian, shall reside for the space of one month, next after his or her being set free, and they are hereby authorized and required, to take up, and sell the said negro, mullatto, or indian, as slaves, at the next court held for the said county, by public outcry; and that the monies arising by such sale, shall be applied to the use of the said parish, by the vestry thereof."

The leaders placed a financial burden on the free black population when they decided "That all free negros, mullattos, or indians, (except tributary indians to this government) male and female, above the age of sixteen years, and all wives of such negros, mullattos, or indians, (except before excepted) shall be deemed and accounted tithables; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary, in any wise, notwithstanding." Previously, free women of color over the age of sixteen were tithable between 1668 and 1705. The 1723 legislation noted that the wife of a free black man or Indian man as a tithe.

The final restriction on free people of color focused on mulatto women who bore a child during their time of servitude. The law noted "That where any female mullatto, or indian, by law obliged to serve 'till the age of thirty or thirty-one years, shall during the time of her servitude, have any child born of her body, every such child shall serve the master or mistress of such mullatto or indian, until it shall attain the same age the mother of such child was obliged by law to serve unto."[9] The legislators designed the provisions in this statute to be instruments to maintain social control and stability. They required churchwardens to read it in April and October of each year and to enter a copy in each parish register. The sheriff of each county had to post the law at the courthouse in June or July.

[9] Ibid., IV:126-34.

Thirty years later, in November 1753, members of the General Assembly addressed their continued concerns about free people of color in CHAP. VII. *An Act for the better government of servants and slaves*. The legislators noted

> if any woman servant shall have a bastard child by a negroe or mulattoe, over and above the year's service due to her master or owner, she shall immediately upon the expiration of her time, to her then present master, or owner, pay down to the church-wardens of the parish wherein such child shall be born, for the use of the said parish, fifteen pounds current money of Virginia, or be by them sold for five years to the use aforesaid.

In addition, if "a free christian white woman shall have such bastard child by a negroe, or mulattoe, for every such offence, she shall, within one month after her delivery of such bastard child, pay to the church-wardens for the time being, of the parish wherein such child shall be born, for the use of the said parish, fifteen pounds current money of Virginia." The parish's churchwardens could sell women who could not pay the fine "for five years to the use aforesaid." In either case, "the church-wardens shall bind the said child to be a servant until it shall be of thirty one years of age."

Legislators also hoped to reduce the chances that an interracial couple could marry and have legitimate children. In order "for a further prevention of that abominable mixture, and spurious issue, which may hereafter increase in this his majesty's colony and dominion, as well by English, and other white men and women, intermarrying with negroes or mulattoes, as by their unlawful coition with them," they declared

> That whatsoever English, or other white man or woman, being fee, shall intermarry with a negroe, or mulattoe man or woman, bond or free, shall, by judgment of the county court, be committed to prison, and there remain during the space of six months, without bail or mainprize, and shall forfeit and pay ten pounds current money of Virginia, to the use of the parish aforesaid.

The legislators also retained the punishment of ministers who married an interracial couple. If any minister "of the church of England, or other minister or person whatsoever, within this colony and dominion, shall hereafter wittingly presume to marry a white man with a negroe, or mulattoe woman, or to marry a white woman with a negro or mulattoe man, upon pain of forfeiting and paying for every such marriage, the sum of ten thousand pounds of tobacco."[10]

In contrast to the increased level of restrictions in laws passed during the first half of the eighteenth century, two statutes passed in the 1760s eased a few of the limits on free people of color. These changes grew out of the 1758 instructions that Francis Fauquier received from King George II. The British monarch required Fauquier to lessen the severity of the punishments imposed on Virginia's slaves and indentured servants. In October 1765, the General Assembly approved a measure that made some improvements in the lives of Virginia's free blacks. In the first section of CHAP. XXIV. *An Act to prevent the practice of selling persons as slaves that are not so, and for other purposes therein mentioned*, the legislators informed colonists "WHEREAS it is represented to this present General Assembly that divers ill disposed persons have of late

[10] Ibid., VI:357, 359-62.

years been guilty of selling and disposing of mulattoes and others as slaves, who by the laws of this colony are subject to a service only of thirty one years, after which they become free." They decided

> that if any person or persons shall hereafter sell as a slave within this colony, or carry or cause to be carried out thereof and sell as a slave, any such mulatto, or other servant, knowing him or her so to be, every such offender shall forfeit and pay the sum of fifty pounds to the purchaser of such servant or servants, over and above the money actually aid by such purchaser for the same.

If a county court convicted a person or persons of selling the same servant as a slave a second time, the members of the General Assembly determined that

> he, she, or they, so offending, shall forfeit the residue of the time of service due from such service, who shall thereupon be bound out, by order of the court of the county where the matter shall be tried, to serve to the age of twenty one years, in the same manner as is by law directed for the binding out orphan children; but if such servant shall at the time of such trial have attained the age of twenty one years, he shall be, and he is hereby declared to be free.

If the offender was unable to pay the fine, this individual "shall in that case, by order of such court, be obliged to serve the person to whom such servant was sold as a slave the full time of service that would have been due by law from such servant."

Next, the legislators turned to the length of time that an illegitimate mulatto child served as an apprentice. In Section III, these men reminded their fellow colonists

> by one act of assembly made in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of his late majesty, entitled An act for the better government of servants and slaves, it is amongst other things enacted that if any woman servant shall have a bastard child by a negro or mulatto, or if any free christian white woman shall have such bastard child by a negro or mulatto, in both cases, besides the punishment inflicted on the mother of such bastard, the church-wardens shall bind the said child to be a servant until it shall be thirty-one years of age[.]

The legislators stated that an indenture of thirty-one years was "an unreasonable severity towards such children." Instead of a thirty-one year term, these men declared that

> from and after the passing of this act the church-wardens shall bind out such bastard children already born, and not yet bound out, or which shall hereafter be born, either of white women servants or of free christian white women, to serve, the males to the age of twenty-one years, and the females to the age of eighteen years only, and no longer; any thing in the said in part recited act to the contrary thereof, in any wise, notwithstanding.

The lawmakers also reduced the time that a child born to a mulatto woman during her term of servitude had to serve. Section IV of the statue noted

> That the children hereafter to be born of mulatto women during the time of their service, who are obliged by law to serve to the age of thirty-one years, shall serve the master or mistress of such mulatto woman, the males to the age of twenty one, and the females to the age of eighteen years only, and no longer.[11]

The Councillors and Burgesses did not, however, reduce the servitude of mulatto males and females who had already been bound out to a master.

Perhaps the reduced time of servitude for a son or daughter born to an indentured mulatto woman prompted free black men to petition the General Assembly. In May 1769, these men asked to have their wives and daughters exempted from the payment of tithes. Six months later, the November 1769 approval of their petition lifted a financial burden from Virginia's free black residents. According to CHAP. XXXVII. *An act for exempting free negro, mulatto, and Indian women, from the payment of levies,*

> by an act of the general assembly passed in the twenty second year of the reign of his late majesty George the second, intituled An act concerning tithables, it is among other things enacted, that all free negro, mulatto, and Indian women, of the age of sixteen years, except Indians tributary to this government, and all wives of free negroes, mulattoes, and Indians, except as is before excepted, should be, and are thereby declared tithables, and chargeable for defraying the public, county, and parish levies, of this colony and dominion[.]

The legislators noted that this tax "is found very burthensome to such negroes, mulattoes, and Indians, and is moreover derogatory of the rights of free-born subjects[.]" To remedy this situation, they declared "That from and after the ninth day of June next, all free negro, mulatto, and Indian women, and all wives, other than slaves, of free negroes, mulattoes, and Indians, shall be, and are hereby exempted from being listed as tithables, and from the payment of any public, county, or parish levies." In order to avoid any confusion, this law concluded with the following statement: "That so much of the said recited act as declares free negro, mulatto, and Indian women, to be chargeable with public, county, and parish levies, shall be, and the same is hereby repealed."[12]

Free Blacks in Yorktown and the Yorktown Area

By the 1680s, a small group of free blacks lived a short distance from the land that would become Yorktown. The number of free people of color in Yorktown and the surrounding area increased during the last year of the seventeenth century and during the remainder of the colonial period. Although the names of free black men, women, and children appear in the York County Court records, it is difficult to determine where they lived and how they supported their families. It is likely that some of the free people of color leased lots in Yorktown or small parcels of land near the town. In the colonial period, Virginia law did not require a lease to be recorded in the

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[11] Ibid., VIII:133-5.

[12] H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses*, 13 vols., (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1905-1915), 1766-1769, pp. 198-9, 203, 246, 251, 267, 275, 295, 304; Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*, VIII:396.

county court records. Other families agreed to allow free black boys and girls to be apprenticed to Yorktown residents to learn skills and to receive food, clothing, and lodging during the time of their apprenticeships.

Banks Family

In June 1683, a white woman named Elizabeth Banks appeared in the York County Court. Banks, an indentured servant in the household of Major James Goodwin, was presented "for fornication & Bastardy with a Negroe slave it is ordered that the sher take her into custody & give her 39 lashes on the bare back & that she serve her master according at Act."[13] Banks faced additional servitude to the Goodwin family to compensate them for the loss of work during her pregnancy and after giving birth to her child, a girl named Mary. In the mid-1680s, it is possible that Elizabeth Banks gave birth to a second mulatto daughter named Ann.

By 1702, Mary Banks, daughter of Elizabeth Banks, was a servant to Martin Goodwin. In November of that year, Mary Banks appeared before York County's justices of the peace. Banks, a servant of Martin Goodwin, bound "over her daughter Hanah Banks a mallato unto Mr. Peter Goodwin with him to dwell and serve untill she attain unto the age of twinty one years." According to the agreement, Goodwin was to "see the child baptized into the Christian faith & (as soon as she comes to matturity) to teach or cause to be taught her the creed the Lords Prayer & the Tenne Comandments in the Vulgar tongue if she be capeable to attaine unto the same." Finally, the justices ordered Goodwin "at the end of expiration of the said terme of twenty one years to pay his said servant Hanah Banks three barrels of Indian corne and cloathing according to law."[14] It is possible that Mary Banks included the stipulation that her daughter was to be baptized and instructed in Christianity as a way to protect her status as a free person. Her choice of Peter Goodwin, a brother of her own master, made it possible for Mary Banks to be near Hannah and to make sure that Goodwin honored the terms of the indenture.[15]

Fifteen months later, on 24 February 1703/4, Mary Banks returned to the York County Court to bind her infant daughter, Elizabeth, to her own master. Mary Banks "doth freely & voluntarily give unto the sd Martin Goodwin the sd mallatto child to him his heirs exec admr or assignes to serve in such service or employmt as he the sd Martin Goodwin his heirs &c shall employ her in until she be free accord to the law & custome of the country for all mallatto bastards to be free." Goodwin promised Mary Banks that he would "find her child Elizabeth w/sufficient dyet & clothing during the time she hath to serve according to law."[16] The indenture that Mary Banks negotiated for three- or four-month old Elizabeth was not as favorable as the one that bound Hannah to Peter Goodwin. In addition, Mary Banks agreed to serve Martin Goodwin for an additional year after the completion of her original term of service.[17]

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[13] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (6) 498, 25 June 1683.
[14] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (12) 67, 24 November 1702.
[15] Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs*, pp. 230, 232, 235.
[16] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (12) 188, 24 February 1703/4.
[17] Ibid., p. 181, 24 February 1703/4.

It is possible that Mary Banks was still part of Martin Goodwin's labor force in early 1706/7, the time when a free mulatto named Ann Banks took her master to court. Ann Banks might have been a second daughter born to Elizabeth Banks during her servitude to James Goodwin and the sister of Mary Banks. If so, her mother no doubt taught her the importance of using the court to protect the few rights that she had as a free woman of color. In January 1706/7, the York County justices of the peace summoned Nicholas Phillips to attend the next meeting of the court so he could answer the complaint filed by Ann Banks. She stated she had "fulfilled her time by indenture or other obligation & is detained contrary to all Law & Justice." A month later, York's magistrates decided that Ann Banks was "free & by this Court discharged from her Master Nicholas Phillips And it is ordered that he the sd Nicholas pay unto her Corn & Cloths According to Law."[18]

A free black man named John Banks might have been the son of Elizabeth Banks and a brother to Mary Banks and Ann Banks. If so, he might have been the father of William Banks, a mulatto boy whom Mary Read bequeathed to her son Samuel, and a girl known as Elizabeth Banks. The 1723 inventory of the widow Read's estate included William Banks valued at £ 8 and a mulatto girl named Elizabeth Banks was worth £ 7.[19] The fact that the appraisers did not included the words "indentured" or "servant" next to the listings of William Banks and Elizabeth Banks suggests that this boy and girl were enslaved. If the free black man John Banks was their father, William and Elizabeth's mother was a slave woman owned by the Read family.[20]

By 1735, John Banks had a wife who was a free woman of color. In November of that year, the York County grand jury presented John Banks for not listing his wife "being a Molatto."[21] Sarah Banks was the daughter of Mary Roberts, a free black woman. The Banks family lived near Yorktown. In the late 1740s, John Banks purchased goods at a store operated by Richard Baylor. In 1747, Banks had an account at the store Mordecai Booth kept in Yorktown. Two years later, in 1749, Sarah Banks was a legatee in the will of her mother, Mary Roberts. The elder Mary Roberts left her few personal possessions to Sarah and her other children: Matthew, Ann, Anthony, John, Mary Clark, Elizabeth Cannady, and Margaret Wilson.[22]

As a resident of the Yorktown area, John Banks could have assisted Elizabeth Banks and her daughter, Hannah (also known as Anna). In November 1745, Hannah Banks apprenticed herself to Patrick Matthews of Yorktown. Hannah, with the permission of her mother, Elizabeth Banks, agreed to serve Matthews until her twenty-first birthday. Matthews agreed to provide food, clothing, lodging, and washing. It is likely that Ann Matthews, wife of Patrick Matthews, taught

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[18] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (13) 34, 24 January 1706/7; ibid., p. 43, 25 February 1706/7.

[19] York County Orders and Wills (16) 165, recorded 17 October 1722; ibid., pp. 207-10, recorded 17 June 1723. Mary Read's will is badly torn. See also Part I. Section 1—Africans in and Around the Yorktown Area During the Seventeenth Century.

[20] The decision of the appraisers to include "Banks" with the names of two enslaved children suggests that the Read family allowed their mother to name her children and to give the surname of a known free black family to William and Elizabeth. Perhaps this enslaved woman hoped that this last name would help her son and daughter pass as free people of color. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs*, pp. 238-9; Lorena S. Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community*, (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1997), p. 168.

[21] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 237-8, 17 November 1735.

[22] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 163, dated 14 September 1749 and recorded 20 November 1749.

Hannah how to do domestic chores during her apprenticeship.[23] Once in this Yorktown household, Hannah Banks would have found herself in an urban area in which other free people of color worked. It is possible that Hannah Banks remained in Yorktown after she finished her apprenticeship in the Matthews household. On 17 November 1766, the grand jury presented Hannah Banks because she did not list herself as a tithe. Three months later, in February 1767, the York County clerk noted that Hannah Banks paid her tax and the costs of prosecution and, as a result, the charge against her was dismissed.[24] The fact that Banks was responsible for the payment of her own tithe suggests that she had her own household, perhaps on rural land she leased or part of a Yorktown lot she rented.

It is likely that a free mulatto woman named Mary Banks, first named in the York County Court records in 1749, was part of the Banks family.[25] On 20 November 1749, the grand jury presented Mary Banks "a mulatto woman for not listing herself as a tithe."[26] This Mary Banks might have been the "Moll Banks" whose son, Peter, apprenticed himself to Thomas Wooten in July 1753 so he could learn to be a planter.[27] Either Mary Banks or another free black woman with the Banks surname was the mother of a boy named James. On 17 January 1763, the York County justices of the peace ordered the churchwardens of Yorkhampton Parish to bind out James Banks a poor orphan. The following month, James Banks became the apprentice of James Anderson of Williamsburg for seven years to learn the trade of blacksmith and learn to read and write.[28] Banks completed his apprenticeship and returned to the Yorktown area.

In November 1770, James Banks was one of several members of the Banks family who failed to list himself as a tithe. The grand jury presentment also noted that William Banks, Nicholas Banks, and Peter Banks did not add their names to the list of tithes in Yorkhampton Parish. Nicholas Banks and Peter Banks did not include themselves on either the 1772 or the 1773 tithe list. Nicholas Banks was in the Yorktown area in November 1779 when the justices of the peace ordered the county clerk to add his name to the list of tithes taken by Lawrence Smith. Banks again neglected to add his name to the roll of tithes in the spring of 1783.[29]

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[23] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 152, dated and recorded 18 November 1745.

[24] York County Order Book (1) 161-2, 17 November 1766; ibid., pp. 205-7, 16 February 1767.

[25] It is possible that Mary Banks was the daughter of Ann Banks, a free black woman who bore an illegitimate child. On 20 December 1731, the grand jury used information from John Hansford, a Yorkhampton Parish churchwarden, to present Banks for giving birth to an illegitimate child. The presentment against this woman continued for over a year until January 1732/3 when the justices of the peace dismissed the charge. York County Orders and Wills (17) 248, 20 December 1731; York County Wills and Inventories (18) 5, 15 January 1732/3.
The extant court records do not indicate the way in which Ann Banks, the mother of an illegitimate mulatto child in 1731, was part of the Banks family. It is possible that Ann Banks was the daughter of Mary Banks and that she was born after her mother finished her servitude to Martin Goodwin. If so, Mary Banks might have named her daughter after her younger sister.

[26] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 255-6, 20 November 1749.

[27] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 551-2, dated and recorded 16 July 1753.

[28] York County Judgments and Orders (3) 470, 17 January 1763; ibid., p. 470, 21 February 1763; York County Deeds (6) 499-500, dated and recorded 21 February 1763.

[29] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 104-5, 19 November 1770; York County Judgments and Orders (3) 151-2, 16 November 1772; ibid., pp. 436-8, 15 November 1773; York County Order Book (4) 240, 15 November 1779; ibid., pp. 324-5, 19 May 1783.

At least one member of the Banks family left the Yorktown area during the American Revolution. Elizabeth Banks relocated to Bruton Parish. On 2 September 178[3], her son John was baptized at Bruton Parish Church. It is possible that her partner and the father of her son was an enslaved man. The clerk of the Bruton Parish Vestry did not record the name of John Banks' father. It is possible that Elizabeth Banks returned to her home near Yorktown soon after the birth of her child so she would be near members of her family.

Hanson Family

On 25 September 1702, Thomas Chisman Senior, a Charles Parish planter, received a land certificate for importing four people into the colony. This group included a woman named Mary Hanson who became his indentured servant.[30] Chisman transferred Hanson to his brother-in-law, Robert Read, by 25 May 1706 when the York County justices of the peace summoned her to appear in court to answer the charge of bearing an illegitimate mulatto child. Read provided the information about Hanson's child. Two months later, on 2 July 1706, Hanson appeared in court and stated that the father of her child was Dick Brooks, a mulatto slave owned by members of the Read family for over twenty years.[31] Dick Brooks was part of the Read family's labor force by February 1685/6 when Elizabeth Read wrote her will. The widow Read left Dick, whom she described as a mulatto boy, to her son Robert.[32]

Robert Read no doubt wanted Mary Hanson to state the name of the father of her child before the justices of the peace in order to define the status of this infant. The child was not a slave because the mother was a white woman. However, the child did not have the status of a free white colonist because the father was a slave and the mother was an indentured servant. According to CHAP XLIX. *An act concerning Servants and Slaves*, a parish's churchwardens had the responsibility to bind a mulatto child as a servant until he or she was thirty-one years old. Also, a white indentured servant who gave birth to a mulatto child had to serve an additional five years or pay a £ 15 fine.[33]

If Robert Read hoped the public discussion of her illegitimate child would end the connection between Dick Brooks and Mary Hanson, he was wrong. This enslaved man and indentured white woman had two sons during her servitude and a third son born after Hanson finished her servitude to Read. Hanson no doubt remained in the Yorktown area because the Reads held members of her family. Dick Brooks was an enslaved man and their sons Richard and James were indentured servants who, according to Virginia law, had to serve until age thirty-one. Mary

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[30] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (12) 36, 25 September 1702.

[31] Ibid., p. 414, 25 May 1706; ibid., p. 424, 2 July1706.

[32] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (7) 257-9, dated 10 February 1685/6 and recorded 24 January 1686/7. See also Part I. Section 1—Africans in and Around the Yorktown Area During the Seventeenth Century.

[33] Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*, III:447-62.
It appears that the York County justices of the peace wanted to review the 1705 statute before they had the churchwardens bind out the child born to Mary Hanson. On 5 August 1706, the county clerk noted that Read's "Information agt Mary Hanson is refered for the Publication of the new Law." A month later, on 25 September 1706, Read's "information agt Mary Hanson for Bastardizing is dismissed the informant not further prosecuting." The decision to end the case suggests that the justices of the peace determined that the child was to be a servant for thirty-one years. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (13) 4, 5 August 1706; ibid., p. 17, 25 September 1706.

Hanson did not live to see her sons reach adulthood. On 15 January 1710/11, Robert Hide petitioned the York County court for a commission of administration on Hanson's estate during the minority of her son Benjamin.[34] The inventory of Mary Hanson's estate was taken on 17 March 1710/11. Her personal items included two gold rings and clothing.[35]

In December 1712, Dick Brooks, Richard Hanson, and James Hanson were part of Read's labor force on his York Parish plantation when he wrote his will.[36] Read left Dick Brooks to his son, Thomas. This planter decided that Richard Hanson would become the property of his son, Francis, during the remainder of his thirty-one years of servitude. Read bequeathed James Hanson to his daughter, Mildred, during the remainder of his thirty-one years of servitude.[37] In April 1713, the appraisers of Read's estate included Dick Brooks in the section of slaves and after this list they noted "James & Richard Hanson Indented Mulattoes."[38] The inventory of Read's estate is the last reference to Richard Hanson. It is possible that he died before he completed his servitude to Francis Read. However, Richard Hanson might have finished his servitude and left the Yorktown area.

Dick Brooks was a laborer on the land held by Thomas Read until Read's 1719 death. Thomas Read left Dick, whom he described as a mulatto man, to his mother, Mary Read. The July 1719 inventory of Thomas Read's estate noted that Dick was valued at £ 27.[39] Dick joined the enslaved men, women, and children on Mary Read's property in Yorkhampton Parish. In 1722, when Mary Read died, it is likely that Dick was part of her estate. The widow Read wrote a will; unfortunately, the document is badly torn, and it is not possible to determine which of her children inherited Dick. The June 1723 inventory of Mary Read's personal possessions included a man named Dick whom the appraisers valued at £ 30. Although these men did not describe Dick as a mulatto, it is likely that he was the same slave who had labored for members of the Read family since the mid-1680s.[40]

If Dick Brooks survived his mistress, Mary Read, he could have continued to keep an eye on his son, James Hanson. According to the terms of Robert Read's will, James became a servant to Mildred Read until he reached the age of thirty-one. He labored for Mildred and her first husband, James Goodwin, whom she married by 21 May 1718. The Goodwins had a plantation in Yorkhampton Parish. James Goodwin died by 16 November 1719. The inventory of Goodwin's estate included a "mulatto boy named James Hancell" whom the appraisers valued at £ 18.[41] After Goodwin's death, James Hanson became the property of John Goodwin Junior. In

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[34] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (14) 46, 15 January 1710/1.
[35] Ibid., p. 78, ordered 15 January 1710/11, taken 17 March 1710/11, and recorded 19 March 1710/11.
[36] Ibid., pp. 241-3, dated 30 December 1712 and recorded 16 March 1712/3.
[37] The fact that Read bequeathed a "servant boy named Richard Hanson bound by ye churchwardens to serve to the age of 31 years" and a "servant boy named James Hanson bound by ye Churchwardens to serve to the age of 31 years" indicates that Read had the York Parish (Yorkhampton Parish in 1707) churchwardens bind Richard Hanson and James Hanson to him. If the churchwardens bound the brothers to other colonists, Read would not have been able to leave the remainder of their servitude to two of his children.
[38] York County Orders and Wills (14) 251-3, dated 7 April 1713.
[39] York County Orders and Wills (15) 452-3, dated 21 May 1718 and recorded 15 June 1719; ibid., pp. 478-9, dated 17 July 1719 and recorded 17 August 1719.
[40] York County Orders and Wills (16) 165, dated [torn] and recorded 17 October 1722; ibid., pp. 207-10, recorded 17 June 1723.
[41] York County Orders and Wills (15) 554-5, ordered 16 November 1719 and recorded 15 February 1719[/20].

June 1730, Hanson appeared in the York County Court and entered a complaint against his master. After hearing Hanson's testimony, the justices of the peace decided that "the sd Hanson return to his sd masters service who is hereby ordered to treat him well & allow him cloathing & victuals suitable to a servant of his degree."[42] This is the last reference to James Hanson. Like his brother Richard, it is possible that James Hanson finished his servitude to the younger John Goodwin and then worked for himself. There is also the chance that he did not live long enough to do so.[43]

It appears that one mulatto member of the Hanson family found some success as an adult. Details in extant documents suggest that Mary Hanson and Dick Brooks were also the parents of Benjamin Hanson. However, this boy did not serve as an indentured servant because he was born after his mother finished her term of service to Robert Read. Mary Hanson died by January 1710/1 when Robert Hide gained administration of her estate during Benjamin Hanson's minority. It is possible that Hanson learned the skills of a butcher from Patrick Matthews.

As an adult, Hanson worked as a butcher first in Yorktown where he counted Robert Ballard, William Rogers, and Thomas Reynolds among his customers.[44] By the mid-1740s, Hanson moved his business to Williamsburg. A 1983 excavation by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation uncovered a midden on property used by Benjamin Hanson in his butchering business.[45] During the mid-1740s, Hanson purchased livestock—calves, cows, steers, and livestock—at the sale of James Bray III's estate. He kept these animals on pastures on the outskirts of Williamsburg until he butchered them. This faunal evidence, dating to the late 1740s, "captures a time when Williamsburg was a young and growing urban community and the supply system through which rural produce was distributed to urban consumers was evolving to feed a growing population of residents and the periodic swells of rural people who came to attend court and periodic Council meetings."[46]

An analysis of

> Hanson's assemblage reflects what is probably waste products from a fairly elaborate

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[42] York County Orders and Wills (17) 75, 15 June 1730.

[43] If James Hanson completed his indentured servitude to the Goodwin family, he might have moved to St. Peter's, a parish that straddled the boundary between New Kent and James City counties. On 5 March 1739, James and Angelica Hanson became the parents of a daughter named Elizabeth. The Hansons had Elizabeth baptized on 8 April 1739. C. C. Chamberlayne, trans. and ed., *The Vestry Book and Register of St. Peter's Parish, New Kent and James City Counties, Virginia, 1684-1786*, (Richmond: The Library Board Division of Purchase and Printing, 1937), p. 550.

[44] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 626-7, dated 19 July 1740 and recorded 21 July 1740; York County Wills and Inventories (19) 226-8, dated 14 September 1743 and recorded 19 September 1743; ibid., p. 422, 17 March 1745/6. See Part I.—Section 9. Lot 13, Lot 51, Lot 55, and Lot 75.

[45] In 1983, plans to construct a restaurant on the old firehouse lot, adjacent to Colonial Williamsburg's Historic Area, led to an excavation on this site. The following information about Benjamin Hanson can be found in "Middlemen and the Sale of Meat in Williamsburg and Other Urban Centers in the Chesapeake" in "III. Production and Distribution of Food in Towns," in Lorena S. Walsh, Ann Smart Martin, and Joanne Bowen, "Provisioning Early American Towns. The Chesapeake: A Multidisciplinary Case Study," (Final Performance Report, National Endowment for the Humanities Grant RO-22643-93, 1997), pp. 73-6, 82.

[46] Ibid., p. 73.

> butchering operation. Very high percentages of head and foot elements, compared with the normal distribution of elements in a complete skeleton suggest that most of the archaeological remains were the uneaten left-over of the butchering operation, while the meaty portions were sold off to customers (and thus taken off-site). Thus it is possible to gauge the likely "waste" remains and to use these to evaluate how urban consumers differed from their rural counterparts.

In addition, the evidence from Hanson's place of business indicates that he purchased "primarily livestock that had been raised specifically for market." It is likely that he slaughtered sheep and "then while the mutton was still fresh sold it as individual cuts to urban consumers."[47]

An advertisement that Hanson placed in the 24 October 1745 issue of the *Virginia Gazette* reveals that he focused his business on beef, veal, and mutton instead of pork. He announced

> ANY Person, having good Grass Mutton or Beef to dispose of, or any that they have a Mind to stall, may meet with a very good Market for the same, by applying, in Time, to *Benjamin Hanson*, Butcher and Grazier, living next Door to Col. *Custis's*, in *Williamsburg*.[48]

Hanson's newspaper notice also indicates that he hoped by make money by grazing cattle for those who would hire him.

This butcher found a place for himself in the production of food for Williamsburg residents. Hanson was a middleman. First, he purchased animals that rural planters raised to sell. Next, Hanson slaughtered the livestock and sold individual pieces of meat to his customers. It is likely that Hanson continued to work as a butcher, to graze cattle, and to provide meat for Williamsburg households until his death in late 1753 or early 1754.[49] On 18 February 1754, the York County justices ordered the Bruton Parish churchwardens to bind out the orphans of Benjamin Hanson, an indication that he married a free woman. They also commanded the York County sheriff to take Hanson's estate into his hands because no one would take over the administration of the estate due to its small size. Five months later, on 15 July 1754, Thomas Holt appeared in York County Court and agreed to administer Hanson's estate. Holt chose Yorktown butcher Patrick Matthews to serve as his security.[50] Perhaps Matthews agreed to be Holt's security because he knew Hanson and had worked with him.

Brooks Family

It is possible that Dick Brooks had a brother who also used the surname Brooks. If so, a man named William Brooks might have been the nephew of Dick Brooks. On 20 November 1727, the grand jury presented Brooks for failing to list his mulatto sister, Mary, as a tithe. Perhaps Mary Brooks turned sixteen in 1727, and her brother forgot that this was the first year she was

[47] Ibid., pp. 73, 74, 75.
[48] *Virginia Gazette*, 24 October 1745.
[49] "Middlemen and the Sale of Meat in Williamsburg," p. 82.
[50] York County Judgments and Orders (2) 378, 18 February 1754; ibid., p. 461, 15 July 1754.

tithable. It is also possible that Brooks did not list his sister as a way to protest the fact that free black women were counted as tithes and white women were not taxed. The following month, York County's justices of the peace dismissed the presentment against Brooks, an indication that he paid the tithe on his sister.[51]

In March 1740/1, Mary Brooks, sister of William Brooks, might have been the woman whom Ellison Armistead, a Yorkhampton Parish churchwarden, charged with bearing an illegitimate child. Two months later, Mary Brooks appeared before York's justices of the peace. She confessed to giving birth to an illegitimate child. In addition, Mary Brooks told the magistrates that she could not pay the fine of 500 pound of tobacco or fifty shillings. A man named John Cornelius became her security to guarantee payment of the fine at the time of the annual county levy.[52] There is no additional information about Mary Brooks or her child.

Roberts Family

The first reference to the free black Roberts family was in December 1731 when the grand jury presented Mary Roberts for bearing an illegitimate child. In August 1732, Mary Roberts appeared in court and confessed that she bore an illegitimate child. When the justices ordered Roberts to pay her fine and court costs, she stated she would pay at the next levy. Roberts asked her mother, also named Mary Roberts, to serve as her security to guarantee the payment of her fine.[53] In November 1735 when the grand jury presented Mary Roberts for failing to list herself as a tithe, these men did not note whether the mother or the daughter neglected to pay her tax.[54]

In March 1740/1, Ann Roberts, another one of Mary Roberts' daughters, was presented for bearing an illegitimate child. Two months later, in May 1741, Ann Roberts appeared in the York County Court and confessed that she bore an illegitimate child. Ann Roberts also told the justices of the peace that she was not able to pay her fine or to give security to guarantee payment at the next levy. York's magistrates decided Roberts should receive twenty-five lashes on her bare back "at the common whiping post well laid on."[55] The younger Mary Roberts was known as Mary Clark in June 1744 when she appeared in the York County Court and confessed that she bore an illegitimate child. In addition, she informed the justices of the peace that she could not pay the fine or give security to guarantee payment. The York's magistrates decided that Mary Clark was to "be whipt as the Law directs."[56]

Perhaps Ann Roberts and Mary Clark hoped to receive financial assistance from their mother as they raised their children. Extant documents indicate that, during the 1740s, Mary Roberts worked as a midwife in the Yorkhampton Parish area. Carter Burwell, the owner of Carter's Grove, paid Roberts for delivering a child born to an enslaved mother. The payment that Roberts

[51] York County Orders and Wills (16) 489, 20 November 1727; ibid., p. 495, 18 December 1727.
[52] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 690, 16 March 1740/1; York County Wills and Inventories (19) 12, 18 May 1741.
[53] York County Orders and Wills (17) 248, 20 December 1731; ibid., p. 308, 21 August 1732.
[54] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 237-8, 17 November 1735.
[55] Ibid., p. 690, 16 March 1740/1; York County Wills and Inventories (19) 12-3, 18 May 1741.
[56] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 287, 18 June 1744.

received from Burwell is an indication that she was dependent on white men and women for the income she needed to provide for her family.[57]

On 14 September 1749, the elder Mary Roberts wrote her will and divided her few personal possessions among her children. She left seven head of cattle, a bed, and bed furniture to her son, Matthew. Ann Roberts gained possession of seven cows as well as a bed and bed furniture. It is likely that Roberts left a specific legacy to her daughter Ann because she did not have a husband. Roberts' four other daughters—Mary Clark, Elizabeth Cannady, Margaret Wilson, and Sarah Banks—found free black husbands who lived in either Yorkhampton Parish or nearby Bruton Parish. Mary Roberts wanted the rest of her estate to be sold and the proceeds to be divided among her children Matthew, Ann, Anthony, John, Mary, Elizabeth, Margaret, and Sarah.[58] It is likely that the sale of Roberts' personal possessions did not realize in a large amount of money for her eight children to share. The appraisers of her estate valued her personal possessions—including livestock, a cart and yoke, a parcel of pewter, some tin and earthenware, three pots, a frying pan, a candlestick, a spinning wheel, a side saddle, two pales, and a butter pot—at just £ 40.17.6.[59]

The dependence that helped to define Mary Roberts' life can be seen in the next generation of her family. From the 1740s until the 1770s, Roberts' daughter, Mary Clark (also known as Polly Clark), delivered black boys and girls to mothers at Carter's Grove and Kingsmill. She received the standard payment of ten shillings for each slave birth.[60]

Other members of Mary Roberts' family remained in the Yorkhampton Parish area. In 1754, a free black named William Roberts became an apprentice to a white bricklayer. By the late eighteenth century, William Roberts leased land from Nathaniel Burwell. Two other tenants, Anthony and John Roberts, provided Burwell with oysters and oyster shells as payment for part of their rent. Between 1801 and 1803, six free black men in the Roberts family—Anthony, Godfrey, James, John, Richard, and Robert—leased land from Burwell.[61]

Dutchfield Family

In the late 1740s, Elizabeth Dutchfield, a white servant, worked in the tavern that John Gibbons operated on Lot 64 and Lot 65. On 19 December 1748, the justices of the peace ordered the Yorkhampton Parish churchwardens to bind out Dutchfield's mulatto children. In addition, members of the grand jury presented Dutchfield for having a mulatto child. She confessed the presentment to be true and was ordered to pay £ 15 to Yorkhampton Parish. In addition, "at the expiration of her service now due to her present master it is ordered that the Church Wardens of the sd Psh do then sell the sd Elizabeth Dutchfield according to law."[62] Fifteen years later, in 1763, the justices of the peace ordered the churchwardens of Yorkhampton Parish to bind out

[57] Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove*, pp. 174, 175; Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs*, p. 237.
[58] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 163, dated 14 September 1749 and recorded 20 November 1749.
[59] Ibid., p. 167, ordered 20 November 1749 and recorded 18 December 1749.
[60] Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove*, p. 174.
[61] Ibid., p. 132.
[62] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 146, 157 (quotation), 19 December 1748.

Jane Dutchfield, a poor orphan.[63] Perhaps Jane was one of the mulatto children born to Elizabeth Dutchfield.

Combs Family

It is possible that a free black named Ann Combs decided to leave her home in Charles Parish and to hire herself out to a Yorktown resident. On 15 December 1740, Richard Ambler presented Ann Combs for bearing an illegitimate child. Two months later, on 16 February 1740/1, Combs appeared in the York County Court and confessed "that she was lately deliver'd of a Bastard but not being able to pay the fine imposed by Law in such Cases or to give Sec. for the payment thereof as the laying the next parish Levy It's ord. that she be whipt as the Law directs & she was whipt."[64] There is no additional information about Ann Combs or her child.

Free Black Apprentices in Yorktown

In November 1745, a free black girl named Hannah Banks apprenticed herself to Patrick Matthews of Yorktown. Hannah, with the permission of her mother, Elizabeth Banks, agreed to serve Matthews until her twenty-first birthday. Matthews agreed to provide food, clothing, lodging, and washing. It is likely that Ann Matthews taught Hannah how to do domestic chores during her apprenticeship.[65] Five years later, in May 1750, Hannah Jones, the orphan daughter of Parish Jones, chose Matthews as her master. Perhaps Matthews agreed to take Jimmy, a free mulatto son of M[torn], as an apprentice in August 1751 because he needed another laborer to help butcher cattle, sheep, and hogs.[66]

At least two other Yorktown residents had free black apprentices. On 18 September 1753, the justices of the peace ordered the county clerk to record the apprenticeship agreement between John Richardson and John Whitloe Spurlock, a mulatto boy. Seven years later, on 15 September 1760, Yorktown wigmaker Alexander Maitland asked the Yorkhampton Parish churchwardens to bind a poor mulatto girl named Sarah Jackson to him.[67]

It is possible that a Yorktown resident agreed to take one or more of the children of Susanna Jarvis into their households. On 17 December 1759, the local justices ordered the churchwardens of Yorkhampton Parish to bind out the children of Susanna Jarvis "a Poor

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[63] York County Judgments and Orders (3) 470, 17 January 1763.
[64] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 665, 15 December 1740; ibid., p. 677, 16 February 1740/1.
[65] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 152, dated and recorded 18 November 1745.
[66] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 269, 18 December 1749; ibid., p. 306, 21 May 1750; ibid., p. 451, 19 August 1751.
In addition to taking several free black children as apprentices, Matthews had a connection to Benjamin Hanson, the free black butcher. In July 1754, Matthews agreed to serve as the security on Thomas Holt's bond for the administration of Hanson's estate. York County Judgments and Orders (2) 461, 15 July 1754. See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 42.
[67] York County Judgments and Orders (2) 320, 18 September 1753; York County Judgments and Orders (3) 180, 15 September 1760.

Mulatto who is not able to provide for them as the Law directs."[68] Four years later, on 21 February 1763, York's leaders requested that the Yorkhampton Parish churchwardens bind out John Baker "a mulatto by a white woman as the law directs." A resident of Charles Parish named Cuthbert Hubbard agreed to take Baker as his apprentice. Baker was Hubbard's apprentice for a little over three years. At the 20 October 1766 court session, the justices made a change in this arrangement because they determined "that John Baker a Mulatto boy is greatly misused by his master Cuthbert Hubberd the said boy is discharged from his said Masters Service and It is Ordered that the Church Wardens of Charles Parish bind him to some other Person according to Law."[69] There is no information in the York County Court records about the identity of John Baker's next master.

Conclusion

Between the 1680s and early 1780s, the area that became Yorktown was home to several free black families. In the late seventeenth century, these families gained their status as free from the white women who gave birth to mulatto children and appeared before the York County justices of the peace to protect the few rights their children had under Virginia's laws. The ability of members of the Hanson and Banks families to maintain their freedom is evidence of their determination to protect their freedom and that of their children.

[68] York County Judgments and Orders (3) 103, 17 December 1759.
[69] Ibid., p. 470, 21 February 1763; York County Order Book (1) 147, 20 October 1766.

Section 6.
Slavery, Yorktown, and Virginia's Move to Revolution

Introduction

Political tensions between Great Britain and her thirteen North American colonies began soon after the Treaty of Paris (1763) marked the official end of the French and Indian War (1754-1760) and the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). During the 1760s and 1770s, colonial leaders from Massachusetts to Georgia protested measures—especially the Stamp Act, the Townshend Duties, and the Tea Act—enacted by King George III and Parliament. Virginians asserted it was their right to impose taxes, not the prerogative of the king or Parliament. Members of the House of Burgesses claimed that they had become enslaved to Great Britain. Virginia's leaders compared themselves to slaves in letters sent to King George III and Parliament, in discussions at the Capitol building in Williamsburg, and in conversations in taverns and homes.

Many of Yorktown's slaves had opportunities to hear their masters talk about their enslavement to Great Britain. Both Thomas Nelson Junior and Dudley Digges, York County's representatives in the House of Burgesses, would have had their personal slaves accompany them to Williamsburg for meetings of the General Assembly. When these enslaved men returned to Yorktown, they in turn might have told members of their respective households about the conversations that they had heard. The enslaved men who served as personal slaves to Nelson and Digges, as well as other enslaved men, women, and children in Yorktown, might have read printed accounts in the *Virginia Gazette*.

By 1775, many residents of Yorktown and other areas of Virginia worried that slaves would try to rebel and seize their freedom. In April 1775, concerns reached a new level when Governor Dunmore ordered British marines to take guns and powder out of the Powder Magazine in Williamsburg. When questioned, Lord Dunmore told the crowd assembled on the Palace Green that he had the weapons and powder removed so slaves could not steal them and use them against their masters. During the following weeks and months, revolutionary rhetoric and worries about a slave uprising pulled Yorktown's inhabitants into the growing conflict between Virginians and the royal governor. In early 1776, the city's residents—white and black, free and enslaved—knew that Thomas Nelson Junior and Dudley Digges supported the decision to declare independence from Great Britain. They, too, had to decide where they stood on this issue.

Virginians Respond to the Stamp Act, the Townshend Duties, and the Tea Act

In 1764, Virginians learned that Parliament planned to impose the Stamp Act (a tax on paper), and they decided to protest the measure. In December of that year, members of the House of Burgesses wrote an address to King George III and two letters to Parliament in which they protested the imposition of the stamp tax. The Burgesses stated that the stamp tax would bring economic suffering to Virginians. In addition, they protested the measure because the British

Constitution protected subjects from taxation without their approval and because Virginia's charters gave the House of Burgesses the sole right to tax Virginians.

In the address to King George III, the Burgesses stated

> *Your Memorialists are therefore led into an humble Confidence that your Lordships will not think any Reason sufficient to support such a Power in the* British *Parliament, where the Colonies cannot be represented; a Power never before constitutionally assumed, and which if they have a Right to exercise on any Occasion must necessarily establish this melancholy Truth, that the Inhabitants of the Colonies are the Slaves of* Britons, *from whom they are descended, and from whom they might expect every Indulgence that the Obligations of Interest and Affection can entitle them to.*[1]

The members of the House of Burgesses boldly stated that they would be slaves of Great Britain if Parliament imposed the Stamp Act. On 18 March 1766, Parliament repealed the Stamp Act. These men, however, approved the Declaratory Act, a measure that proclaimed Parliament's belief that they had the right to legislate for the colonies in all matters.

On 29 June 1767, Parliament asserted its authority over British colonies and passed the Townshend Duties. This measure placed taxes on paper, paint, lead, glass, and tea. Initially, the members of the House of Burgesses did not protest the Townshend Duties even though Parliament designed the measure to raise revenue. However, they reconsidered their position after receiving a letter from the Massachusetts House of Representatives—the Massachusetts Circular Letter—that urged the inhabitants of Britain's North American colonies to protest these measures. On 16 April 1768, the burgesses prepared a letter to the House of Lords in which they wrote

> To say that the Parliament of *Great-Britain* has a constitutional Authority and Right to impose internal Taxes on the Inhabitants of this Continent, who are not, and, from the Nature of their Situation, cannot be represented in the House of Commons, is, in a Word, as your Memorialists most humbly conceive, to command them to bid Adieu to their natural and civil Liberties, and prepare for a State of Slavery.[2]

A month later, on 16 May 1768, the burgesses approved resolutions that maintained their right to assess taxes in Virginia. The following day, the members of the lower house of the legislature approved an address to King George III based on the resolutions. Virginia's governor, Lord Botetourt, summoned the burgesses to attend a meeting in the Council chamber in the Capitol building and dissolved this group.

In response, many of the burgesses gathered at the Raleigh Tavern on Duke of Gloucester Street in Williamsburg. The men selected Peyton Randolph, the former Speaker of the House of Burgesses, as the moderator of the meeting. In addition, they named a committee to study a proposal put forward by George Mason, a resident of Fairfax County. Mason called for the colonists to form an association that called for each individual who signed the document to stop

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[1] H. R. McIlwaine, et al., eds., *Journals of the House of Burgesses*, 13 vols., (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1905-1915), 1761-1765, p. 303.

[2] [House of Burgesses], The Memorial to the House of Lords, 16 April 1768, (Williamsburg, 1769), p. 5

importing a specific list of British goods or to buy these imported items after 1 September 1769 or to import slaves after 1 November 1769.[3] Perhaps it was easy for many of the burgesses to agree to the ban on the importation of slaves. Most gentry planters did not need to buy imported Africans to labor on their plantations. By 1769, some Tidewater planters did not have work for all of their slaves and began to sell some of their enslaved laborers to other Virginians.

On 18 May 1769, eighty-eight former members of the House of Burgesses signed the association and took copies of the document to their counties. In November of that year, William Nelson told John Norton "I am an Associator in Principle"—an indication that he did not formally join other York County residents and sign the document on the steps of the York County Courthouse.[4]

Despite initial support for the plan, the Association of 1769 proved to be unsuccessful. On 22 June 1770, the Burgesses adopted a new measure—the Association of 1770. The fourth section of the Association of 1770 required supporters to pledge that they would not

> import or bring into the colony or cause to be imported or brought into the colony, either by sea or land, any slaves, or make sale of any upon commission, or purchase any slave or slaves that may be imported by others after the 1st day of *November* next, unless the same have been twelve months upon the continent.[5]

A committee in York County and each of Virginia's other counties planned to enforce the agreement by publishing the names of the violators. However, public support for the Association of 1770 decreased after the repeal of the Townshend Duties. The 14 December 1770 meeting of the associators was adjourned because of poor attendance. The associators voted to end the agreement on 15 July 1771.

In 1773, Parliament passed the Tea Act, a measure that placed a tax on tea imported to the colonies by the East India Company. Residents of Boston protested this legislation by dressing as Indians and, on the night of 17 December 1773, throwing the crates of tea into Boston Harbor. In mid-May 1774, Virginians learned of Parliament's decision to close Boston Harbor as punishment for the "Boston Tea Party." On May 24th, the House of Burgesses resolved that June 1st would be a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer so Virginians could show their support for inhabitants of Boston. Two days later, after Dunmore dissolved the General Assembly, eighty-nine burgesses met in the Apollo Room at the Raleigh Tavern. On May 27th, these men formed an association and pledged to boycott tea and all other items (except saltpeter and spices) sold by the East India Company. Again, the burgesses declared that Parliament's actions had reduced all the British American colonies to slavery. They announced

> With much grief we find that our dutiful applications to *Great Britain* for security of our ancient, and constitutional rights, have been not only disregarded, but that a determined

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[3] McIlwaine, et al., eds., *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia,* 1766-1769, p. xli.
[4] William Nelson to John Norton, 18 November 1769, in Frances Norton Mason, ed., *John Norton & Sons Merchants of London and Virginia: Being the Papers from their Counting House for the Years 1750 to 1795,* (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1937), p. 113.
[5] McIlwaine, et al., eds., *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia,* 1770-1772, [p. xxviii].

> system is formed and pressed for reducing the inhabitants of *British America* to slavery by subjecting them to the payment of taxes, imposed without the consent of the people or their representatives; and that in pursuit of this system, we find an act of the British parliament, lately passed, for stopping the harbour and commerce of the town of *Boston*, in our sister colony of *Massachusetts Bay*, until the people there submit to the payment of such unconstitutional taxes, and which act most violently and arbitrarily deprives them of their property, in wharfs erected by private persons, at their own great and proper expense, which act is, in our opinion, a most dangerous attempt to destroy the constitutional liberty and rights of all *North America*.

The former burgesses stated that an attack on one colony was an attack on all of the colonies and proposed that the each of the colonies select delegates to meet each year in a "general congress." Before returning to their homes, these men also decided that there would be a meeting—the First Virginia Convention—on August 1st so that Virginians could decide whether or not they wanted to agree to end all trade with Great Britain as the Boston Committee of Correspondence proposed.[6]

Virginians Attempt to End the Overseas Slave Trade

In addition to conflicts with Great Britain over taxation, Virginians and Parliament had different views on the overseas slave trade. During the early 1770s, members of the House of Burgesses made several attempts to end the overseas slave trade to Virginia. On 20 March 1772, they appointed a committee to draft an address to King George III regarding the slave trade. The burgesses determined

> That an humble Address be prepared to be presented to his Majesty to express the high Opinion we entertain of his benevolent Intentions towards his Subjects in the Colonies, and that we are thereby induced to ask his paternal Assistance in averting a Calamity of a most alarming Nature; that the Importation of Negroes from *Africa* has long been considered as a Trade of great Inhumanity, and, under its present Encouragement, may endanger the Existence of his *American* Dominions; that Self-Preservation therefore urges us to implore him to remove all Restraints on his Governors from passing Acts of Assembly, which are intended to check this pernicious Commerce; and that we presume to hope the Interests of a few of his Subjects in *Great-Britain* will be disregarded, when such a Number of his People look up to him for Protection in a Point so essential; that, when our Duty calls upon us to make Application for his Attention to the Welfare of this his antient Colony, we cannot refrain from renewing those Professions of Loyalty and Affection we have so often, with great Sincerity, made, or from assuring him, that we regard his Wisdom and Virtue as the surest Pledges of the Happiness of his People.[7]

Twelve days later, on 1 April 1772, the full membership of the House of Burgesses decided to present an address to King George III with the support of their governor, Lord Dunmore. The members of the lower house of Virginia's legislature stated

[6] Ibid., 1773-1776, pp. xiii-xiv.
[7] Ibid., 1770-1772, pp. 256-7.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Burgesses of Virginia, *now met in General Assembly, beg Leave, with all Humility, to approach your Royal Presence.*

The many Instances of your Majesty's benevolent Intentions and most gracious Disposition to promote the Prosperity and Happiness of your Subjects in the Colonies, encourage us to look up to the Throne, and implore your Majesty's paternal Assistance in averting a Calamity of a most alarming Nature.

The Importation of Slaves into the Colonies from the Coast of Africa *hath long been considered as a Trade of great Inhumanity, and, under its present Encouragement, we have too much Reason to fear will endanger the very Existance of your Majesty's* American *Dominions.*

We are sensible that some of your Majesty's Subjects in Great-Britain *may reap Emoluments from this Sort of Traffic, but when we consider that it greatly retards the Settlement of the Colonies, with more useful Inhabitants, and may, in Time, have the most destructive Influence, we presume to hope that the Interest of a few will be disregarded when placed in Competition with the Security and Happiness of such Numbers of your Majesty's dutiful and loyal Subjects.*

Deeply impressed with these Sentiments, we most humbly beseech your Majesty to remove all those Restraints on your Majesty's Governors of this Colony, which inhibit their assenting to such Laws as might check so very pernicious a Commerce.

Your Majesty's antient Colony and Dominion of Virginia *hath, at all Times, and upon every Occasion, been entirely devoted to your Majesty's sacred Person and Government, and we cannot forego this Opportunity of renewing those Assurances of the truest Loyalty, and warmest Affection, which we have so often, with the greatest Sincerity, given to the best of Kings, whose Wisdom and Goodness we esteem the surest Pledges of the Happiness of all his People.*[8]

The burgesses implored their King to allow representative assemblies in Britain's North American colonies to restrict the importation of African slaves if desired. The address reveals that the legislators were more concerned with the effect of an increasing slave population on white colonists and potential settlers in Virginia than with its effect on the imported slaves. King George III rejected Virginia's attempt to end the slave trade, and some colonists continued to import enslaved Africans to labor in their tobacco fields.

Two years later, colonists again tried to end the importation of African slaves. In June 1774, residents of Prince George County approved a measure that called for the end of the overseas slave trade.[9] The following month, the Fairfax County Resolves (drafted by George Mason and George Washington) contained a resolve that addressed the slave trade:

> RESOLVED that it is the Opinion of this Meeting, that during our present Difficulties and Distress, no Slaves ought to be imported into any of the British Colonies on this

[8] Ibid., pp. 283-4.

[9] Elizabeth Donnan, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, 4 vols., (Washington, D.C., 1935; reprint, New York: Octagon Books, 1969), IV:161-2.

> Continent; and we take this Opportunity of declaring our most earnest Wishes to see an entire Stop for ever put to such a wicked cruel and unnatural Trade.[10]

In August 1774, Washington carried the resolves to Williamsburg, where he was one of the men at the First Virginia Convention.

Thomas Jefferson planned to attend the First Virginia Convention and in preparation for this meeting, he wrote a series of resolutions to serve as a guide for Virginia's delegates to the First Continental Congress. When Jefferson became ill and realized he could not attend the First Virginia Convention, he had his personal slave, Jupiter, carry the resolutions to Peyton Randolph and to Patrick Henry. In this document, Jefferson criticized King George III for refusing to accept the Virginia legislature's attempt to limit the slave trade by adopting a prohibitive tariff on imported slaves. He wrote:

> That thus have we hastened thro' the reigns which preceded his majesty's, during which the violation of our rights were less alarming, because repeated at more distant intervals, than that rapid and bold succession of injuries which is likely to distinguish the present from all other periods of American story. Scarcely have our minds been able to emerge from the astonishment into which one stroke of parliamentary thunder has involved us, before another more heavy and more alarming is fallen on us. Single acts of tyranny may be ascribed to the accidental opinion of a day; but a series of oppressions, begun at a distinguished period, and pursued unalterably thro' every change of ministers, too plainly prove a deliberate, systematical plan of reducing us to slavery.[11]

Jefferson accused Parliament of trying to enslave the British North American colonies. The members of the First Virginia Convention stated

> We his Majesty's dutiful and loyal Subjects, the late representatives of the good people of this country, having been deprived by the sudden interposition of the executive part of this government, from giving our countrymen the advice we wished to convey to them in a legislative capacity, find ourselves under the hard necessity of adopting this, the only method we have left, of pointing out to our countrymen such measures as in our opinion are best fitted to secure our dearest rights and liberty from destruction, by the heavy hand of power now lifted against *North America*: With much grief we find that our dutiful applications to *Great Britain* for security of our just, ancient, and constitutional rights, have been not only disregarded, but that a determined system is formed and pressed for reducing the inhabitants of *British America* to slavery by subjecting them to the payment of taxes, imposed without the consent of the people or their representatives; and that in pursuit of this system, we find an act of the British parliament, lately passed, for stopping the harbour and commerce of the town of *Boston*, in our sister colony of *Massachusetts Bay*, until the people there submit to the payment of such unconstitutional taxes, and which act most violently and arbitrarily deprives them of their property, in wharfs erected by private persons, at their own

[10] Robert A. Rutland, ed., *The Papers of George Mason, 1725-1792*, 3 vols., (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1970), 1:207.
[11] Julian P. Boyd, et al., eds., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 37 vols., (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950-), 1:125.

> great and proper expense, which act is, in our opinion, a most dangerous attempt to destroy the constitutional liberty and rights of all *North America*...

These men determined that "We will neither ourselves import, nor purchase any slave or slaves imported by any other person, after the first day of November next, either from *Africa,* the *West Indies*, or any other place."[12]

Washington and the other Virginians who traveled to Philadelphia for the First Continental Congress led the effort to end the overseas slave trade. In September 1774, Richard Henry Lee proposed a resolution in favor of non-importation of slaves, and on 12 October 1774, the members of the First Continental Congress approved a declaration that stated "We will neither import, nor purchase any Slave imported after the First Day of *December* next; after which Time, we will wholly discontinue the Slave Trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our Vessels, nor sell our Commodities or Manufactures to those who are concerned in it."[13]

Slave Unrest In and Near Yorktown

In early 1770, as members of the House of Burgesses began to think about ways in which to make a new Association more effective, residents of the Yorktown area worried about slave unrest in their colony, in their county, and in nearby Williamsburg. William Rind's 25 January 1770 issue of the *Virginia Gazette* detailed conflicts with enslaved laborers on a plantation in Hanover County.[14] The 8 February 1770 issue of the *Maryland Gazette* noted that residents of York and James City counties had troubles with slaves; the account did not include specific details of the difficulties.[15]

The concerns of Yorktown's inhabitants would have increased when they read about a series of robberies in Williamsburg in the 5 April 1770 issue of Purdie and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*. The author of the account reported

> On Monday night Mr. John Carter's store, in the most publick part of the main street of this city, was broke open and robbed of sundry goods; and some time before Mr. Joseph Scrivener's store, likewise on the main street, was robbed of a considerable sum of money, by the thieves entering at his cellar window and getting up through a trap door. We hear likewise of several smokehouses having been stripped of their useful contents, by undermining, &c.

Having concluded his account of the thefts, the author turned to the issue of public safety. He observed

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[12] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 11 August 1774.
[13] "Continental Association of 1774" in ibid., 3 November 1774.
[14] *Virginia Gazette*, Rind, ed., 25 January 1770. A mid-February edition of the *New York Journal or General Advertiser* reported details of the Hanover County slave disturbances.
[15] *Maryland Gazette*, 8 February 1770.

> So many robberies, one might imagine, would put our rulers in mind to fall upon some scheme to prevent them; and we humbly conceive that a set of watchmen, under proper regulations, would answer that desireable end, who might likewise be of infinite service in the case of fire. Many of the inhabitants, we are well assured, are ready and willing to contribute largely to the support of such an useful institution, whenever it is adopted, which cannot be too soon."[16]

The author hoped that these robberies would spur Williamsburg's leaders to authorize the establishment of a slave patrol in this city as a way to restore order. A slave patrol would also provide Williamsburg's residents with another way to control enslaved laborers.

Yorktown residents knew that many of Virginia's eighteenth-century colonists worried about slave unrest. In February 1727, the General Assembly approved a statute that gave county militias the authority to restrict the activities of slaves "during the Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide holidays, wherein they are usually exempted from labour." In addition, this legislation empowered the officers of each county militia

> to patrole in such places as such commanding officer shall think fit to direct, and from time to time, to cause to be relieved by other parties, for dispersing all unusual concourse of negros, or other slaves, and for preventing any dangerous combinations which may be made amongst them at such meetings: Which said parties, so sent out to patrole, as aforesaid, shall have full power and authority to take up any slaves which they shall find convened together.[17]

Originally, the colonial legislators wanted this act to be in effect for five years. However, they extended the provisions of this statute in 1732, 1734, 1738, 1740, 1744, and 1748.

Eleven years later, in November 1738, the members of the Council and the House of Burgesses established a system of slave patrols throughout the colony:

> And further, it shall and may be lawful, for the chief officer of the militia, in every county, to order all persons listed therein, to go armed to their respective parish churches; and some time before the tenth of June yearly, to appoint an officer, and four men, of the militia, at such times and seasons as he shall think proper, to patrol, and visit all negro quarters, and other places suspected of entertaining unlawful assemblies of slaves, servants, or other disorderly persons. And such patrollers shall have full power and authority, to take up any such slaves, servants, or disorderly persons, so as aforesaid unlawfully assembled, or any other, strolling about from one plantation to another, without a pass from his or her master, mistress, or overseer, and to carry them before the next justice of the peace; who is to order every such slave, servant, stroller, or other

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[16] Thad W. Tate, *The Negro in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg*, (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1965), p. 113; *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 5 April 1770.

[17] William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, From the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619*, 13 vols., (Richmond, New York, and Philadelphia, 1819-23; reprint, Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia for the Jamestown Foundation of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1969), IV:202-3.

> disorderly person, as aforesaid, to receive any number of lashes, not exceeding twenty, on his or her bare back, well laid on: And in case one company of patrollers shall not be sufficient, to order more companies, consisting of the same number. And such patrollers shall be exempted from attendance at private musters, and from the paiment of all public, county, and parish levies, for their own persons, for those years in which they shall be emploied in that service.[18]

As tensions increased between Great Britain and France, Virginia's legislators decided to increase the power of local slave patrols. A February 1754 statute required the York County slave patrol visited slave quarters and other places in which enslaved laborers might gather at least once a month. Also, a 1766 statute gave each county's chief militia officer the authority to appoint additional patrollers, if necessary. This act also increased fines for neglect of duty.[19]

Perhaps Yorktown residents felt a sense of relief in July 1772 when the Common Council of Williamsburg decided to establish a watch. This city's leaders determined that the members of the watch would patrol the streets and areas around homes and outbuildings between 10 pm and daylight each night.[20] Residents of Yorktown and Williamsburg knew that runaway slaves often headed to their cities. Escaped men and women passed through Yorktown on their way to the ferry that would carry them across the York River or as they traveled along the roads that connected Yorktown to Hampton, West Point, Richmond, and Williamsburg. Some slaves ran to the colonial capital because they believed they could secure their freedom in the city. Other enslaved persons stopped in Williamsburg on their way to a port to board a ship. After Virginia slaves heard the news of the Somerset decision, several enslaved men and women tried to get to England where they hoped to become free.[21]

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[18] Ibid., V:19.

[19] Ibid., VI:421-2; ibid., VIII:195-7.

[20] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 16 July 1772; Warren M. Billings, John E. Selby, and Thad W. Tate, *Colonial Virginia—A History*, (White Plains, New York: KTO Press, 1986), p. 323.

[21] In 1749, a slaver carried the man who would soon be named James Somerset from Africa to Virginia where Charles Steuart, a Scottish merchant who lived in Norfolk, purchased him. Steuart and Somerset later relocated to Massachusetts, where Steuart was a customs officer. In 1769, Steuart traveled to England on business, and Somerset accompanied him as a personal slave. Two years later, Somerset escaped, but Steuart tracked him down and placed him on a ship bound for Jamaica so that he could be sold. British abolitionist Granville Sharp and others intervened on Somerset's behalf, and he was released on a writ of habeas corpus. Although the 1772 finding in the *Somerset* case was quite narrow, those opposed to slavery interpreted it as an attack on the legitimacy of this institution. The following advertisement, placed by Gabriel Jones of Augusta County, indicates that news of the *Somerset* decision reached Virginia slaves:

> RUN away the 16th Instant, from the Subscriber, a Negro Man named BACCHUS, about 30 Years of Age, five Feet six or seven Inches high, strong and well made; had on, and took with him, two white *Russia* Drill Coats, one turned up with blue, the other quite plain and new, with white figured Metal Buttons, blue Plush Breeches, a fine Cloth Pompadour Waistcoat, two or three thin or Summer Jackets, sundry Pairs of white Thread Stockings, five or six white Shirts, two of them pretty fine, neat Shoes, Silver Buckles, a fine Hat cut and cocked in the Macaroni Figure, a double-milled Drab Great Coat, and sundry other Wearing Apparel. 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; he is a cunning, artful, sensible Fellow, and very capable of forging a Tale to impose on the Unwary, 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. He was seen a few Days before he went off with a Purse of Dollars, and had just before changed a five Pound Bill; most, or all of which, I suppose he must have robbed me off, which he

Slave Unrest, Yorktown, and the Decision to Declare Independence

By early 1775, tensions were high in Virginia. Colonists knew that Governor Dunmore had received a letter from Parliament that instructed him to seize any guns or ammunition that the colonists ordered and to prevent the colonists from selecting delegates to attend the Second Continental Congress scheduled to meet in Philadelphia in May of that year. Members of the Second Virginia Convention defied the governor, and in March 1775, they elected men to represent the colony in Philadelphia.

In April 1775, colonists worried about rumors of slave plots and uprisings in several counties located on the James River—Prince Edward, Chesterfield, Norfolk, and Surry.[22] Unease increased when Yorktown residents heard reports of slave disturbances in Williamsburg. In a mid-April 1775 letter to George Washington, Edmund Pendleton noted that recent "disturbances in the City, by the *Slaves*" would likely delay Peyton Randolph's departure for the Second Continental Congress.[23]

In the midst of concerns about slave conspiracies, Governor Dunmore ordered a group of British mariners to leave their ships, walk to Williamsburg in the middle of the night of 21 April, and remove guns and ammunition from the Powder Magazine. Guards quickly sounded an alarm, and Williamsburg's residents woke to the noise of beating drums. Many of the city's inhabitants gathered on the steps of the James City County Courthouse, a short distance from the Powder Magazine. Informed of the theft of the weapons and powder, angry Williamsburg residents wanted to march to the Governor's Palace. Peyton Randolph and other city leaders calmed the crowd and then went to see Lord Dunmore. These men wanted to know why he ordered the British marines to enter the Powder Magazine under the cover of night and take guns and powder. Dunmore told residents of Williamsburg that he had the weapons and ammunition removed so that rebellious slaves could not seize these items and use them against their masters.

Inhabitants of Yorktown no doubt worried about the events that took place in Williamsburg, and these concerns escalated after Dunmore threatened to arm Williamsburg's slaves and order this group to burn the city. On 29 April, the governor sent his wife and their children out of the Palace, and they sought refuge on board H. M. S. *Fowey*, anchored in Yorktown's harbor. It is likely that Yorktown residents feared that the governor might threaten to arm their slaves and order them to attack the port.

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might easily have done, I having trusted him much after what I thought had proved his Fidelity. He will probably endeavour to pass for a Freeman by the Name of *John Christian*, and attempt to get on Board some Vessel bound for *Great Britain*, from the Knowledge he has of the late Determination of *Somerset's* Case. Whoever takes up the said Slave shall have 5 l. Reward, on his Delivery to GABRIEL JONES.

See William M. Wiecek, *The Sources of Antislavery Constitutionalism in America, 1769-1848* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1977), pp. 20, 25, 28-9, 34; Charles Steuart Papers, 1762-1789,(Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland; Williamsburg: Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation), Microfilm M-68.3; *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 30 June 1774.

[22] Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia*, (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1999), pp. 140-3.

[23] W. W. Abbot and Dorothy Twohig, et al., eds., *The Papers of George Washington*, Colonial Series, 10 vols., (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1983-1995), 10:340.

Their worries increased after 4 May when Captain George Montague wrote a letter to Thomas Nelson, the President of the Council.[24] Montague commanded Nelson to prevent Yorktown residents from attacking British forces if they marched from the town to Williamsburg to protect Governor Dunmore. If Nelson failed to prevent an attack, Montague noted "in that case I must be under a necessity to fire upon this town."[25]

The committee that read Montague's letter determined that the British captain,

> in threatening to fire upon a defenceless town, in case of an attack upon the detachment, in which said town might not be concerned, has testified a spirit of cruelty unprecedented in the annals of civilized times; that, in his late notice to the President, he has added insult to cruelty; and that, considering the circumstance, already mentioned, of one of the most considerable inhabitants of said town, he has discovered the most hellish principles that can actuate a human mind.

They resolved "that it be recommended to the inhabitants of this town, and to the country in general, that they do not entertain or shew any other mark of civility to Capt. Montague, besides what common decency and absolute necessity require."[26] Some Yorktown residents decided to leave their homes. In the 6 May 1775 edition of their newspaper, John Dixon and William Hunter reported "We hear from York town, that in consequence of Captain Montague's letter to the President, many of the inhabitants were so much alarmed that they immediately removed their families and effects into the country."[27] The Yorktown residents took their enslaved laborers when they left their homes.

Soon after Captain Montague wrote Nelson, an uneasy calm returned to Williamsburg. On 12 May 1775, Lady Dunmore and her children left the *Fowey* and traveled back to the Governor's Palace. The governor and his family were in Williamsburg in early June when members of the General Assembly gathered in the capital city. When Captain George Montague of the *Fowey* heard of tensions in Virginia's colonial capital, he inquired if the governor needed assistance. Some colonists misinterpreted Montague's message and thought that he promised to send one hundred marines from Yorktown to Williamsburg. In response, the House of Burgesses commanded James Innes to station the Williamsburg volunteer company at the Powder Magazine. Early on the morning of 8 June 1775, Dunmore and his family fled from the Palace. They received a thirteen-gun salute as they boarded the H. M. S. *Magdalen*, a vessel anchored in Queen's Creek. By mid-morning, Dunmore transferred to the *Fowey*. Yorktown's residents heard the sounds of thirteen guns announced the governor's arrival in the town.[28]

The 10 June 1775 issue of Dixon's *Virginia Gazette* contained Dunmore's explanation for his departure from Williamsburg. He told the members of the House of Burgesses,

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[24] Secretary Thomas Nelson became President of the Council after the 19 November 1772 death of his older brother, President William Nelson. He also continued to serve as Secretary of the Colony.
[25] *Virginia Gazette*, Dixon and Hunter, eds., 6 May 1775.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] John E. Selby, *The Revolution in Virginia, 1775-1783*, (Williamsburg: University Press of Virginia for the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1988), p. 43.

> BEING now fully persuaded that my person, and those of my family likewise, are in constant danger of falling sacrifices to the blind and unmeasurable fury which has so unaccountably seized upon the minds and understanding of the great numbers of the people, and apprehending that at length some among them may work themselves up to that pitch of daringness and atrociousness as to fall upon me in the defenceless state in which they know I am in the city of Williamsburg, and perpetrate acts that would plunge this country into the most horrid calamities, and render the breach with the mother county irreparable; I have thought it prudent for myself, and serviceable for the country, that I remove to a place of safety, conformable to which I have fixed my residence, for the present, on board his Majesty's ship the Fowey, lying at York.[29]

Dunmore remained on board the *Fowey* and attempted to govern the colony from this vessel. He threatened to attack Yorktown if the port's residents threatened his safety or that of his family and the detachment guarding them while the ship was anchored near the city.[30] Dunmore had his family returned to the *Magdalen*, and on 29 June, this ship set sail for Great Britain.

Virginians, especially Yorktown residents, feared that British forces would soon arrive in the York River to assist Dunmore. On 12 July 1775, the H. M. S. *Mercury* sailed into the area. Quickly, a detachment of soldiers marched from Williamsburg to Yorktown. These men challenged Dunmore's authority by parading along the town's waterfront area.[31] The men, women, and children who lived in Yorktown remained uneasy after Dunmore ordered the captain of the *Fowey* to leave the city's harbor and sail to Norfolk because they did not know if he would return. In addition, Yorktown's residents as well as the inhabitants of other sections of York County worried about a local disturbance. County officials arrested Thomas Cox, "on suspicion of endeavoring to raise a Conspiracy and Insurrection among the slaves." The York County justices of the peace found Cox innocent of the charges of conspiracy and trying to led a slave insurrection. They did, however, decide that Cox was guilt of a breach of the peace.[32]

In the midst of these concerns, on 25 August 1775, Yorktown's Matthew Pope wrote a letter to John Jacob of London. He penned the letter in response to the following notice that appeared in the 10 August 1775 edition of Pinkney's *Virginia Gazette*:

> By the OCEAN, captain OWEN, just arrived, we have received the following advices. London, May 26.
>
> Accounts received at Whitehaven, by the Trail, captain Peele, in five weeks from York River, Virginia, mention the great apprehensions which prevail through the whole continent with regard to the negroes. Several insurrections have been attempted in different places; the planters are distressed beyond measure. Several of the conveniencies, and even necessaries of life, are very scarce. The negroes, it is positively asserted, are almost naked; that, with some other disagreeable circumstances, it is

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[29] *Virginia Gazette*, Dixon, ed., 10 June 1775.
[30] Emory G. Evans, "The Nelsons: A Biographical Study of a Virginia Family in the Eighteenth Century," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1957), p. 209.
[31] Selby, *The Revolution in Virginia*, p. 48.
[32] York County Order Book (4) 95, 17 July 1775.

imagined, stimulate them to such desperate attempts. In York town, a strict patrol is kept every night, and any negro found in the street is confined till the next day. The like cautions are observed in other towns.

Pope wrote to Jacobs

> I hear inclose you 3[d Worth?] Virginia Linnen made in the County of Augusta, a Waggon Load of which was brought from thence a few Weeks ago & sold in the lower parts of the Country some of which came to York Town & which I have supplied myself to Cloath my Slaves ~~not~~ rather Negro's I abhor the Name of Slave. This will convince any Body [the Virginians] can do without oznabriggs for I speak from my own Knowledge that [this] one County only can furnish all Virginia with Linnen both [for] black and white. I mention this Linnen & the Circumstances to contradict the Paragraph I have out of one of our Papers & have here enclosed[?] it, a more infamous Diabolical Lie never appear'd in Print & the authors of it ought to have ~~thar~~ his Tongue pull'd out by the Roots, it is such base misrepresentations that encourages the Ministry to persevere, but more base if possible are those who endeavour to make the People of England believe the Americans are setting up for independency, . . . [33]

It is clear that Pope believed that Virginians did not need to depend on Great Britain for osnaburg, the coarse material used to make slave clothes. This Yorktown resident also stated that Virginia slaves had a sufficient amount of clothing and that their masters did not want to claim independence. It is interesting that Pope did not attempt to downplay the need for a slave patrol in Yorktown and other urban areas.

By November 1775, Pope and many other Yorktown residents likely wanted to increase the number of men who patrolled the streets and waterfront area of their town. On 16 November 1775, Governor Dunmore issued a proclamation in which he offered freedom to some of Virginia's indentured servants and slaves. He announced

> AS I have ever enter[t]ained hopes, that an accomodation might have taken place between *Great Britain* and this colony, without being compelled, *by my duty*, to this most disagreeable, but now absolutely necessary step, rendered so by a body of armed men, unlawfully assembled, firing on his majesty's tenders, and the formation of an army, and that army now on their march to attack his majesty's troops, and destroy the well-disposed subjects of this colony: To defeat such treasonable purposes, and that all such traitors, and their abettors, may be brought to justice, and that the peace, and good order of this colony may be again restored, which the ordinary course of the civil law is unable to effect, I have thought fit to issue this my proclamation, hereby declaring, that until the aforesaid good purposes can be obtained, I do, in virtue of the power and authority to me given, *by his majesty*, determine to execute martial law, and cause the same to be executed throughout this colony; and to the end that *peace* and *good order* may the sooner be restored, I do require every person capable of bearing arms, to resort to his

[33] *Virginia Gazette*, Pinkney, ed., 10 August 1775; Matthew Pope to John Jacob, 25 August 1775, British Museum Additional Manuscripts, 34813, ff. 88-90 R.; Williamsburg: Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation), Microfilm M-283.

> majesty's STANDARD, or be looked upon as traitors to his majesty's crown and government, and thereby become liable to the penalty the law inflicts upon such offences; such as *forfeiture of life*, *confiscation of lands*, &c. &c. And I do hereby farther declare all *indented servants*, *negroes*, or others, (appertaining to rebels,) *free* that are able and willing to bear arms, they joining *his majesty's troops*, as soon as may be, for the more speedily reducing this colony to a *proper sense* of their duty, to his majesty's crown and dignity. I do farther order, and require, all his majesty's liege subjects to retain their quitrents, or any other taxes due, or that may become due, in their own custody, till such time as peace may be again restored to this at present most unhappy country, or demanded of them for their former salutary purposes, by officers properly authorised to receive the same.[34]

Yorktown's residents—white and black, free and enslaved—learned of Dunmore's Proclamation soon after he issued his bold statement. Dunmore offered freedom to able-bodied indentured servants and slaves owned by the Virginians whom he saw as rebels—the leaders of the move to independence. He emancipated some of the colony's enslaved laborers because he hoped that this measure would convince colonists to end their discussions of freedom from Great Britain. As Dunmore knew, Virginians depended on their slaves to produce tobacco, grow food, raise livestock, and make goods in trade shops. Without slaves, the colonists would lose much of their labor force and Virginia's economy would collapse. In addition, Dunmore believed that the former slaves would strengthen the ranks of his Ethiopian Regiment and help to defeat the colonists in any confrontations. The members of Dunmore's Ethiopian Regiment wore sashes that proclaimed "Liberty to Slaves."[35]

It is clear that Virginia's leaders worried that many slaves—male and female—would escape and try to join Dunmore. The colonists quickly mobilized and increased the number of slave patrollers who looked for enslaved people who were away from their master's home. These men searched the area around their homes day and night. Patrollers took captured runaways to the Public Gaol in Williamsburg where owners could pay a fee to reclaim their slaves. On 17 January 1776, the proceedings of the Fourth Virginia Convention noted that runaways were to

> be delivered to their respective owners, on their paying the expenses which have accrued, or shall accrue, from the time of their being taken, till the time of their delivery; and that a list of the said negroes, with the names of their several owners, be inserted in the *Virginia Gazette*. And if the owners do not apply within two months from the date of the said advertisement, that such thereof as may then remain be sold at publick auction, and the balance, after deducting the expenses aforesaid, be lodged in the hands of the treasurer of this colony, to be paid to the owners, when demanded.[36]

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[34] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie, ed., 24 November 1775.

[35] Selby, *The Revolution in Virginia*, pp. 66-7; Holton, *Forced Founders*, chapter 5.

[36] Robert L. Scribner et al., eds., *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, 7 vols., (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Virginia Independence Bicentennial Commission, 1973-1983), 5:423-4, 432. In July 1776, the Council of the State of Virginia ordered three Williamsburg residents—John Minson Galt, Robert Nicolson, and James Southall—to examine slaves held in the Public Gaol. Next, the Council required Peter Pelham, the keeper of the Public Goal, to deliver the Negroes in his custody to Mr Peter Terrel, to be by him carried to the Lead Mines, and there delivered to Mr James Calloway; and that Mr Terrel give his Receipt to the Jailor for the same

The announcements placed in the *Virginia Gazette* by Peter Pelham, the Keeper of the Public Gaol, indicate that a number of Virginia slaves chose to accept Dunmore's offer of freedom.

In addition to revealing the upheaval caused by Dunmore's Proclamation, information in the colony's newspapers provides details about the efforts of colonists to restore a sense of calm. Virginia's patriots placed printed notices in the *Virginia Gazette* to deter slaves from joining the British. The 30 November 1775 issue of Pinkney's *Virginia Gazette* included the following description of the treatment that slaves received once they joined the British:

> Lord Dunmore's cruel policy begins at length to be discovered by the blacks, who have lately deserted from him to a considerable number. When his lordship first went down to Norfolk he gave great encouragement to unwary negroes, but, such was his baseness, some of them, it is confidently said, he sent to the West Indies, where these unfortunate creatures were disposed of to defray his lordship's expences; and others, such as he took any dislike to, he delivered up to their masters, to be punished. Since the troops under colonel Woodford's command began their march, lord Dunmore issued a proclamation inviting the slaves of rebels, as he is pleased to say, to repair to his standard. A considerable number at first went to him, but upon their masters taking the oath of allegiance they were immediately told they must return. Some runaways, however, remained, but these were kept constantly employed in digging entrenchments in wet ground, till at length the severity of their labour forced many of them to fly. Those that were left behind have made several attempts to get off, but such is the barbarous policy of this cruel man, he keeps these unhappy creatures not only against their will, but intends to place them in the front of the battle, to prevent their flying, in case of an engagement, which, from their utter ignorance of fire arms, he knows they will do.[37]

The colony's leaders hoped that enslaved men, women, and children would hear about the poor treatment that slaves received from Dunmore when their masters read the paper, when they read the paper themselves, and when slaves shared details of these stories with other slaves.

Virginia's patriots also wanted their enslaved laborers to react to Dunmore's Proclamation in the same way that that Yorktown's Barber Caesar (also known as John Hope) did. According to a notice in the 9 December 1775 issue of Pinkney's *Virginia Gazette*, "An honest negro (Caesar,

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> Ordered, that the General be requested to order a Waggon to assist in removing the Slaves up to the Lead Mines, and that he be informed it is expected, Mr Calloway will have a Load of Lead ready to send down by the return of the Waggon
>
> Ordered that Mr Terrel be empowered to hire a Guard of four Men, to assist in removing the above slaves; and in case he shall not be able to procure the same—that he then apply to the Lieutenants of the several Counties, through which, he is to pass, who are requested to order a proper Guard to attend him to the next County.

H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia*, 5 vols., (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1931), 1:70-1. The mining of lead began in 1759 by a company organized by John Robinson, Francis Fauquier, William Byrd III, and John Chiswell. The state operated the mines during the Revolution. In *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Jefferson noted that the lead mines could employ thirty men per year and they could produce up to sixty tons of lead per year. The mines became important when the fighting shifted to the South since the Montgomery County mines were the only major source of lead in the region. See James A. Mulholland, *A History of Metals in Colonial America*, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1981), pp. 137-9.

[37] *Virginia Gazette*, Pinkney, ed., 30 November 1775.

the famous barber of York) being asked what he thought of lord Dunmore's setting negroes free, said, that he did not know any one foolish enough to believe him, for if he intended to do so, he ought first to set his own free."[38]

Perhaps Yorktown's slaves paid attention to the statement attributed to Barber Caesar, a long-time resident of the town. Evidence suggests that few, if any, Yorktown slaves tried to join Virginia's former royal governor soon after he issued his proclamation. In addition to stories about the treatment they might receive from Dunmore, Yorktown's enslaved men, women, and children also worried that they would be captured by one of the many slave patrols who searched for runaways on their way to join the British in the Norfolk area.

Dunmore's Proclamation prompted some colonists to take a stand on the question of independence from Great Britain. By January or early February 1776, Yorktown's General Thomas Nelson believed that Virginia should seek independence from Great Britain as did Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Francis Lightfoot Lee, George Wythe, and Benjamin Harrison.[39] In late February 1776, Nelson and his wife Lucy left Philadelphia and returned to Virginia. On 6 May 1776, Nelson was in Williamsburg when members of the Fifth Virginia Convention decided to authorize the Virginia delegation at the Second Continental Congress to propose independence from Great Britain. Nelson carried the motion to declare independence to Philadelphia, helped to secure its passage, and signed the Declaration of Independence.[40]

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[38] Ibid., 9 December 1775. John Hope knew that Dunmore's Proclamation did not pertain to him because his owner, George Riddell, was a Loyalist.

[39] Selby, *The Revolution in Virginia*, pp. 90-1.

[40] In mid-1775, Nelson was elected to represent Virginia in the Second Continental Congress that began in Philadelphia in September 1775. Nelson, his wife Lucy, and a small group of their slaves traveled to Philadelphia with Peyton Randolph and George Wythe. Once in Philadelphia, the Nelsons and their slaves were inoculated against smallpox. It is likely that Thomas and Lucy Nelson each had their personal slave accompany them on the trip to Philadelphia. The Nelsons rode in a coach driven by their coachman and attended by several male slaves who served as postillions. Evans, "The Nelsons," pp. 218-9, 229, 243-4. See also Part I. Section 4—African and African American Life in Yorktown and Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 52.

Section 7.
African Americans, Freedom, and the Siege of Yorktown

Introduction

By early 1776, the unrest created by the conflict between colonists and their governor and Dunmore's decision to offer freedom to "all *indented servants, negroes*, or others (appertaining to rebels,)" prompted some Yorktown residents to leave their homes and to take their slaves to a different part of Virginia. These individuals worried that Dunmore might return to the town, free enslaved laborers, and order British forces to destroy their houses and outbuildings. On 30 March 1776, William Reynolds wrote George Flowerdew Norton that "all our Seaport Towns being threatened most People have thought it prudent to remove their family's & Effects, with the rest I have removed mine to Hanover County, from whence I write you this letter."[1] Thomas Powell, a Yorktown surgeon, also worried for the safety of his family and decided to leave the town. In June 1776, Powell noted that he was a resident of Fredericksburg when he placed the following announcement in the *Virginia Gazette*: "THE present Situation of York has occasioned me to remove my Family to this Town. I shall open a large and fresh Assortment of MEDICINES in a Shop formerly kept by Dr. Mercer, and shall attend to Practice."[2]

More changes came to Yorktown during the years before the Siege. In 1777, other residents fled the town after soldiers destroyed a number of the buildings.[3] Two years later, in 1779, General Thomas Nelson worried that the British would sail up the York River and attack Yorktown. In late December 1780, the British returned to the Chesapeake and stayed in the area until they lost the Siege of Yorktown.

Wartime disruptions impacted the lives of Yorktown's slaves. Some of the town's enslaved men, women, and children found opportunities to claim their own independence during the American Revolution. Other Yorktown slaves found that they were not able to reach the British and secure the freedom that Dunmore promised. In addition, slave owners tried to limit the chances that their laborers had to escape and moved these men, women, and children out of Yorktown.

Opportunities for Yorktown's Slaves to Join the British

Evidence suggests that few, if any, Yorktown slaves tried to join Virginia's former royal governor soon after he issued his proclamation. In addition to stories about the treatment that they might receive from Dunmore, Yorktown's enslaved men, women, and children also worried

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[1] William Reynolds to George Flowerdew Norton, 30 March 1776, William Reynolds Papers, 1771-1796, (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress), pp. 82-4. See also Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 31.
[2] *Virginia Gazette*, Dixon ed., 22 June 1776. See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 54.
[3] Emory G. Evans, "The Nelsons: A Biographical Study of a Virginia Family in the Eighteenth Century," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1957), p. 246.

that they would be captured by one of the many slave patrols who searched for runaways on their way to join the British in the Norfolk area.[4]

However, for those enslaved laborers who wanted to leave Yorktown and join the British, there were other opportunities to do so between 1776 and 1781. In the spring of 1776, Dunmore and his followers spent time on Gwynn's Island, and it is possible that some slaves decided to take the ferry across the York River and become a member of the British army. Other enslaved men might have rowed boats to the north side of the York River.

After Dunmore left the Chesapeake in late spring 1776, the British did not return to the region until 1778 when British ships sailed into the Chesapeake Bay, and British soldiers spent time in Norfolk. Next, in May 1779, the British held Norfolk and Portsmouth for two weeks. Tensions were high in Yorktown during this time, and General Thomas Nelson feared that British soldiers would attack and destroy the town.[5] Also, in October 1780, 2,200 British forces came within fifteen miles of Williamsburg.[6]

The best time for Yorktown slaves to seize their freedom came after 30 December 1780. On that date, the British returned to Virginia and remained in the Tidewater region until the October 1781 Siege of Yorktown.[7] The continued presence of British soldiers gave Yorktown slaves several opportunities to declare their own independence. Details in accounts provided by slaves who seized their freedom and in claims submitted by Yorktown residents include information about the different times that enslaved men, women, and children joined the British. These records also indicate that slaves lost their lives during the Siege of Yorktown.

Yorktown Slaves and Free Blacks Who Left New York with the British

It is often forgotten that Lord Dunmore fulfilled his promise of freedom to slaves who joined the British during the Revolution. In the fall of 1783, approximately 3,000 African Americans from Virginia were among the men, women, and children evacuated from New York with the British. Before boarding a British ship, the African American men, women, boys, and girls provided some biographical information to a British official.[8] The names of ten blacks—free and

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[4] Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia*, (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1999), chapter 5. See also Part I. Section 6—Slavery, Yorktown, and Virginia's Move to Revolution.

[5] Evans, "The Nelsons," p. 272.

[6] Kevin P. Kelly, "The World Turned Upside Down: Williamsburg During the War for Independence," in Robert P. Maccubbin and Martha Hamilton-Phillips, eds., *Williamsburg, Virginia: A City before the State: An Illustrated History*, (Williamsburg: City of Williamsburg distributed by the University Press of Virginia, 2000), pp. 67-8.

[7] John E. Selby, *The Revolution in Virginia, 1775-1783*, (Williamsburg: University Press of Virginia for the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1988), pp. 222-4, 271, 289-90, 300; Kelly, "The World Turned Upside Down," pp. 67-70.

[8] Graham Russell Hodges, ed., *The Black Loyalist Directory: African Americans in Exile After the American Revolution*, (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1996), pp. 41 (Plumb), 43 (Plumb), 97 (Adams), 5 (Barber), 93 (Tompkins), 99 (Tompkins), 89 (Richard), 117 (Archer), 162 (Freeman), 96 (Kirby [Kerby]). The ages of the African American men, women, and children are the ages of these individuals in 1783, not when they escaped to the British.

enslaved—from Yorktown appear on this register. The information provided by the men, women, and children indicate that they ran at several different times during the Revolution.

Four of the African Americans who decided to leave Yorktown were free people of color. Thomas Plumb, a forty-two year old mulatto man who was born free, ran to the British with his daughter, Charlotte, who was thirteen years of age. Plumb, a carpenter, did not state when he and his mulatto daughter, whom he owned, left Yorktown. Twenty-six year old Jacob Adams told the officials that he was born free and left for the British in 1777. Daniel Barber, age 70, told British officials that he became free in the early 1760s when A. Moore freed him. Barber did not note when he joined the British. The fact that Barber gave the name of his owner as James Moore suggests that there might have been some confusion over Barber's status before he went to the British.[9]

Six enslaved men and women decided to leave Yorktown and claim their freedom from the British. It is possible that Samuel Tompkins, age twenty-three, decided to run from his master, Richard Tompkins, in 1776 because Lord Dunmore spent part of that spring on nearby Gwynn's Island. In 1776, a twenty-three year old woman named Mary Tompkins left her master, Captain Bennett Tompkins, and joined the British.[10] Perhaps Samuel and Mary Tompkins were relatives—husband and wife or brother and sister—who escaped together.

In 1778, thirty-year old Dick Richard told British officials that he escaped from Peter Willis.[11] The following year, two men, Daniel Archer and Joe Freeman, left Yorktown and joined the British. Archer, a thirty-two year old man, ran from Thomas Archer, an ordinary keeper. Freeman, who was thirty-five years old, escaped from Joseph Freeman. The following year, 1780, was the time when Lewis Kirby, a man of twenty-nine years, left his master, John Kirby. Six years earlier, Kerby inherited Lewis from his father, also named John Kerby. In the February 1778 inventory of John Kerby's estate, Lewis was valued at £ 50.[12]

The different dates of departure from Yorktown—Samuel and Mary Tompkins in 1776, Jacob Adams in 1777, Dick Richard in 1778, Daniel Archer and Joe Freeman in 1779, and Lewis Kirby in 1780—suggests that these men and women did not decide to run to the enemy as a group. In addition to the chance that Samuel and Mary Tompkins escaped together, Daniel Archer and Joe Freeman might have left Yorktown at the same time. Thomas Plumb and his daughter, Charlotte, would have escaped together.

The ten former residents of Yorktown sailed from New York City on a total of five different vessels: Daniel Barber on the *Aurora*, Thomas and Charlotte Plumb on the *Mary*, Daniel Archer on the *L'Abondance*, Joe Freeman on the *Cato*, and Richard Dick, Samuel Tompkins, Lewis

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[9] There is not any additional information about Thomas Plumb, Plumb's daughter Charlotte, Jacob Adams, or Daniel Barber in the York County Court records.

[10] On 20 September 1779, the York County grand jury presented Bennett Tompkins for not listing his ten tithes. York County Order Book (4) 236, 20 September 1779. The York County Court records do not contain any references to a man named Richard Tompkins.

[11] There is not any additional information about either Dick Richard or Peter Willis in the York County Court records.

[12] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 229-31, dated 22 July 1772 and recorded 20 June 1774; ibid., pp. 385-6, recorded 14 February 1778.

Kirby, Jacob Adams, and Mary Tompkins on the *Clinton*. Perhaps the five former Yorktown residents on the *Clinton* talked about their lives in the town during their voyage northward to Nova Scotia. Once arriving in their new home, perhaps the ten refugees settled near each other and used the skills that they learned in Yorktown to create a new community and to establish themselves in Nova Scotia.[13]

Slaves and the Siege of Yorktown

Many of the residents of Yorktown lost both real and personal property during the Siege of Yorktown. These town's inhabitants faced the prospect of rebuilding their homes and outbuildings as well as restarting their businesses. Several of these individuals also lost a portion of their enslaved labor force. The loss of both structures and slaves was a large financial setback for those who remained in Yorktown or who wanted to return to the town.

In May 1782, Virginians who lost slaves during the Siege of Yorktown learned that they could receive financial assistance to cover these losses. The General Assembly passed "An act to ascertain the losses and injuries sustained from the depredations of the enemy within this commonwealth." The statute noted "That the courts of the several counties within this state shall, and they are hereby empowered and required either to hold special courts, or to appoint so many of their own body as to them shall seem most proper, to collect and state, from the best proof the nature of the case will admit of, the various losses and injuries, both public and private, which have been sustained within their respective counties during the war, from the depredations of the enemy in their several invasions, and to state the same under so many different heads as such losses or injuries may consist of, and return their proceedings herein, together with the proof made in support thereof, to the governor and council, to be by them laid before the next assembly."[14]

The York County Claims for Losses contain claims submitted by nine Yorktown residents to cover their financial losses from the loss of enslaved men, women, boys, and girls.[15] The claimants lived in all areas of the town—Yorktown proper, the Gwyn Read Addition, and the waterfront. Details in the claims indicate that some Yorktown residents lost slaves who joined the British, who died from disease, or who lost their lives during the Siege. The claims also contain details about the skills of some of these enslaved individuals.

> Abraham Archer noted that he lost a man named George who was about forty years old and a good waterman. Archer valued George at £ 175 pounds. This Yorktown resident

[13] There is no evidence that any of these former Yorktown residents left Nova Scotia for Sierra Leone.

[14] William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, From the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619*, 13 vols., (Richmond, New York, and Philadelphia, 1819-23; reprint, Charlottesville, Virginia: The University Press of Virginia for the Jamestown Foundation of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1969), XI:27. See also York County Order Book 4 (1774-1784) 307, 18 September 1782; ibid., p. 310, 21 October 1782; ibid., p. 323, 28 April 1783.

[15] It is important to note that some of the claims filed by York County residents have been lost. The extant claims can be found in "Claims for Losses of York County Citizens in the British Invasion of 1781," (Williamsburg: Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation), Microfilm M-1.45.

also filed a claim for another slave known as George. This George, a boy of sixteen years, was a good house servant who was worth £ 75.

The merchant William Cary lost an enslaved boy who he reported as being four and a half years old. Cary valued this unnamed boy at £ 25.

Another merchant, David Jameson, submitted claims for losses on both his rural and urban properties. Two of Jameson's slaves joined the British—Scipio, whom his master described as "a valuable field fellow," was about thirty years old and went with Captain Dundas. Forty-year old Jack was accustomed to hewing and sawing. Jack also escaped to join Dundas. Scipio, worth £ 100, and Jack, valued at £ 75, both "died with the enemy." Jameson also reported that five more slaves—Braddock, Grace, Jack, another man named Scipio, and Daniel—died at his plantation from either the small pox or the "putrid jail fever caught from the enemy." Braddock, "a valuable field negro" of approximately twenty-five years, was valued at £ 100. It is possible that Jack, a man of about fifty years valued at £ 30; Scipio, a man who was close to forty-five years of age and worth £ 50; and Daniel, a man of the same age as Jack and valued at £ 40, worked on Jameson's plantation in nearby Yorkhampton Parish. It is possible that Grace, a cook who was thirty-eight years old, prepared food for Jameson's Yorktown household. Jameson valued Grace at £ 60.

Yorktown's Thomas Lilly reported that he lost two slaves during the Siege. Lilly claimed £ 75 for the loss of an enslaved girl who was eighteen years old and another £ 50 for an enslaved boy who was thirteen years of age.

William Mitchell lost Pool, a thirty-year old man, whom he valued at £ 100 and a two-year old boy named Tom. Mitchell noted that Tom was worth £ 10.

The estate of Lawrence Smith Senior claimed £ 12 to cover the loss of a four-year old enslaved child.

Lawrence Smith Junior, a Yorktown resident, noted he lost nine slaves: two nineteen-year old boys, Will and Dick, both valued at £ 100; a fifty-year old man named Harry whom Smith valued at £ 60; Humphrey, a man of twenty-six years, valued at £ 100; two wenches—Phillis a thirty-six year old worth £ 60 and twenty-year old Hannah who was valued at £ 90. Next, Smith listed Nelson as a boy of close to twelve years. Smith valued Nelson at £ 50. Smith did not include the names of the last two slaves whom he lost: a two-year old child worth £ 10 and a one-year old child worth just £ 5.

Merchant William Stevenson listed just one slave, a year old girl valued at £ 6, among his losses.

The claim of Yorktown's most prominent resident, Secretary Thomas Nelson, appeared in the paper work submitted to the King William County Court. "Secretary" Nelson

reported that he lost "A Valuable negro Man, about 45 years old" and "A Young Negro Fello aged 20 Years" when the British and American forces fought.[16]

The loss of these enslaved men, women, and children meant that white slave owners did not have some of the laborers upon whom they depended. Abraham Archer no doubt counted on George, his "house servant," to work in his tavern and his waterman, also named George, to catch some of the fish he served to his customers. Merchants William Cary, David Jameson, William Stevenson relied on male slaves to unload cargo from ships anchored in Yorktown's harbor, to carry merchandise to their storehouses, and to reload vessels before they departed and sailed down the York River to the Chesapeake Bay and the Atlantic Ocean. Jameson and Lawrence Smith knew that they could not plant as many fields after they lost men and women who tended crops on their plantations.

Men and women who lived in rural areas of York County also lost slaves whom they hired to Yorktown residents. Ann Tompkins, a resident of Charles Parish and the widow of Bennett Tompkins, claimed a loss of £ 100 for a twenty-two year old fellow named Sam.[17] It is possible that this man was the Samuel Tompkins who escaped from his master, Richard Tompkins, and joined the British in 1777. John Kerby, the master of Lewis Kerby, reported the loss of the following slaves: Paul (23 years old and valued at £ 100), Nanny (17 years of age and assessed at £ 80), George (16 years old and valued at £ 100), Bob (20 years old and valued at £ 100), and Dick (22 years old and valued at £ 100). Kerby also claimed the loss of a canoe that he valued at £ 10. Perhaps these slaves were also hired to Yorktown residents.

The destruction of much of Yorktown's physical landscape had an impact on the slaves who remained in the town. The loss of buildings changed the lives of the slaves who lived and worked in the structures. The following Yorktown residents reported that some or all of the buildings on their town lots had been destroyed: Jaquelin Ambler, Abraham Archer, William Cary, John Davy, John Gibbons, Mary Gibbons, John C. Gunther, Doctor Corbin Griffin, David Jameson, Thomas Lilly, Mary Minnis, William Mitchell, Lawrence Smith, William Stevenson, and Secretary Thomas Nelson. The destruction of urban property no doubt led some slave owners to move their remaining enslaved laborers to plantations and to put these men, women, and children to work in the fields producing much needed food and in marshy areas tending livestock. Other masters might have hired out one or more slaves if they did not have work for all of their laborers.

Yorktown Residents Move Their Slaves to Williamsburg

By late 1780 and early 1781, residents of Yorktown feared that British soldiers would march to their town and free their enslaved laborers. A number of the town's inhabitants took their families and their slaves and fled the town. Several Yorktown residents found themselves in

[16] "An Account of sundry Property belonging to Thomas Nelson senior, taken and destroyed at York Town, by the British Army," (Richmond: Library of Virginia), Executive Papers, Box 62, 1789.

[17] The widow Tompkins also claimed a loss of £ 100 each for Ned, a twenty-three year old fellow; Peter, a "fellow" of twenty years; and Billy a nineteen year old whom Tompkins also described as a fellow.

Williamsburg. Other inhabitants of the town moved to Virginia's former capital because they lost their homes during the Siege of Yorktown.[18]

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William and Mary Nelson spent several years in the house of Mary nee Taliaferro Nelson's uncle and aunt, George and Elizabeth Wythe, on the Palace Green. Nelson was the son of Secretary Thomas Nelson and Lucy Nelson. Two of the Nelson slaves—Succordia and Paul—lived in Wythe's household in 1783 and 1784. By 1786, a total of six of William Nelson's slaves—Billy, Jamey, Jo, Lydia, Succordia, and Paul—were on the Wythe property. Only Paul was under the age of sixteen.[19] The Nelsons, their son William Taliaferro Nelson (born 28 September 1785), and their enslaved men, women, and children returned to Yorktown by the late 1780s.

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Susannah Riddell left Yorktown after the destruction of her home in the Gwyn Read Subdivision. In 1782, the widow Riddell had seven adult slaves—three male and four female—and eight slaves under the age of sixteen in the Williamsburg house that she rented. The following year, in 1783, Susannah Riddell had a total of twelve slaves in Williamsburg. The adult slaves included David, Arrabella (also known as Bella), Celia, Cromwell, Judy, Lewis, and Peg.[20] Riddell also had slaves under the age of sixteen: Betty, Celia, Shandy, Tristram, and Lucy, the daughter of Arrabella who was baptized at Bruton Parish Church on 4 May 1783. In 1784, the widow Riddell had seven adults—Arrabella, Celia, Cromwell, Judy, Lewis, Peg, and Sam—and an equal number of slaves under the age of sixteen: Lucy, Shandy, Tristram, Betty, Celia, Aggrapina, and Amy.

Susannah Riddell died between 18 October 1785 and 10 December 1785, the date that her death was announced in the *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*. Two weeks later, Jaquelin Ambler and Robert Andrews, the executors of Riddell's estate announced "a number of valuable negroes are for immediate sale, and will be disposed of privately, if satisfactory terms can be procured." They offered "a credit of eighteen months" to those who purchased slaves at a private sale or her Williamsburg property at the public sale on 19 January 1786.[21] Ambler and Andrews sold the majority of Susannah Riddell's slaves by the time the 1786 personal property

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[18] Two sources provide much of the information about the enslaved men, women, and children whom Yorktown residents moved to Williamsburg. First, the names of many of these individuals can be found in the Williamsburg Personal Property Tax Lists, 1783, 1784, and 1786, (Richmond: Library of Virginia). Neither the 1785 nor the 1787 Williamsburg Personal Property Tax Lists survive. Beginning in 1788, most personal property tax lists did not include the names of enslaved individuals.
Second, entries in the Bruton Parish Birth and Baptism Register include the names of children born to enslaved mothers during the time they lived in Williamsburg. Bruton Parish Birth and Death Registers, 1662-1797, (Bruton Parish Church, Williamsburg, Virginia at the Special Collections Research Center, Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia).

[19] Succordia and Paul appeared on the 1783 and 1784 lists submitted by George Wythe. William Nelson "lodged" with Wythe in 1783 and 1784. Two years later, Nelson returned his own list of slaves who were in Williamsburg.

[20] George Riddell bought Davy (known as David in 1786) and Lewis from Benjamin Catton 20 June 1768. York County Deeds (7) 401, dated 9 May 1768 and recorded 29 June 1768.

[21] *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 10 December 1785; ibid., 24 December 1785.

tax list was taken. In 1786, the widow Riddell's estate held just three slaves in Williamsburg—Shandy (now over the age of sixteen), Betty, and Celia.

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In 1782, Yorktown's Doctor Corbin Griffin was in Williamsburg. He moved seven adult slaves—Ba[rr]y, Daniel, Doll, George, Hannah, James, and Mene (?)—and four children—Daniel, Lucy, two girls named Mary, and Sall—to this city. On 4 May 1783, Doll's daughter Betty was baptized on 4 May 1783 at Bruton Parish Church. Griffin and his enslaved men, women, and children returned to Yorktown by early 1784.

* * * *

Several members of the Nelson family relocated to Williamsburg at the end of the American Revolution. It is likely that the Nelsons took their personal slaves as well as domestic slaves to Virginia's former capital. In addition, it is probable that this family moved enslaved men, women, and children from their plantations in Yorkhampton Parish and had them labor in fields in Hanover County or King William County.

In 1784, Nathaniel Nelson, son of President William Nelson and his wife, Elizabeth, had one adult slave named Iris in Williamsburg.[22] He also had three enslaved children—John, William, and "an infant" in this city. Perhaps Nathaniel Nelson had his slaves in the same household as his mother, Elizabeth Nelson. In 1784, the widow of President Nelson had seventeen slaves over the age of sixteen in Williamsburg: Agga, Billow, Caesar, Dick, Dick, Grace, Hagar, Hannah, Marcia, Molly, Nanny, Peter, Phil, Phil, Phillis, Roger, and Sucky. Elizabeth Nelson also had two children—Sussex and Tony—in this household.[23]

When the slaves owned by Elizabeth Nelson and Nathaniel Nelson arrived in Williamsburg, they found that six of General Thomas Nelson's enslaved men—Bob, Cooper, Dean, George, a second man named George, and Pompey—were already in the city.[24] Crinder was in Williamsburg by 8 June 1783, the date that her daughter Editha (also known as Edy) was baptized at Bruton Parish Church. Nelson's 26 June 1783 account with Williamsburg builder and contractor Humphrey Harwood noted a credit for five days of work done by Cooper.[25] It is possible that Nelson hired out additional slaves to city residents.

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[22] Nathaniel Nelson left "Iris and her children and future increase to my brother Hugh and his heirs forever." York County Wills and Inventories (23) 129, dated 18 March 1786 and recorded 16 October 1786. See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 47.

[23] Elizabeth Nelson bequeathed four enslaved women—Hannah, Marcia, Nanny, Phillis, "and any other negroes that I may have a right to"—to be equally divided among her sons Hugh, Robert, and William. York County Wills and Inventories (23) 504, dated 26 February 1793 and recorded 16 July 1798. See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 47.

[24] On 21 December 1767, General Thomas Nelson purchased Cooper from Robert Wise. York County Deeds (7) 408-9, dated 21 December 1767 and recorded 18 July 1768. On 16 August 1742, the justices of the peace determined that Cooper was eleven years old. York County Orders and Wills (19) 117, 16 August 1742. See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 52.

[25] Humphrey Harwood Account Book, 1776-1796, (Williamsburg: Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation), Mss 33.1.

In 1784, the general moved additional men, women, and children to the former capital city. Bob, Cooper, George, George, and Crinder stayed in Williamsburg, and they were joined by the following adult slaves: Agga, Barnaby, Beck, Betty, Cain, Cain, Criss, Effy, Frank, Grace, Halifax, Jacob, Jemmy, Jenny, Letty, Lydia, Penny, Peter, Rose, Sam, Suckey, Cue (sic Sue), and Trial. Nelson recorded the presence of sixteen enslaved children: Betty, Betty, Billy, Bob, Charles, Dinah, Edy[26] (also known as Editha), George, James, John, Lucy, Penny, Rachel, Roger, Sam, and another boy named Sam.

It is likely that General Nelson kept this group of enslaved men, women, and children in Williamsburg during part of 1785 and possibly the entire year. On 6 March 1785, the general's slave Sarah, the daughter of Penny, was baptized in Bruton Parish Church. It is known that Nelson had his slaves return to Yorktown by early 1786 because he did not appear on the 1786 Williamsburg Personal Property Tax List and neither did the names of his slaves.

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It is possible that Matthew Pope and his adult slave, a man named Kent, spent just one year in Williamsburg. In 1784, Pope appeared on the list of Williamsburg residents as the owner of one enslaved laborer over the age of sixteen.

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Slaves owned by Dudley Digges, a former resident of Yorktown, might have welcomed the presence of men, women, and children that they knew from the time they labored on Lots 76, 77, and 79. The 1783, 1784, and 1786 Williamsburg Personal Property Tax Lists included the slaves whom Digges had in his Williamsburg household.[27] It is possible that some of his enslaved men, women, and children had labored on his Yorktown lots before his 1776 move to Williamsburg. In 1783, 1784, and 1786, the Digges household included four adult men: Henry, Jemmy, Joe, and Lott. It is possible that Henry or the man known as Harry was the boy Harris whom Digges bought in 1751. Harry labored in the Digges household in 1783 and 1784.

Dudley Digges owned four adult women—Alice, Jenny, Joyce, and Lucy—who did the domestic chores under the supervision of Elizabeth Digges. These women helped to teach the enslaved girls—Jenny (also known as Little Jenny) and Ophelia—to work in a gentry household. Ophelia was part of the Digges household in 1783 and 1784. Alice also spent time caring for her daughter Julia who was baptized on 6 March 1785 at Bruton Parish Church.[28]

An enslaved boy named Phil was one of the Digges slaves in 1784. By the time of the 1786 Williamsburg Personal Property Tax List, Phil was over sixteen years of age. Two boys known as Fayette and Norborne were in the Digges household in 1783, 1784, and 1786. The fact that

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[26] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 181-3, dated 2 June 1789 and recorded 20 July 1789. Edy was one of the slaves who labored for Lucy Nelson after the death of her husband. In his will, William Nelson Junior stipulated that Edy, a mulatto girl in service to his mother, was to be freed after his death. See Part I.—Section 9. Lot 47 and Lot 52.

[27] Williamsburg Personal Property Tax Lists, 1783, 1784, and 1786.

[28] Bruton Parish Birth and Death Registers, 1662-1797.

both Little Jimmy and Randolph were only in this house in 1786 suggest that they were infants and not able to work. By 1787, Digges decided to remain in Williamsburg. In April of that year, Digges conveyed his three Yorktown lots to his daughter, Elizabeth Nicholson of Yorktown.[29]

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Initially, the decisions by Matthew Pope, Nathaniel Nelson, Elizabeth Nelson (the widow of President William Nelson), William Nelson, General Thomas Nelson, Corbin Griffin, and Susannah Riddell to relocate to Williamsburg disrupted the lives of their enslaved men, women, and children. However, once in Virginia's former capital, the slaves had opportunities to talk to people whom they knew from their lives in Yorktown. Cooper, one of General Thomas Nelson's enslaved men, worked for Humphrey Harwood, and it is likely that the Yorktown residents hired out other slaves while they lived in Williamsburg.

These lives that these men, women, and children created in Williamsburg were disrupted by the middle of the 1780s. Matthew Pope, Nathaniel Nelson, the widow Nelson, General Thomas Nelson, and Corbin Griffin returned to Yorktown and took their enslaved laborers with them. The slaves owned by Susannah Riddell experienced a different type of disruption when the widow Riddell died. By 1786, the executors of Riddell's estate sold the majority of her slaves and just three of her slaves remained in Williamsburg. The fate of these individuals is not known.

Runaway Slaves Remain in Yorktown

In addition to the disruption caused by the physical destruction in Yorktown, the presence of runaway slaves increased the confusion in the town. Slaves—both those who ran from Virginia households and those who left other states to march with the British army—took part in the Siege of Yorktown as soldiers and laborers. After the American victory, some enslaved men and women hoped to use the confusion in and around Yorktown to their own advantage by passing themselves off as free people of color.[30] On 25 October 1781, General George Washington issued orders to try to prevent that from happening by setting up checkpoints to separate the slaves from the free blacks. Washington noted

> It having been represented that many Negroes and Mulattoes the property of Citizens of these States have concealed themselves on board the Ships in the harbor; that some still continue to attach themselves to British Officers and that others have attempted to impose themselves upon the officers of the French and American Armies as Freemen and to make their escapes in that manner, In order to prevent their succeeding in such practices All Officers of the Allied Army and other persons of every denomination concerned are directed not to suffer any such negroes or mulattoes to be retained in their Service but on the contrary to cause them to be delivered to the Guards which will be

[29] York County Deeds (6) 353, dated 3 April 1787 and recorded 17 April 1787. See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lots 76, 77, and 79.

[30] In addition, some of the former slaves left Yorktown with Virginia Loyalists and British soldiers on the *Bonnetta*. See Hodges, ed., *The Black Loyalist Directory*.

> establish'd for their reception at one of the Redoubts in York and another in Gloucester. Mr. David Ross will have the superintendency and will give passes to enable them to return to their Masters or where that is not practicable will have directions to make other provision for them. Any Negroes or mulattoes who are free upon proving the same will be left to their own disposal.

In addition, the general stated "The Gentlemen of the American Army who have made return to the Orderly Office of negroes in their possession agreeably to the Order of the 9th. instant are desired to deliver them to the above mentioned Mr. David Ross this day or tomorrow." In conclusion, Washington directed "The General Officer of the day is requested to establish a Guard in York and the Commandant of Gloucester another at that post for the reception of negroes agreeably to the above order."[31]

Washington's directive did not end the confusion over slaves in Yorktown. In May 1782, Virginia's General Assembly took up this problem. The preamble to *An act for the recovery of slaves, horses, and other property, lost during the war* explained the reason that the state senators and delegates passed the measure: "WHEREAS great numbers of slaves, horses, and other property belonging to the citizens of this commonwealth and of the neighbouring states, have, during the war, been carried off, or have gone from their owners and been concealed by wicked and evil disposed persons; and it is reasonable that the owners should be enabled to recover their property in an easy and expeditious manner." They announced

> That any person or persons who have any such slave or slaves, horses or other property in his or her possession, and who shall not before the first day of October next deliver such slave or slaves, horses or other property in his or her possession, and who shall not before the first day of October next deliver such slave or slaves, horses or other property to the owner or owners thereof, if known, and if not known, publish a particular description of such slave or slaves, horses or other property three times in the Virginia gazette, shall forfeit and pay the sum of fifty pounds. And if any person or persons possessed of such slave or slaves, horses or other property as aforesaid, shall delay to deliver or publish the same as above directed, within the time hereby limited, he or she shall forfeit and pay the sum of five pounds, for every month he or she shall so delay after the said first day of October next, and shall moreover be liable to the action of the party grieved at the common law, in which the plaintiff shall recover double damages. And if the defendant in any such action shall not immediately pay and satisfy the damages, he or she shall be imprisoned six months, without bail or mainprize, unless the damages are sooner discharged; the act of insolvency, or any other law to the contrary notwithstanding; and the act of limitation shall be no bar to such action.

Next, they outlined the procedure by which a person could recover their property:

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[31] John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799; Prepared under the Direction of the United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission and Published by Authority of Congress*, 39 vols., (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1931-44), 23:264-5.

> That all and every person and persons from whom any such slave or slaves, horses or other property have gone or been taken as aforesaid, on application to any two justices of the peace for the county where such slave or slaves, horses or other property may be, and making proof, to the satisfaction of such justices, of his or her right to such slaves, horses, or other property, and that the same were taken or went off from him or her in consequence of the invasion of this or any of the neighbouring states, shall be entitled to a warrant from such justices, under their hands and seals, directed to the sheriff or any constable of the said county, commanding them and each and every of them, to take such slave or slaves, horse or horses, or other property, and deliver the same to the owners thereof. *Provided*, That before granting such warrant, the person or persons demanding the same shall give bond, with sufficient security, in such sum as the justices shall direct, payable to the person or persons in whose possession the slave or slaves, horse or horses, or other property claimed as aforesaid may be, to return the same to the possessors in case he or she so claiming shall fail to prove his or her right to such slaves, horses or other property, at the trial of any suit to be brought for the same.

The state legislators decided "That where any person or persons shall be possessed of any slaves, horses or other property suspected to have gone or to have been taken from their owners, in consequence of any invasion as aforesaid," it was legal for two justices of the peace to question the person or persons and require the individual or individuals to promise "that he or she shall not sell, dispose of or secrete any such slave or slaves, horses or other property, for such time as the said justices shall think proper, not exceeding one year."

Also, if a justice of the peace found any slave or slaves "wandering about, it shall be lawful for any justice of the peace to commit such slave or slaves to the gaol of his county, by warrant under his hand and seal, and the sheriff or gaoler is hereby required to receive such slave or slaves, and to confine him, her or them in close gaol for three months, unless the owner or owner of such slave or slaves shall sooner appear." Within three weeks of placing a slave in jail, the sheriff or jailer was required to advertise the slave "in the Virginia gazette, which advertisement shall be inserted in three successive papers, and if no owner shall appear within the time limited for the confinement of such slave or slaves, the sheriff or gaoler may hire out such slave or slaves for the payment of his prison fees and the expences of advertising. And if the owner shall apply within the time aforesaid, he shall pay the said fees and expences of advertising, and the further sum of twenty shillings for each slave so confined and advertised as aforesaid." In conclusion, the legislators stated "That this act shall not extend to slaves, horses or other property taken by the enemy and retaken in action by any soldier or citizen of this state, or any of the United States, except where the same were the capitulation or agreement to be returned to their owners."[32]

In spite of the legislation, some Virginians believed that French soldiers stationed in Yorktown and Williamsburg continued to conceal escaped slaves. On 26 June 1782, Virginia's governor, Benjamin Harrison, wrote to French General Rochambeau to request his assistance in returning slaves to their owners. Harrison informed the French general

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[32] Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large,* XI:23-5. See Nicolson and Prentis, eds., *Virginia Gazette or Weekly Advertiser*, 31 August 1782; ibid., 5 July 1783.

> Complaints are made every day to me of Negroes being concealed in York and Williamsburg amongst the Troops. I am certain it must be without your knowledge and am therefore unhappy to be again obliged to trouble you on that subject, but as their [there] is no other way by which the unhappy sufferers in this and the Neighbouring States can recover their property by thro your Justice your goodness will excuse the application the pretence that some make of their being free and of their being the property of the British is without foundation and is inculcated into them to serve the purposes of detention. However convenient their services may be yet that rule of right that we ought to observe to each other will not suffer us to avail ourselves unnecessary to You who have at all Times manifested the most generous and upright principle, but they may not be amiss to those concern'd in the detention of the Negroes.

Next, Harrison appealed to Rochambeau for assistance. He wrote

> I have to request ye favour of your Excellency to give immediate orders for the securing all the Negroes without distinction that are amongst your Troops and for their being deliver'd to officers that will be appointed to receive them. Those belonging to this State will soon be reclaim'd and those from North and South Carolina I will make it my Business to have them sent back; this piece of Justice will do Honor to the French Troops and will silence every clamour that has been rais'd on this disagreeable subject. The legion has also some Negroes with it that were deliver'd once to me but being press'd and wearied out by frequent applications I order'd them to be return'd there are five of them all of which belonged to South Carolina but three of them say they are free.[33]

It appears that Rochambeau did not send a favorable response to Governor Harrison or that the French general's efforts to have French soldiers return runaway slaves to their owners were ineffective. On 11 July 1782, Virginia's governor penned a letter to Washington. Benjamin Harrison stated

> Many of the Negroes belonging to this State and the two Carolinas are carried off by the French. I have written on the subject till I am wearied out without being able to procure them. Some indeed have been sent me and it appears to me that most of the Officers of distinction wish that all that do not really belong to the Army shou'd be returned however by one Means or other they are detain'd either for want of the owners having proof at hand or the negroes declaring themselves free &c. Our People are much disturbed at this conduct and it will have a bad effect[.] And what makes the matters worse is that the French will loose their services if ever they get so near the Enemy as to desert to them. You saw the French Army when it came here when You see it again You will be able to determine whether the Charge is just or not.[34]

Advertisements in the various Virginia newspapers indicate that Yorktown residents tried to capture runaway slaves who remained in their city. In the early 1780s, issues of the *Virginia Gazette or Weekly Advertiser* and the *Virginia Gazette or American Advertiser* contain notices

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[33] H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Official Letters of the Governors of the State of Virginia*, 3 vols., (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1926-), 3:257-8.
[34] Ibid., p. 266.

that describe slaves who ran from masters throughout the colonies and who spent several years with the British army.

Some slave owners found that it was not a benefit to capture enslaved laborers who joined the British. On 15 August 1782, Williamsburg resident John Blair wrote a letter to his sister, Mary Blair Burwell. In the letter, Blair told his sister about the losses he experienced at the hands of the British during the last months of the Revolution. He said

> I recovered back all the negroes I had lost except two who died with the enemy & 3 more who have I believe got off, but many of those I recovered on the surrender of York; are since dead, of diseases they brot. home with them, & wch. they fatally communicated to several others—My loss upon the whole has been very great—I hope however we shall not want the necessaries of life, if we can but [scuffle?] thro this & the next year, which will pinch us much, for want of those helps the plantation used to afford.[35]

For Blair, the recovery of his slaves served to bring disease onto his urban property and led to the loss of additional enslaved workers. It is possible that some of the Yorktown residents also realized that the recovery of escaped slaves increased their economic problems in the years immediately following the end of the American Revolution.

Conclusion

A small number of Yorktown slaves decided to seize their freedom between 1776 and 1780. During these years, the British spent only a small amount of time in Virginia, thus making it difficult for enslaved laborers to run from York County's port and reach the enemy's army. The best opportunity for Yorktown's enslaved men, women, and children to claim their freedom came before, during, and after the Siege of Yorktown. The presence of the British army made it possible for these individuals to escape. Extant documents indicate that ten former residents of Yorktown boarded British vessels in the fall of 1783 and left New York City for Nova Scotia. The fate of other slaves whom their masters claimed as lost property is unknown.

[35] John Blair to Mary Blair Burwell, 15 August 1782, in Blair, Banister, Braxton, Horner, and Whiting Papers, 1765-1890, (Williamsburg: Special Collections Research Center, Swem Library, College of William & Mary).

Section 8.
Yorktown and African Americans at the End of the Eighteenth Century

Introduction

During the American Revolution and the years immediately following the Siege of Yorktown, the majority of the slaves who lived in and near Yorktown no doubt hoped that they would also share in the independence that the Revolution brought to their masters. Initially, there were some signs that slavery would have a reduced role in the new country. In 1777, the Vermont Constitution prohibited slavery. Three years later, the Massachusetts Constitution proclaimed that all men were free and equal by birth. Also, in 1780, Pennsylvania approved a plan of gradual emancipation. Virginia's General Assembly, in 1782, approved a measure that allowed masters to emancipate individual slaves. Two years later, in 1784, Rhode Island and Connecticut adopted laws for gradual emancipation.

The year 1787 was a crucial year in the history of American slavery. In one of their last acts, the Articles of Confederation government approved the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. This document banned slavery in the Northwest Territory—land north of the Ohio River. The measure, however, included a provision that required runaway slaves to be returned to their owners. Later in 1787, a group of political leaders met in Philadelphia and created a new form of government for the young nation. The northern and southern delegates to the Constitutional Convention debated slavery and its role in the country. Southerners wanted slaves to be included in a state's population so that the region would have a greater number of representatives in Congress. Men from the northern region wanted slaves counted in the population for the purpose of determining each state's share of the tax burden. The delegates compromised and decided to count a slave as three-fifths of a person to determine both representation in the lower house of Congress and direct taxes. Then these men turned to the question of the overseas slave trade. The southern delegates accepted a twenty-year time limit on the overseas slave trade in exchange for the guarantee that Congress would not levy export taxes.

The support of slavery in the Constitution was a sign that slaves would not enjoy the promise of the American Revolution—the chance to enjoy "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." In 1793, two events confirmed this reality. First, President George Washington signed the first Fugitive Slave Act, a measure that authorized the arrest of runaways and imposed a fine of $500 on anyone who assisted a fugitive. This legislation gave legal support to slavery throughout the country. Second, Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin. Whitney's invention made cotton a profitable crop, and planters in coastal South Carolina and Georgia expanded production and increased the number of slaves on their plantations. The invention of the cotton gin reinforced the role of slaves in southern agriculture, and after the turn of the nineteenth century, a number of Virginia planters decided to sell their enslaved laborers to men in the Deep South. This forced migration took slaves from family and friends throughout the Old Dominion.

Yorktown Residents and the Emancipation of Slaves

Initially, Yorktown's enslaved residents might have been hopeful about their chances to become free if they remained with their masters. During the American Revolution, Virginia's General Assembly allowed individuals to petition to emancipate one or more of their slaves. One Yorktown inhabitant, Susannah Riddell, took advantage of this opportunity.[1] In October 1779, the General Assembly approved CHAP. XLVII. *An Act for the manumission of certain Slaves.* This statute stated

> WHEREAS application hath been made to this present general assembly, that John Hope, otherwise called Barber Caesar, a negro man slave the property of Susanna Riddle of York town; that William Beck, a mulatto slave the property of Thomas Walker, the younger, of the county of Albemarle, and that a mulatto girl named Pegg, the property of Lewis Dunn, of the county of Sussex, may be severally emancipated; *Be it therefore enacted,* That the said negroes, John Hope, otherwise called Barber Caesar, William Beck, and Pegg, shall, and they are hereby respectively declared to be free, and may enjoy all such rights, privileges, and immunities, as free negroes or mulattoes by the laws of this country do enjoy; saving to all and every other person, his or their heirs, executors, and administrators, (except the said Susanna Riddle, Thomas Walker, the younger, and Lewis Dunn, and those claiming under them) any right, title, or claim they may have to the said negroes, as if this act had never been made.[2]

The widow Riddell was the only Yorktown resident who petitioned the General Assembly to free a slave during the war.

At the May 1782 legislative session, the state's senators and delegates decided to allow slave owners to manumit their enslaved men, women, and children. The statute—ACT XXI. *An act to authorize the manumission of slaves*—stated that

> WHEREAS application hath been made to this present general assembly, that those persons who are disposed to emancipate their slaves may be empowered so to do, and the same hath been judged expedient under certain restrictions: *Be it therefore enacted*, That it shall hereafter be lawful for any person, by his or her last will and testament, or by any other instrument in writing, under his or her hand and seal, attested and proved in the county court by two witnesses, or acknowledged by the party in the court of the county where he or she resides, to emancipate and set free, his or her slaves, or any of them, who shall thereupon be entirely and fully discharged from the performance of any contract entered into during servitude, and enjoy as full freedom as if they had been particularly named and freed by this act.

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[1] In his will, George Riddell left "the rest & residue of my estate both real & personal of what nature or kind soever" to his wife. York County Wills and Inventories (22) 452-4, dated [blank] January 1779 and recorded 19 July 1779. The widow Riddell was presented by the grand jury on 15 November 1779 for not listing "John Hope the Barber" as a tithe. York County Order Book (4) 242, 15 November 1779.

[2] William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, From the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619*, 13 vols., (Richmond, New York, and Philadelphia, 1819-23; reprint, Charlottesville, Virginia: The University Press of Virginia for the Jamestown Foundation of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1969), X:211.

Though a master did not have to prove a slave had performed "meritorious service," the General Assembly instructed slave owners

> That all slaves so set free, not being in the judgment of the court, of sound mind and body, or being above the age of forty-five years, or being males under the age of twenty-one, or females under the age of eighteen years, shall respectively be supported and maintained by the person so liberating them, or by his or her estate.

If an individual neglected or refused to follow these instructions, "the court of the county where such neglect or refusal may be, is hereby empowered and required, upon application to them made, to order the sheriff to distrain and sell so much of the person's estate as shall be sufficient for that purpose."

The legislators also recognized that an emancipated slave would need to be able to prove his or her new status. They instructed

> every person by written instrument in his life time, or if by last will and testament, the executors of every person freeing any slave, shall cause to be delivered to him or her, a copy of the instrument of emancipation, attested by the clerk of the court of the county, who shall be paid therefor, by the person emancipating, five shillings, to be collected in the manner of other clerk's fees.

If an individual neglected or refused "to deliver to any slave by him or her set free, such copy, shall forfeit and pay ten pounds, to be recovered with costs in any court of record."

This statute made it clear that a former slave had certain responsibilities, and if he or she failed to follow the law's guidelines, he or she would be held accountable. First, the legislators noted "It shall be lawful for any justice of the peace to commit to the gaol of his county, any emancipated slave travelling out of the county of his or her residence without a copy of the instrument of his or her emancipation, there to remain till such copy is produced and the gaoler's fees paid." Next, they made it clear

> That in case any slave so liberated shall neglect in any year to pay all taxes and levies imposed or to be imposed by law, the court of the county shall order the sheriff to hire out him or her for so long time as will raise the said taxes and levies. *Provided* sufficient distress cannot be made upon his or her estate.

If a "slave so liberated" had a sufficient amount of personal property to pay the taxes and levies, the county's justices of the peace would not hire him or her to raise the funds.[3]

Between 1782 and 1800, Yorktown residents used both wills and deeds to free enslaved men and women. First, on 18 August 1783, John Hope, also known as Barber Caesar, emancipated "and forever set free a Negro boy called Aberdeen the Son of a Mulatto Woman named Aggy the property of Mr. Hugh Nelson of the City of Williamsburg which said boy I have purchased for the sum of Fifty Pounds from the said Nelson as by the bill of sale from the said Nelson to me

[3] Ibid., XI:39-40.

dated the ninth day of this present August more fully appears." Hope noted that he "relinquished all right and title to and in the said Aberdeen or his services."[4] Through hard work, Hope earned enough money to purchase his son and then give him his freedom.

In December of 1784, John Moss decided to free seven slaves. He emancipated Betty (forty-two years old), Nanny (nineteen years old), James (who would be twenty-one years old on 1 June 1789), Alice (who would be eighteen years old on 11 January 1792), Francis (who would be twenty-one years old on 28 December 1798), Isaac (who would be twenty-one years old on 21 November 1802), and Lucy (who would be eighteen years old on 10 May 1802). Moss noted that the younger slaves would be "liberated upon reaching majority" and Moss decided to act as the guardian of these children until that time.[5] Moss no doubt knew the ages and birth dates of this group of slaves because members of his family had owned Betty since her birth in 1742. In turn, Betty's children became property of the Moss family. Betty's first child, Nanny, was born in 1765. Three years later, she gave birth to James on 1 June 1768. Betty's next daughter, Alice, was born on 11 January 1774. The five and a half years between James and Alice suggests that Betty had another child in this interval and that this child died at an early age.[6] Betty was in her thirties when Francis was born on 28 December 1777, and Isaac was born on 21 November 1781. She gave birth to her last child, a daughter named Lucy, on 10 May 1784.

It is possible that Robert Richardson was a resident of Yorktown in April 1786 when he freed Samuel Noggin. Richardson declared "I do hereby emancipate and set free Samuel Noggin who became my property under the Will of my Father Francis Woodman a free Molatto late of Gloster County, and desire the same may be put on record in the Worshipful Court of the County of York. Given under my Hand and Seal at York Town this 19th April 1786[.]"[7]

When Augustine Moore, the owner of the Moore House, wrote his will on 20 July 1788, he bequeathed an enslaved woman to his sister Martha Mallory and four slaves—two women and two children to his wife Lucy. Moore decided that "my Negro man Sam being an honest and faithful servant shall after the death of his mistress be a free man."[8]

On 11 August 1792, George Wilson wrote his will and addressed the future of his slaves in the first bequest. Wilson stated "I leave to my boy Dick his absolute freedom free from all slavery, bondage or subordination whatsoever." He continued the legacy when he wrote "I also leave to the said Dick an indubitable right to the room that he sleeps in and the privilege of the kitchen as he had in my Life time." To secure Dick's future, Wilson left "to my boy Dick five hundred pounds Current money of Virginia to be put out upon Interest by my executors with bond and sufficient security and the Interest to be paid half yearly and given to the said Dick in consequence of this my will. I likewise leave Dick my bed my Cloathes and the furniture that is found in my House at my death." Next, Wilson turned to the provisions for Hannah, an enslaved

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[4] York County Deeds (6) 172, dated and recorded 18 August 1783. See ibid., p. 171, dated 9 August 1783 and recorded 18 August 1783 for the deed from Hugh Nelson to John Hope also known as Barber Caesar.
[5] Ibid., pp. 253-4, dated 20 December 1784 and recorded 19 [sic] December 1784.
[6] Many slave women lost at least one child in infancy or early childhood and the infant mortality rate remained high throughout the eighteenth century. Lorena S. Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community*, (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1997), pp. 114, 180.
[7] York County Deeds (7) 118, dated 19 April 1786 and recorded 20 October 1794.
[8] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 164, dated 20 July 1788 and recorded 15 September 1788.

woman. He left "to Hannah my Negro woman in the kitchen twenty pounds with her freedom to build her a House &c upon the plantation of Mr William Jones by his permiysion." Peg, "the old woman in my kitchen," received five pounds "to find her food and raiment." Wilson noted "my House I leave to be rented out and the rent to be paid to Dick....If Hannah die before the House be built, then the money to be paid to Dick." When Wilson selected William Cary and Benjamin Carter Waller of Williamsburg as his executors, he turned to men whom he could trust to carry out the bequests to Dick, Hannah, and Peg. Both Cary and Waller also freed a slave during their lifetimes.[9]

A little over a year later, in October 1793, Robert Nicholson the younger of Yorktown freed his slave Alice in recognition of her "faithful services." Nicholson noted that "for divers good causes me thereunto moving, but more especially in consideration of the faithful services heretofore performed and rendered by my mulatto Wench named Alice aged about forty three years Have and by these Presents Do liberate and emancipate the said Mulatto Wench Alice from all servitude and manner of service whatever and do by these Presents declare it to be by Intention to place the said slave in the most perfect state of freedom."[10]

Hugh Nelson purchased a slave named Scilla from William Reynolds on 1 July 1796 for £ 25. Six weeks later, on 11 August 1796, Nelson freed Scilla. In the deed of emancipation, Nelson stated: "I Hugh Nelson junr of York Town, . . . do enfranchise, manumit, emancipate, and set free and by these Presents have enfranchised, manumitted, emancipate and set free a woman slave named Scilla now my Property."[11] In his 28 February 1800 will, Scilla's former owner, William Reynolds, bequeathed Scilla "twenty dollars as a small compensation for the attention she has always paid to myself and Children."[12] This legacy suggests that Scilla was a domestic slave who helped to care for the Reynolds children.

In her 17 November 1797 will, Mary Moss noted "I lend unto my sister Lucy Baptist a negro girl by the name of Fanny until the said Girl arrives to the years of twenty one at which time my desire is that she the said negro shall have her Freedom if my said Sister should offer to sell the said Girl before she is twenty one years of age she shall forfeit her right to her from that time[.]" Next, she stated "I lend to Samuel Rawlins a negro Girl by the name of Suckey until she arrives to the years of twenty one and should he offer to sell her he shall forfeit his right from that time[.]"[13]

In the 20 October 1799 codicil to his will, William Nelson (son of General Thomas Nelson and Lucy Nelson) wrote "I do further Will that a Mulatto Girl named Edith who now waits on my Mother be free at my Mothers death."[14]

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[9] Ibid., p. 382, dated 11 August 1792 and recorded 17 June 1793.
[10] York County Deeds (7) 84, dated and recorded 21 October 1793.
[11] Ibid., p. 221, dated 13 August 1796 and recorded 20 February 1797; see ibid., dated 1 July 1796 and recorded 20 February 1797 for the deed of sale from William Reynolds to Hugh Nelson Junior.
[12] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 605, dated 28 February 1800 and recorded 17 January 1802 [sic 1803].
[13] Ibid., p. 536, dated 17 November 1797 and recorded 17 June 1799.
[14] Ibid., p. 638, dated 27 April 1799, codicils dated 20 October 1799 and 22 October 1800, and recorded 19 December 1803.

In April 1800, William Cary had a deed recorded in the York County Court. In the deed, he announced "Know all men by these presents that I William Cary of the Town and County of York do hereby liberate emancipate and perpetually set free my Negro man slave known & called by the name of Samuel Barber Given under my hand and seal this 21st day of April in the year of our Lord 1800."[15]

Extant documents suggest that many of the new members of the free black community remained in and near Yorktown. In October 1783, William Reynolds wrote John Hatley Norton, a resident of Winchester, to inquire about a plantation that Norton held near Yorktown. Reynolds stated:

> I wish to know of you whether you will sell yr. right in a little plantation near this Town & for how much. The Persons life on whom you hold it is now old, if you are not inclined to sell it what rent you will ask, it is at present occupied by some free Mulattoe's who I fancy afford you no profit, and are a nuisance.[16]

Perhaps Norton's free black tenants found it hard to plant fields devastated during the Siege of Yorktown. It is likely that other landowners leased portions of their property to free blacks.

A few free people of color would have rented a lot or a dwelling house in Yorktown. There was at least one free black apprentice in the town. On 19 July 1785, Tyrie agreed to take Francis Hern, a free mulatto of York County, as his apprentice and to teach Hern the skills of a cabinetmaker.[17] It is possible that Tyrie hoped that Hern would help him expand his business and earn enough money to pay his debts.

Restrictions on Slaves and Free Blacks

Between May 1782 and the first years of the nineteenth century, Virginia's legislators approved a series of laws that continued some of the colonial restrictions on slaves and free people of color. They also passed laws that placed new limits on the state's enslaved residents and free blacks. First, in May 1782, the lawmakers decided to prevent masters from allowing their slaves to hire themselves out to others in their community. The law noted

> I. WHEREAS great inconveniences hath arisen from persons permitting their slaves to go at large and hire themselves out, under a promise of paying their masters or owners a certain sum of money in lieu of their services: For remedy whereof, *Be it enacted*, That if any person shall, after the tenth day of August next, permit or suffer his or her slave to go at large and hire him or herself out, it shall be lawful for any person to apprehend and carry every such slave before a justice of the peace in the county where apprehended, and if it shall appear to the justice that such slave comes within the purview of this act, he shall order him or her to the gaol of the county, there to be safely kept until

[15] York County Deeds (7) 320, dated and recorded 21 April 1800.
[16] William Reynolds to John Hatley Norton, 10 September 1783, in Frances Norton Mason, ed. *John Norton & Sons Merchants of London and Virginia: Being the Papers from their Counting House for the Years 1750 to 1795*, (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1937), p. 454.
[17] York County Deeds (6) 274, dated and recorded 19 July 1785.

the next court, when, if it shall be made appear to the court that the slave so ordered to gaol hath been permitted or suffered to hire him or herself out, contrary to the meaning of this act, it shall be lawful for the court, and they are hereby required to order the sheriff of the county to sell and dispose of every such slave for ready money, at the next court held for the said county, notice being given by the sheriff at the court-house door at least twenty days before the said sale.

II. *And be if further enacted,* That twenty five per centum upon the amount of the sale of every slave made under this act, shall be applied by the court ordering such sale, towards lessening the county levy, and the residue shall be paid by the sheriff, after deducting five per centum for his trouble and the gaoler's fees, to the owner of such slave.[18]

The legislation did not, however, limit a master's ability to hire out one of his slaves to another Virginian who needed an additional laborer.

It is clear that residents of some areas of Virginia worried that there would be a dramatic increase in the number of free blacks in the state and they welcomed the statute that prevented masters from enabling their slaves to hire themselves out to white residents of the state. In 1784 and 1785, eight Virginia counties (Amelia, Brunswick, Halifax, Hanover, Henrico, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, and Pittsylvania) submitted proslavery petitions to the General Assembly in response to the 1782 private manumission act and increasing agitation by the state's Methodists in favor of general emancipation. Although manumission remained infrequent, the number of free blacks in Virginia had doubled between 1782 and 1784. And, in the summer and fall of 1785, Virginia Methodists circulated petitions in support of emancipation, which they then submitted to the legislature.[19]

Perhaps the proslavery petitions prompted the legislators to approve a measure that continued the practice of their colonial counterparts. In October 1785, the members of the General Assembly placed a series of legal restrictions on the state's enslaved residents:

I. *BE it enacted by the General Assembly,* That no person shall henceforth be slaves within this commonwealth, except such as were so on the first day of this present session of assembly, and the descendants of the females of them. Slaves which shall hereafter be brought into this commonwealth, and kept therein one whole year together, or so long at different times as shall amount to one year, shall be free.

II. No negro or mulatto shall be a witness, except in pleas of the commonwealth against negroes or mulattoes, or in civil pleas wherein negroes or mulattoes alone shall be parties.

III. No slave shall go from the tenements of his master or other person with whom he lives, without a pass, or some letter or token whereby it may appear that he is proceeding by authority from his master, employer, or overseer: If he does, it shall be lawful for any person to apprehend and carry him before a justice of the peace, to be by his order punished with stripes or not, in his discretion.

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[18] Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large*, XI:59.

[19] Fredrika Teute Schmidt and Barbara Ripel Wilhelm, eds., "Early Proslavery Petitions in Virginia," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., Vol. XXX, No. 1 (January 1973):133-46.

IV. No slave shall keep any arms whatever, nor pass unless with written orders from his master or employer, or in his company with arms, from one place to another. Arms in possession of a slave contrary to this prohibition, shall be forfeited to him who will seize them. Riots, routs, unlawful assemblies, trespasses, and seditious speeches, by a slave or slaves, shall be punished with stripes, at the discretion of a justice of the peace, and he who will may apprehend and carry him, her, or them, before such justice.

V. *Provided,* That nothing in this act contained, shall be construed to extend to those who may incline to remove from any of the United States and become citizens of this; if within ten days after such removal he or she shall take the following oath before some justice of the peace of this commonwealth: "I A. B. do swear that my removal into the state of Virginia, was with no intent of evading the laws for preventing the further importation of slaves, nor have I brought with me any slaves with an intention of selling them, nor have any of the slaves which I have brought with me been imported from Africa, or any of the West India islands, since the first day of November, 1778. So help me God." Nor to any persons claiming slaves by descent, marriage, or devise; or to any citizens of this commonwealth, being now the actual owners of slaves within any of the United States and removing such hither; nor to travellers and others making a transient stay, and bringing slaves for necessary attendance, and carrying them out again.

VI. *And be it further enacted,* That no person whatsoever shall buy, sell, or receive of, to or from a slave, any commodity whatsoever without the leave or consent of the master, owner, or overseer of such slave. And if any person shall presume to deal with any slave without such leave or consent, he or she so offending, shall forfeit and pay to the master or owner of such slave four times the value of the thing so bought, sold, or received, to be recovered with costs, by action upon the case, in any court of record within this commonwealth; and shall also forfeit and pay the further sum of five pounds, to any person who will sue for the same, to be recovered with costs, by summons and petition, in the same manner as other debts not exceeding five pounds, nor under twenty-five shillings are, or receive on his or her bare back thirty-nine lashes well laid on at the public whipping-post, but shall nevertheless be liable to pay the costs of such summons and petition.[20]

Also, at the October 1785 meeting of the General Assembly, the state's legislators revised the definition of who was a mulatto. They determined

That every person of whose grandfathers or grandmothers any one is, or shall have been a negro, although all his other progenitors, except that descending from the negro, shall have been white persons, shall be deemed a mulatto; and so every person who shall have one-fourth part or more of negro blood, shall, in like manner, be deemed a mulatto.

II. This act shall commence and be in force from and after the first day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven.[21]

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[20] Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large,* XII:182-3; see also CHAP. 11—An ACT further to amend the act, entitled, "An act to reduce into one the several acts concerning slaves, free negroes and mulattoes," in Samuel Shepherd, ed., *The Statutes at Large of Virginia, From October Session 1792, to December Session 1806[sic 1807], Inclusive, in Three Volumes, (New Series,) Being a Continuation of Hening*, (Richmond, 1835; reprint, New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1970), III:123-4 and CHAP. 3—An ACT to amend the several laws concerning slavery, in ibid., III:251-3.

[21] Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large*, XII:184.

This definition of who was a mulatto differed from that included in the October 1705 statute entitled *An act declaring who shall not bear office in this country*. The 1705 law defined a mulatto as someone who was a child, a grandchild, or a great-grandchild of a negro or as the child of an Indian.

At the October 1786 meeting of Virginia's legislators, these men decided to continue the practice of holding an oyer and terminer trial to try a slave charged with treason or a felony. They decided "That the justices of every county shall be justices of oyer and terminer for trying slaves charged with treason or felony." These "trials shall be by five at the least without juries upon legal evidence at such times as the sheriffs shall appoint, not being less than five nor more than ten days after the offenders shall have been committed to jail." All of the justices needed to be convinced of a slave's guilt in order to pronounce the prisoner guilty as charged.

Next, the legislators decided

> That when judgment of death shall be passed upon any such offender there shall be thirty days at least between the time of passing judgment and the day of execution, except in cases of conspiracy, insurrection, or rebellion. The value of a slave condemned to die, who shall suffer accordingly, or before execution of the sentence perish, to be estimated by the justices triers, shall be paid by the public to the owner. One being detained in slavery, and having commenced an action to assert his freedom, shall be prosecuted and tried for any such crime in the same manner as a free man ought to be prosecuted and tried. No person having interest in a slave shall sit upon the trial of such slave.[22]

It is clear that the members of the General Assembly wanted to assure Virginians that slaves would receive a swift trial as a deterrent to other enslaved laborers and that a master would continue to receive compensation for an executed slave. Three years later, in October 1789, the legislators turned to the limited rights of slaves found guilty of a felony or treason. They decided "A slave shall in all cases receive the same judgment and stand in the same condition with respect to the benefit of clergy, as a free negro or mulatto.[23]

Worries about the size of Virginia's free black population increased in the early 1790s and the legislators again addressed these concerns. In December 1793, the state's legislators placed a limit on the growth of Virginia's free black population. In ACT XXIII. An ACT to prevent the migration of free negroes and mulattoes into this commonwealth, the delegates and senators declared

> That it shall not be lawful for any free negro or mulatto to migrate into this commonwealth, and every free negro or mulatto who shall come into this commonwealth, contrary to this act, shall and may be apprehended and carried by any citizen before some justice of the peace of the county where he shall be taken; which justice is hereby authorized to examine, send and remove every such free negro or mulatto out of this commonwealth, into that state or island from whence it shall appear he or she last came[.]

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[22] Ibid., p. 345
[23] Ibid., XIII:32.

The same restrictions applied to free blacks "who shall come or be brought into this commonwealth by water from any country, state or island." Any "master of a vessel, or other person who shall bring into this commonwealth by water or by land, in any vessel, boat, land carriage or otherwise, any free negro or mulatto, shall forfeit and pay for every such person so brought, the penalty of one hundred pounds lawful money." The legislators added one exception to this policy: the act "shall not extend to masters of vessels bringing into this state any free negro or mulatto employed on board and belonging to such vessel, and who shall therewith depart, nor to any person travelling into this state, having any free negro or mulatto as a servant."

The last section of this piece of legislation indicated that Virginians also worried that slaves imported to their state from "the West India islands" would spread information about the successful slave rebellion in Saint Domingue. The lawmakers declared "in case any slave shall be brought or come into this state from Africa or the West India islands, directly or indirectly, upon information thereof given to any justice of the peace, it shall be his duty to cause such slave to be apprehended immediately and transported out of this commonwealth."[24] The provisions of this statute made it clear that Virginia was not a state in which free blacks would be welcomed.

Additional limits on free people of color were among the topics of discussion in December 1797 when members of the General Assembly met in Richmond. At this session, the legislators approved a measure that required free black men, women, boys, and girls to register their status as free persons of color in the county in which they lived. The statute specified

> And whereas divers free negroes and mulattoes who have been registered and numbered agreeably to the act of assembly in that case made and provided, and who have obtained copies of the said registers as by the said act is required, have granted their said copies to runaway slaves, who by virtue thereof have passed for free men, and have under sanction thereof prevailed on masters of vessels to transport them out of this commonwealth: For remedy whereof, *Be it enacted,* That any free negro or mulatto who shall deliver to any slave the copy of the register of his or her freedom, signed by the clerk of the court with whom the said register was made, on any pretext whatsoever, shall on conviction thereof, be adjudged a felon, and suffer accordingly.[25]

The requirement to register one's physical description and information about the way in which one gained his or her freedom is a clear sign that free black men, women, and children did not have the same degree of freedom that white residents of Virginia enjoyed.

Three years later, the state's legislators placed additional restrictions on free blacks in the aftermath of Gabriel's failed attempt to overthrow the institution of slavery.[26] In December 1800, they decided

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[24] Shepherd, ed., *The Statutes at Large*, I: 239.
[25] Ibid., II:78.
[26] For a discussion of Gabriel's Rebellion see Douglas R. Egerton, *Gabriel's Rebellion: The Virginia Slave Conspiracies of 1800 and 1802*, (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); James Sidbury, *Ploughshares into Swords: Race, Rebellion, and Identity in Gabriel's Virginia, 1730-1810*, (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); and Michael L. Nicholls, *Whispers of Rebellion: Narrating Gabriel's Conspiracy*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012).

> If any free negro or mulatto so registered, shall remove into another county, it shall and may be lawful for any magistrate of the county or corporation in which he or she may intrude, to issue a warrant to apprehend said free negro or mulatto; and if upon examination it be found that he or she has no honest employment by which to maintain him or herself, such free negro or mulatto shall be deemed and treated as a vagrant.[27]

This act reveals the fact that counties and corporations did not want to support a free person of color who could not find employment. It also indicates that Virginians did not want the free black population to be mobile and to move throughout the state.

Two years later, the General Assembly again addressed concerns about the mobility of free black men, women, and children. In ACT 21. An ACT more effectually to restrain the practice of negroes going at large [Passed January 25, 1803], the legislators declared

> That from and after the commencement of this act, every free negro or mulatto, who resides in any county in this commonwealth, shall be registered and numbered in a book to be kept for that purpose by the clerk of the court of the said county, which register shall specify the age, name, and colour and stature of such free negro or mulatto, together with any apparent mark or scar, on his or her face, head or hands, and in what court he or she was emancipated; or that such negro or mulatto was born free.

In addition, "A copy of the said register, signed by the clerk and attested by one justice of the peace of the said negro or mulatto, on application, for which copy the clerk may demand and receive twenty-five cents, to be paid by the person receiving the same." The members of the General Assembly cautioned "That the clerk shall in no case grant a copy of such register, until the court of the county in which such free negro or mulatto resides, shall have certified that such register has been truly made."[28] The passage of this law indicates that several counties did not require free black men, women, and children to register. The members of the General Assembly hoped that the registration requirement would restrict the movement of free people of color.

Legislators turned their attention to the movement of slaves when they met in December 1804. They observed

> 1. Whereas doubts have arisen in the minds of many of the good citizens of this commonwealth relative to the construction which may be given to the act, entitled, "*An act further declaring what shall be deemed unlawful meetings of slaves,*" whereby they apprehend that their religious rights may be infringed: For the removal whereof, *Be it enacted by the general assembly,* That nothing in the said act contained shall be so construed as to prevent the masters or owners of slaves from carrying, or permitting his, her or their slave or slaves to go with him, her or them, or with any part of his, her or their white family, to any places whatever for the purpose of religious worship: *Provided,* That such worship be conducted by a regularly ordained, or licensed, white minister.
>
> 2. *And be it further enacted,* That nothing in the said recited act contained shall be

[27] Shepherd, ed., *The Statutes at Large*, II:301.
[28] Ibid., pp. 417-8.

> considered as in any manner affecting white persons who may happen to be present at any meeting or assemblage, for the purpose of religious worship, so conducted by a white minister as aforesaid, at which there shall be such a number of slaves as would, as the law has heretofore been construed, constitute an unlawful assembly of slaves.[29]

The legislators penned this law in reaction to slaves who attended worship services that were led by black ministers.

In spite of the increased restrictions on free blacks and the law that prohibited free people of color from moving to Virginia, some of the state's residents continued to petition the legislators for additional limits on the growth of this segment of the population. In December 1805, the members of the General Assembly determined

> That if any slave hereafter emancipated shall remain within this commonwealth more than twelve months after his or her right to freedom shall have accrued, he or she shall forfeit all such right, and may be apprehended and sold by the overseers of the poor of any county or corporation in which he or she shall be found, for the benefit of the poor of such county or corporation.[30]

This legislation went into effect on 1 May 1806. The requirement to leave the state within one year of receiving freedom meant that some slaves did not push their masters to emancipate them. These men and women did not want to leave their family members who were enslaved in Virginia.

Yorktown's Free Blacks and the York County Free Black Register

Between 1782 and 1806, the free blacks in and near Yorktown saw an increased number of slaves gain their freedom. At the same time, however, these men and women realized that they lost some of the rights they once enjoyed. The requirement to register one's physical description was a clear sign of secondary status within Virginia.

As the following excerpts from the York County Free Black Register indicate, some of the free people of color who lived in and near Yorktown were born free and others received freedom from their masters.[31] The York County Free Black Register does not contain information for all of the free people of color known to have lived in this part of Virginia. Those who appeared before the York County justices of the peace felt it was important to register their status as free.

* * * *

[no date—between entries dated 25 September 1800 and 17 June 1801]

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[29] Ibid., III:124.
[30] Ibid., pp. 251-3.
[31] York County Register of Free Negroes and Mulattoes, 1798-1831 in the York County Guardian Accounts (1) 417-28, pp. i-xv; York County Guardian Accounts (2) 1-11.

Molly Murray a dark Mulatto, 4 feet 10 Inches high 44 Years of Age, talks slow and lisps very much was born in the Parish of York Hampton in the Town and County of York

Judith Banks a free negro, 36 years of age five feet ¾ Inches High of a yellowish complexion, flat nose wide mouth & black eyes with a dimple in her right cheek when she smiles, regd 11th Febry 1803

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

Scilla otherwise called Scilla Matthews a dark mulatto woman aged abt 39 or 40 years, 5 feet 6 Inches high, some of her teeth out, mole on her chin, has long black hair, black eyes & has a pleasing countenance when spoken to was set free by a deed of Emancipation from Wm Nelson Jr of York Town – registered 8th March 1803.[32]

Polly Jones a woman of a yellowish complexion about 21 years of age, 5 feet 3 ¼ Inches high, large flat nose, high cheek bones, full eye thick Lips with a gap or aperture between her upper foreteeth no other perceivable mark or scar on her head, face or Hands was born free in the parish of York Hampton and County of York and Registered in presence of York County Court the 18th day of February 1805 who certified the above to be truly made.

Frank Banks a spare fellow of a yellowish complexion, about 28 years of age 5 feet 6 Inches high, with thick lips, thin Eye-brows, a small Scar in the middle of his forehead, scarcely percievable, fine wooly hair which grows in a peak down his forehead His left Ear appears to have been bored and the perform closed. was freed by J. Moss by Deed dated 20th Decr 1784 Regd in Yk Ct the 19th Aug 1805 who certified the foregoing to be truly made.

Malachi Banks is a slim fellow of yellow complexion 5 feet 6 Inches high abt 18 years of age, short thick hair, large flat nose & long visage – has a scar just above the right Eye brow & another on the left side of his nose opposite to his Eyes – He has also a small scar on the right wrist & one on the inner part of his left leg – Born of a free woman in the parish of York Hampton & County of York – Registered in York Ct the 19th Feby 1810.
marginal notes: renewed by Order of Ct this 17 Octo 1831

Scilla als. Scilla Mathews a dark Mulo woman abt 46 yrs of age 5 feet 6 Inches high has a scar on right arm, some of her Teeth out, long black hair wearing the appearance of old age & has a pleasing countenance when spoken to – Has a mole on her chin, full face, is a likely person of her age & has a very healthy appearance – Emancipated by deed from Hugh Nelson – Registered in York County ct the 18th June 1810.[33]

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[32] Scilla, also known as Scilla Matthews, was the woman whom Hugh Nelson Junior emancipated on 11 August 1796. See below for the 18 June 1810 entry for Scilla alias Scilla Matthews in the York County Register of Free Negroes and Mulattoes. Also, see Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 31.

[33] See note 32 above.

Betty otherwise called Eliza Banks a person of dark complexion about 21 years of age 5 feet 5 Inches high – a scar on the left cheek and two on her right arm Born of free parents Registered 17 Decr 1810 Renewed the 15th Janry 1821

Joe alias Joseph Sport & sometimes Joseph Cary Sport a person of light complexion about 26 years of age 5 feet 6 ¼ Inches high – has a scar on the second Finger of the left hand & one of the big toe of his right foot; a dark spot on the left side of his face & a scar on his Chin; Freed by Wm Cary's will & a certificate from Sarah Cary: both recorded in York Ct – registered in York County 16 March 1812

James Banks is a person of not very dark complexion 5 feet 7 ½ Inches high about 28 years of age, is pitted with the small pox, has a flat nose and has a scar on his left Instep – born of free parents in the County of York – Registered 19th October 1812
marginal notes: Renewed 27 [torn] 1822 Ditto 16 Octo 1826 rend by order of Court 27th June 1833 has former one being lost

Thomas Allen a black fellow abt 29 yrs of age, 5 feet 4 ½ Inches high long visage gap or aperture between his teeth, scar on right Eye brow, & a small one near the point of the same Eye brow, has also a large scar on the lower part of his right hand & another smaller on the left wrist Born free in parish of York Hampton & Cy of York Registered in York Ct 18th Octo: 1813

Lucy Banks a woman of dark complexion about 21 years of age 5 feet 3 ¾ Inches high – Has a scar on the back part of her right hand & another on her forehead Her Ears which are perforated for the purpose of wearing Ear rings are uncommonly small She has thick pouting Lips – large Teeth and good features – Born of a free woman in the in the parish of [blank] & County of York. Registered in York Court the 19th day of February 1816 who certified the foregoing to be truly made.

Judith Banks a mulo woman about 22 years of age 5 feet 2 ¾ Inches high – has a scar on the right side of her chin Grey Eyes very much freckled small lyte spot on back of her left hand on the joint of 2d finger – The thumb of right Hand has been injured by a whitlow – has two flesh moles on back of her neck proved satisfactorily to have been born free Regd 19 May 1817
marginal notes: [re]newed []7 Octo 1831

Caesar is a person of dark complexion & long visage 62 or 63 years of age 5 feet 7 ¼ Inches high – short hair which is very grey, pouting thick lips & has a small scar upon the inner part of his right leg near the Calf – Emancipated by deed from Harriet Savage recorded in the Court of New Kent County & permitted by the Court of York County to reside in the Town & County of York – Regd 19 Janry 1818
marginal notes: Renewed 21 Decr 1822 Renewed 14 Dec 1825 Renewed 11th Decr 1829

Hannah Cary is a remarkable black woman about 27 years of age 5 feet ¾ Inches high very long bushy hair, she has burnt the end of the great Toe & the toe next to it off her left foot she has also lost the nail off the Toe next to her Great Toe on her right foot thick lips and her Eyes are remarkably fiery & black no other scar worthy of notice except one under the right breast. born free she was registered in the presence of York County Court the 19th day of June 1820.

marginal notes: Renew'd 16th June 1823 [ditto.] 16 May 182[8] renewed 15 Sept 1831

Thomas Banks is a mulatto fellow about 34 years of age 5 feet 6 ¼ inches high has a very rough face has lost several of his upper teeth large mouth has a small scar over his left eye and has some grey hairs born free – he was registered in the presence of York County Court the 18th Novr 1822
marginal notes: renewed 19 Sept 1831

Critty Banks is a very light mulatto about 41 years of age, 5 feet 4 inches high, has a scar on her left arm, has no other scars about her head or face, born free, regstd in York County 16th Decr 1822

William Banks a mulatto about 55 years old, 5 feet 8 ½ inches high, has large scar upon his right foot, no other scars wroth notice, born free. Regstd in York Cy Ct 16 Decr 1822

Betsy Banks is a dark mulatto about 18 years of age 5 feet 8 inches high, has a small scar on her right cheek and short curly hair, no other scar worthy of note, born free regstd in York County Court 16rh Decr 1822.

Betsy Banks is a dark mulatto 34 years of age 5 feet 8 ½ inches high – has a large scar on her left arm – no other scar about her head Face or hands worthy of notice Born free Regstd in York County Court 16th Decr 1822
marginal notes: renewed 19 Sept 1831

John Banks is a dark mulatto about 25 years of age 5 feet 10 ½ Inches high – he has a scar on his right wrist & one over his left eye – long face & Has lost a Tooth from each Jaw No other scar worthy of note Born free registered in York County Court 16th Decr 1822

Judy Banks is a dark woman about 18 years of age 5 feet 3 Inches high, has round full black Eyes very short hair, small gap or aperture between upper Teeth & a small scar on each wrist & one on right Elbow occasioned from burns – Born free Registered in York County Court 20th Janry 1823

Wm Banks (called Little Billy Banks) a very black man nearly 50 years of age, 5 feet 3 ¼ Inches high – short hair which is little Grey, round face, black Eyes his Teeth are very dark between the under one of which he has two small gaps or apertures He has a scar on his Breast and a small one on the edge of his left Eye brow just above the Eye. Born free & registered in the presence of York County Court 17th March 1823
marginal notes: renewed 15 Decr 1834

Joshua Banks is a mulatto man about 50 years of age 5 feet 5 ¼ inches high, has a long forehead much pitted with the small pox has large whiskers & a pleasant countenance, he has no other scars worthy of notice & born free, registered in York County Court the 19th day of March 1827.
marginal notes: renewed the 19 Sept 1831

John Banks is a bright mulatto about 31 years of age 5 feet 6 ¾ inches high has curly hair, small whiskers high cheek bones, thin visage and a scar on his right arm, he has no other mark worthy of notice, born free & registered in York County Court the 19th day of March 1827.
marginal notes: renewed 19 Sept 1831

Rachel Banks is a bright mulatto woman about 30 years of age five feet 6 inches high, has long straight hair thin visage has a scar on the left arm & a small one on her right wrist she has no other scar or mark born free & registered in York County Court the 19th day of March 1827.
marginal notes: renewed 14th March 1838

Martha Banks is a bright mulatto woman about 38 years of age 5 feet 3 ½ inches high has long hair which she keeps combed up and no other scar worthy of notice, she was born free & registered in York County Court the 19th day of March 1827.
Marginal notes: renewed 19 May 1835

Martha Banks Jr. is a bright mulatto woman five feet 5 ½ inches high about 28 years of age, has long hair which is very think, has a scar on the left shoulder, no other scar worthy of notice, she was born free & registered in the presence of York County Court the 19th day of March 1827.

Hannah Banks is a bright mulatto girl 5 feet 2 ¾ inches high about 21 years of age has long curly hair which she keeps combed up has a scar on her left breast occasioned by a burn she has no other scar worthy of notice, born free & registered in the presence of York County Court 19th May 1827.

Peter Banks is a mulatto man about 39 years of age 5 feet 9 inches high has short curly hair, high forehead, small whiskers & the little finger on the right hand is crooked from a break, has a large scar on his right thigh born of free parents in York County he was registered in York County Court the 18th of June 1827

Thomas Banks a bright mulatto about 26 years of age 5 feet 8 ½ Inches high, has a high forehead, has a large Scar on his right elbow, he has no other mark worthy of notice, born of free parents in York County & registered in York County Court 18th of June 1827
marginal notes: renewed 19 Sept 1831

Patty Banks is a bright mulatto about 39 years of age 5 feet 5 inches high, has long hair which she keeps combed has a scar on her left wrist one over her right eye and one near the right wrist and also a scar on one of her right hand fingers she was born of free parents in York County & registered in said County Court 15th of October 1827.

William Banks Junr is a person of tawney complexion about twenty four years of age five feet seven & three quarter Inches high – Has short hair, wide mouth, of youthfull appearance and pleasing countenance – No visible marks on his Head, Face or Hands, worthy of Notice He was Registered in presence of York County Court the 16th day of February 1829 who certified the foregoing to be truly made. Born free

John Banks a black sl[eek] fellow about 22 years of age 5 feet 9 ½ Inches high; has fine smooth hair, tolerably high cheek bones – regular features, good countenance & when spoken to assumes a pleasant smile – has a scar on his right leg recently cut by a Scythe blade & the little finger of his right hand is injured, drawn up & much [shortened] No other scars worthy of note on head face or Hands Born of free parents in Yk Hampton parish Registered in Ct 16th May 1831 marginal notes: renewed 20 March 1839 renewed 27th April 1836

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A list of marriages between free black men and women appears in the York County Guardian Accounts 1780-1823, the York County Guardian Accounts 1823-1846, and the book of York County Marriage Bonds. The following marriages include at least one spouse from a free black family from the Yorktown area.

William Banks married Patty Macklin on 8 September 1787; marriage performed by Rev. Jo. Davenport. York County Guardian Accounts (1780-1823) iv.

Patty Banks widow free person of colour and Jack Ba[illeg] also a free person of colour married on 4 January 1824. York County Guardian Accounts (1823-1846) ii.

William Banks and Matilda Morris married on 10 May 1833. York County Guardian Accounts (1823-1846) 417.

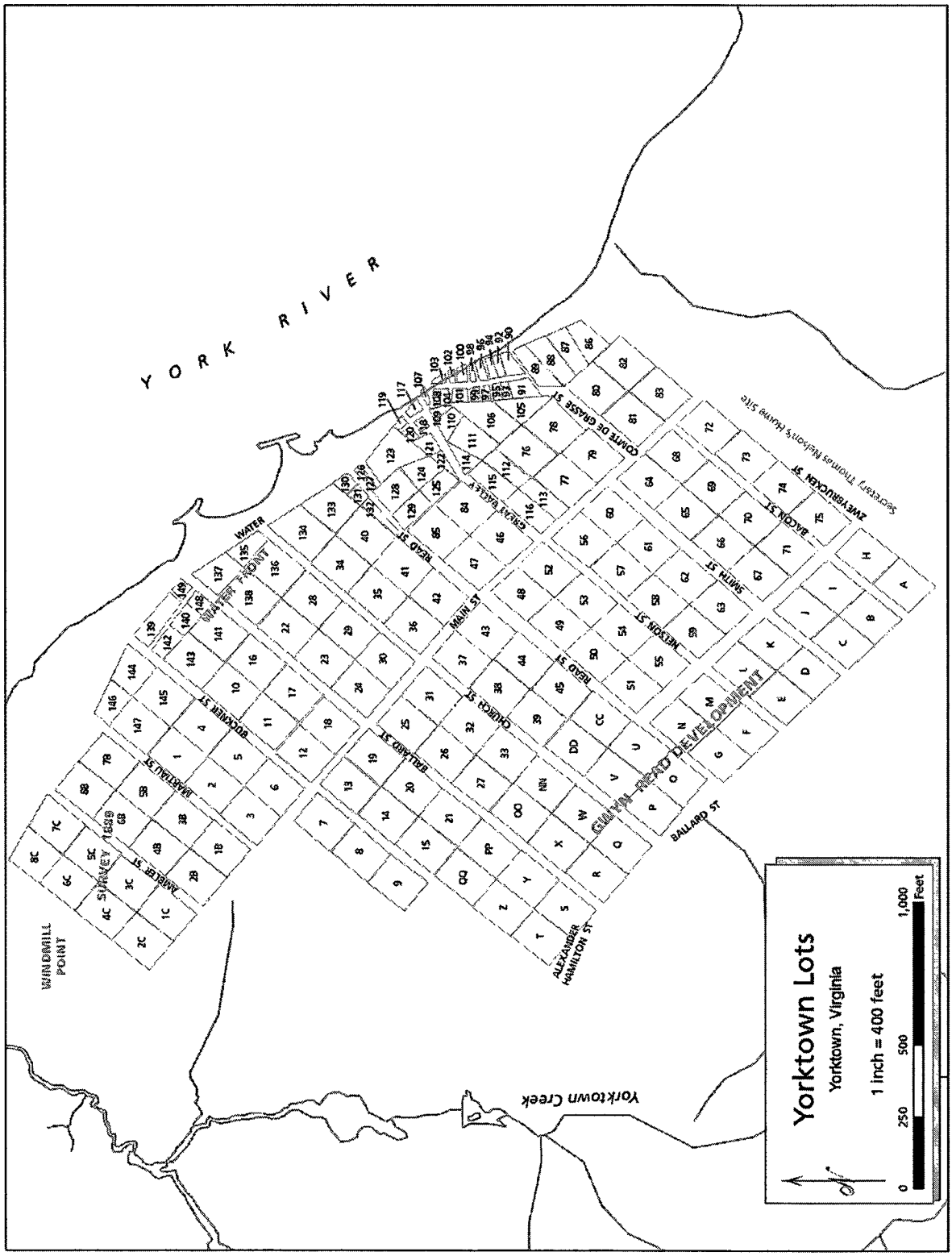
John Poe and Betsy Bank married on 3 September 1842. York County Guardian Accounts (1823-1846) 421

Malica Banks and Judith Roberts of "Cheescake Parish"—marriage bond dated 18 July 1815. James Banks served as the security on the bond. York County Marriage Bonds p. 20.

Thomas Banks and Patsy Hobson of Charles Parish—marriage bond dated 20 May 1820. John Hopson swore to Samuel Sheild that his sister Patsy was over the age of 21. William Banks served as the security on the bond. York County Marriage Bonds p. 21.

John Poe ("a man of color") and Betsy Banks a spinster, "woman of color" of Bruton Parish—marriage bond dated 20 August 1842. William Hunley served as the security on the bond. York County Marriage Bonds, p. 274.

Section 9. Part I. Town Lots



Lot 7

Joseph Walker

On 24 May 1708, the Yorktown trustees conveyed Lot 7 to Joseph Walker, a merchant of Yorkhampton Parish.[1] Walker did not build on this half-acre and forfeited his title to the property.

Philip Lightfoot

Philip Lightfoot acquired Lot 7 from the Trustees of Yorktown on 17 November 1718. Six months later, Lightfoot conveyed part of this parcel to William Anthony.[2]

William Anthony

On 7 May 1719, William Anthony acquired part of Lot 7 from Philip Lightfoot. Anthony was a tavern keeper, and it is possible that he hired slaves to help him in his business. On 15 May 1727, the York County grand jury presented Anthony "for keeping a disorderly house."[3] Anthony died between 16 November 1730 and 21 December 1730. The inventory of his estate did not include indentured servants or slaves.[4]

Richard Pate

William Anthony's portion of Lot 7 reverted to the Crown because he did not have any legal heirs. In May 1734, Richard Pate, a planter of James City County, received a patent for part of Lot 7. The following month, Pate conveyed the west corner of Lot 7 to Jones Irwin, a York County planter.[5]

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[1] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 279-80, dated and recorded 24 May 1708.
[2] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 255, dated and recorded 17 November 1718; ibid., pp. 280-1, dated 7 May 1719 and recorded 18 May 1719.
[3] York County Orders and Wills (16) 448, 15 May 1727.
[4] York County Orders and Wills (17) 143, recorded 18 January 1730/1.
[5] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 300-2, dated and recorded 17 June 1734.

Jones Irwin

In June 1734, Jones Irwin purchased the western corner of Lot 7 from Richard Pate of James City County.

See Lot 8.

Lot 8

Thomas Harwood

On 24 November 1691, Thomas Harwood acquired Lot 8 from Yorktown's trustees.[6] Harwood did not build on this property, and the title to this half-acre reverted to the trustees.

Joseph Walker, William Lindsey, and Matthew Walker

On 20 January 1717/8, the trustees of Yorktown conveyed Lot 8 to Joseph Walker, a merchant of Yorkhampton Parish. Walker forfeited his title to the lot, and on 14 July 1719, William Lindsey of York County gained possession of the property. The next day, Lindsey transferred ownership of Lot 8 back to Walker.[7]

Joseph Walker was a resident of Yorkhampton Parish and it is likely that he leased his Yorktown property to tenants. Walker left Lot 8 to his son, Matthew, in his 9 November 1723 will. Walker noted that he wanted his daughters Mary and Judith to "be maintained out of my Rents in York Town" until they each received a payment of £ 500.[8] Matthew Walker rented Lot 8 to tenants until August 1732 when he sold this half-acre to Jones Irwin.[9]

Jones Irwin, Thomas Irwin, and Elizabeth Irwin

On 22 August 1732, Jones Irwin of Yorktown purchased Lot 8 from Matthew Walker. Before he lived in Yorktown, Irwin was a planter in Charles Parish.[10] Irwin also served as the sheriff of York County, and in this role, he managed the September 1731 sale of

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[6] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 249, dated and recorded 24 November 1691.

[7] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 225-6, dated and recorded 20 January 1717/8; ibid., p. 301, dated 14 July 1719 and recorded 20 July 1719; ibid., p. 302, dated 15 July 1719 and recorded 20 July 1719.

[8] York County Orders and Wills (16) 243-4, dated 9 November 1723, codicil dated 16 November 1723, and recorded 16 December 1723.

[9] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 136a-37, dated 22 and 23 August 1732 and recorded 18 September 1732.

[10] On 20 March 1726/7, the York County clerk recorded the separation agreement between Jones Irwin and his wife, Ann née Chisman Irwin. The division of real and personal property included details about indentured servants and slaves. According to the separation agreement, Jones Irwin wanted Ann Irwin to "quit all Commands and Authority you have over me or any of the Servants." Also, Irwin allowed her to have "Land for 6000 plants in the New Ground and leave for working one Negro of her Daughters in his own Corn field this present year and to receive the produce of the sd Negroe's labour." Extant documents do not indicate where the Irwin slaves worked in other years or how many enslaved laborers the family owned. York County Orders and Wills (16) 446, 20 March 1726/7.

the slaves owned by Thomas Tomer of Charles Parish. Jones received £ 2.11.1 for the "Sheriff's fee @ 5 percent on £ 51.18.6."[11]

In August 1734, two years after he bought Lot 8, Irwin purchased a portion of Lot 7 from a James City County planter named Richard Pate.[12] Two months later, in November 1734, Irwin took two slaves to the York County Courthouse. The justices of the peace determined that Moll was a sixteen-year old girl and Sarah was three years younger.[13] Nearly four years later, in August 1738, York's officials decided that Irwin's girl named Venus was eight years old.[14] Irwin returned to the local courthouse on 18 August 1740 with two more slaves—Cork, a boy of eight years, and a seven-year old boy named Sharper.

Irwin's Yorktown household also included a servant named Stephen Tenoe.[15] In an April 1739 announcement in the *Virginia Gazette*, Irwin notified "all Persons who employ Stephen Tenoe as a Dancing Master, that the said Stephen Tenoe is my Servant, and hath been for near Two Years past; and that all Sum and Sums of Money due for teaching (by him) to dance, is due and payable to me the Subscriber." Irwin continued to warn "all Persons from paying him any Money, giving him Credit, or dealing with him, the said Tenoe, on any Account whatever, until he has discharg'd himself from all Obligations due to me."[16] It is unknown if Tenoe met his obligations to Irwin or how long he stayed in Yorktown.

In February 1738/9, Irwin's name appeared on the list of Yorktown lot owners with two and a third lots in his possession.[17] Perhaps Irwin acquired an additional half-acre so he could lease the property to a tenant and gain money to help support his family. Irwin and Elizabeth Morris of Yorkhampton Parish had four illegitimate children—Bedford Irwin Morris, Jones Irwin, Elizabeth Morris, and Margaret Jones Irwin.[18] The elder Jones Irwin also managed the work on Morris's small Yorkhampton Parish plantation. It is possible that there was at least one enslaved man who labored on this tract of land during Irwin's lifetime.[19]

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[11] York County Orders and Wills (17) 229, 20 September 1731.
[12] See Lot 7.
[13] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 153, 18 November 1734.
[14] Ibid., p. 439, 21 August 1738; ibid., p. 632, 18 August 1740.
[15] It is likely that Stephen Tenoe was a white indentured servant because Irwin included his surname in the *Virginia Gazette* advertisement. In addition, Irwin noted that Tenoe could discharge himself from "all Obligations" due to him, an indication that Tenoe was a servant for a specified period of time and not an enslaved man.
[16] *Virginia Gazette*, 6 April 1739.
[17] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 478-9, 23 February 1738/9.
[18] Two of the children of Jones Irwin and Elizabeth Morris chose to use "Irwin" as their last name and two decided to have "Morris" as their surname.
[19] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 108, dated 17 May 1748 and recorded 20 June 1748; York County Judgments and Orders (2) 104, 19 November 1770.

Jones Irwin held Yorktown lots until the time of his 5 October 1751 death. The entry of Irwin's death in the Charles Parish Death register noted that he was a resident of Warwick County. It is possible that Irwin died while in Warwick County because the 11 April 1755 announcement of the sale of his estate described Irwin as an inhabitant of Yorktown. John Martin informed readers of the *Virginia Gazette* about the 24 April 1755 sale of "all the Lands, Slaves, and one fourth Part of the personal Estate of the said Jones Irwin." It is possible that all of Irwin's slaves sold in April because Martin did not include enslaved laborers in announcement of another sale of the decedent's real estate. On 1 July 1755, individuals could purchase "A Tract of 887 Acres in King George County, one in Warwick County, of between 4 and 500 Acres, one in York County, between 1 and 200 Acres, and several Lots of Land in and near the said Town of York."[20]

Details in the York County Court records suggest that a man named Thomas Irwin gained possession of Lot 8.[21] If so, he died by 22 August 1767, the date that Elizabeth Irwin wrote her will. Elizabeth Irwin bequeathed the lot where she lived and an enslaved man to her daughter, Mary. Irwin named two children—Thomas and Mary—as the executors of her estate and asked another Yorktown resident named Matthew Gibbs to witness her will. The inventory of Irwin's estate included a slave valued at £ 40.[22]

Matthew Gibbs

Matthew Gibbs witnessed the August 1767 will of Elizabeth Irwin, an indication that she considered him a friend. Details in the York County Court records suggest that Gibbs married Mary, Elizabeth Irwin's daughter, and gained possession of the lot and enslaved man whom she inherited from her mother. On 10 April 1770, Matthew Gibbs, a Yorktown cabinetmaker, mortgaged real and personal property to Thomas Archer to secure the payment of a debt he owed to Archer. Gibbs placed a mortgage on a lot and house in Yorktown that was formerly owned by Thomas Irwin deceased. The cabinetmaker had until 1 May [1771] to repay £ 41.18.9 plus interest.[23]

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[20] *Virginia Gazette*, 11 April 1755; ibid., 13 June 1755.

[21] It is difficult to determine where members of the Irwin family lived. This is due to the fact that this family included several men named Thomas Irwin who lived at the same time as adult males known as Thomas William Irwin. One of the men known as Thomas William Irwin was a Yorktown resident when he died in late 1742. Jones Irwin served as the administrator of Thomas William Irwin's estate that included Sharper, an enslaved boy valued at £ 21. Perhaps this slave was Sharper whom Jones Irwin acquired in 1740. York County Wills and Inventories (19) 152-3, recorded 17 January 1742/3.
Also, at least one Thomas Irwin also used the name Thomas William Irwin. In September 1768, a Thomas Irwin of Warwick County agreed to take George Williams as his apprentice for six years and to teach him the skills of a joiner. A year later, Irwin used the name Thomas William Irwin when he mortgaged an enslaved woman known as Judith to David Jameson. York County Deeds (7) 418-9, dated 18 September 1768 and recorded 19 September 1768; York County Deeds (8) 47-8, dated 30 November 1769 and recorded 21 May 1770.

[22] York County Wills and Inventories (21) 362-3, dated 22 August 1767 and recorded 21 September 1767; ibid., pp. 368-9, recorded [1]6 November 1767.

[23] York County Deeds (8) 71-2, dated 10 April 1770 and recorded 17 September 1770.

Gibbs did not repay his debt, and on 17 August 1772, Archer initiated a suit in the York County Court to recover the money owed to him. Two months later, the justices of the peace determined that Gibbs had one month to repay Archer. If Gibbs failed to do so, he and his heirs would "be forever barred and forclosed of all Equity of redemption of the Lott of Land and Houses in York Town and the several Goods and Chattels in the said Bill mentioned."[24] Extant documents do not mention a sale of either Gibbs's real or personal property. It is likely that Gibbs, a chair maker, retained possession of his Yorktown lot.

In November 1773, the York County grand jury presented Gibbs because he did not list George Williams, a former apprentice to Thomas Irwin, as his tithe. A year later, Gibbs faced the same charge. It is likely that Williams completed his apprenticeship by the end of 1774 and left the Gibbs household. Gibbs owned at least one slave whom he hired out to Miss Mary Philips, another Yorktown resident.[25]

Gibbs lived on his Yorktown lot until the Siege of Yorktown. After the end of the fighting in the Yorktown area, Gibbs filed a claim for £ 60 to cover the loss of a dwelling house. It is possible that he lived in Warwick County after the destruction of his Yorktown home because a man named Matthew Gibbs appeared on the 1782 Warwick County Personal Property Tax List. Gibbs paid the annual assessment on his Yorktown lot in 1782, 1784, and 1785.[26] It is likely that he sold his parcel in Yorktown after the 1785 York County Land Tax List was recorded.

[24] York County Judgments and Orders (3) 131, 19 October 1772.

[25] The settlement of the estate of Mary Philips included a payment of £ 1 to Matthew Gibbs for the "ball. Negro hire." York County Wills and Inventories (23) 201-2, dated and recorded 21 June 1790.

[26] It is important to note that some of the claims filed by York County residents have been lost. The extant claims can be found in "Claims for Losses of York County Citizens in the British Invasion of 1781," (Williamsburg: Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Microfilm M-1.45); Warwick County Land Tax List, 1782, (Richmond: Library of Virginia); York County Land Tax List, 1782, 1784, and 1785, (Richmond: Library of Virginia).

Lot 9

Robert Leightenhouse

On 24 November 1691, Robert Leightenhouse acquired Lot 9, "being a corner lot of town," from the trustees of Yorktown.[27] Leightenhouse did not build on the half-acre and the title to the property reverted to the town's trustees.

William Gordon

William Gordon was in the Yorktown area by 22 January 1701/2 when the York County clerk noted that he was one of Lawrence Smith's headrights.[28] Gordon settled in Yorktown after he completed his service to Smith.[29] Gordon received Lot 9 from the town's trustees by 2 July 1714, the date he entered into a partnership with John Andrews, Charles Cox, and Nicholas Phillips to dig and stone a well on the south side of Lot 9 that adjoined Main Street.[30] There is no evidence that the partners finished the well, and Gordon forfeited ownership of this half-acre.

Samuel Cooper

On 20 January 1717/8, Samuel Cooper bought Lot 9 from the trustees of Yorktown.[31] Cooper built on the property and lived on this half-acre with his wife, Ann. Almost a year and a half later, in June 1719, the Coopers conveyed half of Lot 9 to John Maddock.[32] Cooper wrote his will on 8 October 1719, and his last testament was probated on 16 May 1720. He decided to leave his urban property to his wife, Ann. If Ann Cooper gave birth to a child after his death, Cooper wanted this child to inherit part of Lot 9. If Ann Cooper died without giving birth to another child or without transferring her part of Lot 9 to another person, Cooper specified that this half of the lot would become the property of Maddock.[33] There is no evidence that Cooper owned slaves during the time he lived in Yorktown.

John Maddock and Ann Cooper Maddock

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[27] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 263, dated and recorded 24 November 1691. In July 1699, Leightenhouse gained possession of Lot 36 from the trustees. See Lot 36.
[28] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (12) 236, dated 22 January 1701/2 and recorded 24 July 1704.
[29] See Lot 78 and Lot 79.
[30] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 78-9,dated 2 July 1714 and recorded 20 June 1715.
[31] Ibid., p. 222, dated and recorded 20 January 1717/8.
[32] Ibid., pp. 291-2, dated 11 June 1719 and recorded 15 June 1719.
[33] York County Orders and Wills (15) 598-9, dated 8 October 1719 and recorded 16 May 1720.

On 11 June 1719, John Maddock, a resident of Yorktown, received half of Lot 9 in a deed of gift from Samuel and Ann Cooper. Samuel Cooper died by 16 May 1720 and his widow married Maddock. In late 1722, John and Ann Maddock conveyed all of Lot 9 to John Gomer Senior.[34] There is no evidence that Maddock held or hired slaves during the time he owned Lot 9.

John Gomer Senior and John Gomer Junior

On 15 December 1722, John Gomer Senior of Yorkhampton Parish bought Lot 9 from John and Ann Maddock. Gomer and his wife, Ann, lived on this property. When Gomer wrote his will on 16 October 1728, he left his wife "my house and lott on where I now dwell during her Widdowhood and in Case my Wife Ever does Marry then my Will and desire is that my Wife hold only a third part of my said Lott and houses as the law requires." Gomer then bequeathed my "lott and houses to to my son John Gomar to Enjoy in full after his Mothers death to him & his heirs forever." The elder John Gomer died by 20 January 1728/9 and the 17 March 1728/9 inventory of his personal estate did not include slaves.[35]

Ann Gomer died sometime after 16 June 1729. John Trotter became the guardian of the younger John Gomer and on 21 February 1742/3, Trotter gave his ward permission to become the apprentice of Edmund Dobson, a joiner. John Gomer Junior left the Yorktown area after he completed his apprenticeship. On 20 November 1752, John and Mary Gomer of Henrico County sold Lot 9 to James Mills.[36]

James Mills

James Mills, a Yorktown resident, bought Lot 9 from John and Mary Gomer of Henrico County on 20 November 1752.

See Lot 20.

[34] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 386-7, dated 15 December 1722 and recorded 17 December 1722.
[35] York County Orders and Wills (16) 569, dated 16 October 1728 and recorded 20 January 1728/9; ibid., pp. 590-1, dated and recorded 17 March 1728/9.
[36] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 506-7, dated and recorded 20 November 1752.

Lot 10

Joseph Ring Senior and Joseph Ring Junior

In 1691, Joseph Ring Senior became the owner of Lot 10 in return for his work as a trustee of Yorktown.[37] Ring built on the property and retained ownership of the lot. The 1701 bounds of the York Prison included Ring's house as one of the points on the border.[38] It is possible that Ring rented out Lot 10, because he continued to live on his York River plantation, Ringfield. Joseph Ring Senior died on 26 February 1702/3. He bequeathed his Yorktown lot to his son and namesake in his will.[39] Joseph Ring Junior owned Yorktown Lot 10 until August 1712 when he sold the half-acre to Joseph Walker, a merchant of Yorkhampton Parish.[40]

Joseph Walker

In August 1712, Joseph Walker bought Lot 10 from Joseph Ring Junior. Walker, a merchant of Yorkhampton Parish, did not live on this property. Perhaps Walker was interested in Lot 10 because this parcel provided access to Yorktown's waterfront area. It is possible that he relied on his enslaved men to carry goods from ships in the Yorktown harbor to his store.

It appears that there was some confusion over the title to Lot 10, because Joseph Ring Senior never received a deed for the property. In January 1717/8, the Trustees of Yorktown conveyed Lot 10 to Walker in order to give him a clear title to the lot.[41] The merchant held this lot as well as Lot 11 and half of Lot 25 at the time of his death in 1723. In his November 1723 will, Walker stated that he wanted his daughters Mary and Judith to receive £ 500 sterling on the day of their marriage or at the age of twenty-one. He noted that it was his desire that they would "be maintained out of my rents in York Town until the said Five hundred pounds be paid."[42] Walker's estate conveyed Lot 10 to Philip Lightfoot sometime before August 1732. The August 1732 deed by which Matthew Walker, son of Joseph, sold Lot 11 to Philip Lightfoot noted that this half-acre adjoined William Nelson Senior on the south [Lot 12], Philip Lightfoot on the east [Lot 17] and north [Lot 10], and a street on the west.[43]

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[37] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 225-6, dated and recorded 20 January 1717/8.
[38] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (11) 523, 24 October 1701.
[39] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (12) 105-6, dated 3 December 1698, codicil dated 18 May 1702, and recorded 24 May 1703.
[40] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 409-11, dated 15 and 16 August 1712 and recorded 20 January 1712/3.
[41] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 225-6, dated and recorded 20 January 1717/8.
[42] York County Orders and Wills (16) 243-4, dated 9 November 1723, codicil dated 16 November 1723, and recorded 16 December 1723.
[43] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 130-6, dated 23 and 24 August 1732 and recorded 18 September 1732.

John Butterworth, tenant of Joseph Walker and Joseph Walker's Estate

In 1722, John Butterworth entered into an agreement to rent Lot 10 from Joseph Walker for five years for an annual rent of £ 24. An August 1727 account between Butterworth and Sarah Walker, the widow and executrix of Joseph Walker, allowed the tenant £ 8 "in the two first years rent for want of conveniencys." There was also an adjustment of £ 4 "for want of a Stable two years."[44] The details in this account indicate that Butterworth expected to have several buildings on Lot 10 to use as part of his tavern business. His need for a stable reflected the fact that his prominent clients were members of Virginia's gentry who rode horses to Yorktown or traveled to the town in carriages pulled by horses. There is no evidence that Butterworth owned or hired a slave during the five years that he is known to have operated his tavern on Lot 10. It is possible that he continued to manage his business on this half-acre until 1732, the date that Philip Lightfoot is known to have gained possession of Lot 10.[45]

Philip Lightfoot

Philip Lightfoot became the owner of Lot 10 sometime before the summer of 1732. In August of that year, Matthew Walker transferred Lot 11 to Lightfoot. The deed noted that Lot 11 adjoined William Nelson on the south [Lot 12], Lightfoot on the east [Lot 17] and north [Lot 10], and a street on the west. Lightfoot added Lot 10 to his Yorktown lots. He purchased his first Yorktown property, Lot 38, in November 1709. Lightfoot built on the property to retain ownership, and it is likely that he lived in this structure after its completion.[46] Six years later, in 1715, Lightfoot purchased Lot 16; perhaps he wanted to have this half-acre because it gave him access to the town's waterfront area. The next year, this merchant bought Lot 36 and a storehouse from Joseph Mountfort. Perhaps Lightfoot moved to the dwelling on Lot 36 so he would be closer to his storehouse.

Lightfoot either owned or hired laborers to unload ships, move goods to his storehouse, and carry hogsheads of tobacco onto vessels before they set sail from York's port.[47] This merchant was the victim of theft at the end of the decade of the 1710s. On 27 May 1719, Will, an enslaved man owned by Mary Read, broke into Lighfoot's storehouse. Will took fifty pounds of sugar, two gallons of rum, and five gimblets valued at £ 3. The widow

[44] York County Orders and Wills (16) 481, 21 August 1727.

[45] John Butterworth also kept a tavern before and after he was known to have a business on Lot 10. He received his first license to operate a tavern on 18 July 1720 and his last license on 15 February 1741/2. It is possible that Butterworth and his son-in-law, John Gibbons, managed a tavern. After the 1744 death of Butterworth, his widow Damaris advertised for "A Man, or Woman, of a good Character, well qualified to assist in the Management of a Publick House, and who will come well-recommended." Damaris Butterworth operated a tavern before her marriage to Butterworth. York County Orders and Wills (15) 18 July 1720; York County Wills and Inventories (19) 78, 15 February 1741/2; *Virginia Gazette*, 20 June 1745; York County Orders and Wills (14) 510, 22 May 1716.

[46] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 334-5, dated 10 November 1709 and recorded 24 November 1709.

[47] It is likely that Lightfoot inherited enslaved laborers from his father, Philip Lightfoot who was a resident of Gloucester County when he died in 1708.

Read's slave pled guilty to the charges and York's justices of the peace ordered that he be hung. At Lightfoot's request, the sheriff delivered the goods "found in the Custody of Will...for the use of the Owners."[48]

In 1720, Lightfoot gained the labor of additional slaves when he married Mary (née Armistead) Burwell, the widow of James Burwell of King's Creek. The widow Burwell had a life right to one-third of her deceased husband's enslaved laborers. Mary Burwell's marriage to Philip Lightfoot did not bring a large disruption to the enslaved men, women, and children who labored on the Burwell plantation on King's Creek. It is likely that the majority of the Burwell slaves remained on King's Creek and that Mary Lightfoot took a small number of domestic slaves to her new home in nearby Yorktown.[49]

Philip and Mary Burwell had four sons—William (born by 1722), John (born c. 1725), Philip (born c. 1728), and Armistead (born c. 1730). Lightfoot no doubt began to acquire enslaved men, women, and children as well as plantations in several counties because he wanted to bequeath laborers and land to each of his sons.[50] He used his skills as a merchant and his position as the clerk of the York County court to increase both his financial standing and his reputation in Yorktown. In 1730, Richard Chapman commented on Lightfoot in a letter he wrote to Edward Athawes, a British merchant. Chapman noted

> Since my being in Virginia Col. Lightfoot was Clerk of York Court and one of our most Considerable Merchants at one and the same time, and every man, who has sense enough to judge right, is convinced that near to that Gentlemans own Genius, and the Friends which that merited and procured him on your side of the water, the Business of the Office concurred to the Increase and Establishment of the other; of which he was so sensible, that he would never give it up till the King, by his Letter, called him up to the Council.[51]

Membership on the governor's council was a sign that Lightfoot was one of the most prominent residents in Virginia.

Perhaps his appointment to the Council prompted Lightfoot to create an urban estate that reflected his position in Yorktown and the colony.[52] He decided to focus his efforts in the northwestern section of his town. First, Lightfoot gained possession of the lots he needed

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[48] York County Orders and Wills (15) 444, 3 July 1719.

[49] Lorena S. Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community*, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997), pp. 42, 49.

[50] After acquiring recently imported African slaves, it appears that Lightfoot took them to the courthouse in the county where they worked and lived to have their ages adjudged.

[51] Richard Chapman to Edward Athawes, 1730, quoted in Mary Edd Morton, comp., *Calling All Lightfoots: A Lightfoot Family History*, (Westminster, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 2005), p. 94.

[52] By 1731, Thomas Nelson the Immigrant lived in the home known today as the Nelson House. Nelson also created an urban estate on ten lots located in the center of Yorktown. This merchant used Main Street as the center of his urban property. See Lot 52.

to build a new house and necessary outbuildings. Between 1724 and 1739, Lightfoot gained possession of the lots he needed for his home and outbuildings. This merchant purchased Lot 22 (1724), Lot 10 (1732), Lot 11 (1732), Lot 17 (1732), one-third of Lot 29 (1738), Lot 23 (1738/9), and Lot 28 (1739).

It is likely that Lightfoot began construction on his urban estate soon after he acquired Lots 10, 11, 16, and 17. This merchant no doubt secured the services of the area's most skilled carpenter and bricklayer to build a series of outbuildings and his dwelling. The carpenter and bricklayer probably had labor forces that included white apprentices and enslaved blacks. Perhaps Lightfoot had the Burwell slaves at King's Creek spend time cutting down trees and splitting the trees into planks and shingles to be used for the new buildings. These enslaved men might also have made bricks, nailed siding onto the frame of a building, and whitewashed interior walls.

Although neither Lightfoot's home nor his outbuildings stand today, archaeologists have excavated the area that included Lots 10, 11, 16, and 17. In the eighteenth century, Lightfoot determined that this two-acre parcel would be the location of service buildings. Archaeological excavations indicate the Lightfoot had a buttery, a well, a slave quarter, a kitchen, and several planting beds for a kitchen garden on this two-acre parcel. In addition, there was a store that faced Buckner Street.[53] The same men who constructed the outbuildings on Lots 10, 11, 16, and 17 might also have helped to build the brick dwelling house that stood across Ballard Street on Lot 22.[54] Described as the largest structure in eighteenth-century Yorktown, this mansion faced the York River. Lightfoot used Lot 23, Lot 28, and one-third of Lot 29 on the south, Church Street on the east, and Ballard Street on the west to separate his home from the rest of Yorktown.[55]

It is likely that the work on Lightfoot's mansion and outbuildings was completed by 1734.[56] In June of that year, this Yorktown merchant began to add enslaved laborers to

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[53] Hank D. Lutton, "'After me cometh a builder': The Symbolic Landscape of Secretary Nelson's Yorktown Estate and Its Transformation," (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 2004), pp. 40-1; personal communication, Nick Luccketti, 18 May 2010.
The store stood at the northeast end of Lot 11 or perhaps across the line that separated Lot 10 and Lot 11. According to Ed Chappell and Willie Graham, this structure had a "classic colonial store footprint" and it was buried beneath the earthwork that runs along the east side of Buckner Street. Personal communication, Nick Luccketti, 18 May 2010.

[54] Lot 23 has been given as the location of the Lightfoot Mansion. Lightfoot may have had his home on Lot 22, a property that he purchased in 1724. In 1736 an English traveler named Edward Kimber wrote that when in Yorktown, "You perceive a great Air of Opulence amongst the Inhabitants, who have some of them built themselves Houses, equal in Magnificence to many of our superb ones at St. James's; as those of Mr. Lightfoot, Nelson, &c . . . The most considerable Houses are of Brick; some handsome ones of Wood, all built in the modern Taste; . . . There are some very pretty Garden Spots in the Town." Lightfoot did not own Lot 23 until 1738/9, almost three years after Kimber visited Yorktown. [Edward Kimber,] "Observations in Several Voyages and Travels in America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1st. ser., vol. XV, no. 4 (April 1907):222.

[55] In 1738 and 1739, Lightfoot purchased Lot 23, Lot 28, and one-third of Lot 29. See Lot 23, Lot 28, and Lot 29.

[56] In addition, Lightfoot had a stable that stood on another lot. See below for discussion of Lightfoot's will.

his Yorktown household. Between June 1734 and November 1746, Lightfoot had the ages of sixteen enslaved Africans adjudged. First, in June 1734, the local officials decided that Timothy was fourteen years old and that Simon and Joshua were both fifteen.[57] The following year, on 18 August 1735, the justices of the peace noted that boys Crummell and Stephen were each eleven years old.[58] On 15 November 1736, Lightfoot took a boy, Juba, and a girl named Chloe to the courthouse where the magistrates determined that each of the slaves was eleven.[59] Nine months later, in July 1737, Lightfoot took a girl named Daphey to have her age adjudged. The magistrates noted that she was thirteen years old. In September of the same year, the justices decided that Chip was a fourteen-year old boy.[60]

Five years passed before this Yorktown merchant took another imported African slave to the York County courthouse. In July 1742, York's officials decided that Lightfoot's enslaved boy Jack was nine years of age and that Sabina was a girl of twelve years. On 15 November 1742, a girl named Alphia was determined to be eleven years old.[61] Four years later, Lightfoot found that Eugene was ten years old, Rose was a thirteen year old girl, and a girl named Diana and Pollux, a boy, were both ten years of age.[62]

Of the seventeen slaves whom Lightfoot took to the York County courthouse, eleven were boys and six were girls. It is likely that Lightfoot acquired a greater number of male slaves than female slaves, because he needed enslaved men and boys to unload imported goods from ships anchored in the Yorktown harbor, to open the front door and usher visitors into the center passage, to serve meals to guests gathered in his dining room, food during meals, to drive his coach, to tend to his horses, and to work as personal slaves for himself and his four sons.[63] The six enslaved girls would have learned how to do domestic chores in the outbuildings that stood on Lots 10, 11, 16, and 17. Adult females taught young girls to cook in the kitchen and to tend vegetables and herbs grown in the planting beds. In addition, enslaved women and girls made butter in the buttery and drew water from the well. Lightfoot's female slaves used water to cook food, to clean dining and kitchen utensils, and to do laundry.

At the end of the day, enslaved men, women, and children gathered near the slave quarter located across Ballard Street from the Lightfoot Mansion.[64] The distance between the

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[57] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 122, 17 June 1734.
[58] Ibid., p. 216, 18 August 1735.
[59] Ibid., p. 323, 15 November 1736.
[60] Ibid., p. 380, 18 July 1737; ibid., p. 389, 19 September 1737.
[61] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 113, 19 July 1742; ibid., p. 130, 15 November 1742.
[62] Ibid., p. 436, 16 June 1746; ibid., p. 473, 17 November 1746.
[63] Mark R. Wenger, "The Central Passage in Virginia: Evolution of an Eighteenth-Century Living Space," in Camille Wells, ed., *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, II, (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), pp. 137-49; Wenger, "The Dining Room in Early Virginia," in Thomas Carter and Bernard L. Herman, eds., *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, III, (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989), pp. 149-59.
[64] Personal communication, Nick Luccketti, 19 May 2010; Hank D. Lutton, "'After me cometh a builder,'" pp. 40-1.

two parts of Lightfoot's urban estate gave his slaves a chance to separate themselves from their master. At night, on Sundays, and on the few recognized holidays, this group had time to visit, to play games, to tell stories about their lives in Africa, and to relax. Excavations on Lots 10, 11, 16, and 17 found evidence that the Lightfoot slaves were able to preserve aspects of their African cultures. Archaeologists found several hundred cowrie shells in the area near the kitchen and the well. This portion of the service area also included beads and a carved shell.[65] The concentration of the shells and beads near the kitchen and well indicates that slaves gathered in this part of the property.

Philip Lightfoot depended on the work of his slaves to lead an elegant life until the time of his death on 30 May 1748. According to the terms of his 31 July 1747 will, Lightfoot left to his wife, Mary, his dwelling house and appurtenances, two and a third lots adjoining his home, the "Lots whereon my Stable now stands in the Town of York together with the Use and Service of ten House Slaves and the Coachman of her own Election as well as all my Slaves at Kings Creek for her Life."[66]

Next, Lightfoot turned to the bequest for William, his oldest son. After his father's death, William gained possession of lands and tenements in Charles City and Surry counties, sixty slaves, the lot and appurtenances where he lived in Yorktown, two adjoining lots (with the exception of the stable and lots given to his mother during her lifetime), four lots in the Read Subdivision, the storehouse and a lot purchased from Joseph Mountfort, and the warehouse "under the bank" together with the mill and the land adjoining the mill. John Lightfoot received his father's land in Brunswick County, sixty slaves, lots and houses in Williamsburg, and town lots at Blandford in Prince George County. Lightfoot's son John was also to become the owner of mulatto Harry after his mother's death.

Finally, Philip Lightfoot left his Yorktown dwelling house to his youngest son, Armistead, after his mother's death and all other lots and houses in Yorktown that he had not yet bequeathed his land in Goochland County, and sixty enslaved laborers. Lightfoot stated that he wanted Armistead to continue to learn the mercantile business from Edward Athawes, a British merchant, and in case of his death, Armistead was to be placed in the care of another merchant, John Hanbury.

Lightfoot's son Philip did not receive a legacy in his father's will because he died before his father. The elder Philip Lightfoot left two slaves to his grandson, Francis Lightfoot. The son of Philip and Susanna Lightfoot, Francis Lightfoot inherited Lucy and Jacob, children of a woman named Sarah, from his grandfather.

Mary née Armistead Burwell Lightfoot

[65] Ibid.
[66] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 103-6, dated 31 July 1747 and recorded 20 June 1748.

After the 30 May 1748 death of her second husband, Philip Lightfoot, Mary Lightfoot gained "the Use and Service of ten House Slaves and the Coachman of her own Election as well as all my Slaves at Kings Creek for her Life."[67] This group of slaves included the nineteen tithes who the justices of the peace added to the list of tithables in Yorkhampton Parish in August 1748.[68] It is likely that the widow Lightfoot also managed the work of enslaved boys and girls who were under the age of sixteen in addition to the tasks assigned to adult slaves.

During her widowhood, Mary Lightfoot bought two imported African slaves. In August 1753, Mary Lightfoot took two enslaved girls to the York County Courthouse. The local officials determined that Grace and Phillis were both eight years old.[69] Perhaps the widow Lightfoot acquired two African slaves so that she would have girls to be trained to work in her household or to give as gifts to her granddaughters. On 20 February 1758, Mary Lightfoot gave an enslaved woman named Ritter to her granddaughter Mary Lightfoot (daughter of William and Mildred Lightfoot). Ritter was also known by her full name Amoretta and the widow Lightfoot purchased her from the Nelson family.[70]

Also, on 20 February 1758, Mary Lightfoot conveyed an enslaved girl named Phillis to Mildred Lightfoot (daughter of William and Mildred Lightfoot), her granddaughter.[71] It is possible that the Phillis who became the property of Mildred Lightfoot was the same girl whom Mary Lightfoot purchased five years earlier. Mary Lightfoot's decision to give Ritter and Phillis to her granddaughters meant that both of these enslaved girls left the Lightfoot house in Yorktown and moved to William Lightfoot's Charles City County plantation.

Mary Lightfoot was able to give slaves to her granddaughters and continue to live an elegant lifestyle because she had access to one of the largest groups of slaves in the Yorktown area. The Reverend John Camm's 1758 list of tithes in Yorkhampton Parish noted that Mrs. Lightfoot had a total of thirty-eight tithes on two properties.

Perhaps the 1771 death of her last surviving son, Armistead, prompted Mary Lightfoot to write her will.[72] Although she did not control the future of the slaves whom Philip Lightfoot gave her during her lifetime, Mary Lightfoot decided who would gain possession of the slaves whom she purchased during her widowhood. First, she used two conveyances to confirm earlier gifts to two of her granddaughters. The widow Lightfoot left a woman named Amoretta "with all the children she has had" and any future children

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[67] Ibid.
[68] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 118, 15 August 1748.
[69] York County Judgments and Orders (2) 282, 20 August 1753.
[70] On 16 August 1742, Thomas Nelson the Immigrant took a girl called Amoretta to the York County Courthouse and the justices of the peace determined that she was eleven years old. York County Wills and Inventories (19) 118, 16 August 1742. See Lot 52.
[71] York County Deeds (6) 123, dated and recorded 20 February 1758.
[72] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 299-302, dated 9 November 1771, codicil dated 12 May 1773, codicil dated 12 May 1775, and recorded 21 August 1775.

to her granddaughter Mary Allen (wife of William Allen). Also, Mary Lightfoot bequeathed an enslaved woman named Phillis to her granddaughter Mildred (née Lightfoot) Coles.[73]

Next, Mary Lightfoot gave an adult female known as Rose to her granddaughter, Elizabeth Coles. If this woman Rose was the same person as the girl who was adjudged to be thirteen in June 1746 when Philip Lightfoot took her to the York County Court, the widow Lightfoot purchased her from her deceased husband's estate. Finally, Mary Lightfoot left an enslaved man named Dick to her grandson, William Lightfoot (son of William and Mildred Lightfoot). In her 12 May 1773 codicil, she noted that she purchased Dick "of the Honble. William Nelson esqr."

During her long widowhood, Mary Lightfoot managed the work of her domestic slaves and lived in the family's elegant brick house. She would have made sure that the enslaved girls—Amoretta, Phillis, and Rose—received proper training in domestic work before she gave them to her granddaughters. The widow Lightfoot provided an enslaved female to three of her granddaughters and an enslaved man to a grandson because the ownership of slaves was essential to the gentry lifestyle. Her decision to support her family members was not beneficial to the slaves who were forced to leave their family and friends in Yorktown and to move to the homes of their new owners.

Armistead Lightfoot

Armistead Lightfoot, the youngest of Philip and Mary Lighfoot's four sons, was about eighteen years old in 1748 when his father died. In his will, Philip Lightfoot specified that he wanted Armistead to continue to learn the mercantile business from Edward Athawes, a British merchant, and case of his death, Armistead was to be placed in the care of another merchant, John Hanbury. Also, Lightfoot left his Yorktown dwelling house to his youngest son, Armistead, after his mother's death, and all other lots and houses in Yorktown that he had not yet bequeathed, his land in Goochland County, and sixty enslaved laborers.[74]

After learning about the mercantile business, Armistead Lightfoot settled in Yorktown. He might have lived with his mother in his childhood home or in his brother William's house. In 1758, the Reverend John Camm noted that Lightfoot had five tithes in his household. It is likely that he had four slaves who helped unload ships and carry imported goods to his storehouse.

[73] It is likely that Amoretta was the enslaved girl Ritter whom Lightfoot gave to her granddaughter, Mary née Lightfoot Allen in 1758, the same year that Mildred née Lightfoot Coles received a girl known as Phillis from her grandmother.

[74] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 103-6, dated 31 July 1747 and recorded 20 June 1748.

By the late-1760s, Lightfoot had financial problems and had to sell slaves to pay his many debts. On 22 September 1768, York County's deputy sheriff and Yorktown resident William Mitchell announced "To be sold, on Monday, the 31st day of October next, before Mr. Hay's door, in Williamsburg, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, about fifty choice slaves, men, women, boys, and girls, belonging to Armistead Lightfoot, taken in execution to satisfy several judgments of York court." Lightfoot himself added the following postscript: "I hope all those indebted to me, and particularly such as I have been obliged to pay money for, will take proper notice of the above advertisement."[75]

In February of the following year, Mitchell placed a notice about another sale of slaves belonging to Lightfoot:

> To be SOLD for ready money, on Wednesday the 15th of this instant (February) before Mr. James Mitchell's door, TWENTY NEGROES, consisting of men, women, and children, belonging to Armistead Lightfoot, Esq; and taken in execution to satisfy several judgements obtained against him. The sale will begin at 12 o'clock.[76]

Yorktown's William Goosley purchased a slave at one of the sales of Lightfoot's enslaved laborers. On 21 August 1769, William Mitchell noted that he received £ 35.10 from Goosely as payment for a boy named Frank who had been owned by Lightfoot.[77] A 28 June 1770 order from the York County justices of the peace resulted in another sale of Lightfoot slaves. In September of that year, William Mitchell received £ 55 from Cary Wilkinson of James City County to pay for a woman named Betty and Cooke, her son.[78]

A portion of Lightfoot's real property was also sold during his lifetime. The 18 January 1770 issue of Purdie and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette* announced the 24 February 1770 sale of Lightfoot's 230 acres within two miles of Yorktown and "a storehouse at the water side." This sale was also at the Swan Tavern. Seymour Powell, a Yorktown resident, purchased the land.[79]

Armistead Lightfoot died at his house in Yorktown in September 1771.[80] Five months later, on 20 February 1772, William Mitchell announced the sale of Lightfoot's personal property. The York County deputy sheriff informed readers of the *Virginia Gazette* that on Wednesday, 26 February there would be a sale of

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[75] *Virginia Gazette*, Rind, ed., 22 September 1768.
[76] Ibid., Purdie and Dixon, eds., 9 February 1769.
[77] York County Deeds (8) 16, dated and recorded 21 August 1769.
[78] Ibid., pp. 72-3, dated 17 September 1770.
[79] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 18 January 1770. In July 1770, Lightfoot sold the 230-acre parcel (that he purchased from John and Courtenay Norton) to Seymour Powell. York County Deeds (8) 64-7, dated 11 July 1770 and recorded 20 August 1770.
[80] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 17 September 1771.

> THE personal Estate of the late Armistead Lightfoot, Esquire, consisting of a great Variety of very good HOUSEHOLD and KITCHEN FURNITURE, PLATE, BOOKS, and many other Things; also four SLAVES. Six Months Credit will be allowed for all Sums above twenty Shillings, on giving Bond, with approved Security, to the Sheriff of York County.----At the same Time some Things attached for Levies, &c. will be sold for ready Money.

Mitchell also noted "The Sale to begin at ten o'clock and continue that, and the following Days, till all is sold."[81]

The inventory of Armistead Lightfoot's estate in York County included four slaves: a man named Will who was valued at £ 20; Caesar, a man, worth £ 20; Jemmy a man assessed at £ 10; and Chloe, a woman valued at £ 15. It is possible that Chloe was the enslaved girl whom Philip Lightfoot took to the York County Courthouse on 15 November 1736 and was determined to be eleven years old.[82]

The items in Lightfoot's inventory provide some information about the work that his slaves did. Male slaves would have used "a parcel of Fishing Tackle Hooks Lines Gig: &c. in a Trunk" valued at forty shillings as well as "Sundry Carpenters Tools" that the appraisers found in a chest and deemed to be worth £ 5. Perhaps Lightfoot had an enslaved gardener who planted flowers in the four flowerpots. This slave might have used a hoe and a spade as he tended the kitchen garden. It is likely that Lightfoot intended the majority of the twenty-four hoes valued at sixty shillings and the eleven spades assessed at sixty shillings to be used on one of his plantations.

As a member of the gentry, Lightfoot had a personal slave, and this man would have used the tools in the "Shaving Box" as he helped his master get dressed in the morning. "1 Rimnant Livory lace" valued at five shillings was left after a tailor made Lightfoot's personal slave a suit of livery to wear when he was in public.

Lightfoot's inventory also included clothing to be worn by slaves who worked in fields. Perhaps he had not yet distributed the "9 Bundles Plad Hose" valued at seventy shillings and "1 pr. Hempen Rolls" worth twenty shillings to his rural labor force. The women in Lightfoot's Yorktown household also wore plain clothing when they did domestic work. Chloe and other female slaves collected milk in the "18 Milk Pans" valued at ten shillings, roasted coffee, hung pots on pot hooks over fires, placed kettles on the kettle trivet, and carded wool and cotton.

It is difficult to identify other work that Lightfoot's enslaved men, women, and children did in his Yorktown household because the appraisers made their list of his personal

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[81] Ibid., 20 February 1772. In addition, Lightfoot's land in Brunswick County was offered for sale and his personal estate in Goochland County was sold on 1 April 1772. See ibid., 21 March 1771 and 12 March 1772.

[82] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 124-7, recorded 16 November 1772.

items after the 26 February 1772 sale of a portion of the decedent's possessions. These men recorded the four remaining slaves—Will, Caesar, Jemmy, and Chloe—and the personal items that did not sell. Lightfoot, no doubt, had a coachman, enslaved boys who waited on guest gathered around his dining room table, and a man to open the front door when visitors arrived. Ann Lightfoot would have depended on a personal slave, supervised the work of her cook, and assigned chores to enslaved females who cleaned, washed clothes, churned butter, and made candles.

Ann Lightfoot Grymes and Charles Grymes

In November 1773, Ann Lightfoot, the widow of Armistead Lightfoot, married Charles Grymes of Gloucester County.[83] Ann Lightfoot and Charles Grymes agreed to a marriage settlement before they married. Details in the marriage settlement indicate that Ann Lightfoot was entitled to two slaves—Johnny and Jenny—and some household goods, her dower in her deceased husband's land, and the use (during her lifetime) of "sundry Slaves" purchased by trustees. Grymes agreed to reserve the land and personal items for his wife's separate use after their marriage. Jaquelin Ambler served as the trustee to secure Ann's dower in Armistead Lightfoot's land for her use and to guarantee that it would not be used to pay any of Grymes's debts.[84]

Charles and Ann Grymes lived in Yorktown after their marriage. They remained in the Lightfoot house and used household goods—including two high-posted bedsteads, three low-posted bedsteads, six tables, dressing glasses, two desks, thirty-six chairs, two large looking glasses, and twenty-four silver spoons—that Ann acquired from Armistead Lightfoot's estate. An advertisement placed by Grymes in the 13 October 1774 issue of Purdie and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette* contains details about one of the slaves from Lightfoot's estate. Grymes announced that on the previous Friday, a slave escaped from his Yorktown household. He described this slave as

> a likely Virginia born Negro Man called JOHNNY, about 22 Years of Age, five Feet eight Inches high, has a down Look, and walks upright; he carried with him a Variety of Clothes, is fond of Liquor, in which he is very talkative and insinuating, has been always bred to the House, and is an extraordinary good Waiter. This Fellow formerly belonged to Armistead Lightfoot, Esq; deceased, and is remarkable for Cock-fighting, Card-playing and many other Games. I suspect he will pass as a Freeman, and endeavour to get out of the Colony, as he can read and write.

[83] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 11 November 1773.
[84] York County Deeds (8) 376-7, dated 15 November 1773 and recorded 20 December 1773.

Grymes cautioned ship captains "not to carry him off, at their Peril." He promised a reward of forty shillings if Johnny was "taken within this Colony and brought home, besides what the Law allows, or 5 l. if taken in any other Colony."[85]

Perhaps Johnny left the Grymes household because he feared where he might be taken if he was sold to help pay Lightfoot's debts. In February 1775, "On the motion of sundry Creditors of Armistead Lightfoot decd and by and with the consent of the Persons claiming under a Mortgage of divers Slaves from the Armistead Lightfoot to the Honble William Nelson Esqr decd," the justices of the peace ordered the York County sheriff to "make Sale of the said Slaves at Public Auction." The sheriff was to use "the money arising from such sale after satisfying the Principal and Interest due on the said Mortgage pay the residue if any to the said Creditors." The justices also noted "that all the Personal Estate of the said Lightfoot hath been exhausted and paid towards the discharge of his Debts."[86]

It is possible the turmoil that Yorktown residents experienced before the beginning of the American Revolution convinced Charles and Ann Grymes to move across the York River to Gloucester County. The 18 April 1777 issue of Purdie's *Virginia Gazette* included a notice of the death of Ann Grymes in Gloucester County.[87] After the death of Ann Lightfoot Grymes, the remainder of Armistead Lightfoot's real and personal estate became the property of his daughter, Mary Lightfoot Griffin.

Mary née Lightfoot Griffin and John Taylor Griffin

In 17 February 1772, General Thomas Nelson became the guardian of Mary Lightfoot, daughter of Armistead and Ann Lightfoot (later Ann Lightfoot Grymes).[88] As guardian, Nelson managed Mary Lightfoot's estate, and in September 1773, the account Nelson presented to the justices of the peace included a payment of £ 1.13.0 to Robert Warren's account "for Caesar while he was confined in New Kent Goal." In August 1775, Nelson noted that he paid £ 1.11.3 to Barber Caesar, an enslaved barber owned by Doctor George Riddell.[89]

Mary Lightfoot gained possession of the remainder of her father's estate after the 1777 death of her mother. Mary Lightfoot was married to John Taylor Griffin by 1785 when Griffin conveyed the following property to Raleigh Colston:

> Certain Messuage or tenement in Yorktown formerly the property of Philip Lightfoot Esq. said tenement consisting of that Brick House formerly the property

[85] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 13 October 1774.
[86] York County Order Book (4) 80, 21 February 1775.
[87] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie ed., 18 April 1777 supplement.
[88] York County Judgments and Orders (2) 479, 17 February 1772.
[89] York County Guardian Accounts (1) 476, dated 29 March 1773 and recorded 20 September 1773; ibid., pp. 506-7, dated and recorded 21 August 1775.

> of said Lightfoot and all the Lotts thereunto adjoining and also that tract of land on York River about 1 mile above Yorktown formerly also the property of Philip Lightfoot Esq. adj. Thos Nelson Sr and containing 114 Acres more or less.

The phrase "and all the Lotts thereunto adjoining" included Lots 10, 11, 16, half of Lot 17, Lot, 22, Lot 23, Lot 28, and 114 acres near Yorktown.[90]

Raleigh Colston

In 1785, Raleigh Colston purchased Yorktown Lot 10, Lot 11, Lot 16, half of Lot 17, Lot, 22, Lot 23, and Lot 28 from John Taylor Griffin and his wife Mary née Lightfoot Griffin. Colston also acquired 114 acres near Yorktown from the Griffins. In August 1786, Colston and his wife Elizabeth conveyed the Yorktown lots and the 114 acres near the port to William Goosley.[91]

William Goosley

In August 1786, William Goosley bought Yorktown Lot 10, Lot 11, Lot 16, half of Lot 17, Lot 22, Lot 23, and Lot 28 as well as the 114 acres in Yorkhampton Parish from Raleigh and Elizabeth Colston. Goosley had financial troubles, and in November 1789 he mortgaged the lots and rural land to Yorktown's George Wilson. Goosley paid his debt to Wilson and held Lot 10, Lot 11, Lot 16, half of Lot 17, Lot 22, Lot 23, Lot 28, and the 114 acres near Yorktown until August 1794, when he transferred the property back to Raleigh Colston.[92]

Raleigh Colston

In August 1794, Raleigh Colston was a resident of Frederick County when he acquired Yorktown Lot 10, Lot 11, Lot 16, half of Lot 17, Lot 22, Lot 23, Lot 28, and 114 acres in Yorkhampton Parish from William Goosley. Colston retained possession of this property until 1799 when Corbin Griffin purchased it from him.[93]

Corbin Griffin

In 1799, Corbin Griffin bought Lot 10, Lot 11, Lot 16, half of Lot 17, Lot 22, Lot 23, and Lot 28 as well as 114 acres near Yorktown from Raleigh Colston. Twelve years later, in

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[90] York County Deeds (7) 290-1, dated 26 June 1799 and recorded 15 July 1799.
[91] Ibid., pp. 289-90, dated 24 August 1794 and recorded 16 July 1799.
[92] York County Deeds (6) 418-9, dated 16 November 1789 and recorded 21 December 1789; York County Deeds (7) 289-90, dated 24 August 1794 and recorded 16 July 1799.
[93] York County Deeds (8) 125-6, dated 1 June 1811 and recorded 19 August 1811.

1811, Griffin conveyed the 114 acres near Yorktown and a large brick house in the town of York with several lots contiguous to the house to his son, Thomas, in 1811.

Lot 11

Ralph Walker

In November 1691, the trustees of Yorktown conveyed Lot 11 to Ralph Walker, a planter of York County. Walker built a structure on the property and retained ownership of this half-acre until his death on 19 January 1702/3.[94]

Thomas Walker

Thomas Walker gained possession of Yorktown Lot 11 after the 19 January 1702/3 death of his father, Ralph Walker. In July 1703, the younger Walker, a resident of Charles Parish in the lower end of York County, conveyed Lot 11 to Samuel Dickenson.[95]

Samuel Dickenson

In July 1703, a tavern keeper named Samuel Dickenson bought Yorktown Lot 11 and moved his business to this property. Almost three and a half years later, in December 1706, Dickenson sold half of Lot 11 to Joseph Walker, a merchant who lived in Yorkhampton Parish. He conveyed a ten-pole by four-pole section that adjoined Joseph Ring's lot, the street where Colonel George Read and his wife were previously buried, Miles Cary's lot, and the half lot where Dickenson lived. Two months later, this tavern keeper sold the other half of Lot 11 to Walker.[96]

Joseph Walker and Estate of Joseph Walker

In December 1706, Joseph Walker, a Yorkhampton Parish merchant, purchased half of Yorktown Lot 11 from Samuel Dickenson. Two months later, Walker acquired the remainder of this lot. Extant documents indicate that Walker did not live on Lot 10, Lot 11, or Lot 25, a property that he owned with Thomas Nelson the Immigrant.[97]

The merchant held this lot as well as Lot 10 and half of Lot 25 at the time of his death in 1723. In his November 1723 will, Walker stated that he wanted his daughters Mary and Judith to receive £ 500 sterling on the day of their marriage or at the age of twenty-one. He noted that it was his desire that they would "be maintained out of my rents in York

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[94] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 254, dated and recorded 24 November 1691; York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (10) 84-5, dated [17 January 1702/3?] and recorded 24 February 1702/3.
[95] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 73-4, dated 7 and 8 July 1703 and recorded 24 July 1703.
[96] Ibid., p. 195, dated 23 December 1706 and recorded 24 December 1706.; ibid., pp. 229-32, dated 17 February 1706/7 and recorded 24 March 1706/7.
[97] See Lot 25.

Town until the said Five hundred pounds be paid."[98] In August 1732, Walker's estate conveyed Lot 11 to Philip Lightfoot.[99]

Philip Lightfoot

See Lot 10.

[98] York County Orders and Wills (16) 243-4, dated 9 November 1723, codicil dated 16 November 1723, and recorded 16 December 1723.
[99] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 130-6, dated 23 and 24 August 1732 and recorded 18 September 1732.

Lot 12

Jeffery Overstreet

Jeffery Overstreet purchased Lot 12 from the Trustees of Yorktown in November 1691. This half-acre adjoined the lot that Ralph Walker acquired. Overstreet did not build a structure on the property and forfeited the title to the lot.[100]

Miles Cary Senior

In May 1706, the Yorktown trustees conveyed Lot 12 to Miles Cary Senior of Warwick County.[101] Cary built on the half-acre parcel, and it is likely that he leased this property to individuals who were not able to purchase a lot. He retained ownership of it until the time of his death on 17 February 1708/9.

Wilson Cary

Wilson Cary, son of Miles Cary Senior, gained possession of Lot 12 after the 17 February 1708/9 death of his father. It is likely that the younger Cary, a resident of Elizabeth City County, rented out this lot. In January 1728/9, Cary sold Lot 12 as well as Lot 18 to William Nelson Senior.[102]

William Nelson Senior

William Nelson, a York County merchant, was a nephew of Thomas Nelson Senior. Nelson moved to Yorktown in the 1720s from Barbados in order to pursue his mercantile business.[103] During his lifetime, this William Nelson was known as "William Nelson Senior" to distinguish him from his cousin "William Nelson Junior" (who was later known as President Nelson).

It is likely that Nelson Senior relied on the labor of enslaved men to unload goods from ships anchored in the York River. Nelson Senior also had slaves who worked in his Yorktown house. In November 1736, Nelson's slave Quash escaped from his owner's property. Several weeks later, Nelson placed an advertisement for Quash's return in the 10 December 1736 edition of the *Virginia Gazette*. The senior Nelson noted

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[100] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 254, dated and recorded 24 November 1691.
[101] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 184a, dated 24 May 1706 and recorded 24 September 1706. Cary also owned Lot 13, Lot 14, Lot 18, Lot 19, and Lot 20. See Lot 13, Lot 14, Lot 19, and Lot 20.
[102] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 505-6, dated and recorded 20 January 1728/9.
[103] Charles E. Hatch, Jr., *Yorktown's Main Street (From Secretary Nelson's to the Windmill) and Military Entrenchments Close In and Around the Town of York*, (Denver: Denver Service Center, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 1974), p. 27.

> RAN away from my House, in York Town, the 14th of November last, a Negro Fellow, named Quash. He is middle siz'd, about 27 Years old, speaks very good English, has small Eyes, and has lost the great Toe of his right Foot: He had on, when he went away, an old Kersey Wastecoat, a very good Oznabrigg Shirt, white Cotton Breeches, Yarn Stockings, and a Pair of Shoes, with Bath Mettal Buckles. Whoever brings the said Negro to my House, shall have Ten Shillings Reward.[104]

Nelson regained possession of Quash.

In June 1738, Nelson Senior conveyed a slave girl named Hannah to his daughter Hephzibah. The deed noted that Nelson gave this gift on behalf of his stepfather and his mother, Benjamin and Hephzibah Bessell of Bridgetown, Barbados.[105] The adjustment to life in Yorktown might have been difficult for Hannah, because it was far from Barbados and the people she knew. Nelson's wife likely trained Hannah to be a personal slave for their daughter.

Three years later, in 1741, the senior William Nelson had financial problems and he mortgaged Lots 12 and 18 to his uncle Thomas Nelson the Immigrant and his cousin President William Nelson. William Nelson Senior also placed a mortgage on five slaves—Quash; a woman known as Sarah; two boys named Dick and Joe; and Rachel, a girl. It is known that Nelson repaid at least a portion of the debt of £ 248.13.08 that he held "for and in behalf of" London merchants Hawell and Hunt by 1 May 1742. Nelson retained ownership of Quash, Sarah, and Rachel.[106]

Nelson's slave man Quash appeared in the York County Court in both 1742 and 1743. First, on 2 June 1742, the justices of the oyer and terminer court (to hear and determine) heard the evidence against Quash and Nanny, a slave who belonged to Ishmael Moody, a Yorktown ordinary keeper. They decided that

> Nanny is guilty of stealing one piece of foreign coin'd silver Gold called a double double Sovn. The proper mony of our sd. Lord the King and the Honble. Wm. Gooch Esqr. and 40 Shillings of foreign coin'd silver of the proper mony of Thomas Dickson of the City of Wmsburgh out of the sd. Thos. Dicksons Pocket and that the sd. Quash is guilty of being accessory in receiving part of the sd. mony and they being within the benefit of the act of Clergy they were burnt in the hand at the Barr and it's ord. that they receive each on his bare back 21 Lashes well laid on at the public whiping Post.[107]

It is possible that Nelson also punished Quash once he was back on Lot 12. Fifteen months later, on 3 September 1743, Quash returned to the York County Court. On this

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[104] *Virginia Gazette*, 10 December 1736.
[105] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 506, dated 15 June 1738 and recorded 19 June 1738.
[106] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 15-7, dated 6 November 1741 and recorded 16 November 1741.
[107] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 102, 2 June 1742.

date, the justices of the oyer and terminer court listened to the second set of charges against Quash:

> WHEREAS Quash a Negro Man Slave belonging to Wm. Nelson Senr. was comitted to the Goal of this County the 26th of August last past by warrant under the hand of Wm. Nelson junr. Gent charged w/the felonious taking away mony out of the ship of Doctr. John Payras: he was this day brought to the Barr and publickly arraigned and upon his arraignment plead not Guilty. thereupon the Ct. proceeded to take the Examination of the wits. on behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King agt him and on consideration thereof It's the opinion of the Ct. that the sd. Quash is not Guilty of the felong aforesd. and it's ord. that he be discharged out of Custody.[108]

Again, Quash returned to Nelson's household on Lot 12.

Quash remained in the household of William Nelson Senior until the time of his master's death. Nelson Senior died by 19 June 1749, the date that the justices of the peace appointed James Mitchell, John Gibbons, Ephraim Goosley, and Reginald Orton to appraise his estate. The 1750 inventory of Nelson Senior's estate included three slaves—the man Quash valued at £ 40, a wench named Sarah who was appraised at £ 30, and a girl known as Rachel who was worth £ 35. Quash, Sarah, and Rachel accounted for over half—£ 105—of the estate's value of £ 164.19.5.[109]

William Nelson Junior

William Nelson Junior was under the age of twenty-one when his father, William Nelson Senior died. His cousin, William Nelson (later known as President Nelson), served as his guardian and managed his small estate until he reached his majority. It is possible that William Nelson Junior lived in his cousin's house on Lot 47.

In 1755, Nelson Junior was twenty-one and he decided to sell Lots 12 and 18. The announcement, which he placed in the *Virginia Gazette*, indicates that these lots had been leased to at least one tenant between the 1749 death of William Nelson Senior and his son's 1755 decision to sell his Yorktown property. The younger William Nelson announced

> To be Sold, at Public Sale, on the 24th of this Instant October, before Mr. Doncastle's Door in Williamsburg,
>
> Two very convenient Lots and Houses, in York Town, whereon Doctor George Riddel lately lived, near the Court House: There is a large Dwelling-House,

[108] Ibid., p. 217, 3 September 1743.
[109] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 179-80, recorded 18 June 1750.

> Store-House, Kitchen, Stable, all convenient Out-Houses, and a very good Garden on the same. Twelve Months Credit will be allowed, the Buyer giving Bond and good Security, as usual, to William Nelson Jun.
>
> N.B. The above Lots and Houses have rented for Thirty-two Pounds for several years past.[110]

Nelson Junior was a resident of Surry County by 30 April 1756, the date that he sold Lot 12 (and Lot 18) to Robert Burwell and his wife Elizabeth "in Joint tenancy."[111] If Quash, Sarah, and Rachel were alive in 1756, it is likely that Nelson Junior moved these enslaved laborers to his Surry County land.

George Riddell—tenant of William Nelson Junior

In the early 1750s, Doctor George Riddell leased Lot 12 (and Lot 18) from William Nelson. Riddell had at least one slave in his possession during the time he lived on this property. In 1749, the doctor purchased an imported African slave, and the justices of the peace decided that Caesar was ten years old.[112] The following year, Riddell had four tithes in his household.

Riddell lived on Nelson's property until the fall of 1754, when he purchased the former home of Dr. John Payras in the Read Addition.[113] In October 1754, Riddell advertised that "A Convenient Brick Dwelling-House, two stories high, with a good Kitchen, Dairy, Smoak-House, Stable, a Well, and a Garden well pailed in" was available for lease beginning in January of 1755.[114]

Robert Burwell and Elizabeth Burwell

On 30 April 1756, Robert and Elizabeth Burwell purchased Lot 12 (and Lot 18) from William Nelson, a gentleman of Surry County. The deed conveyed this property to the Burwells "in Joint tenancy." In the early 1770s, Robert Burwell became the sole owner of this property after Elizabeth's death. A resident of Isle of Wight County, Burwell would have had several tenants on Lot 12 (as well as on Lot 18). In 1772, Yorktown's Corbin Griffin, lived on this property. In May of the following year, the Honorable Robert Burwell Esquire conveyed these two lots on Main Street to Doctor Corbin Griffin for £ 1000.[115]

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[110] *Virginia Gazette*, 3 October 1755.
[111] York County Deeds (8) 333-5, dated 29 May 1773 and recorded 19 July 1773.
[112] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 243, 18 September 1749. In 1748, Riddell had three tithes and it is possible that this group included slaves. Ibid., p. 128, 19 September 1748.
[113] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 584-5, dated and recorded 18 February 1754.
[114] *Virginia Gazette*, 7 November 1754.
[115] York County Deeds (8) 333-5, dated 29 May 1773 and recorded 19 July 1773.

Corbin Griffin

By 1772, Doctor Corbin Griffin lived on Lot 12 and Lot 18. In July of that year, Griffin placed the following announcement in the *Virginia Gazette*:

> To be SOLD, MY Houses and Lots in the Town of York, which formerly belonged to the Honourable Robert Burwell, together with a large and well furnished medicinal Shop. The Houses are in very good Repair, with all convenient outhouses, and in every Respect well fitted for a Family.[116]

In May 1773, Griffin purchased Lot 12 and Lot 18 from the Honorable Robert Burwell for £ 1000.[117]

Griffin was a slave owner when he acquired Lot 12 and Lot 18. He purchased a woman named Berry and her two children, Lewis and Sarah, at the sale of Benjamin Catton's estate for £ 67.[118] Griffin also bought a slave at the 7 May 1771 sale of Anthony Hay's personal property.[119]

Perhaps the acquisition of slaves from Catton's estate and Hay's estate prompted Griffin to sell an enslaved man named Charles to James Pride, a Yorktown resident. By 29 September 1774, Charles had escaped, been captured, and placed in the Public Gaol in Williamsburg. Peter Pelham, the Keeper of the Public Gaol, placed the following notice about Charles in the 29 September 1774 issue of Purdie and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*:

> COMMITTED to the Publick Jail, on the 3d Instant, a Negro Man named CHARLES who told me he belonged to Doctor Corbin Griffin of York, which I have repeatedly notified to the Doctor; but no Application having been made from him for the said Fellow, it is probable he has told me a Falsity. From his own Story, he was lately the Property of Mr. James Pride, from whom Doctor Griffin received him last February, and kept him in Possession till the July following, at which Time he eloped. He is about 25 Years old, five Feet nine Inches high, slim made, well dressed, and fit to act in the Capacity of a Waiting Man. His Owner is desired to take him away, and pay Charges.[120]

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[116] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 30 July 1772.

[117] It is probable that Griffin leased Lot 12 and Lot 18 from Robert Burwell by 1772, the year that Burwell decided to sell these lots. The wording of Griffin's announcement in the 30 July 1772 edition of Purdie and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette* suggests that Burwell might have transferred Lot 12 and Lot 18 to an unidentified person who held this property for a short time before conveying the lots back to Burwell who then sold them to Griffin.

[118] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 12-7, dated 16 November 1768 and recorded 18 March 1771.

[119] Ibid., pp. 168-72, recorded 17 May 1773. At the 7 May 1771 sale of Anthony Hay's personal estate, held in front of the door of the Raleigh Tavern in Williamsburg, people would have the opportunity to buy "nineteen NEGROES belonging to the said Estate among them a very good Cabinet Maker, a good Coachman and Carter, some fine Waiting Boys, good Cooks, Washers, &c." *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 17 January 1771.

[120] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 29 September 1774.

It was possible, in Pelham's opinion, that Charles was not Griffin's slave; however, he did not question that the doctor would have a personal slave. It is unknown whether Griffin or Pride traveled to Williamsburg to take possession of Charles. It is known that Doctor Griffin had an enslaved male named Caesar by the end of the 1770s. In November 1779, Griffin was presented by the grand jury for not listing Caesar as one of his tithes.[121]

During the Siege of Yorktown, the Doctor Griffin, his family, and his slaves stayed on Lot 12 and Lot 18 during the Siege of Yorktown.[122] The British line went along the western side of Lot 12 (along Buckner Street); however, it did not cause damage to any structures because Lot 12 was probably a garden. The dwelling house, storehouse, kitchen, stable, and other out buildings were on Lot 18 and did not suffer any damage.[123]

On 17 October 1795, Doctor Griffin transferred ownership of Lot 12 and Lot 18 to his son, Thomas. The deed conveyed the house and tenements on which Griffin lived and a parcel of land in York County known as Ballard's Plantation. Corbin Griffin retained the right to full, free, and uninterrupted use of the tenement and tract of land during his lifetime. On the same day, the doctor transferred the following slaves to Thomas Griffin: "Doll, and her Children Godfrey, Mary, Daniel, Patty, and Betty, Mary's Child Jack and Kate, Robin and Kitty and Lewis Janny, Edmund, and Colin."[124] Unfortunately, Griffin did not specify where these slaves worked or the skills that they had.

The elder Griffin decided to take out a policy with the Mutual Assurance Society in April 1796. The doctor insured five structures:

> The wooden dwelling house was 60' by 27' in size. This structure had a wooden roof and three chimneys. It was valued at $2,600.
>
> The wooden kitchen was 34' by 20' in size and had a wooden roof. The kitchen was 26 feet from the north corner of the dwelling house. This structure was valued at $200.
>
> A building designated as the "Quarters" stood 27 feet from the north corner of the kitchen. The 26' by 24' structure was wooden with a wooden roof and a chimney. It was valued at $100.
>
> The smokehouse stood 15 feet from the northeast end of the kitchen. The size and value of this building were not noted.

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[121] York County Order Book (4) 242, 15 November 1779.
[122] Hatch, Jr., *Yorktown's Main Street*, pp. 24, 29-30.
[123] Ibid.
[124] York County Deeds (7) 163-4, dated 17 October 1795 and recorded 19 October 1795; ibid., p. 164, dated 17 October 1795 and recorded 19 October 1795.

> Doctor Griffin's medical shop was about 30 feet northwest of the dwelling house. This wooden structure had a wood roof and measured 24' by 20'. It was valued at $100.

The total value of the buildings on Lots 12 and 18 was $3,000.[125] It is likely that Griffin had an enslaved woman and younger female slaves who worked in the kitchen that stood north of the dwelling house. Domestic slaves—male and female—would have tended to the family's needs inside the dwelling house. The twenty-six by twenty-four foot building described as the "Quarters" provided sleeping spaces for the Griffin slaves.

Four years later, in 1800, Griffin sold Lot 12 and Lot 18 to David Reece of Yorktown.[126] Griffin might have moved his family and his enslaved workers to the property formerly owned by Philip Lightfoot and Armistead Lightfoot.

[125] Hatch noted that the number and placement of the buildings on Griffin's policy with the Mutual Assurance Society was basically the same as the structures on the Berthier billeting plan of 1781. Hatch, Jr., *Yorktown's Main Street*, pp. 29-30.
[126] York County Land Tax Lists, 1800, 1801.

Lot 13

Owen Davis

On 24 November 1691, Yorktown's trustees conveyed Lot 13 to Owen Davis, a blacksmith from Charles Parish. Davis held Lot 13 until late January 1694/5 when he sold this half-acre to William Buckner Senior. The assignment from Davis to Buckner included a "smith's forge & tools thereon."[127]

William Buckner Senior

The elder William Buckner received Lot 13 from Owen Davis on 26 January 1694/5. Buckner held this lot until May 1698 when he sold it to Thomas Boucher.[128]

Thomas Boucher

In May 1698, Thomas Boucher acquired Lot 13 from William Buckner Senior. In September of the following year, the York County sheriff presented Boucher for failing to list "his boy Ben" as a tithe.[129] Boucher's troubles continued in March 1700 when Robert Leightenhouse accused him of "retailing drink without a license." By July of that year, Boucher decided to leave Yorktown and York County.[130] Boucher was a merchant in Mulberry Island Parish, Warwick County by 23 December 1701 when he sold Lot 13 to Miles Cary Senior.[131]

Miles Cary Senior and Wilson Cary

In December 1701, Miles Cary Senior was a resident of Denbigh Parish in Warwick County when he purchased Lot 13 from Thomas Boucher.[132] It is likely that Cary leased this property to individuals who were not able to purchase a lot. The elder Miles Cary retained ownership of this half-acre in Yorktown until the time of his death on 17 February 1708/9.

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[127] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 280, dated 24 November 1691 and recorded 25 January 1691/2; York County Deeds and Bonds (1) 1-2, dated 26 January 1694/5 and recorded 25 February 1694/5.
[128] York County Deeds and Bonds (1) 152-3, dated 18 and 19 May 1698 and recorded 24 June 1698. Buckner also owned lots in the Read Addition to Yorktown and rural land that adjoined the town. See Part I. Section 9—Part II. Lots in the Read Addition to Yorktown and Section 1. Part 10—Rural Land.
[129] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (11) 216-7, 25 September 1699.
[130] Ibid., p. 315, 25 March 1700; ibid., p. 357, 24 July 1700.
[131] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 20-1, dated 23 and 24 December 1701 and recorded 24 December 1701.
[132] Cary also owned Lot 12, Lot 14, Lot 18, Lot 19, and Lot 20. See Lot 12, Lot 14, Lot 19, and Lot 20.

Wilson Cary, son of Miles Cary Senior, gained possession of Lot 19 after his father's death. It is likely that the younger Cary, a resident of Elizabeth City County, rented out this lot to a tenant or tenants. In January 1728/9, Cary sold Lot 13 to a carpenter named Robert Ballard.[133]

Robert Ballard

In 1728/9, Robert Ballard purchased Yorktown Lot 13 from Wilson Cary. Two years later, in 1731, Ballard purchased three more lots from Wilson Cary. The Yorktown carpenter added Lot 14, Lot 19, and Lot 20 to his real estate holdings.[134]

Ballard, the son of Thomas and Katherine Ballard, was born by 1696 in Yorkhampton Parish. After the 1711 death of his father, Ballard inherited the tract of land where his father formerly lived in Yorkhampton Parish and "negro Jane with her increase" when he reached adulthood. Jane was appraised at £ 28 in the June 1711 inventory of Thomas Ballard's personal property.[135]

According to the instructions in his father's will, Robert Ballard was apprenticed to a carpenter to learn the skills of this trade. It is possible that he helped to construct many of the buildings that stood on Yorktown lots. In 1717, Ballard purchased his first half-acre in Yorktown—Lot 21.[136] Two years later, Ballard took two enslaved boys to the courthouse to have their ages adjudged. The justices of the peace decided that Ben was ten years old and Sawney was seven years of age.[137] Perhaps Ballard planned to train both Ben and Sawney to be carpenters.

During the 1720s and 1730s, Ballard completed several projects for York County. In 1725, Ballard received payment for "a door to the cthouse." Eight years later, in 1733, the York County Court ordered payment to Ballard for "twelve chairs and two tables for the use of the Court House." The following year, Ballard earned 500 pounds of tobacco for the construction of a pillory and stocks.[138] In addition to Ben and Sawney, in early 1727/8, Ballard gained the labor of his apprentice, William Moss, and that of Moss's slave.[139] In 1733, Ballard purchased three imported African slaves. York's officials determined that Rolinswick was a thirteen-year old boy, Whitehall was a boy of twelve years, and Nanny was a fourteen-year old girl.[140] Ballard's decision to buy three young

[133] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 503-4, dated and recorded 20 January 1728/9.
[134] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 94-97a, dated and recorded 21 June 1731.
[135] York County Orders and Wills (14) 92-4, dated 26 September 1706 and recorded 18 June 1711; ibid., pp. 100-1, dated 2 June 1711 and recorded 16 July 1711.
[136] See Lot 21.
[137] York County Orders and Wills (15) 520, 21 December 1719.
[138] York County Orders and Wills (16) 364, 15 November 1725; York County Wills and Inventories (18) 69, [15] September 1733; ibid., p. 158, 6 November 1734.
[139] York County Orders and Wills (16) 502, 19 February 1727/8.
[140] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 52, 18 June 1733.

slaves indicates that his business was prosperous and that he needed more assistance. In addition, he added an enslaved girl to help his wife, Jane, with the domestic work.

Robert Ballard died between 17 February 1734/5 and 19 May 1735. This carpenter did not write a will before his death. The 1735 inventory of Ballard's estate included seven slaves: Whitehall (£ 20), Brunswick (£ 22), Hanover (£ 20), Cockhill (£ 28), Jane (£ 12), Sawney (£ 28), and Pat (£ 22).[141] His widow, Jane, remarried Matthew Hubbard, the York County clerk, by 15 March 1735/6. The Hubbards and Ballard's three daughters—Charlotte, Henrietta, and Jane—and the family's slaves made their home in Ballard's Yorktown dwelling on Lot 13.

Matthew Hubbard continued to rent Lot 14, Lot 19, and Lot 20 to tenants as Ballard had done during his lifetime.[142] Perhaps he reached an agreement with Benjamin Hanson to butcher meat for the household.[143] Hubbard also managed the labor of Ballard's slaves and secured any necessary medical care for these individuals.[144] On 31 March 1736, Hubbard paid Patience Davis ten shillings for delivering Pat's child. Hubbard summoned Doctor Robert Jackson on 16 June 1736 to care for Cockhill and paid him thirteen shillings. Jackson returned to Lot 13 a month later to see Pat and received a payment of £ 1.6.0 for his services. On 12 September 1736, Doctor Jackson charged Ballard's estate three shillings and nine pence for tending to Pat and two shillings for "a Quart of wine with Snake root for Whitehall." Almost five months later, on 20 February 1736[/7], Doctor Jackson asked for two shillings and six pence for treating Brunswick's hand. In late June 1737, Jackson returned to Lot 13 to care for Pat and billed Ballard's estate £ 1.9.3. On 3 December of the same year, Mrs. Morris received ten shillings for delivering Pat's baby. It is likely that Mrs. Morris gave Pat some of the rum and sugar that Hubbard purchased on the same day. When Pat gave birth to another child on 26 April 1740, Hubbard did not specify who earned ten shillings for helping this enslaved mother during her delivery.

In addition to noting the cost of medical treatment, Matthew Hubbard recorded the cost of several items that he bought for the Ballard slaves. Between 28 March 1735 and 5 May 1740, Hubbard noted multiple purchases of osnaburg, "Negro Shoes," "Corn for the Negroes," and plaid hose. In addition, on 15 November 1737, Sawney received a jacket that cost seven shillings and six pence. The 5 May 1740 expense of £ 1.10.0 for "maintaining Negro Rachel 3 yrs" suggests that the household included one enslaved laborer who could not work.

Entries in the account of Ballard's estate also indicate that Hubbard hired out several of the enslaved laborers to earn money for his stepdaughters. On 19 March 1739[/40], Hubbard noted that Reginald Orton paid £ 1 to hire Hanover. In late October 1739,

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[141] Ibid., pp. 206-7, recorded 16 June 1735.
[142] See Lot 14, Lot 19, and Lot 20.
[143] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 626-7, dated 19 July 1740 and recorded 21 July 1740.
[144] York County Guardian Accounts (1) 9-12, recorded 19 August 1740.

Hubbard received £ 10 from Mr. Needler who hired two of Ballard's slaves. Sawney's name appeared in two entries dated 20 June 1740. First, Hubbard recorded the payment of £ 6.12.5 for "the hire of Sawney since Mr. Ballards death." Next, he noted £ 37.7.7 for "the further allowance for the hire of Jane & Sawney til Septr 1740."

It is possible that the marriage of Jane Ballard to William Dudley prompted Matthew Hubbard to settle his account of Ballard's estate and to divide Ballard's property among his heirs.[145] The following year, in March 1740/1, the men directed to assign Ballard's real estate to his heirs decided to allot Lot 13, valued at a rent of £ 20 per year and where Ballard had lived, to Matthew Hubbard. Next, Lot 19, assessed at an annual rent of £ 16, became the property of William Dudley, the husband of Ballard's oldest daughter, Jane. Third, Henrietta Ballard gained possession of Lot 20 that had a rental value of £ 6 per year. Last, Ballard's youngest daughter, Charlotte, became the owner of Lot 14 that was valued at a rent of just twenty shillings per year.[146] In the division of Ballard's personal estate, Jane Hubbard gained possession of Sawney (valued at £ 47); William and Jane Dudley received Cockhill (valued at £ 30); Henrietta became the owner of Pat and her youngest child (valued at £25) in addition to Brunswick (valued at £ 20); and Charlotte acquired Whitehall (valued at £ 30) and Pat's eldest child (valued at £ 7).

Matthew Hubbard and Jane Ballard Hubbard

Matthew Hubbard married Jane Ballard, the widow of Robert Ballard, by 15 March 1735/6. Hubbard was the son of James and Elizabeth Hubbard of Bruton Parish. The Hubbards lived in the Ballard dwelling house on Lot 13. The Hubbard household included Jane, Henrietta, and Charlotte Ballard, the daughters of Robert and Jane Ballard, as well as Hubbard's four children—James, Matthew, William, Elizabeth—from his marriage to Jane. Lot 13 was also home to the seven slaves—Whitehall, Brunswick, Hanover, Cockhill, Jane, Sawney, and Pat—whom Ballard owned at the time of his death.[147] The number of slaves on this property increased in November 1736 when Hubbard took three enslaved children to the York County Court. The justices of the peace determined that Pompey was a boy of ten years, Poll was a fourteen-year old girl,

[145] Ibid. Jane Ballard was married to William Dudley by 15 September 1740.

[146] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 36-7, dated 16 March 1740/1 and recorded 15 June 1741. The settlement of Ballard's estate included annual rent payments of £5 from a Mr. Robertson on 22 January 1735[/6], 22 January 1736[/7], 22 January 1737[/8], and 22 January 1738[/9]. On 25 October 1739, Hubbard noted the payment of "rent recd of Mr. Robertson to his death" in the sum of £3.14.8. Hubbard recorded three rent payments from William Sherrington—£ 1.6.3 on 20 June 1738 "for the Shop" and £ 4 for a "yrs rent" on 20 June 1739 and 20 June 1740. Finally, Hubbard credited Ballard's estate the sum of £ 2.12.6 for "rent of a room recd of Doctr Bembo." It is not clear if these men lived on Lot 13, Lot 14, Lot 19, or Lot 20. There is no additional information about either Mr. Robertson or Dr. Bembo in the York County records. For Sherrington, see Part I. Section 9—Part II. Lots in the Gwyn Read Addition to Yorktown.

[147] In July 1735, the justices of the peace determined that Hanover, a boy owned by Jane Ballard, was twelve years old. It is possible that Ballard purchased Hanover in early 1735 and did not have time to take him to the York County Court before his death. York County Wills and Inventories (18) 207, 21 July 1735.

and Sarah was twelve years of age.[148] After the March 1740/1 division of Ballard's estate, it is possible that Cockhill left Lot 13 and joined the household of William and Jane Dudley.[149]

In 1740, Henrietta Ballard chose Gwyn Read of Gloucester County to be her guardian. Read submitted annual reports of expenditures on her behalf as well as income. In 1740, Read noted he spent four shillings on a pair of "negros Shoes" and four shillings seven pence for five and a half ells of osnaburg. The following year Read recorded a charge of eight shillings for a "negroes rug" and £ 3.10.0 for "her negro wench's & childs board." In 1741, Ballard's guardian reported a charge of £ 9.10.0 "To the Doctors accot for her Negros." Read noted the payment of £ 2.10.0 for "her part of the hire of the Negros." At the end of the account, Matthew Hubbard, in his role as York County clerk, noted that

> it appears to this Court by Sufficient Testimony that the extraordinary ballance of this accot in favour of the sd Gwyn Reade is occasiond by Brunswick and Pat two Negros belonging to the sd orphan and the Court being fully convinced that the sd Negros will always be a charge to her if not sold Therefore considering the Nature of their distemper's It's thought necessary and convenient that the sd Negros be sold and it's accordingly order'd that the sd Gwyn Reade do sell them for the most that can be got for the orphan.[150]

In 1742, Read charged Henrietta Ballard's account the sum of five shillings paid "the Sherif for Selling your Negro." The following year, Read recorded the payment of £ 21.8.0 "recd for your Negro Pat."[151] Read's 1744 entry—"To your 2 Negro's boards from Christmas 1742 til Christmas 1743"—suggests that Henrietta Ballard still held Brunswick and Pat's youngest child.[152]

Matthew Hubbard gained possession of two slaves—Davy a boy valued at £ 25 and a girl named Nanny who was worth £ 16.10.0—when the estate of his father, James Hubbard, was divided in January 1744/5.[153] Hubbard died by 18 November 1745, the date his will was probated. Hubbard left the land that he purchased from Gwyn Read to his sons James, Matthew, and William. He wanted the remainder of his estate to be equally divided among his wife and four children.[154] At the time of his death, the York County Clerk had five slaves: Belinda and her child Betty valued at £ 50; David, described as "a

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[148] Ibid., p. 326, 15 November 1736.
[149] See Lot 19.
[150] York County Guardian Accounts (1) 38-9, recorded 17 August 1742.
[151] Ibid., p. 62, recorded 16 August 1743.
[152] Ibid., p. 66, recorded 17 December 1744.
[153] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 341-2, dated 11 January 1744/5 and recorded 21 January 1744/5.
[154] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 7-8, dated 9 May 1744 and recorded 18 November 1745. See Part I. Section 9—Part II. Lots in the Read Addition to Yorktown.

Young Negro Fellow" and assessed at £ 35; a young girl named Nanny who was worth £ 27; and Pompey who was valued at £ 40.[155]
It is likely that Jane Hubbard remained on Lot 13 after the death of her second husband. In September 1747, the county clerk noted that the widow Hubbard's three tithes were to be added to the list taken by Thomas Cobbs. This entry indicates that Jane Hubbard's enslaved laborers were in Bruton Parish, not Yorktown. It is likely that William Hubbard, one of Matthew Hubbard's brothers, managed these slaves for his sister-in-law.

The widow Hubbard died by 15 February 1747/8, the date that William Powell agreed to serve as the administrator of his mother-in-law's estate. Five months later, on 18 July 1748, appraisers assessed her small estate—consisting of a few silver items, including an old tankard—at just £ 8.18.4.[156] Jane Ballard Hubbard's inventory did not list Pompey, the slave whom she inherited after the death of Robert Ballard, a sign that she conveyed this enslaved man to a family member before she died.

During the late 1740s and early 1750s, William Hubbard continued to manage the work done by Pompey and the other Hubbard slaves. He did so by moving the rest of his deceased brother's enslaved laborers to Williamsburg and hiring them out to residents of Virginia's colonial capital. The 1749 entries in the account of Hubbard's estate noted that

By John Clark for 2 Years hire Linder £ 9 not paid	
By John Berrow for 20 month hire Linder	10..0..0
By Wm. Dunn for 3 Years hire Pompey & Davey	36..0..0
By Do. for 1 Years hire Pompey & Davey	16..0..0
By Do. for 2 Years hire Linder	12..0..0
By Do. for 1 Years hire Nan	3.0.0
By John Ferguson for 2 Years hire Nan	4.0.0
By Mr. Hallam for 1 Months hire Do.	0.10.0

In 1754, William Dunn paid £ 25 to hire all of Hubbard's slaves.[157] It is possible that William Hubbard returned Linder (Belinda), Pompey, Davey, and Nan to Ballard's daughters and their families after they completed their service to Dunn.

Charlotte née Ballard Dixon, Nicholas Dixon, and Beverley Dixon

It is unknown when Charlotte née Ballard married Nicholas Dixon, a merchant who was in Gloucester County by late 1748.[158] It is possible that Nicholas and Charlotte Dixon

[155] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 60-2, recorded 16 March 1746/7.
[155] Ibid., p. 109, dated and recorded 18 July 1748.
[156] Ibid., p. 109, dated and recorded 18 July 1748.
[157] Ibid., pp. 366-71, recorded 18 August 1755.
[158] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 271-2, dated 16 November 1748 and recorded 16 January 1748/9.

lived in the dwelling house on Lot 13 by May 1751 when Dixon was a partner of Francis Willis and William Stevenson.[159] In June 1752, Dixon announced his plans to leave for London the following month. This merchant was back in Yorktown by September 1753 when the York County justices of the peace ordered that Belinda, a tithe belonging to Dixon, to be added to the list taken by John Norton.[160]

Perhaps Belinda, a slave who had been part of Matthew Hubbard's estate, was one of the four tithes held by Dixon in June 1756 when William and Henrietta Powell conveyed their one-third portion of Lot 13 to their brother-in-law.[161] Two years later, Belinda might also have been one of the four Dixon tithes whom the Reverend John Camm added to his 1758 list of tithables in Yorkhampton Parish.

In September 1767, Dixon announced his intention to leave the colony the following spring. He announced to the readers of the *Virginia Gazette* that "I will sell or lease for a term of years the house wherein I now live, situated on the main street in this town, with two lots adjoining, on which are all necessary houses, with a large garden; the whole paled in." He also noted that

> the goods I have in the store, several house servants, horses, and household furniture, will be sold privately, to any persons who may have occasion, until Monday the 2d of November next, when the remainder will be sold off at publick vendue, and credit allowed the purchasers, for all sums above forty shillings, until the 20th of April next, bond and security being given.

In June 1768, shortly before Dixon and his family boarded the *Hanbury*, he reminded interested parties that "Any person who wants either to purchase, or rent, the house in which I now live, with one or two lots adjoining, may have them on reasonable terms." In addition, Dixon stated that he still had "some house servants to be sold, or hired out."[162]

After sailing to England, the Dixons settled in Bristol, England where, in 1769, Nicholas Dixon died. On 20 April 1770, Charlotte Dixon became the adminstratrix of her deceased husband's estate.[163] The widow Dixon and her son, Beverley, returned to

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[159] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 424, 20 May 1751. On 16 July 1753, the York County clerk noted that Dixon was the former bookkeeper for William Stevenson. York County Judgments and Orders (2) 269, 16 July 1753.

[160] *Virginia Gazette*, 12 June 1752; York County Judgments and Orders (2) 303, 17 September 1753.

[161] York County Deeds (6) 61-3, dated 10 June 1756 and recorded 16 August 1756.

[162] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 3 September 1767; ibid., 2 June 1768.

[163] Lothrop Withington, ed. and indexed by Thomas Hollowak, *Virginia Gleanings in England: Abstracts of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century English Wills and Administrations Relating to Virginia and Virginians: A Consolidation of Articles from The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1980), p. 620; see also p. 226.

Virginia and she established a mercantile business in Williamsburg.[164] On 6 May 1772, Beverley Dixon placed the following announcement in the *Virginia Gazette*:

> TO be sold to the highest Bidder, on Monday the 17th Instant (May) before the SWAN Tavern in YORK Town, A DWELLINGHOUSE in the said town, pleasantly situated on the main Street, where Mrs. Robinson now lives, with convenient Outhouses, and two LOTS adjoining. Twelve Months credit will be allowed the Purchaser, on giving Bond and approved Security to BEVERLEY DICKSON.[165]

Dixon did not find a purchaser for Lot 13 until 11 August 1778, when he sold Lot 13 and Lot 14 to Robert Gibbons. The deed noted that the lots adjoined Main Street on the north, Robert Wise's lot on the south, the lot held by Jane Dudley on the east, and the street that divided this parcel from a lot owned by Armistead Lightfoot on the west.[166]

Editha née Tyler Robinson

The advertisement that Beverley Dixon placed in the 6 May 1772 issue of Purdie and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette* noted that a woman named Mrs. Robinson was his tenant. Mrs. Robinson was Editha née Tyler Robinson, widow of the Reverend Thomas Robinson. The Reverend Robinson was the Master of the Grammar School at the College of William and Mary. Editha Robinson was the mother of Mary née Robinson Jameson who married Thomas Jameson.[167] It is possible that the widow Robinson moved to Yorktown, the home of her daughter and son-in-law, soon after her husband's death. The Reverend Thomas Robinson died circa 1765.

It is possible that Editha Robinson planned to leave Yorktown when Dixon advertised the May 1772 sale of the house in which she lived. In January 1771, Thomas Jameson died, and two months later, on 14 March 1771, the *Virginia Gazette* noted the death of Mary Jameson.[168] On 18 July 1771, Editha Robinson announced her intention to leave the colony and journey to England. A month later, on 17 August 1771, she granted a power of attorney to Lewis Tyler of Williamsburg. The widow Robinson was a Yorktown

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[164] For information on the business operated by Charlotte Dixon and Beverley Dixon in Williamsburg, see Linda L. Sturtz, *Within Her Power: Propertied Women in Colonial Virginia*, (Routledge: New York and London, 2002), pp. 155-6, 245 n. 64.

[165] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 6 May 1772.

[166] York County Deeds (6) 10-1, dated 11 August 1778 and recorded 17 August 1778.

[167] Thomas Jameson, a merchant, was the nephew of David Jameson. Mary, daughter of the Reverend Thomas Robinson and his wife Editha, was baptized at Bruton Parish Church on 4 February 1748[/9].

[168] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 10 January 1771; ibid., 14 March 1771. See Lot 53 for information about the estate of Thomas Jameson and Mary Jameson.

resident in April of the following year when she was a plaintiff against Tyler in his role as the administrator of Thomas Jameson's estate.[169]

The widow Robinson left Virginia for England sometime before 1778. In June of that year, Editha Robinson submitted a Loyalist Claim in which she asked for money to cover the loss of a house, a slave, and unspecified debts.[170] It is unknown if Robinson had an enslaved laborer in her possession during the time she lived in Yorktown.

Robert Gibbons

On 11 August 1778, Robert Gibbons, a blacksmith, purchased Lot 13 and Lot 14 from Beverley Dixon. Gibbons was the son of John and Mary Gibbons and the brother of Damaris née Gibbons Smith Mitchell. In 1787, Gibbons paid £ 11.15 to hire Ben from the estate of Captain John Goodwin.[171] Gibbons held Lot 13 and Lot 14 until his death between 1820 and 1822.

[169] Virginia Gazette, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 18 July 1771; York County Deeds (8) 149-51, dated 17 August 1771 and recorded 19 August 1771; York County Judgments and Orders (2) 519, 20 April 1772.
[170] PRO/AO 13/32, 22 June 1778. The widow Robinson's claim was rejected. PRO/T 79/97A, 13 August 1778.
[171] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 212-7, recorded 21 June 1790.

Lot 14

Robert Hyde

On 24 November 1691, Robert Hyde purchased Lot 14 from the trustees of Yorktown.[172] Hyde did not build on this property and forfeited the title to this parcel.

Miles Cary Senior and Wilson Cary

On 24 May 1706, Miles Cary Senior of Warwick County bought Lot 14 from Yorktown's trustees.[173] Cary built at least one structure on the property and may have leased this half-acre to one or more tenants during his lifetime. He held this lot until his death on 17 February 1708/9.

Wilson Cary, son of Miles Cary Senior, gained possession of Lot 14 after his father's death. It is likely that the younger Cary, a resident of Elizabeth City County, rented out this lot. In June 1731, Cary sold Lot 14 to a carpenter named Robert Ballard.[174]

Robert Ballard, Charlotte née Ballard Dixon, Nicholas Dixon, Beverley Dixon, and Robert Gibbons

In March 1740/1, Robert Ballard's real and personal property was divided among his heirs. Ballard's youngest daughter, Charlotte, became the owner of Lot 14 that could be rented for just twenty shillings per year. In addition, Charlotte Ballard acquired Whitehall (valued at £ 30) and Pat's eldest child (valued at £ 7).[175]

See Lot 13.

[172] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 279, dated 24 November 1691 and recorded 25 January 1691/2.
[173] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 183, dated 24 May 1706 and recorded 24 September 1706.
[174] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 94-97a, dated and recorded 21 June 1731. Cary also used this deed to convey Lot 19 and Lot 20 to Ballard. See Lot 19 and Lot 20.
[175] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 36-7, dated 16 March 1740/1 and recorded 15 June 1741.

Lot 15

John Trotter

In December 1717, John Trotter, the son of William and Ann Trotter of Charles Parish, bought Lot 15 from the trustees of Yorktown.[176] Trotter gained possession of Lot 65 in January 1721/2 when he purchased this half-acre from John and Elizabeth Moss and Elizabeth Moss, mother of John Moss.[177] In February 1730/1, Trotter bought land known as Essex Lodge in Yorkhampton Parish from Lucy Toplis.[178] Trotter's last purchase of urban land was on 16 September 1740 when he purchased a half-acre of land from Gwyn Read. This parcel in the Read Addition to Yorktown adjoined Lot 15.[179]

Trotter, a blacksmith, was a slave owner. On 16 November 1719, Trotter took a slave boy to the York County Courthouse. The justices of the peace determined that Bristol was ten years old. Almost four years later, in September 1723, Trotter again appeared before York's magistrates with a young slave. These men decided that Caesar was eleven years of age.[180] In addition, this blacksmith inherited two old slaves, Nemo and Judy, after the death of his father and mother.[181]

It is known that Trotter also had one white apprentice. In December 1738, his white servant appeared in the York County Court. David Heartly testified that he was not guilty of stealing 2,000 or 3,000 nails that belonged to Jones Irwin. The justices of the peace determined that Heartly was not guilty of the charge. Eight months later, Heartly was back in court. In August 1739, York County's magistrates decided that Heartly and William Barbasore, a servant to William Rogers, should appear before the General Court where they would be tried on the charges of breaking into one of Philip Lightfoot's storehouses and taking goods out of this building. Heartly's fate is unknown.[182]

John Trotter lived on Lot 15 until his death in the spring of 1745. He bequeathed the two lots on which he lived to his son (Lot 15 and an adjoining parcel in the Gwyn Read Addition to Yorktown), Thomas, as well as his land in Essex Lodge and his still. This blacksmith also left his lot that adjoined the property of John Gibbons and William Allen to his daughter, Elizabeth. In addition, Elizabeth Trotter gained possession of her father's

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[176] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 223, dated 16 December 1717 and recorded 20 January 1717/8.
[177] Ibid., pp. 374-6, dated 12 January 1721/2 and recorded 15 January 1721/2.
[178] Trotter bought a total of 142 acres from Lucy Toplis and a month later he sold a portion of this land to John Buckler, a Yorktown mariner. York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 77-9, dated and recorded 15 February 1730/1; ibid., pp. 83-4, dated 14 March 1730/1 and recorded 15 March 1730/1; ibid., pp. 88-90, dated and recorded 15 March 1730/1.
[179] The 16 September 1740 deed from Read to Trotter is mentioned in York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 477-9, dated 25 April 1752 and recorded 18 May 1752.
[180] York County Orders and Wills (15) 501, 16 November 1719; York County Orders and Wills (16) 231, 16 September 1723.
[181] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 81-2, dated 16 October 1733 and recorded 17 December 1733. It is possible that Trotter kept Judy and Nemo on his land in Charles Parish.
[182] Ibid., p. 463, 18 December 1738; ibid., pp. 513-4, 3 August 1739.

land in Charles Parish.[183] The inventory of Trotter's estate indicated that he had two slaves in Yorktown—Moll, an old wench valued at £ 8.10.0, and a young wench named Sarah who was worth £ 35. There were five slaves at Trotter's "Poquoson Quarter"—a man known as Frank (£ 30), an old wench named Judy (£ 10), Kate and her unnamed child (£ 45), and a young woman called Sarah (£ 35). Trotter had just one slave, a man named Giles (£ 48), at "the Lodge Quarter."[184]

Thomas Trotter

Thomas Trotter inherited Lot 15 and a parcel of land in the Read Addition to Yorktown when the will of his father, John Trotter, was probated on 20 May 1745. The following February, John Buckner and John Chapman divided John Trotter's slaves between Thomas Trotter and Maurice Langhorne, the husband of Elizabeth née Trotter Langhorne. Trotter received Old Moll, Sarah, Giles, and Young Sarah. The Langhornes gained ownership of Frank, Judy, and Kate and her unnamed child.[185]

On 25 April 1752, Thomas Trotter conveyed two Yorktown lots to Matthew Burt, a chairmaker of York County. First, Trotter sold Lot 15, the half-acre that his father purchased from Yorktown's trustees. The second parcel was a lot that John Trotter purchased from Gwyn Read on 16 September 1740.[186] It is possible that Trotter moved to Lot 65, the half-acre that his sister inherited from their father.[187]

Matthew Burt

On 25 April 1752, Matthew Burt, a chairmaker, bought Lot 15 and a parcel in the Read Addition to Yorktown from Thomas Trotter. It is likely that Burt had enslaved laborers in his Yorktown household. After the 19 March 1743/4 division of his father's estate, Burt gained possession of Judy, an enslaved woman valued at £ 30.[188] In July 1751, Burt took a slave boy named Jack to the York County Court. The justices of the peace determined that he was fourteen years old.[189] Burt had two white apprentices—Edmund Glaville who agreed, in September 1751, to serve Burt for five years as he learned the skills

[183] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 369, dated 25 March 1745 and recorded 20 May 1745.
[184] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 34-6, recorded 19 August 1745.
[185] Ibid., pp. 179-80, recorded 17 February 1745[/6].
[186] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 477-9, dated 25 April 1752 and recorded 18 May 1752.
[187] In November 1759, Trotter, a Yorktown merchant, purchased Lot 65 from Maurice Langhorne and Elizabeth née Trotter Langhorne. York County Deeds (6) 238-41, dated [not given] November 1759 and recorded 21 April 1760. Trotter also owned Lot 78, with Thomas Tomer. See Lot 78.
[188] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 271-2, recorded 19 March 1743/4. Judy, a girl, was worth £ 20 in the inventory of Moody Burt's estate. York County Wills and Inventories (18) 258, recorded 19 January 1735/6.
[189] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 434, 15 July 1751.

of a wheelwright and William Taylor who became Burt's apprentice in June 1752. Taylor promised to serve Burt for six years.[190]

It is possible that Burt owed money to the Reverend John Ornsby by the mid-1750s and was unable to repay the debt. On 26 September 1755, the minister placed the following announcement in the colony's newspaper:

> Notice is hereby given, That there will be exposed to Sale, by Way of Outcry, at York Court-House, the 20th of October next, Two Lots of Land, whereon Matthew Burt now lives; there is a neat small Dwelling-House on them, in good Repair, with two Brick Chimneys to it, a Kitchen with one Chimney, a Work-House, and a Garden pailed in. One Half of the Purchase Money to be paid down, the other Half in Six Months after, on giving Security, as usual, to John Ornsby.[191]

Ornsby was the high bidder for these lots and on 16 February 1756, Burt and his wife Ann conveyed the property to the Reverend John Ornsby.[192]

Reverend John Ornsby

In February 1756, the Reverend John Ornsby purchased Lot 15 and the adjoining lot in the Read Addition to Yorktown from Matthew Burt. It is likely that this minister leased these parcels to a tenant or tenants. Ornsby was a resident of Amelia County on 16 May 1757 when he sold these lots to James Mills of Yorktown. Mills already owned lots that adjoined this property.[193]

James Mills

See Lot 20.

[190] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 452-3, dated and recorded 16 September 1751; ibid., pp. 485-6, dated 14 June 1752 and recorded 15 June 1752.
[191] *Virginia Gazette*, 26 September 1755.
[192] York County Deeds (6) 46-7, dated and recorded 16 February 1756. In May 1757, Burt and his wife Ann mortgaged sixty-six and a half acres in Yorkhampton Parish to William Baker of James City County. The deed described Burt as a chair maker. Ibid., pp. 83-5, dated 10 May 1757 and recorded 20 June 1757. The following year, the Reverend John Camm noted that Burt had three tithes in his household.
[193] Ibid., pp. 77-9, dated and recorded 16 May 1757.

Lot 19

Thomas Collier

Thomas Collier, a York County planter, purchased Lot 19 from the Trustees of Yorktown in November of 1691.[194] Collier did not meet the requirement to build on the property, and the title to the lot reverted to the town's trustees.

Miles Cary Senior and Wilson Cary

In May 1706, the Yorktown trustees conveyed Lot 19 to Miles Cary Senior of Warwick County.[195] Cary built on the half-acre parcel, and it is likely that he leased this property to individuals who were not able to purchase a lot. He retained ownership of it until the time of his death on 17 February 1708/9.

Wilson Cary, son of Miles Cary Senior, gained possession of Lot 19 after his father's death. It is likely that the younger Cary, a resident of Elizabeth City County, rented out this lot to a tenant or tenants. In June 1731, Cary sold Lot 19 in addition to Lot 14 and Lot 20 to a carpenter named Robert Ballard.[196]

Robert Ballard

See Lot 13.

William Harwood—tenant of Robert Ballard[197]

Extant documents indicate that William Harwood rented Lot 19 from Robert Ballard by 1735 and possibly earlier. It is known that Harwood, a tavern keeper and a ferry keeper, and his wife Elizabeth lived on Lot 31 by May 1720. Elizabeth Harwood inherited the remainder of the lease that her first husband, John Roberts, had on Lot 31.[198] She also

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[194] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 279, dated 24 November 1691 and recorded 25 January 1691[/2].

[195] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 184a, dated 24 May 1706 and recorded 24 September 1706. Cary also owned Lot 12, Lot 13, Lot 14, Lot 18, and Lot 20. See Lot 12, Lot 13, Lot 14, and Lot 20.

[196] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 94-97a, dated and recorded 21 June 1731.

[197] The name "William Harwood" appears as the tenant of Lot 19 in the accounts that Matthew Hubbard submitted each year that he served as the guardian of his stepdaughters. However, when Hubbard, in his role as York County clerk, recorded the settlement of Robert Ballard's estate, he noted the name of the tenant of Lot 19 as "William Harrison." Hubbard probably made a mistake when he wrote "William Harrison" in the county record book and that William Harwood was the only person who leased Lot 19, first from Robert Ballard and then from Matthew Hubbard.

[198] In February 1725/6, John Brooks, son of John and Elizabeth Brooks, took the Harwoods to court in order to receive money due for the rental of Lot 31. See Lot 31.

gained possession of an enslaved man named Harry. In addition, Roberts left a slave to each of his children. Elizabeth Roberts received a woman named Hannah and John Roberts inherited a man named Jimmy. After the death of their mother, Elizabeth and John Roberts were to share Harry.[199]

It is possible that Harwood, a ferry keeper, had Harry and Jimmy help convey passengers between Yorktown and Tindall's Point. For three years in the early 1720s, a white indentured servant named John Ahairn also transported individuals across the York River. Hannah might have cooked meals for the Harwoods and the people who stayed in the tavern.

William Harwood, his family, and his slaves lived on Lot 19 by March 1734/5. Six months later, on 19 September 1735, this tavern keeper and ferry operator paid £ 7.10.0 to Robert Ballard's estate for a half-year's rent. Harwood made similar payments on 19 March 1735[/6], 19 September 1736, 19 March 1736[/7], 19 September 1737, and 19 March 1737[/8]. The rent dropped to £ 6 on 19 September 1738, 19 March 1738[/9], 19 September 1739, and 19 March 1739[/40].

It is possible that Harwood continued to lease Lot 19 and made his rent payments to William Dudley after he married Jane, the oldest daughter of Robert and Jane Ballard. In November 1744, Harwood received a license to keep an ordinary at the ferry in Yorktown, an indication that he separated his business from his home.[200] A year and a half later, Harwood had financial troubles and could not pay his debts. In May 1746, Harwood mortgaged personal property to Philip Lightfoot. The mortgaged property included an old enslaved woman named Bess and a ten-year old girl known as Barbary. Harwood agreed to make six annual payments of £ 25 to Lightfoot. It is unknown if Harwood met the terms of this agreement and retained possession of Bess and Barbary.[201] He operated the ferry across the York River until 3 February 1748 and possibly as late as July 1749 when James Mitchell and John Gibbons received an appointment to operate the ferry between Yorktown and Tindall's Point.[202]

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[199] York County Orders and Wills (15) 560, dated 18 December 1719 and recorded 15 February 1719/20.
[200] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 317, 19 November 1744.
[201] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 174-6, dated 26 May 1746 and recorded 21 July 1746.
[202] See Lot 25.

William Dudley and Jane née Ballard Dudley

In March 1740/1, Robert Ballard's real and personal property was divided among his heirs. The men directed to assign Ballard's real estate decided to assign Lot 19 (assessed at a rent of £ 16 per year), in the tenure of William Harwood, to William Dudley, the husband of Ballard's oldest daughter, Jane. The Dudleys also gained possession of Cockhill, a slave valued at £ 30.[203]

William and Jane Dudley might have lived on Lot 19 for a short time after she gained possession of the property. Extant documents indicate that the Dudleys were residents of Gloucester County by 1756, and it is possible that they leased Lot 19 to Nicholas Dixon, the husband of Charlotte née Ballard Dixon, and other tenants.

In November 1769, the York County clerk noted that William Dudley, son of William and Jane Dudley, was a York County merchant. Perhaps he lived in the house on Lot 19 and had a storehouse on the property. The younger Dudley married Sarah, daughter of John and Eleanor Shield of Charles Parish. On 18 November 1769, John Shield gave five slaves to Dudley, his son-in-law. Dudley gained possession of Sue, James, Phil, Jenny, and Joe.[204] William Dudley Junior died by 15 April 1771 and appraisers inventoried his personal estate on 27 April 1771. At the time of his death, the younger Dudley held six slaves: a man named James (£ 20); a boy known as James (£ 50); a woman called Sue (£ 45); two boys, Phil (£ 45) and Joe (£ 25); and a girl known as Jenny (£ 30).[205]

Jane Dudley retained title to Lot 19 until the time of her death. Jane Dudley's heirs—John Dixon and Ann Dixon of Petersburg and Charlotte Dixon, sister of John Dixon—held Lot 19 until 1812 when they conveyed it to Charles Harris.[206]

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[203] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 36-7, dated 16 March 1740/1 and recorded 15 June 1741.
[204] York County Deeds (8) 29, dated 18 November 1769 and recorded 20 November 1769.
[205] York County Judgments and Orders (2) 229, 15 April 1771; York County Wills and Inventories (22) 27-9, dated 27 April 1771 and recorded 20 May 1771. Sarah née Shield Dudley's second husband was William Cary. See Lot 54.
[206] York County Deeds (8) 228-30, dated 18 August 1812 and recorded 21 September 1812.

Lot 20

Thomas Branton

Sometime between 24 November 1691 and 25 November 1692, Thomas Branton bought Lot 20 from the Trustees of Yorktown.[207] Branton did not meet the requirement to build on the property and title to the lot reverted to the trustees.

Miles Cary Senior and Wilson Cary

In May 1706, the Yorktown trustees conveyed Lot 19 to Miles Cary Senior of Warwick County.[208] Cary built on the half-acre parcel and it is likely that he leased this property to individuals who were not able to purchase a lot. He retained ownership of Lot 20 until the time of his death on 17 February 1708/9. Ownership of this half-acre passed to Wilson Cary, son of Miles Cary Senior. It is likely that the younger Cary, a resident of Elizabeth City County, rented out this lot. In June 1731, Cary sold Lot 20 (and Lot 14 and Lot 19) to a carpenter named Robert Ballard.[209]

Robert Ballard

See Lot 13.

Robert Ballard died between 17 February 1734/5 and 19 May 1735. His widow, Jane, remarried Matthew Hubbard, the York County Clerk, by March 15, 1735/6. The Hubbards and Ballard's three daughters—Charlotte, Henrietta, and Jane—lived in Ballard's Yorktown dwelling on Lot 13. Matthew Hubbard rented Lot 20 to Elizabeth Williamson as Ballard had done during his life. In July 1740, the men who settled Ballard's estate noted that payments to the estate included £ 4 for "a years rent due at his death from Mrs. Williams."[210]

In March 1740/1, Ballard's real and personal property was divided among his heirs. Henrietta Ballard gained possession of Lot 20 that had a rental value of £ 6 per year. Elizabeth Williamson was the tenant of Lot 20 in 1741. Henrietta Ballard also received three slaves—Pat and her youngest child (valued at £25) and Brunswick (valued at £ 20).[211]

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[207] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 188-9, 25 November 1692.
[208] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 181, dated 24 May 1706 and recorded 24 September 1706. Cary also owned Lot 12, Lot 13, Lot 14, Lot 18, and Lot 19. See Lot 12, Lot 13, Lot 14, and Lot 19.
[209] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 94-97a, dated and recorded 21 June 1731.
[210] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 626-7, dated 19 July 1740 and recorded 21 July 1740.
[211] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 36-7, dated 16 March 1740/1 and recorded 15 June 1741.

Elizabeth Williamson—tenant of Robert Ballard

It is known that Elizabeth Williamson rented Lot 20 from Robert Ballard in 1735, and it is possible that she was on this lot before the time of his death. Initially, Williamson's annual rent was £ 4, and it increased to £ 6 on 26 March 1737. Williamson made her home on Lot 20 until 1743, the last year that Gwyn Read served as Henrietta Ballard's guardian. She left Lot 20 by 1 May 1751, the date that William and Henrietta Powell sold the half-acre to John Richardson.[212]

Williamson earned money by teaching some of the children who lived in Yorktown. She was a creditor in the estate of John Ballard in the amount of £ 0.13.9 ½ "for Schooling." There is no evidence that Williamson owned or leased enslaved laborers during the time she rented Lot 13. Williamson lived in Yorktown until the time of her death between 4 April 1757 and 20 June 1757.[213]

Henrietta née Ballard Powell and William Powell

In the 1741 division of her father's estate, Henrietta Ballard gained possession of Lot 20 and three slaves—Pat and her youngest child (valued at £25) and Brunswick (assessed at £ 20). Henrietta Ballard married William Powell, a Yorkhampton Parish planter, by 26 February 1748/9. On 1 May 1751, William and Henrietta Powell conveyed Lot 20 to John Richardson, a carpenter who lived in Yorktown, for £ 170.[214]

See Lot 13 above for information about enslaved laborers who Henrietta née Ballard Powell inherited from her father, Robert Ballard.

Matthew Hubbard—tenant of Henrietta née Ballard Powell

According to the guardian accounts kept by Gwyn Read, Matthew Hubbard rented part of Lot 20 from his stepdaughter, Henrietta, in 1740, 1741, 1742, and 1743. Extant documents do not indicate how Hubbard used this portion of Lot 20.[215]

John Richardson

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[212] York County Guardian Accounts (1) 9-12, recorded 21 July 1740; ibid., p. 16, recorded 15 September 1740; ibid., pp. 37-9, recorded 17 August 1742; ibid., p. 62, recorded 16 August 1743; and ibid., p. 66, recorded 17 December 1744.

[213] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 234-41, recorded 16 September 1751; ibid., pp. 437-8, dated 4 April 1757 and recorded 20 June 1757.

[214] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 433-6, dated 1 May 1751 and recorded 20 May 1751.

[215] York County Guardian Accounts (1) 37-9, recorded 17 August 1742; ibid., p. 62, recorded 16 August 1743; and ibid., p. 66, recorded 17 December 1744.

On 1 May 1751, John Richardson, a Yorktown carpenter, bought Lot 20 from William and Henrietta Powell for £ 170. Richardson mortgaged the lot and tenement to James Mills less than three weeks after he purchased the property.[216] In October 1753, the York County court ordered that the apprenticeship between John Richardson and John Whitloe Spurlock, a mulatto, to be recorded. At the same court session, Richardson defaulted on his mortgage and conveyed Lot 20 to James Mills for £ 110.[217] Perhaps Richardson and his apprentice stayed in Yorktown until January 1754, when this carpenter received a license to keep an ordinary at the Halfway House between Yorktown and Hampton.[218]

James Mills

In September 1753, James Mills purchased Lot 20 from John Richardson, a Yorktown carpenter.[219] A tailor, Mills, depended on the elite residents of Yorktown and the surrounding area as his customers. It is possible that he tailored clothing for prosperous colonists and for their personal slaves who dressed in livery.

Mills had both an indentured servant and slaves during the time he lived in Yorktown. In August 1745, Mills took an enslaved girl named Grace to the York County Court and the officials determined that she was nine years old. Four years later, in August 1749, the justices of the peace decided that Caesar was eight years of age. Mills also had an apprentice who ran from Yorktown on 9 December 1750. On 10 January 1750/1, Mills offered a reward for the return of "a Servant Man, named Thomas Stone, a Taylor by Trade."[220] It is unknown if Stone was captured and returned to Mills.

In 1758, the Reverend John Camm noted that Mills had nine tithes in his Yorktown household. This group of laborers included the tailor and his enslaved laborers. Mills lived in Yorktown until his 1762 death. In his will, Mills left his real estate to his wife, Hannah, during her lifetime. After Hannah's death, Mills wanted his Yorktown lots to become the property of his niece, Martha Ginter. The July 1763 inventory of his estate included six slaves: a man named James (£ 60); a wench known as Noate (£ 20); two boys, Collin (£ 50) and David (£ 48); a child named Sam (£ 15); and a second wench, Menivah (£ 45). James, Noate, and Menivah no doubt were among their masters's tithes in 1758. Collin and David might have been over the age of sixteen and been included on

[216] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 433-6, dated 1 May 1751 and recorded 20 May 1751; ibid., pp. 430-2, dated and recorded 20 May 1751.
[217] York County Judgments and Orders (2) 320, 18 September 1753; York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 555-7, dated 17 September 1753 and recorded 18 September 1753.
[218] York County Judgments and Orders (2) 368, 21 January 1754.
[219] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 555-7, dated 17 September 1753 and recorded 18 September 1753. Mills also owned two lots that he bought from Robert Jackson in 1750; Lot 9, purchased from John Gomer in 1752; and an additional two lots that adjoining his own property that he acquired in 1757. Ibid., pp. 380-4, dated and recorded 20 August 1750; ibid., pp. 506-7, dated and recorded 20 November 1752; York County Deeds (6) 77-9, dated and recorded 16 May 1757. See Lot 9, Lot 15, and Lot 21.
[220] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 385, 19 August 1745; York County Judgments and Orders (1) 236, 21 August 1749; *Virginia Gazette*, 10 January 1750/1.

Camm's list. The presence of "2 Pair Ozenbrigs Sheets" valued at £ 1 and "2 Ozenbrigs Table Cloths" worth £ 0.3.9 suggests that Mills made some items for slaves.[221]

Hannah Mills

Hannah Mills remained in Yorktown after the 1762 death of her husband James. The widow Mills held a life right to her deceased husband's lots in Yorktown and his slaves. In November 1774, the York County grand jury presented Hannah Mills because she failed to list three tithes—Collin, Grace, and Nate.[222] It is possible that the Grace whom Mills forgot to list was the same Grace whom her husband purchased in 1745. Perhaps the clerk recorded the name "Nate" instead of "Noate."

At some point during the Siege of Yorktown, the widow Mills and her slaves had to leave Lot 20 and relocate to another lot that she held in the town. The buildings that stood on Lot 20 did not survive the Siege of Yorktown. It is possible that all structures on this property were either damaged or destroyed during the time that the British constructed their earthworks. Lot 20 was in the area where the British Brigade of Guards camped during the Siege.[223]

Martha Christina Ginter

Martha Christina Ginter, the widow of Yorktown tailor John Conrad Ginter, gained possession of Lot 20 after the 1796 death of her aunt, Hannah Mills. The widow Ginter lived on Lot 31 until the time of her death between 20 May 1809 and 15 October 1810.[224] The widow Ginter asked her executor to sell her dwelling house, two stable lots, and five other lots that were valued at $5 each.[225] Robert Shield, the sheriff of York County, put Martha Christiana Ginter's urban property up for sale on 7 January 1811. Her real estate included the house in which she lived on the main street in Yorktown, the stable lot, two lots adjoining the stable lot, and five vacant lots. Willoughby Jordan was the highest bidder for Lot 20 at $957 in 1811. Shield conveyed the above property and an additional small piece of land to Jordan in February 1814.[226]

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[221] York County Wills and Inventories (21) 113-5, dated 6 July 1762 and recorded [torn] August 1762; ibid., pp. 153-7, dated 16 July 1763 and recorded [18] July 1763.
[222] York County Order Book (4) 65, 21 November 1774.
[223] Hatch, Jr., *Yorktown's Main Street*, p. 159.
[224] See Lot 31.
[225] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 776, dated 20 May 1809 and recorded 15 October 1810; York County Wills (10) 32-3, dated 3 January 1811 and recorded 15 June 1812.
[226] York County Wills (10) 33-6, dated 7 January 1811 and recorded 15 June 1812; York County Deeds (8) 283-4, dated 25 February 1814 and recorded 20 June 1814.

Lot 21

Robert Ballard

On 16 September 1717, the trustees of Yorktown conveyed Lot 21 to Robert Ballard, a Yorktown carpenter. Ballard held Lot 21 until October 1725 when he and his wife Jane sold this half-acre to Vincent Pearce of Great Britain.[227]

Vincent Pearce

In October 1725, Vincent Pearce, a resident of Great Britain, bought Lot 21 in Yorktown from Robert and Jane Ballard. Perhaps Pearce purchased Lot 21 so he could stay in his own house instead of a tavern during the time his vessel was anchored in the Yorktown harbor. It is known that Pearce was in Yorktown eleven years earlier. In December 1714, Pearce was the plaintiff against tavern keeper William Davis. Pearce accused Davis of "dealing with & harbouring & entertaining two deserters belonging to" his ship, the *Sampson*. The justices of the peace ruled in favor of Pearce.[228]

Pearce, the commander of His Majesty's ship, *Winchelsea*, owned Lot 21 until May 1735 when he sold the property to a surgeon named Robert Jackson. The deed noted that Jackson already lived on this half-acre.[229]

Robert Jackson

Robert Jackson, a surgeon, lived on Lot 21 in May 1735 when he purchased this property from Vincent Pearce. In June of the following year, Doctor Jackson took an enslaved girl to the York County Court. The justices of the peace determined that Sarah was fourteen years old.[230]

During the time that he was a Yorktown resident, it is known that Jackson treated slaves owned by Robert Ballard.[231] In addition, Jackson married a woman named Elizabeth. When Jackson left Yorktown to serve as a surgeon "of His Majesty's Ship the *Captain*," he gave his wife a power of attorney. On 8 December 1748, Jackson issued a second power of attorney to Richard Ambler of Yorktown and John Holt of Williamsburg for his business in Virginia. The doctor wanted Ambler and Holt to confirm the sale of his slave, Sarah, and of all the enslaved laborers to whom he was entitled from a Mr. Morris of

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[227] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 201, dated and recorded 16 September 1717; ibid., p. 449, dated 15 and 16 October 1725 and recorded 15 November 1725. Ballard lived on Lot 13 with his family. See Lot 13.
[228] York County Orders and Wills (14) 374, 20 December 1714.
[229] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 357-60, dated 30 May 1735 and recorded 16 June 1735.
[230] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 292, 21 June 1736.
[231] See Lot 13.

Norfolk.[232] James Spiers of Williamsburg purchased one of Jackson's slaves. On 19 September 1751, Spiers announced

> Ran away from the Subscriber, in Williamsburg, the 13th Instant, a Negroe Fellow named Dick; had on a white Coat, with metal Buttons, and a blew Jacket and Breeches: He formerly belonged to Doctor Jackson, in York, and was a Ferry-Man there, he can work in a Garden, and is supposed to be about York or Hampton. Whoever apprehends him, and brings him to me, shall receive Two Pistoles Reward if taken in this Colony, and Five Pistoles if taken in any other.[233]

There is no additional information about Dick.

On 20 August 1750, John Holt, the attorney for Robert Jackson, a surgeon in London, conveyed two Yorktown lots to James Mills. The first parcel—Lot 21—adjoined William Powell's property on the northeast, a cross street on the southeast, the second parcel on the southwest, and a half-acre owned by Trotter. The second lot bordered Main Street on the southwest. Jackson purchased this property from Gwyn Read.[234]

James Mills

See Lot 20.

[232] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 287-8, dated 8 December 1748 and recorded 20 March 1748/9. Elizabeth Jackson died sometime between 8 December 1748 and 20 July 1752 when John Holt received a commission of administration on her estate. York County Judgments and Orders (2) 80, 20 July 1752.
[233] *Virginia Gazette*, 19 September 1751.
[234] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 380-4, dated and recorded 20 August 1750.

Lot 23

Francis Callowhill

In November 1691, Francis Callowhill purchased Lot 23 from the Trustees of Yorktown. Callowhill, a planter from Charles Parish, did not build on his urban property and forfeited his title to the half-acre.[235]

William Tunley

Yorktown Lot 23 remained vacant until 1706 when William Tunley acquired this half-acre from the town's trustees.[236] Tunley built a structure on Lot 23 and retained ownership of this lot. In July 1715, Tunley's lot was noted as adjoining Lot 29, when Hester Powell sold part of Lot 29 to William Davis. Tunley sold Lot 23 to a London merchant named Humphrey Bell by late 1734.

Humphrey Bell

Humphrey Bell, a London merchant, held Lot 23 by late 1734. In November of that year, Herrit Ratchford and Elizabeth Davis conveyed two-thirds of Lot 29 to Walter Taylor. The deed that conveyed this property described Bell as the owner of Lot 23. Humphrey Bell transferred the title to Lot 23 to Philip Lightfoot by February 1738/9.[237]

It is possible that Bell owned a slave during the time he held Yorktown Lot 23. In May 1751, William Lindsey placed the following advertisement for a runaway slave:

> Ran away from the Subscriber, living in Caroline County, near Port-Royal, on the 14th of April last, a lusty young Negro Man, named Cyprus, about 5 Feet 9 Inches high, Country born, speaks very good English; had on when he went away, a Cotton Vest and Breeches, two good linen Shirts, a good Felt Hat, a Pair of Stockings and Shoes: He formerly belong'd to the Estate of Merchant Bell, of London, and follow'd the Sea; has been a great Run-away, tried for his life, and burnt in the Hand. He is suppos'd to be lurking about York River, in order to endeavour to get on board some Vessel. Who-ever secures him, so that he may be had again, shall have a Pistole and a Half Reward, besides what the Law allows.[238]

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[235] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 259, dated and recorded 24 November 1691.
[236] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 177, dated 10 June 1706 and recorded 24 September 1706.
[237] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 324-8, dated 15 and 16 November 1734 and recorded 18 November 1734; York County Wills and Inventories (18) 478-9, 23 February 1738/9.
[238] *Virginia Gazette*, 2 May 1751.

If Cyprus had belonged to Humphrey Bell, it is likely that he used the skills that he learned as a slave of a merchant and the knowledge he gained of the York River area in order to try, a second time, to seize his freedom.

Philip Lightfoot, Mary née Armistead Burwell Lightfoot, Armistead Lightfoot, Ann Lightfoot Grymes, Charles Grymes, Mary née Lightfoot Griffin, John Taylor Griffin, Raleigh Colston, William Goosley, and Corbin Griffin

See Lot 10.

Lot 24—The York County Courthouse

During the monthly court sessions at the York County Courthouse, the justices of the peace listened to and ruled upon court cases in order to help maintain and protect the social order. From the late seventeenth century into the eighteenth century, the justices used the slave laws enacted by the General Assembly to exert control over the enslaved men, women, and children who labored for their masters' benefit. Virginia's laws also limited the rights of free people of color and made it harder for these men and women to preserve their freedom.

Yorktown residents knew the details about the slave laws because several of the town's prominent inhabitants—including President William Nelson and Secretary Thomas Nelson—served on the Council and approved the statutes that imposed harsh restrictions on the colony's slaves. In addition, Yorktown was home to a number of the county's justices of the peace. Officials from Yorktown and the surrounding rural area attended a higher percentage of court sessions than their counterparts in other sections of York County.

Proximity to the York County Courthouse meant that all of Yorktown's residents—even those white men and women who did not own slaves—had the opportunity to attend meetings of the county court and learn about the ways in which the colony's laws could be used to control the city's black inhabitants. Once in the courthouse, it would become apparent to all gathered that Virginia's statutes created a different system of justice for blacks, regardless of their status. One clear difference between the status of whites and blacks was in the definition of who was tithable. Virginia's legislators decided that enslaved black women were tithes and that white females were not taxable laborers. Historian Kathleen M. Brown notes that the distinction indicated the different roles that these two groups of women had in the colony. The proper place for white women was in the house and black women were to work in the tobacco fields.[239]

Because one's status as a tithe was based on age, it was important for colonists to keep a record of their slaves' ages. In 1672, the legislators decided that slave owners had to record the birth of an enslaved boy or girl within a year.[240] Six years later, in 1680, Virginia's lawmakers passed *An act ascertaining the time when Negroe Children shall be tythable*. This statute required "that all negroe children imported or to be imported into this colony shall within three months after the publication of this law or after their arrivall

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[239] Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia*, (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1996).

[240] William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, From the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619*, 13 vols., (Richmond, New York, and Philadelphia, 1819-23; reprint, Charlottesville, Virginia: The University Press of Virginia for the Jamestown Foundation of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1969), II:296.

be brought to the county court, where there age shalbe adjudged of by the justices holding court, and put upon record."[241]

Between the 1690s and the 1760s, York County's slave owners brought recently imported African boys and girls to the courthouse in Yorktown to have their ages adjudged. Children stood before the county's justices of the peace—including Yorktown residents—who determined their approximate ages. Next, the York County clerk entered the name of the owner, the slave's name, and the slave's age. It is important to note that the slave's name was not the name he or she had been given by their parents in Africa. The name was one selected by the slave owner in order to strip a slave's African identity. Many masters selected diminutive names—Billy instead of William and Sal instead of Sarah—to reinforce the image of the slave as a child who was dependent on his or her master.[242]

Differences between slaves and whites can also be seen in the trials for individuals accused of committing capital crimes. In April 1692, the members of the House of Burgesses and the Council passed *An act for the more speedy prosecution of slaves committing Capitall Crimes*. This law represents the first time that the members of Virginia's General Assembly detailed the procedure for a slave brought to trial for a capital offense. After April 1692, a slave accused of a capital offence would have a trial in a court of oyer and terminer. The legislators approved the court of oyer and terminer because, in their opinion, "a speedy prosecution of negroes and other slaves for capital offences is absolutely necessarie, that others being detered by the condign punishment inflicted on such offenders, may vigorously proceed in their labours and be affrighted to commit the like crimes and offences." They also noted that oyer and terminer trials, held in the several county courts, would be less expensive than similar trials held at Jamestown.

Next, the lawmakers outlined the way in which an oyer and terminer trial would proceed:

> That every negro or other slave which shall after this present session of Assembly commit or perpetrate any cappitall offence which the law of England requires to be satisfyed with the death of the offender or loss of member, after his commiting of the said offence, shall be forthwith committed to the common gaol of the county within which such offence shall be committed, there to be safely continued, well laden with irons, and that the sheriff of the said county doe forthwith signifie the same to the governour for the time being, who is desired and impowered to issue out a commission of *oyer* and *terminer* directed to such persons of the said county as he shall think fitt, which persons forthwith after the receipt of the said commission are required and commanded publicly at the courthouse of the said county to cause the offender to be arraigned and indicted,

[241] Ibid., pp. 479-80.
[242] Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998).

> and to take for evidence the confession of the party or the oaths of two witnesses or of one with pregnant circumstances, without the sollemnitie of jury, and the offender being found guilty as aforesaid, to pass judgment as the law of England provides in the like case, and on such judgment to award execution.

This statute meant that a slave was denied the right to a jury trial that white men and women had and that an accused slave could not testify on his or her own behalf.[243]

Thirteen years later, in 1705, the legislators revised the colony's laws. They decided to continue the oyer and terminer trials for slaves because "a speedy prosecution of slaves for capitall crimes is absolutely necessary." These men made two clarifications the trial guidelines. First, "it is hereby intended, That the master or owner of any slave to be indicted or arraigned by virtue of this act, may appear at the tryall and make what just defence he can for such slave, so that such defence do only relate to matters of fact, and not to any formality in the indictment or other proceedings of the court." Second, "That when any slave shall be convicted and condemned upon any tryall to be had by virtue of this act, the justices that shall sitt in tryall shall put a valuation in money upon such slave so condemned, and certify such valuation to the next assembly, that the said assembly may be enabled to make a suitable allowance thereupon, to the master or owner of such slave." A master of an executed slave would be compensated for his or her loss of personal property.[244]

The next change in oyer and terminer trials grew out of a case heard in the York County Court. In November 1730, the York County's oyer and terminer justices found a slave woman named Mary Aggy guilty of stealing from her mistress and sentenced her to hang. When the justices asked her "why sentence of death should not pass against her for the felony whereof she is found guilty; she thereupon pray'd the benefit of the Statute made in the third and fourth years of the Reign of King William and Queen Mary to her to be allowed." The statute that Mary Aggy referenced was the benefit of clergy, a legal precedent originating in England that provided for the pardon of first-time felons from death or other serious punishment in exchange for being branded on the hand with a hot iron.[245] By referring to her right to the benefit of clergy, she made a bold claim for a legal right granted only to literate, white men.

York County's oyer and terminer justices were in doubt about the proper way to proceed on Mary Aggy's request. William Gooch, the governor of Virginia, became interested in her case. Gooch had Mary Aggy sent back to the York County jail until the time when her case could be heard in the General Court. In April 1731, the justices of the General Court—Governor Gooch and his Council—considered this case and failed to reach a decision. Next, Gooch sent a letter on Mary Aggy's behalf to Edmund Gibson, the

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[243] Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large*, III:102-3.
[244] Ibid., pp. 269-70.
[245] Linda Rowe, "The Benefit of Clergy Plea," *Colonial Williamsburg Interpreter*, Volume 19, No. 1 (1998).

Bishop of London. Virginia's governor wrote "there is no Law against it, if there is, I think it ought to be repealed and for political reasons, they are of equal force against white as black People being Christians."[246]

Once the General Assembly received permission to extend the benefit of clergy to white women and slaves, the colony's legislators approved *An Act for settling some doubts and differences of opinion, in relation to the benefit of Clergy; for allowing the same to Women; and taking away of Reading; and to disable certain Persons, therein mentioned, to be Witnesses*. The fourth section of this law stated

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

This statute extended the privilege of benefit of clergy to women and, with some limitations, to slaves. At the same time, however, the legislation placed a further restriction on all people of color—a black or a Virginia Indian, whether free or enslaved, could only provide testimony in the case of a slave accused of a capital offense.[247]

Yorktown residents served on a majority of the county's oyer and terminer trials.[248] On the appointed day, the justices arrived at the Courthouse on Lot 24, took the oath, and sat at their place on the raised bench. Next, the York County sheriff led in the accused slave from the York County jail. The King's Attorney for York County who prosecuted the case and the York County clerk were also in attendance.

The person on trial stood, bound in shackles, before the justices and listened to the sheriff read the charges. The justices of the oyer and terminer court heard the King's Attorney outline the case against the accused slave. After giving the slave a chance to enter a plea, the justices turned to the witnesses. They examined both white and black witnesses. After deliberating the charge and the testimony, the oyer and terminer justices announced

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[246] York County Orders and Wills (17) 123-4, 28 November 1730; Fulham Palace Papers, (Williamsburg: Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation), Microfilm M-22).

[247] Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large*, IV:326-7.

[248] Anne R. Willis, "The Masters' Mercy: Slave Prosecutions and Punishments in York County, Virginia, 1700 to 1780," (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1995).

their verdict. A slave who was found innocent was discharged from the court and returned to his or her master.

If the magistrates found a slave guilty of the crime, they asked the convicted person if there was anything he or she wished to say. Some convicted slaves informed the justices that they wanted to plead benefit of clergy. If the justices determined that these enslaved men and women were eligible for the benefit of clergy, the convicted slaves presented their left hands and had them branded with a branding iron. The brand was the initial of the crime committed. Many of these slaves also received a whipping at the public whipping post, located a short distance from the courthouse, before being returned to their masters.

For convicted slaves who could not plead benefit of clergy, the justices proceeded to pronounce the death sentence for this person. The members of the oyer and terminer court ordered the York County sheriff to carry out the execution at a specified time on a specified day. The magistrates also determined the value of the slave so the owner could be reimbursed for lost property by the General Assembly. At the conclusion of the proceedings, the sheriff led the convicted slave back to the York County jail where he or she stayed until the day appointed for execution.

Some deliberations led the justices of the oyer and terminer court to determine that a slave was guilty of a lesser charge. In these instances, the magistrates directed the York County sheriff to punish a slave by whipping the individual a specified number of times on his or her bare back. After the whipping, the enslaved person was returned to his owner.

Between 30 June 1704 and 23 May 1780, the York County Courthouse was the location for at least 115 oyer and terminer trials in which 154 slaves stood trial.[249] Several of Yorktown's prominent residents served as oyer and terminer justices. It was easier for Yorktown justices to attend these trials than it was for men who lived in either the upper end of York County or the lower portion of the county. No doubt the men who frequently served in this capacity wanted to maintain control over slaves as a way to protect their personal property. During the third quarter of the eighteenth century, four Yorktown residents served on a minimum of twenty-nine oyer and terminer trials: John Norton (thirty-three trials), Dudley Digges (forty-four trials), David Jameson (thirty trials), and General Thomas Nelson (twenty-nine trials).[250]

On occasion, these men recused themselves from service on the oyer and terminer court because the case involved one of their own slaves. At least eleven of the 115 trials focused on crimes committed in Yorktown. Another twenty-two crimes took place in

[249] Ibid. It is possible that there were additional oyer and terminer courts held between February 1754 and January 1759, the years when few York County court records survive.
[250] Ibid., pp. 44, 121-5.

nearby Yorkhampton Parish.[251] The majority of these crimes committed by slaves involved the theft of goods from Yorktown homes and warehouses.[252]

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In addition to serving as a place to house slaves before their oyer and terminer trials, the York County Jail was the location where the sheriff secured runaway slaves. The colony's laws encouraged both whites and Virginia Indians to take up fugitive slaves and to turn them into local officials in order to receive a reward. The participation of whites in the capture of runaways helped to maintain the institution of slavery in Virginia.

Details in both the York County court records and extant issues of the *Virginia Gazette* provide information about the enslaved men and women who escaped from their masters and were captured before they secured their freedom. The purpose of these accounts was to inform the public about the runaways and to encourage the master to claim their property and pay the reward to the person who took up the runaway and the costs of holding the escaped slave in a county jail.

York County's several sheriffs placed the following advertisements to inform readers of the *Virginia Gazette* about runaway slaves held in the York jail and to encourage them to claim their property. The announcements also detail slaves who escaped from the York County jail.

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***Virginia Gazette*, Hunter, ed., 27 August 1756**

York-County, ff. COMMITTED to the Goal of this County, the 14th Instant, a Negroe Boy; named Tom, had on a coarse Wastecoat, a Pair of Sailor's Trowsers, has a large Scar on his Right Cheek, has two Toes on his left foot considerable shorter than the other three, and has a large Scar on the for Part of his left Leg. He is about five Feet high, and appears to be about 12 Years of Age; says he belongs to one Capt. Battard [?] or Battery; that six more Negroes came in a Boat with him to an Island, known by the Name of Cow-Island, in this County, on the Bay Shore. Samuel Read, Sheriff.

* * * *

***Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 19 July 1770**

COMMITTED to the prison of York, a Negro boy who says his name is WILLIAM FLORENCE that he is free, and was born in the Indian town on Pamunkey river, about 16

[251] The court records do not indicate the location in which thirty-four crimes took place; it is possible that some of these offenses were committed in Yorktown or the nearby rural area.
[252] Willis, "The Master's Mercy," pp. 55-6, 58-9, 69.

years of age, 5 feet 3 inches high, has a smiling countenance, and remarkable pert when spoke to, If such a lad hath absconded from service, the owner may get him, on paying charges, of W. MITCHELL.[253]

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***Virginia Gazette*, Rind, ed., 2 August 1770**

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

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***Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 8 November 1770**

RUN away from me, last June, a negro boy named WINDSOR, about 16 years old, who had on a brown holland coat, a blue broadcloth waiscoat, osnabrug breeches, and a white linen shirt. He is about 5 feet high, has a smiling countenance, speaks quick, and is remarkable artful. He was taken up last July by Mr. William Mitchell, and imprisoned in York jail, and on examination called himself WILLIAM FLORENCE, and said he was free. He is the son of one SIMON GILLET, who lives in New Kent, by whom, I imagine, he is concealed, or by some person or persons near Williamsburg, as I have several times heard of him since he got out of York jail. Whoever will contrive the said boy to me, in Prince Edward, shall have FIVE POUNDS; and on giving such intelligence that I may get him, or contrive him to Mr. John Fisher, at Osborne's, THREE POUNDS reward. WILLIAM WATTS.

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***Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 14 March 1771**

RUN away from the Subscriber, in Prince Edward, some Time in June last, a Negro Lad named WINDSOR, who for several Years past has waited upon me, and is acquainted with most Parts of the Country. He is a sensible and artful Fellow, about five Feet high, a handsome lively Look, and speaks quick. He was taken up by Mr. William Mitchell of York, and committed to that Jail, at which Time he called himself William Florence, and said he was free, and, by the Assistance of some other Negro imprisoned with him, broke the Prison. He has since been seen about Williamsburg, near which Place perhaps he is still concealed. He carried away with him a brown Holland Coat, blue Broadcloth Waistcoat, two white Linen Shirts, two Pair of Osnabrug Breeches, and good Shoes and

[253] See *Virginia Gazette*, Rind, ed., 2 August 1770 for a similar advertisement regarding William Florence.

Stockings. As I have Reason to apprehend he will endeavour to get on Board a Vessel, in Order to make his Escape out of the Colony, I do hereby forewarn all Masters and Commanders of Vessels from taking him on Board. I will give TEN POUNDS to any Person that will contrive him to me, and FIVE POUNDS for such intelligence that I may get him. WILLIAM WATT.

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***Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 28 March 1771**

COMMITTED to York County Jail, on the 14th Instant (March) a Negro Woman who cannot, or will not, tell her Owner's Name. She is with Child, has a thin Visage, and is about four Feet nine Inches high. The Owner may have her on proving his Property.

* * * *

***Virginia Gazette*, Rind, ed., 18 July 1771**

YORK county, July 3, 1771. RAN away, about the middle of June last, from Mr. John Park Custis's plantation, near the Capitol landing, a likely young Virginia born Negro fellow named WILL, about 6 feet high, very full faced, and full eyed. The said Negro broke York gaol some time ago, and was taken again, but in bringing him home to the said plantation he made his escape from the overseer. As he passed at York some time for a free man, I have reason to believe that he will try to get on board some vessel. Whoever will bring the said Negro to me, near Williamsburg, shall receive TWENTY SHILLINGS reward, besides what the law allows. He is out-lawed. JOSEPH VALENTINE.

N.B. All masters of vessels are cautioned against taking him on board at their peril.

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***Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 7 November 1771**

RUN away from the Subscriber, in Prince Edward, some Time in June 1770, a Negro Lad named WINDSOR, who for several Years past has waited upon me, and is acquainted with most Parts of the Country. He is a sensible and artful Fellow, about five Feet high, a handsome lively Look, and speaks quick. He was taken up by Mr. William Mitchell of York, and committed to that Jail, at which time he called himself William Florence, and said he was free, and, by the Assistance of some other Negro imprisoned with him, broke the Prison. He had since been seen about Williamsburg, near which Place perhaps he is still concealed. He carried away with him a brown Holland Coat, blue Broadcloth Waitcoat, two white Linen Shirts, two Pair of Osnabrug Breeches, and good Shoes and Stockings. As I have Reason to apprehend he will endeavour to get on Board a Vessel, in Order to make his Escape out of the Colony, I do hereby forewarn all Masters and Commanders of Vessels from taking him on Board. I will give TWENTY POUNDS to

any Person that will contrive him to me, and FIVE POUNDS for such Intelligence that I may get him. WILLIAM WATTS.

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***Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 13 August 1772**

COMMITTED to York County Prison, a Negro Man named JEMMY, about five Feet eight or nine Inches high, of a slender Make, and says he belongs to Mr. John Taylor of Southampton. The Owner is desired to prove his Property, pay Charges, and take him away. WILLIAM MITCHELL.

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***Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 10 September 1772**

COMMITTED to York Prison, on the 4th Instant (September) two African Negro Men who cannot, or will not, tell their Owner's Name. One of them has his Country Marks on his Forehead, Temples, Neck, and breast, and has Holes in his Ears; he is five Feet eight Inches and a Half high, of a pellowish [sic] Complexion, has on a Check Shirt, a blue Cloth short Jacket, and short brown Linen Breeches. The other has Holes in his Ears, is five Feet ten Inches high, and very black; he also wears a Check Shirt, a blue Cloth short Jacket, and short brown Linen Breeches. The Owner is desired to prove his Property, and pay Charges to WILLIAM MITCHELL.

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***Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 12 November 1772**

COMMITTED to York Prison, a Negro Man named LEWY, who is about five Feet six Inches high, has a Scar on the Tip of his Nose, one on his Forehead, and Holes in his Ears; he has on an Osnabrug Shirt and Trousers, a spotted Swanskin Jacket, and a white Halfthicks One over it. He says that he belongs to the Estate of John Baker, deceased, of South Carolina; and, when he ran away, was in the Possession of Colonel John Jones, of the said Province. The Owner is desired to prove his Property, pay Charges, and fetch him away. WILLIAM MITCHELL.

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***Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 24 December 1772**

COMMITTED to York Prison, a Negro Man named JACK, who says he belongs to Captain Robert Walker of Charles City; he is five Feet seven or eight Inches high, has a Lump over his left Eye, and keeps it Half shut. He has on a blue Half-thicks Coat with white Metal Buttons, an Osnabrug Shirt and Trousers, and Virginia made Stockings and

Shoes. The Owner is desired to fetch him away, and pay Charges to WILLIAM MITCHELL.

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***Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 30 September 1773**

COMMITTED to York County Prison, a Negro Man named JAMES, belonging to Mr. John Purier, Junior, of Mecklenburg. His Master is desired to fetch him away, and pay Charges. WILLIAM MITCHELL.

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***Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 30 September 1773**

COMMITTED to York County Prison, a Negro Man, about five Feet four Inches and a Half high, slim made, has on a Cotton Jacket and blue Plains Cap. He cannot or will not tell his Owner's Name, who is desired to prove his Property, and pay Charges to WILLIAM MITCHELL.

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***Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 30 September 1773**

COMMITTED to York County Prison, an African Negro Man, who says his Name is HARRY, about five Feet four Inches and a Half high, stout made, and has on an Irish Stuff Jacket, and Cotton Breeches with a black Pair under them. He says he belongs to Mr. John Rogers of Baltimore, in Maryland. The Owner is desired to prove his Property, and pay Charges to WILLIAM MITCHELL.

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***Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 24 March 1774**

YORK, March 9, 1774. COMMITTED to the Jail of this County, on Thursday the 3d Instant, a Negro Man about five Feet ten Inches high, of a slender Stature, a small Scar between his Eyes, and a Scar on his left Cheek, has on a blue Halfthick Waistcoat with Metal Buttons, a white under Waistcoat with the same Buttons, a Pair of Trousers, Shoes, Stockings, &c. He says his Name is JOE, and that he belongs to Peter Binford of Prince George. The Owner is desired to prove his Property add [sic] pay Charges. WILLIAM MITCHELL, Sheriff.

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***Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 6 October 1774**

COMMITTED to York Prison, a lusty young Mulatto Woman named MILLY, who says she belongs to Mr. John Hudner, of Fauquier County. The Owner is desired to pay Charges, and take her away. WILLIAM MITCHELL.

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***Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 17 November 1774**

PRINCE GEORGE, November 10, 1774. RUN away from the Subscriber, a Mulatto Boy named SAM, about 16 or 17 Years old, of a very light Complexion, and will endeavour to pass for a free Boy, has grey Eyes, brown Hair, a smooth artful Tongue, is a great Villain, but a very good Barber. In the Month of June last he was put in York Jail, on Suspicion of having stolen some Money in Williamsburg. He made his Escape from thence and got to Norfolk, where he was put in Jail and sent to me by Water. The next Day (September 20th) he made his Escape from my Overseer, and has not since been heard of. He was born in Frederick Town, Maryland, has lived in Fredericksburg, Norfolk, and York Town, and is well acquainted with most Parts of Virginia. He was very meanly clad, having been so long in Jail, but it is probable will procure Clothes. I will give 40 s. Reward to have him committed to any of his Majesty's Jails, if taken in the Colony of Virginia, and if out of the Colony 5 l. All Captains of Ships, or Masters of Vessels are hereby forewared [sic] from carrying him out of the Country, or employing him. JOHN BLAND.

* * * *

***Virginia Gazette*, Purdie, ed., 7 July 1775**

COMMITTED to York jail, the 28th ult. a MULATTO LAD 5 feet 4 inches high, thin made, who says his name is Peter Weeks, and that he belongs to John Parker of Accomack county; has on an old duffil jacket, striped Virginia-cloth breeches, and an old ragged shirt.--Likewise, on the 1st of this instant (July) a BLACK LAD, 5 feet 3 inches and a quarter high, thin made, has the wool on his crown cut close, says his name is John Thompson, and that he belongs to William Hack of Accomack county; has on a new osnabrug shirt, old purple coloured breeches, and a fustian or jeans coat with metal buttons. The owners are desired to prove their properties, and pay charges to WILLIAM MITCHELL.

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***Virginia Gazette*, Purdie, ed., 25 August 1775**

COMMITTED to York prison, the 12th of this instant (August) a stout made negro man named BEN, who says he belongs to mr. Robert Gilchrist of Port Royal; he is 5 feet 7 inches high, much marked on his back with whipping, has been bit by a dog in the leg,

which occasions it to be much swelled, and is clothed as field negroes generally are. Also, on the 17th instant, a likely negro man named ROBIN, 5 feet 7 inches high, slender made, has on an osnabrug shirt, blue breeches, and a blue jacket, and says he ran away from the palace in Williamsburg. The owners are desired to prove their property, and pay charges to WILLIAM MITCHELL.

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***Virginia Gazette or Weekly Advertiser*, Nicolson and Prentis, eds., 31 August 1782**

COMMITTED to York jail the 10th of August, a young black fellow who calls himself ROBIN, about 18 or 20 years old, 4 feet 6 inches high, says he is the property of William Boys of Surry county, and left his master in August 1780. The owner is desired to prove his property and pay charges. JOHN GIBBONS, D.S.

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***Virginia Gazette or Weekly Advertiser*, Nicolson and Prentis, eds., 5 July 1783**

COMMITTED to York jail the 14th of June, 1783, a mulatto fellow named Tom, and says he is the property of Mr. George Fitzhugh of King George county. The owner is requested to apply, and pay charges. JOHN GIBBONS, Jailor.

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***Virginia Gazette or Weekly Advertiser*, Nicolson, ed., 5 November 1785**

COMMITTED to the jail of York, a negro man by the name of HARRY, by trade a carpenter, the property of James M'Clary of Augusta county; this fellow says he was sold by Dr. Thomas Carter to Matthew Clay, and by Clay to M'Clary. The owner is desired to pay charges, and take him away. THOMAS NEWMAN, Jailer.

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***Virginia Gazette or Weekly Advertiser*, Nicolson, ed., 5 November 1785**

COMMITTED to the jail of York, a negro fellow by the name of GEORGE, and says he belongs to Col. David Mason, of Sussex county. He is about five feet nine or ten inches high, well made, and has one wooden leg. The owner is desired to pay charges, and take him away. THOMAS NEWMAN, Jailer.

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Virginia Gazette or Weekly Advertiser, **Nicolson, ed., 4 December 1788**

COMMITTED to the jail of York county on the 22d ult. a runaway named DAVID, who says that he belongs to TINEY COCKE of Powhatan county, who is desired to prove his property, pay charges, and take him away. JOHN CRUMP, Jailor.

Lot 25—Swan Tavern

Charles Hansford

Charles Hansford bought Lot 25 from the Trustees of Yorktown in November 1691. The deed noted that this lot adjoined William Pattison and William Tompkins. A planter, Hansford did not build on Lot 25, and this half-acre reverted to the Trustees.[254]

Daniel Taylor

In January 1706/7, a Charles Parish planter named Daniel Taylor purchased Lot 25 from Yorktown's Trustees. Five months later, in June 1707, Taylor conveyed this half-acre to another Charles Parish resident, the Reverend James Sclater.[255]

Reverend James Sclater

In June 1707, the Reverend James Sclater acquired Yorktown Lot 25 from Daniel Taylor. Sclater built on the property and held this parcel of land until September 1716, when he transferred the title to Benjamin Clifton, also an inhabitant of Charles Parish.[256] In addition to serving as the minister for Charles Parish, the Reverend Sclater was the minister for York Parish between 1701 and 1704. Sclater no doubt noticed the growth of Yorktown after the passage of the 1705 town act and perhaps decided to purchase Lot 25 (and Lot 70) as a way to invest in Yorktown and to make some money by renting these two lots to tenants.[257]

Benjamin Clifton

In September 1716, Benjamin Clifton, a Charles Parish planter, bought Yorktown Lot 25 from James Sclater, the minister of Charles Parish. A year later, in September 1717, Clifton purchased Lot 32 from John Northern. Clifton, a tavern keeper, did not move to Yorktown. He held Lot 25 until August 1719, when he sold this half-acre to two merchants, Thomas Nelson the Immigrant and Joseph Walker.[258]

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[254] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 272, dated 24 November 1691 and recorded 21 December 1691.

[255] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 210-1, dated and recorded 8 January 1706/7; ibid., pp. 240-1, dated and recorded 25 June 1707.

[256] Ibid., pp. 240-1, dated and recorded 25 June 1707; York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 133-6, dated 15 September 1716 and recorded 17 September 1716.

[257] See Lot 70.

[258] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 133-6, dated 15 September 1716 and recorded 17 September 1716; ibid., p. 193, dated 13 September 1717 and recorded 16 September 1717; ibid., pp. 303-5, dated 13 and 14 August 1719 and recorded 17 August 1719.

The Nelson and Walker Families

In August 1719, Thomas Nelson the Immigrant and Joseph Walker bought Lot 25 from Benjamin Clifton. It is likely that Nelson and Walker acquired this lot because of its location across Main Street from the York County Courthouse. They saw this lot as a good location for a tavern, and by early 1722/3, the building known as the Swan Tavern stood on this property. Nelson and Walker leased Lot 25 and the structures on this property to a tavern keeper named Robert Wills. It is known that Wills operated the Swan until July 1727 and possibly as late as August 1731.[259]

In March 1722/3, Nelson and Walker entered into a deed by which each granted the other half of the tavern and the ground on which it stood.[260] Joseph Walker, a Yorkhampton Parish merchant, died in late 1723, and his half of Lot 25 passed to his heirs. In 1728, Charles Carter of Cleve gained possession of half of Lot 25 when he married Mary, the daughter of Joseph Walker. Carter and Thomas Nelson the Immigrant owned the Swan Tavern lot until Nelson's 1745 death. In his will, Thomas Nelson bequeathed his portion of this property to his oldest son, President William Nelson.[261] It is unknown how long Carter and William Nelson shared ownership of Lot 25. Carter transferred his portion of Lot 25 to William Nelson sometime before March 1761 when President Nelson conveyed the entire lot to his son, Thomas.[262]

Robert Wills—Tenant of Thomas Nelson the Immigrant, Joseph Walker, and Charles Carter

Robert Wills received his first ordinary license in early 1721/2 and it is possible that he began in business in the Swan Tavern at that time. A March 1722/3 deed between Thomas Nelson and Joseph Walker noted that Wills was the tenant of the Swan. Initially, Wills depended on white indentured servants to help him provide food, drink, and lodging for his customers. This tavern keeper had four white servants: Ann Blackwell; Martha Ambler (who bore an illegitimate child during her servitude); Andrew Anderson

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[259] Ibid., pp. 394-5, dated and recorded 18 March 1722/3; York County Orders and Wills (16) 470, 17 July 1727.

[260] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 394-5, dated and recorded 18 March 1722/3.

[261] "A Copy of a Copy of the Will of Thomas Nelson, of York" in "Berkeley Manuscripts," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1st ser., Vol. VI, No. 3 (January 1898):143-5.

[262] York County Deeds (6) 318-23, dated 12 March 1761 and recorded 16 March 1761.
In his September 1762 will, Charles Carter mentioned the transfer of the half lot in Yorktown. He wrote: "I do request my son, Charles Carter, and my daughters, Betsey Churchill, Mary Carter and Judith Carter, born of my wife, Mary, daughter of Joseph Walker, Esqr. to relinquish all right, title and claim to any part of the Swann Tavern by me sold, which I hold in right of their mother, having made ample provision for them by this will." Carter died in the spring of 1764. See Fairfax Harrison, ed., "The Will of Charles Carter of Cleve," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (January 1923):39-69 (quotation p. 60).

who was fifteen years of age in 1729, the year he arrived in Virginia; and Ann [torn]ller.[263]

During the 1720s, Wills purchased three enslaved Africans. First, in 1724, he acquired Kate who was adjudged to be eleven years of age. The following year, on 21 June 1725, the justices determined that Charles was fifteen years old. Finally, on 15 July 1728, local officials determined that a boy named Montrose was ten.[264] It is likely that Wills had Kate sweep the floors, do laundry, and wash dishes. Perhaps Kate also helped Jane Wills or one of the white indentured women with the cooking. Wills might have had Charles and Montrose wait on his customers, tend to horses owned by his guests, and carry supplies to the kitchen.

On 18 August 1729, Wills received his last license to keep an ordinary in Yorktown. It is likely that he remained at the Swan until the expiration of this license in August 1730.[265] By the late summer of 1731, Wills moved to Williamsburg and opened a tavern on the lots he acquired in Virginia's colonial capital.[266] If Charles, Kate, and Montrose were alive, Wills would have moved them to Williamsburg and found work for these three slaves in his new tavern.

James Mitchell—Tenant of President William Nelson, Charles Carter, and General Thomas Nelson

President William Nelson and Charles Carter rented the Swan to James Mitchell by 15 February 1741/2, the date Mitchell received a license to keep a tavern "at the Swan in York Town."[267] Before becoming a tavern keeper, Mitchell was a saddle maker. He also had a labor force of one slave and a white apprentice: Grace who was described as a tithable woman of sixteen years in June 1737, and George Dunbar who agreed to be Mitchell's apprentice in August 1741.[268]

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[263] York County Orders and Wills (16) 157, 17 September 1722; ibid, p. 247, 20 January 1723/4; ibid., p. 599, 16 June 1729.
[264] Ibid., p. 302, 21 September 1724; ibid., p. 342, 21 June 1725; ibid., p. 535, 15 July 1728.
[265] Ibid., p. 616, 18 August 1729.
[266] The Swan Tavern was empty in June 1732 when William Hugh Grove arrived in Yorktown. Grove wrote "In York, house rent is Extravagantly dear. The Swan paid £ 60 per annum, has 4 Rooms on a floor and only the ground floor and one floor above. Tis true it now is Empty and offered at Less and [with the addition of a ?] Little Stale room." See Gregory A. Stiverson and Patrick H. Butler, III, eds., "Virginia in 1732: The Travel Journal of William Hugh Grove," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 85, No. 1 (January 1977):18-44 (quotation p. 23).
[267] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 83, 15 February 1741/2. It is likely that President William Nelson and Charles Carter had at least one tenant between the time Robert Wills left the Swan and James Mitchell opened his tavern at the Swan.
[268] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 375, 20 June 1737; York County Wills and Inventories (19) 51, 17 August 1741. If Hazard, who was nine years old when Mitchell purchased him in 1734, was still alive, he would also have become part of the labor force at the Swan. It is unlikely that two of Mitchell's indentured servants—Ann Pinchon who was presented by the grand jury in March 1736/7 for bearing an

Mitchell acquired additional slaves to work at the Swan Tavern. On 17 November 1746, the justices of the peace decided that a girl named Sarah was twelve years old.[269] Janet Mitchell likely depended on Grace and Sarah to help her with the domestic work at the Swan—including cooking, cleaning, and laundering sheets. Mitchell no doubt had an enslaved man help tend to his customer's horses, to serve food, and to convey passengers across the York River after July 1749, when he and John Gibbons, also a tavern proprietor, became the keepers of the ferry between Yorktown and Gloucester. York's officials required Mitchell and Gibbons to provide "four able hands for the dispatch of passengers."[270] The decision to make the ferry a joint operation meant that Mitchell and Gibbons could have male slaves available to convey passengers across the river and to tend to the needs of customers in their taverns. In September 1751, it is likely that an "able" man was one of Mitchell's six tithes whom the justices of the peace ordered to be added to the list of tithables.[271] Seven years later, in 1758, the Reverend John Camm noted that Mitchell had ten tithes at the Swan Tavern, a sign this tavern keeper operated a successful business. By 1759, Mitchell had at least two riding chairs, and it is likely that patrons of the Swan could hire a chair and an enslaved driver.[272]

Mitchell needed to have a least one enslaved man to help transport his customers, whether on a riding chair or on the ferry. Records kept by one of Mitchell's customers provide details about the transportation of men and horses across the York River. The passengers who used the ferry managed by Mitchell and Gibbons included Thomas Jefferson who made several trips on the ferry between Yorktown and Tindall's Point as he traveled to visit his friend, John Page, at Rosewell, his home in Gloucester County (Table 2).[273] Jefferson's notations indicate that he made several payments in connection to his trips across the York River. On occasion he dined at Mitchell's tavern and enjoyed some entertainment before he began his trip to Gloucester County. Jefferson recorded the amount he paid for "ferriage" at York and the sum that he "Gave ferry men." He made this distinction because the first fee was the transportation cost he owed to Mitchell and Gibbons; the second figure was the tip Jefferson gave to the slaves who transported him across the York. Typically, Jefferson gave one shilling and three pence as a tip, the same amount that an unskilled laborer earned as a day laborer. His use of the plural—"ferrymen"—suggests that he intended the slaves to share this money. On two occasions in 1768, Jefferson gave a larger tip, an indication that he was part of a group who crossed the river. Another prominent colonist, George Washington, recorded a round trip across the York River. On 22 March 1772, Washington noted in his diary that he "Went over to

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illegitimate child and Patrick Burk who ran away from Mitchell in early 1736/7—were part of the Mitchell household in 1741/2 when he moved his family and laborers to the Swan.

[269] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 471, 17 November 1746.

[270] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 221, 17 July 1749. Mitchell operated with ferry with John Gibbons until his 1772 death.

[271] Ibid., p. 464, 16 September 1751.

[272] York County Judgments and Orders (3) 32, 21 May 1759.

[273] Information about Thomas Jefferson's trips across the York River is from 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).

Colo. Warner Lewis's in Gloucester. Dined & Lodged there." The following day, Washington crossed the York River on the ferry and "Returned to Williamsburg." He also entered details about this trip in his ledger. Washington spent four shillings on "Ferriages to Gloucester & Back" as well as three shillings and nine pence for "Expences in York Town." Perhaps Washington's expenses included tips to the slaves who operated the ferry between Yorktown and Tindall's Point.[274]

In addition to providing food, drink, and entertainment at the Swan as well as ferry service across the York River, during Mitchell's tenure at the Swan, the tavern on Lot 25 also functioned as a place where goods—including slaves—could be purchased. In July 1768, Mitchell placed an announcement in the *Virginia Gazette* to inform colonists that he had been "appointed Vendue Master, Auctioneer, and Publick Crier of goods." In December 1768, Mitchell advertised the 19 January 1769 sale of four slaves belonging to the estate of Samuel Roberts and nine enslaved laborers—men, women, and children—in the possession of Benjamin Moss. These thirteen slaves were to be sold "at Mr. James Mitchell's, in York town."[275] According to a 9 February 1769 advertisement written by William Mitchell, deputy sheriff of York County and son of James Mitchell, the Swan Tavern was the location for the 15 February 1769 sale of "TWENTY NEGROES, consisting of men, women, and children, belonging to Armistead Lightfoot, Esq; and taken in execution to satisfy several judgments obtained against him." On 29 June 1769, William Mitchell announced the 12 July 1769 sales of "15 Likely SLAVES, consisting of men, women, boys, and girls. The sale is to begin at 12 o'clock."[276]

James Mitchell operated the Swan Tavern, managed the ferry with John Gibbons, and served as Vendue Master until the time of his January 1772 death at the age of sixty-eight.[277] Mitchell bequeathed "unto my loving wife Janet Mitchell all my estate both real & personal, which I own in the world . . . after my just debts are all honestly paid." The inventory of Mitchell's estate included six slaves valued at £ 310 of the £ 797.19.11 total value of his personal property. Mitchell held Paul, an enslaved man valued at £ 75, and a boy named Lynn who was worth £ 30. The tavern keeper had four females: a woman named Betty who was valued at £ 60; Jeane who was worth £ 40; and Grace whom the appraisers assessed at £ 55. The high value of a girl named Rose—£ 50—indicates that she was in her teens and that she was skilled.[278]

The widow Mitchell decided that she would not operate the Swan Tavern on her own. In May 1772, Janet Mitchell announced the 22 June 1772 sale of her deceased husband's personal estate. The widow Mitchell also sold the remainder of Mitchell's personal items

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[274] Donald Jackson, ed., *The Diaries of George Washington*, 6 vols., (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976-79), III:96-7; W. W. Abbot and Dorothy Twohig, eds., *The Papers of George Washington*, Colonial Series, 10 vols., (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983-95), IX:20.
[275] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 21 July 1768; ibid., 8 December 1768.
[276] Ibid., 9 February 1769; ibid., 29 June 1769.
[277] Ibid., 30 January 1772.
[278] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 64-5, dated 9 January 1772 and recorded 16 March 1772; ibid., pp. 104-6, recorded 20 July 1772.

in July 1772. Seven months later, she held a sale of "Part of the HOUSEHOLD and KITCHEN FURNITURE of James Mitchell, deceased."[279] It is possible that Mitchell's slave Betty was purchased at one of these three sales. In March 1774, Betty's new master, a man named Hardin Burnley, a resident of Hanover Town, noted

> RUN away from the Subscriber, in March last, a likely Virginia born Wench named BETTY, about 22 Years of Age, stout and well set, wears Silver Earrings set with white Stone, and carried with her several Suits of Clothes. She was formerly the Property of Mr. James Mitchell, deceased, at York, and has been used to attend in a Publick House from her Infancy. She has been seen at several Places on James River, but last at Captain William Acrill's, in Charles City, where I am informed she has several Relations. Any Person that will secure the said Slave, so that I get her again, shall have THREE POUNDS Reward.[280]

The fact that Betty "has been used to attend in a Publick House from her Infancy" suggests that she was the daughter of one of Mitchell's slaves. It is possible that Grace was Betty's mother and that she helped to train her daughter "to attend in a Publick House" in the same way that Janet Mitchell taught her the necessary domestic skills to work in the Swan Tavern.

Janet Mitchell—possible tenant of General Thomas Nelson

On 21 May 1772, General Thomas Nelson placed an announcement in the *Virginia Gazette* to let people know that the Swan Tavern was available. It is possible that Janet Mitchell decided to rent the building from Nelson. Three months earlier, in March 1772, she received an appointed as "Joint Ferry keeper with John Gibbons from York Town to Gloucester in the room of James Mitchell decd." In November 1772, the justices of the peace named Mary Gibbons, the widow of John Gibbons, as "Joint Ferry Keeper with Janet Mitchell Widow."[281]

Although Virginia law recognized both Janet Mitchell and Mary Gibbons as autonomous individuals because of their status as widows, they were still vulnerable.[282] As women, it was more difficult for Mitchell and Gibbons to receive prompt payment from customers and to maintain control over their enslaved laborers than it was for men. In the spring of 1774, it appears that Mitchell and Gibbons felt a challenge from their slaves and they decided to use the newspaper to regain their power. In April of that year, Janet Mitchell and Mary Gibbons placed an announcement in both Rind's *Virginia Gazette* and the newspaper published by Purdie and Dixon. They wanted to make sure that as many

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[279] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon eds., 28 May 1772; ibid., 23 July 1772; ibid., 11 February 1773.
[280] Ibid., 12 May 1774.
[281] York County Judgments and Orders (2) 496, 16 March 1772; York County Judgments and Orders (3) 150, 16 November 1772.
[282] Sturtz, *Within Her Power*, chapter 4.

people read their notice as possible. They began by noting that they had "for some Years past kept the Ferry established at this Place, and experienced the Inconveniences and Loss that attend making Accounts of Ferriage." Because of these inconveniences and losses, the widows Mitchell and Gibbons decided to "take this Method of desiring those Gentlemen who cross to pay their Ferriages at the Swan Tavern, as it has been of infinite Loss to the subscribers their paying the Negroes." They concluded by assuring their customers "that the Ferry shall be kept inferior to none in the Colony."[283] Mitchell and Gibbons ran their announcement in both editions of the *Virginia Gazette* during April 1774. Their decision to discontinue their notice after one month of publication suggests that it helped Mitchell and Gibbons to gain a greater degree of control over their ferry keeping operation.

It is possible that the widows Mitchell and Gibbons managed the work of slaves who transported people and horses across the York until the time of their deaths. Janet Mitchell died in 1782 and she bequeathed five slaves—Jane, Grace, Rose, Paul, and Jack to her son Stephen Mitchell, a Yorktown cabinetmaker.[284] The widow Mitchell no doubt depended on her enslaved man Paul and a boy named Jack to transport passengers across the York River. The inventory of Janet Mitchell's estate included eight slaves: Lott valued at £ 30; Paul, a man valued at £ 60; Lenn, a man who was worth £ 70; Jack, a boy, valued at £ 25; Jane, a woman worth £ 5; Grace valued at £ 30; and a woman named Rose and her child worth £ 65.[285]

Lawrence Gibbons—Tenant of General Thomas Nelson

In 1780, Lawrence Gibbons gained possession of the Swan from General Thomas Nelson. Three years later, Gibbons and John Moss received a license to keep the ferry across the York River. The justices of the peace directed Gibbons and Moss "to keep two Boats and four hands" and to charge one shilling for each single ferriage across the river.[286] In addition to helping to operate the ferry, Gibbons assisted his mother, Mary Gibbons, in the management of the tavern she operated.

Gibbons managed the work of the enslaved men, women, and children in his mother's possession and it is known that he hired slaves when he needed more workers.[287] In the late 1780s, Gibbons hired Ben for nine days for £ 0.13.6 before the estate sale of John Moss. In the same year, this tavern keeper and ferry keeper also hired a man named Frank from the estate of Captain John Goodwin. Gibbons paid £ 10 for a year of Frank's labor.[288] After the 1793 death of his mother, it is likely that Gibbons gained possession

[283] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 7 April 1774.
[284] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 560, dated 14 January 1780 and recorded 19 August 1782.
[285] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 16, recorded 19 May 1783.
[286] York County Order Book (4) 313, 21 January 1783.
[287] York County Personal Property Tax Lists, 1785 and 1786, (Richmond: Library of Virginia).
[288] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 203-11, dated and recorded 21 June 1790; ibid., pp. 212-7, recorded 21 June 1790.

of the slaves who had been part of his father's estate. In 1793, appraisers noted that the estate of John Gibbons held twelve slaves: a man named Jack (£ 75), Lewis (£ 20), Southwell (£ 12), Orange (£ 60), Frank a boy (£ 50), a boy named Caesar (£ 20), a boy known as Jack (£ 10), a woman called Hannah (£ 50), a woman known as Sue (£ 40), Polly a woman (£ 50), and two girls, Alice (£ 45) and Rachel (£ 30).[289] Seven of these slaves—Jack, Lewis, Southwell, Orange, Hannah, Sue, and Polly—were a part of John Gibbons' estate when it was first appraised in 1773. Lawrence Gibbons undoubtedly moved these slaves to Lot 25 because they knew the necessary skills to work in a tavern.

Lawrence Gibbons held Lot 25 and six other lots in Yorktown at the time of his death in 1811. He left the Swan Tavern to his wife during her lifetime. Gibbons wanted all of his houses and lots in Yorktown sold after his wife's death. Gibbons also left his wife "Judy Commonly Called Gloucester Judy and her four children now living," and Patty, the daughter of an enslaved woman also named Judy.[290]

[289] Ibid., p. 385, dated 7 March 1793 and recorded 17 June 1793. See Lot 30.
[290] York County Wills (10) 17-8, dated 8 July 1811 and recorded 18 November 1811.

Lot 26

William Tompkins

On 24 November 1691, the trustees of Yorktown sold Lot 26 to William Tompkins, a resident of Charles Parish. Tompkins forfeited his title to Lot 26 because he did not build on the property.[291]

John Dowsing

On 24 March 1707/8, John Dowsing, a resident of Mulberry Island Parish in Warwick County, bought Lot 26 from Yorktown's trustees.[292] Extant documents suggest that Dowsing built a structure on this property and retained ownership of the half-acre. If so, he likely sold Lot 26 to an unidentified purchaser who in turn bequeathed the parcel to his daughter, Mildred.

Humphrey Stafford and Mildred née unknown Stafford

On 17 July 1727, Humphrey Stafford, a planter of Yorkhampton Parish, and his wife, Mildred, sold Lot 26 to William Harwood, merchant of Warwick Parish in Warwick County. The deed noted that Mildred Stafford inherited the lot from her father and that Robert Wills occupied the property.[293]

Robert Wills—tenant of Humphrey Stafford and Mildred née unknown Stafford

It is known that Robert Wills leased Lot 26 from Humphrey and Mildred Stafford by 17 July 1727, the date the Staffords sold this property to William Harwood. Wills, an ordinary keeper, leased the Swan Tavern on Lot 25 by March 1722/3.[294] It is unknown how long Wills rented Lot 26 from the Staffords or if he continued to lease this property from Harwood.

William Harwood Senior, Thomas Harwood, William Harwood Junior, Richard and Letitia Whitaker, and Lawrence Gibbons

[291] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 276, dated 24 November 1691 and recorded 25 January 1691/2.
[292] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 273-4, dated and recorded 24 March 1707/8.
[293] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 471, dated and recorded 17 July 1727.
[294] See Lot 25.

William Harwood, merchant of Warwick Parish in Warwick County, purchased Yorktown Lot 26 in July 1727 from Humphrey and Mildred Stafford.[295] Harwood held this property until 16 June 1735 when he gave it to his son, Thomas Harwood, a mariner.[296] Extant documents indicate that Thomas Harwood lived on Lot 26 for just a short time. On 27 August of the following year, Thomas Harwood was the master of a ship, the *Lightfoot*, which left the York River on a voyage to London.[297] Harwood died without a will by 16 May 1737, the date his father, William Harwood Senior, received a commission of administration on the estate. The 15 May 1738 inventory of Thomas Harwood's estate did not include any enslaved laborers.[298]

The elder William Harwood died in June 1737, and his son and namesake gained possession of Lot 26 and Lot 66. William Harwood Junior was a resident of Warwick County, and there is no evidence that he lived on either of these lots. He did retain ownership of the lots, and it is probable that he leased Lot 26 to a tenant or tenants. The younger Harwood also added to his holdings in Yorktown. In June 1748, he purchased three lots in the Read Addition to Yorktown from Walter Charles and three months later, Harwood and Mary Moody (the widow of Ishmael Moody) leased a house and storehouse near the river to Yorktown merchant William Stevenson for twenty-one years.[299]

William Harwood held Lot 26 until the time of his death. He bequeathed this half-acre of land to Richard and Letitia Whitaker. On 1 January 1788, Richard and Letitia Whitaker of York County conveyed Lot 26 to Lawrence Gibbons. The deed noted that Whitaker inherited this half-acre parcel from William Harwood who was a resident of Warwick County.[300]

See Lot 25 for information about Lawrence Gibbons.

[295] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 471, dated and recorded 17 July 1727. Harwood also purchased Lot 66 from Yorktown's trustees in February 1706/7. York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 226-7, dated 26 February [sic] 1706/7 and recorded 24 February 1706/7.
[296] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 381, dated and recorded 16 June 1735.
[297] *Virginia Gazette*, 17 September 1736.
[298] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 358, 16 May 1737; ibid., pp. 419-20, recorded 15 May 1738.
[299] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 248-50, dated and recorded 20 June 1748; ibid., pp. 268-70, dated 19 September 1748 and recorded 19 December 1748. Harwood and his wife, Mary, sold one of the lots in the Gwyn Read Addition to Yorktown to blacksmith Ephraim Goosely in March 1748/9. Ibid., pp. 284-6, dated 15 March 1748/9 and recorded 20 March 1748/9.
[300] York County Deeds (6) 395-6, dated 1 January 1788 and recorded 19 January 1789.

Lot 27

John Dowsing and James Dowsing

On 19 May 1706, John Dowsing bought Lot 27 from the Yorktown trustees. Dowsing was a resident of Mulberry Island Parish in Warwick County.[301] He built on the property and held this half-acre until he transferred the parcel to his son, James Dowsing. In October 1725, James Dowsing sold Lot 27 to James McKindo, a merchant and tailor in Yorktown.[302] Dowsing, a bricklayer, lived in Warwick County.

James McKindo

A merchant and tailor, James McKindo bought Lot 27 from James Dowsing in October 1725. Just four months earlier, McKindo took Will, an enslaved boy, to the York County Court where the justices of the peace determined that he was twelve years old. In August 1726, the local magistrates decided that McKindo's slave named Dunbarton was a five-year old boy. McKindo made a third trip to the York County Courthouse to have a slave's age adjudged in July 1727 and the justices said that a boy known as Glasgow was ten years old.[303]

McKindo helped to support the institution of slavery in May 1726 when he submitted a claim for taking up a runaway slave man named Jack who had escaped from his master's Warwick County plantation.[304] Four years later, in May 1730, McKindo asked the York County Court to pay him 620 pounds of tobacco "for the maintenance" of a slave as part of his service as York County Gaoler. McKindo stated "that the services in the accot exhibited were really and bona fide done & performed." The justices of the peace decided to send McKindo's claim to the General Assembly. It is unknown if McKindo received payment for these services.[305]

James McKindo lived on Lot 27 until the time of his death. The 1731 inventory of McKindo's estate included a "Servant man named William Turner" who was valued at £ 8. McKindo had two slaves—a boy called Dunbarton who was worth £ 14 and a man known as Mingo who was assessed at £ 30—in Yorktown. This tailor also owned property in James City County where he had three enslaved men—David (£ 35), Peter (£ 25), and Will (£ 29)—as well as a boy named Glasgow (£ 25).[306]

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[301] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 173, dated 19 May 1706 and recorded 24 September 1706.
[302] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 450, dated 8 and 9 October 1725 and recorded 15 November 1725.
[303] York County Orders and Wills (16) 342, 21 June 1725; ibid., p. 402, 15 August 1726; ibid., p. 466, 17 July 1727.
[304] Ibid., p. 383, 16 May 1726. On the same day, McKindo also claimed payment for taking up John Dilling, an indentured servant who escaped from his master in King and Queen County as well as helping to transport three runaway servants to the Public Gaol in Williamsburg. Ibid., pp. 383-4, 16 May 1726.
[305] York County Orders and Wills (17) 73, 18 May 1730.
[306] Ibid., pp. 204-7, recorded 19 July 1731; ibid., pp. 191-2, dated 1 June 1731 and recorded 21 June 1731.

McKindo's widow, Eleanor, remained on Lot 27 after her husband's death. The February 1738/9 list of Yorktown lotholders included James McKindo's estate as the owner of one lot. After the death of Eleanor McKindo, Lot 27 became the property of his daughters—Mary, the wife of Benjamin Weldon, a planter of James City County; and Ann, the wife of Joseph Lark. On 18 March 1750/1, Benjamin and Mary Weldon sold half of Lot 27 to James Mitchell.[307]

James Mitchell and Janet Mitchell

See Lot 25.

Stephen Mitchell

Stephen Mitchell, son of James and Janet Mitchell, became the owner of Lot 27 after the death of his mother. Mitchell, a cabinetmaker, might have established his business on this half-acre before he gained possession of it. In June 1770, Thomas Archer apprenticed his nephew to Mitchell until his twenty-first birthday.[308] It is known that Mitchell had three other white servants. In June 1773, Mitchell offered a reward for the return of "a Convict Servant named JAMES RYAN, by Trade a Cabinet Maker." In November of the following year, the grand jury presented Mitchell for not listing William Oats as one of his tithes. Nineteen-year old William Clark, a joiner, ran from Mitchell in early July 1775, and it is unknown if Mitchell regained possession of either of his servants.[309]

Mitchell no doubt used the skills of his servants to meet the needs of his customers. In addition to making cabinets, in 1773 Mitchell made a "coffin for Negro Orange" and received £ 1.1.6 from the estate of Edward Moss of Yorkhampton Parish.[310] Mitchell obtained a payment of £ 4 from the estate of Captain John Goodwin "for his acct. dressing a negroes Ulcer 10 weeks."[311]

Mitchell married Margaret Maitland in April 1773, and they had a son named Alexander by 1784. In June of that year, Charles Grymes of Ware Parish in Gloucester County gave Alexander Mitchell an enslaved girl named Casiah. Grymes noted that Casiah was "in

[307] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 478-9, 23 February 1738/9; York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 424-5, dated and recorded 18 March 1750/1. It is possible that Joseph and Ann Lark sold their portion of Lot 27 to James Mitchell because the tavern keeper bequeathed a "lot" in his will, not a portion of a lot. See Lot 25.
[308] York County Deeds (8) 48a-9, dated and recorded 18 June 1773.
[309] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 3 June 1773; York County Order Book (4) 65-6, 21 November 1774; *Virginia Gazette*, Pinkney, ed., 6 July 1775.
[310] York County Guardian Accounts (1) 477, recorded 20 September 1773.
[311] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 203-11, dated and recorded 21 June 1790.

the service" of Stephen Mitchell and that this cabinetmaker would become Casiah's owner if his son died before his twenty-first birthday.[312]

In addition to Casiah and the enslaved laborers whom he inherited from his mother, Mitchell hired two slaves from Captain John Goodwin's estate. This cabinetmaker paid £ 7.10 to hire Nanny during 1786. Three years later, in 1789, Mitchell spent £ 3 to have Old Hannah work in his household.[313]

[312] York County Deeds (6) 213-4, dated 19 June 1784 and recorded 21 June 1784.
[313] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 212-7, recorded 21 June 1790.

Lot 28

Simon Stacy

In November 1691, the Trustees of Yorktown sold Lot 28 to Simon Stacy, a planter of Charles Parish. The deed noted that this lot adjoined the parcels held by Thomas Chisman Junior and Samuel Timson.[314] It is not clear whether Stacy or Mildred Warner, the next owner of Lot 28, built on the property.

Mildred Warner

The next owner of Lot 28 was Mildred Warner, the daughter of George and Elizabeth Read and the wife of Augustine Warner. A resident of Gloucester County, it is likely that Mildred Warner rented Lot 28 to tenants.

John Lewis

In September 1716, the trustees of Yorktown conveyed Lot 28 to John Lewis of Gloucester County. The deed noted that there was a structure on this half-acre.[315] Lewis was the son-in-law of Mildred Warner and the husband of Elizabeth Lewis, daughter of Augustine and Mildred Warner. Like Mildred Warner before him, it is likely that Lewis rented Lot 28 and the buildings on this property to several tenants. Lewis died on 14 November 1725, and the Lewis family held Lot 28 until September 1732 when John Lewis Junior transferred the half-acre to a mariner named John Buckler.[316]

John Buckler

In September 1732, a mariner named John Buckler purchased Lot 28 from John Lewis Junior of Gloucester County. Perhaps Buckler rented Lot 28 before he bought the property. He was noted as a mariner of Yorktown in March 1730/1 when he acquired twenty-two acres in Yorkhampton Parish from John Trotter.[317]

Buckler married Elizabeth Moody, the daughter of Humphrey and Elizabeth Moody. John and Elizabeth Buckler were the parents of a daughter named Mary and two sons, John and Moody. Their household also included an enslaved girl named Sarah who was adjudged to be eleven years old on June 1734.[318]

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[314] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 261, dated and recorded 24 November 1691.
[315] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 141, dated 17 September 1716 and recorded 17 December 1746.
[316] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 143-4, dated 17 and 18 September 1732 and recorded 18 September 1732.
[317] Ibid., pp. 88-90, dated and recorded 15 March 1730/1.
[318] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 120, 17 June 1734.

This mariner became indebted to Philip Lightfoot and Richard Ambler, and in March of 1735/6, he mortgaged Lot 28 to Lightfoot. This mariner failed to repay Lightfoot by March 1737/8, and in July 1739, Buckler sold his lot near the York River to Lightfoot for £ 60.[319] The Buckler family remained in Yorktown and continued to have financial troubles. In January 1740/1, Buckler mortgaged his slave Sarah and her child to Philip Lightfoot. Almost five years later, the mariner sold his twenty-two acres in Yorkhampton Parish to Ishmael Moody, his brother-in-law.[320]

Perhaps Buckler's difficulties prompted Ishmael Moody to give a mulatto boy named Elias to his niece, Mary Buckler, in March 1745/6. Mary Buckler, a spinster, owned Elias until January 1750/1 when she sold him to Richard Coventon for £ 25.[321] Two years later, Mary Buckler bought an imported African slave. On 19 March 1753, the justices of the peace determined that Monimia was a nine-year old girl. It is possible that Mary Buckler and Monimia were part of her mother's household. John Buckler died before 1758 because Elizabeth Buckler appeared on the list of Yorkhampton Parish residents recorded by John Camm. He noted that Elizabeth Buckler had two tithes. The widow Buckler probably had Sarah and her child as her domestic laborers.[322]

Philip Lightfoot, Mary née Armistead Burwell Lightfoot, Armistead Lightfoot, Ann Lightfoot Grymes, Charles Grymes, Mary née Lightfoot Griffin, John Taylor Griffin, Raleigh Colston, William Goosley, and Corbin Griffin

See Lot 10.

[319] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 398-400, dated 11 March 1735/6 and recorded 15 March 1735/6; ibid., pp. 581-4, dated 20 July 1739 and recorded 17 December 1739.
[320] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 11-2, dated 22 January 1740/1 and recorded 20 July 1741; ibid., pp. 162-4, dated and recorded 16 December 1745.
[321] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 418, 17 March 1745/6; York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 419-20, dated and recorded 21 January 1750/1; *Virginia Gazette*, 24 October 1751. See Lot 78.
[322] In January 1761, William Lightfoot acknowledged that John Buckler, son of the mariner, repaid £ 25.12.04 that his father owed to the late Philip Lightfoot. York County Judgments and Orders (2) 191, 19 March 1753; York County Deeds (6) 311, recorded 19 January 1761.

Lot 29

Samuel Timson

In 1691, Samuel Timson, a Bruton Parish planter and merchant, purchased Lot 29 from the Trustees of Yorktown. Timson deserted this lot, and it remained vacant until the town's trustees granted it to Hester Sessions, the widow of Thomas Sessions, in January of 1705/6.[323]

Hester Sessions Powell and Christopher Powell

In January 1705/6, Hester Sessions, the widow of Thomas Sessions, bought Lot 29 from Yorktown's trustees.[324] The widow Sessions remarried Christopher Powell by 13 October 1711, and they made their home on Yorktown Lot 29. It is likely that Christopher and Hester Powell did not have any slaves who lived and worked on Lot 29.[325]

On 18 June 1711, Christopher Powell received a license to keep an ordinary. He operated this business until his death in the early fall of 1711. Powell was dead by 13 October 1711, the day his widow, Hester Powell, presented a claim to the York County Court for "7 shillings for entertainmt of sevl men in the time of their working on the fortifications in Yorktown put under her care by Major Buckner." The widow Powell decided to support herself by continuing the business started by her deceased husband. On 16 June 1712, Hester Powell received a license to keep an ordinary.[326]

In July 1715, Hester Powell used a deed of gift to convey a seventy-foot by 120-foot portion of Lot 29 to William Davis, a Yorktown cooper. Powell retained ownership of the rest of Lot 29 and lived in her dwelling house until the time of her death between 20 February 1715/6 and 15 July 1717. In her will, Powell did "Give & bequeath to Herrit Rachford Mr Vaudrys Shop & ground thereto belonging." The widow Powell bequeathed "Eliz: Davis daughter of Wm Davis my Dwelling house with all the appurtenances thereunto belonging."[327]

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[323] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 188-9, 25 November 1692; York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 165, dated 24 January 1705/6 and recorded 25 March 1706.
[324] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 165, dated 24 January 1705/6 and recorded 25 March 1706.
[325] On 24 August 1709, the York County grand jury presented Powell for failing to list himself as a tithe. This presentment suggests that Powell did not own a slave or have access to the labor of a white indentured servant. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (13) 246, 24 August 1709.
[326] York County Orders and Wills (14) 90, 18 June 1711; ibid., p. 114, 13 October 1711; ibid., p. 167, 16 June 1712.
[327] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 83-4, dated 30 July 1715 and recorded 19 September 1715; York County Orders and Wills (15) 145-6, dated 17 December 1715 and recorded 15 July 1717.

Portion of Lot Sold to William Davis

In July 1715, William Davis, a cooper of Yorktown, received part of Lot 29 in a deed of gift from Hester Powell. Davis gained possession of a seventy-foot by 120-foot portion of this half-acre. Davis's share of Lot 29 adjoined Edward Powers on the south [Lot 30], William Tunley on the west [Lot 23], the remaining part of Lot 29 on the north, and the street opposite to the lot where the church "now stands" on the east.[328]

Davis held part of Lot 29 until the time of his death between 15 July 1717 and 17 February 1717/8, the date that Mary Davis received a commission of administration on her deceased husband's estate. The widow Davis stayed on this part of Lot 29 with their three children, John, William, and Elizabeth (the heir of Hester Powell). Mary Davis received a license to operate a tavern on 19 May 1718 and 18 May 1719.[329] It is likely that she married Thomas Robins by 20 June 1720, the date that he obtained a license to keep a tavern at "his now dwelling house." Details in extant records indicate that Thomas and Mary Robins moved to the dwelling that Elizabeth Davis inherited from Hester Powell.[330]

The Davis family owned one-third of Lot 29 until 1738/9 when Herrit Ratchford and Walter Taylor sold this portion of the lot to Philip Lightfoot. The deed noted the boundaries of property as beginning at a post near the chimney of the house formerly called Vaudry's Shop, then southwest to the land of Ishmael Moody [Lot 30], then northwest to the Courthouse lot [Lot 24], then northeast parallel to the first course, and then southeast to the beginning post.[331]

Peter Vaudry—Tenant of Hester Sessions Powell

When Hester Powell wrote her will on 20 February 1715/6, she left "Mr. Vaudrys Shop & ground thereto belonging" to Herrit Ratchford.[332] It is possible that Herrit Ratchford allowed Peter Vaudry to continue to use "Mr Vaudrys Shop" after the death of Hester Powell. Unfortunately, there is no information about what type of work Vaudry did in his shop. There is no evidence that Vaudry owned enslaved laborers.

Herrit Ratchford

The widow Powell retained ownership of the other portion of Lot 29 until the time of her death between 20 February 1715/6 and 15 July 1717. In her will, Hester Powell noted

[328] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 83-4, dated 30 July 1715 and recorded 19 September 1715.
[329] York County Orders and Wills (15) 230, 19 May 1718; ibid., p. 427, 18 May 1719.
[330] Ibid., p. 623, 20 June 1720.
[331] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 547-9, dated 2 September 1738 and recorded 19 February 1738/9.
[332] York County Orders and Wills (15) 145-6, dated 17 December 1715 and recorded 15 July 1717.

that she did "Give & bequeath to Herrit Rachford Mr Vaudrys Shop & ground thereto belonging."[333] It is possible that Herrit Ratchford allowed Peter Vaudry to continue to use "Mr Vaudrys Shop." There is no evidence that Ratchford owned slaves during the time that he held a portion of Lot 29.

In November 1734, Herrit Ratchford and Elizabeth Davis, a spinster of Gloucester County, conveyed two-thirds of Lot 29 to Walter Taylor, a tailor of Yorktown. The deed noted that this part of the lot adjoined William Davis's third of Lot 29 on the south, a street on the east, Captain John Buckler on the north [Lot 28], and a merchant named Humphrey Bell on the west [Lot 23].[334]

Elizabeth Davis

In her 20 February 1715/6 will, the widow Powell bequeathed "Eliz: Davis daughter of Wm Davis my Dwelling house with all the appurtenances thereunto belonging."[335] Elizabeth Davis, daughter of William and Mary Davis, lived on the portion of Lot 29 that her father purchased from Hester Powell. It is known that John Roberts, an ordinary keeper and ferry keeper, rented Davis's portion of Lot 29 and that his widow, Elizabeth, completed the term of his lease.

It is likely that Mary Davis and her children moved to the dwelling house that her daughter Elizabeth inherited by the middle of 1720. In June 1720, Mary Davis's second husband, Thomas Robins, received a license to keep a tavern at "his now dwelling house."[336] By September 1722, Robins also served with William Harwood as the ferry keepers between York and Gloucester counties.[337]

Thomas and Mary Robins made two trips to the York County Courthouse in connection with Mary's behavior. First, in March 1720/1, Thomas Nelson the Immigrant prosecuted Thomas Robins and his wife Mary for £ 5 damages for receiving tallow from one of his female slaves. Based on her confession, the justices of the peace determined that Mary obtained "Sixteen pounds & a half of Tallow of the value of Eight shillings & three pence" from one of Nelson's slaves. York's magistrates decided that Mary Robins was to be punished and they "ordered that the sd Mary be imprisoned for the space of one Kalender month without bail or Mainprize & then be continued in prison untill she gives security in the sum of Ten pounds for her good behaviour for one year & moreover that the deft. pay into the plt. the sume of thirty three shillings being four times the value of

[333] Ibid.
[334] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 324-8, dated 15 and 16 November 1734 and recorded 18 November 1734.
[335] York County Orders and Wills (15) 145-6, dated 17 December 1715 and recorded 15 July 1717.
[336] Ibid., p. 623, 20 June 1720.
[337] York County Orders and Wills (16) 159, 17 September 1722.

the Goods."[338] Next, in July 1724, a white woman named Eliza Murray accused Mary Davis of assault and battery.[339]

Mary Robins died between 20 July 1724 and 5 August 1725, the first date Thomas Robins was known to have been married to Temporance Robins. Thomas and Temporance Robins lived in Elizabeth Davis's dwelling house on Lot 29 with Elizabeth, John, and William Davis.[340] The household also included an enslaved boy named William. On 17 August 1724, the justices of the peace determined that William was four years old.[341]

Robins operated a tavern until his 1729 death. In his will, Robins bequeathed his real and personal estate to his wife. Although Robins did not mention William by name, the widow Robins would have inherited this enslaved boy if he was still living.[342] On 18 August 1729, Elizabeth Davis, orphan of William Davis, asked the justices of the peace to bind her out to Temporance Robins. Her stepmother promised to give her

> [scho]olin[g] and Instru[cting h]er in Sowing &ca. and that William Davis or[phan of the] said William Davis decd be bound to Richd. Baker to l[earn the] Taylors trade [until he] attains the age of 21 years and that he be taug[ht to] Read and Wright and further ordered that W[illi]am Stark and [torn Ba]llard View and Sett a yearly rent on the [ho]uses of the sd [orphans] and make report thereof.[343]

Stark and Ballard followed their instructions and on 15 September 1729, they returned a "report relateing to Elizth Davis's house in the possession of Temporance Robins" to the court.[344] The widow Robins also operated a tavern in the dwelling house that belonged to her stepdaughter. By 18 August 1730, the widow Robins married William Colbert.[345] It is unclear how long William and Temporance Colbert lived on Lot 29. Temporance Colbert did not appear in the court records after 15 February 1730/1, and by 16 July 1733, William Colbert was a resident of James City County.

Perhaps Elizabeth Davis decided to retain possession of her dwelling house until she and her two brothers reached adulthood. In November 1734, Davis, a spinster of Gloucester

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[338] Ibid., p. 30, 20 March 1720/1. Both parties—Mary Robins and Nelson's enslaved woman—received punishment for their actions. The justices of the peace allowed Nelson to decide how to punish the slave who gave tallow to Mary Robins.
[339] Ibid., p. 289, 17 August 1724. The justices of the peace dismissed the case brought by Murray. There is no additional information about Eliza Murray.
[340] On 20 June 1726, John Davis, orphan of William Davis, chose his stepfather, Thomas Robins, to be his guardian. It is possible that this John Davis stayed in Yorktown and worked as a tailor. Ibid., p. 388, 20 June 1726.
[341] Ibid., p. 294, 17 August 1724.
[342] Ibid., p. 604, dated 5 August 1725 and recorded 16 June 1729.
[343] Ibid., p. 616, 18 August 1729.
[344] Ibid., p. 619, 15 September 1729.
[345] Ibid., p. 600, 16 June 1729; York County Orders and Wills (17) 108, 18 August 1730.

County, and Herrit Ratchford conveyed two-thirds of Lot 29 to a Yorktown tailor named Walter Taylor.[346]

John Roberts and Elizabeth Roberts—Tenants of Elizabeth Davis

In 1719, John Roberts, an ordinary keeper and a ferry keeper, leased Elizabeth Davis's house on Lot 29. Roberts also leased Lot 31 from Matthew Ballard who "imployed" him "to keep ordinary in the house" on this half-acre.[347] Perhaps Roberts operated his business on Lot 31 and lived in the dwelling house on Lot 29.

Roberts died in late 1719 or early 1719/20, and he gave his wife Elizabeth "the Remaining time of a Lease I have for a house & part of a Lott in York Town lately the dwelling house of Esther Powell decd provided she remain in Town." Roberts also left his wife an enslaved man named Harry and bequeathed a slave to each of their children. Elizabeth Roberts received a woman named Hannah, and John Roberts inherited a man named Jimmy. After the death of their mother, Elizabeth and John Roberts were to share Harry.[348] It is possible that Roberts had Jimmy and Harry help convey passengers across the York River. He might have had Hannah cook meals for the men who patronized his ordinary in addition to the food that she might have prepared for the Roberts family. The March 1719/20 inventory of Roberts' estate included a white servant man named William Smith (valued at £ 1), the enslaved man Harry (worth £ 35), and Hannah, a woman (assessed at £ 25).[349]

Elizabeth Roberts remained in Yorktown after the death of her husband. This decision meant that she had access to a portion of Lot 29 during the remainder of the lease. The widow Roberts married William Harwood by May of 1720, and they lived on Lot 31.[350]

Walter Taylor

In November 1734, Walter Taylor, a tailor of Yorktown, purchased two-thirds of Lot 29 from Herrit Ratchford and Elizabeth Davis, a spinster of Gloucester County. The deed noted that this part of the lot adjoined William Davis's third of Lot 29 on the south, a

[346] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 324-8, dated 15 and 16 November 1734 and recorded 18 November 1734.
[347] York County Orders and Wills (16) 371, 21 February 1725/6.
[348] York County Orders and Wills (15) 560, dated 18 December 1719 and recorded 15 February 1719/20.
[349] Ibid., pp. 609-10, dated 22 March 1719/20 and recorded 16 May 1720.
[350] In February 1725/6, John Brooks, son of John and Elizabeth Brooks, took the Harwoods to court in order to receive money due for the rental of Lot 31. In addition, the younger Brooks took out a patent for Lot 31 in order to confirm his title to the property. See York County Orders and Wills (16) 371, 21 February 1725/6; Nell Marion Nugent et al., eds., *Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants*, 8 vols., (Richmond: Library of Virginia, 1934-98), III:261-2.

street on the east, Captain John Buckler on the north [Lot 28], and a merchant named Humphrey Bell on the west [Lot 23].[351]

It is known that Taylor owned at least one slave. On 17 December 1733, Taylor took a boy he named Dublin to the York County court. The justices of the peace decided that Dublin was fourteen years old.[352] Taylor also had two white servants in his Yorktown household. In March 1738/9, Sarah Hall told the justices of the York County Court that Taylor "refuseth to find & provide for her Sufficient Cloaths &ca." The magistrates decided that Hall would have "liberty to work at John Butterworths & to receive the benefit of her labour to & for her own use & Maintenance" until Taylor settled a suit against him. Later in the same year, Taylor had problems with an apprentice. On 17 December 1739, Benjamin Moss complained "that his said Master doth not use & provide for him as he ought to do." The justices of the peace "removed him from his sd. Master" and ordered Moss to finish his apprenticeship with Robert Ranson of Yorktown.[353]

Walter Taylor died between 18 February 1742/3, the date he wrote his will, and 19 December 1743, the date the York County clerk recorded his will. Taylor left his widow Elizabeth the use of his houses and land during her lifetime. After her death, he specified that the buildings and real estate were to be sold, and the proceeds were to go to his children. Taylor wanted any rents and profits from his property to be used to maintain and educate his children.[354] His inventory did not mention enslaved laborers.

Elizabeth Taylor

Elizabeth Taylor, the wife of Walter Taylor, received a life right to a portion of Lot 29 after her husband's 1743 death. The widow Taylor lived on Lot 29 until her death between 28 January 1754 and 16 July 1759, the date that James Taylor, a carpenter and joiner in Williamsburg, sold the land that he inherited from his father to Armistead Lightfoot.[355]

Philip Lightfoot

In 1738, Philip Lightfoot purchased one-third of Lot 29 from Herrit Ratchford and Walter Taylor. The boundaries of the deed were given as beginning at a post near the chimney of the house formerly called Vaudry's Shop, then southwest to the land of Ishmael Moody

[351] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 324-8, dated 15 and 16 November 1734 and recorded 18 November 1734.
[352] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 79, 17 December 1733.
[353] Ibid., p. 479, 19 March 1738/9; ibid., p. 524, 17 December 1739.
[354] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 253-4, dated 18 February 1742/3 and recorded 19 December 1743.
[355] York County Deeds (6) 199-201, dated and recorded 16 July 1759.

[Lot 30], then northwest to the Courthouse lot [Lot 24], then northeast parallel to the first course, and then southeast to the beginning post.[356]
Lightfoot held one-third of Lot 29 until his death on 31 May 1748. He left his wife Mary his dwelling house and appurtenances as well as two and one-third contiguous lots that adjoined the lot where his home stood and the property where his stable stood.[357] Mary Lightfoot conveyed one-third of Lot 29 to her youngest son, Armistead Lightfoot, sometime before 1769.

Armistead Lightfoot

On 16 July 1759, Armistead Lightfoot purchased two-thirds of Lot 29 from James Taylor, a Williamsburg carpenter and joiner, who sold the Yorktown land that he inherited from his father.[358] Sometime before 1769, Lightfoot gained possession of the other third of Lot 29 from his mother, Mary Lightfoot.

Armistead Lightfoot had financial difficulties, and in June 1769, he mortgaged Lot 29 where Samuel Taylor lived to William Stevenson, a Yorktown merchant. Lightfoot had until the following June to repay Stevenson.[359] Armistead Lightfoot defaulted on his mortgage and on 19 August 1771, Stevenson brought a chancery suit against him. The York County justices of the peace decided that Lot 29 would be sold at a public auction. In June 1772, Jaquelin Ambler, the sheriff of York County, sold this half-acre to William Stevenson. The deed noted that the parcel was opposite the church and in the possession of Samuel Taylor.[360]

Samuel Taylor—tenant of Armistead Lightfoot

A man named Samuel Taylor occupied Lot 29 in June 1769 when Armistead Lightfoot mortgaged this half-acre to William Stevenson and in June 1772 when William Stevenson gained possession of the property.[361] It is likely that Taylor was one of Yorktown's poorer residents. The only indication of his income was in 1767 when he received 600 pounds of tobacco for cleaning the York County Courthouse.[362] It is possible that Taylor had a difficult time making payments to Stevenson. In 1779, Frances Stevenson, the widow and executrix of William Stevenson, took Taylor to court, perhaps

[356] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 547-9, dated 2 September 1738 and recorded 19 February 1738/9.
[357] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 103-6, dated 31 July 1747 and recorded 20 June 1748.
[358] York County Deeds (6) 199-201, dated and recorded 16 July 1759.
[359] York County Deeds (8) 28, dated 15 June 1769 and recorded 20 November 1769.
[360] Ibid., pp. 280-2, dated 25 June 1772 and recorded 21 December 1772. It is likely that Samuel Taylor was on Lot 29 in 1772 even though the deed noted that the property was in the possession of James Taylor.
[361] York County Deeds (8) 28, dated 15 June 1769 and recorded 20 November 1769.
[362] York County Order Book (1765-1768) 387, 19 October 1767.

in an attempt to receive money due for rent.[363] It is possible that Taylor lived on Lot 29 during the American Revolution. Taylor filed a claim for the poultry that he lost during the Siege of Yorktown.[364]

William Stevenson

In 1771, the members of the York County Court decided that Lot 29 was to be sold at a public sale. In June 1772, Jaquelin Ambler, the sheriff of York County, sold this half-acre to William Stevenson. The deed noted that the parcel was opposite the church and in the possession of Samuel Taylor. Stevenson owned Lot 29 for less than a year, and in March 1773, this Yorktown merchant sold the property to William Reynolds.[365]

William Reynolds

In March 1773, William Reynolds purchased Lot 29 from William Stevenson.[366] Nineteen years later, in 1792, Reynolds divided Lot 29 when he sold a portion of this half-acre to John Hatley Norton.[367] Reynolds conveyed the remainder of the lot to Corbin Griffin sometime between 28 February 1800 and 17 January 1802.

Portion Sold to John Hatley Norton

In 1792, John Hatley Norton purchased a portion of Lot 29 from William Reynolds. It is likely that Norton leased this property to one or more tenants during his lifetime. Norton was a resident of Winchester in Frederick County when he died in 1797.[368]

Portion Sold to Corbin Griffin

Corbin Griffin purchased a portion of Lot 29 from William Reynolds sometime between 28 February 1800 and 17 January 1802.

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[363] On 20 September 1779, the widow Stevenson and Taylor agreed to discontinue to suit. York County Order Book (4) 238, 20 September 1779.
[364] "Claims for Losses of York County Citizens in the British Invasion of 1781."
[365] York County Deeds (8) 280-2, dated 25 June 1772 and recorded 21 December 1772; ibid., pp. 304-5, dated 15 March 1773 and recorded 17 May 1773.
[366] York County Deeds (8) 304-5, dated 15 March 1773 and recorded 17 May 1773. See also Lot 31.
[367] Yorktown Hustings Court Records (1787-1793) 35 quoted in Hatch, Jr., *Yorktown's Main Street*, p. 58.
[368] Frederick County Wills (6) 283-5, dated 19 November 1792, codicils dated 6 January 1794 and 13 October 1795, and recorded 6 February 1798.

Lot 30

John Rogers

In November 1691, John Rogers, a planter of York County, bought Lot 30 from the Trustees of Yorktown. The deed noted that this lot adjoined Samuel Timson, Thomas Jefferson, and the broad street. Rogers built on the lot and retained ownership of this parcel of ground until December 1705 when he sold it to Captain Thomas Mountfort of Merchants Hundred Parish in James City County. Mountfort held Lot 30 for a short period of time. Rogers regained the title to Lot 30 by September 1710, the date he conveyed this half-acre to John Wills of Charles Parish.[369]

John Wills

In September 1710, John Wills, a Charles Parish resident, acquired Lot 30 from John Rogers. The deed noted that this lot adjoined the broad street on the south, Edward Powers on the east, and the Courthouse on the west.[370] Over two and a half years earlier, in January 1707/8, Wills became one of the men who operated the ferry to Tindall's Point. There is no evidence that Wills owned a slave who helped convey passengers across the York River or to assist him in the tavern that he also operated. Perhaps Wills and Charles Cox, the other ferry keeper, hired slaves to transport men and horses between Yorktown and Tindall's Point.

Wills helped to operate the ferry across the York River until January 1712/3 when William Buckner and John Roberts gained this position.[371] It is likely that Wills returned to Charles Parish by July 1713 when his mother gave him a mulatto slave named Robin. Elizabeth Wills described her son John as a carpenter in the deed of gift.[372] Eleven months later, in June 1714, John Wills and his wife Elizabeth were residents of Mulberry Island Parish in Warwick County when they sold Lot 30 to John Cook of Yorkhampton Parish. The deed also conveyed a storehouse on the bank of the York River.[373]
John Cook

[369] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 256, dated [blank] and recorded 24 November 1691; York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (12) 398, 25 March 1706; York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 362-4, dated 22 and 23 September 1710 and recorded 19 March 1710/11. The Thomas Jefferson who owned a Yorktown lot was the grandfather of Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence and the third president of the United States. Susan Kern, *The Jeffersons at Shadwell*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 292-3 n. 6.
[370] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 362-3, dated 22 September 1710 and recorded 19 March 1710/11. Wills owned Lot 38 from 1707/8 to 1709 and Lot 44 between 1707/8 and 1711. See Lot 38 and Lot 44.
[371] York County Orders and Wills (14) 220, 20 January 1712/3.
[372] Ibid., pp. 270-1, dated 18 July 1713 and recorded 20 July 1713.
[373] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 24-6, dated 18 and 19 June 1714 and recorded 19 July 1714.

John Cook was an inhabitant of Yorkhampton Parish in June 1714 when he purchased Lot 30 and a storehouse (between the storehouses of Cole Digges and Thomas Nelson the Immigrant) on the bank of the York River from John Wills.[374] Cook decided to live on another Yorktown lot, and in January 1714/5 he sold Lot 30 and his "now dwelling house on the bank of the York River" to Edward Powers.[375]

Edward Powers

In January 1714/5, Edward Powers purchased Lot 30 and a "dwelling house on the bank of the York River" from John Cook.[376] Powers owned several lots during the time that he lived in Yorktown.[377] In addition, he worked as a carpenter, a merchant, and a tavern keeper in the town.

In 1711, Powers served as the overseer of the construction of the fortifications at Yorktown. In this role, he supervised the work of indentured servants and enslaved laborers. Powers kept track of the work performed by slaves who were owned by William Gordon (eight days of work), Philip Lightfoot (sixty days of work), and Cole Digges (180 days of work). In addition, Powers submitted a claim to the justices of the peace for £ 9.13.0 as compensation for work that he, his servants, and horses did. Powers use of the word "servants" instead of slaves indicates that he did not own an enslaved man, woman, or child at that time.[378]

By late 1714, if not earlier, Powers had a tavern on Lot 30. By July 1715, Powers owned an enslaved man named Guy. This tavern keeper might have had Guy wait on his customers and tend to their horses. In the summer of 1715, however, it is likely that Powers feared he would lose his slave. On 7 July 1715, Guy, Harry (a mulatto slave owned by Mary Read), and Sam (a slave possessed by William Buckner) did "with force & armes &c the mansion house of one Richard Cary gent in the county of York" and "224 ounces of silver money of the value of 70 pound ten guineas of the value of 13 pounds & one pair of linen sheets of the value of 40 shills currt money" did "take & carry away." On 10 September 1715, Harry, Sam, and Guy plead guilty to the charges. The justices of the oyer and terminer court decided that all three men to "be conveyed to the place from whence they came and from thence to the place of Execution there to be hanged by the necks untill they & every of them are dead." York's officials valued Guy at £ 45 and

[374] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 24-6, dated 18 and 19 June 1714 and recorded 19 July 1714.
[375] Ibid., pp. 49-51, dated 6 and 7 January 1714/5 and recorded 17 January 1714/5; ibid., pp. 52-4, dated 14 and 15 January 1714/5 and recorded 17 January 1714/5. Cook operated a tavern in Yorktown until his death in 1725. In August 1720, the justices of the peace decided that Cook's enslaved girl Moll was ten years old. It is likely that Moll assisted Cook's wife, Mary, with the domestic work in the tavern. York County Orders and Wills (15) 665, 15 August 1720.
[376] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 49-51, dated 6 and 7 January 1714/5 and recorded 17 January 1714/5; ibid., pp. 52-4, dated 14 and 15 January 1714/5 and recorded 17 January 1714/5.
[377] See Lot 36, Lot 37, and Lot 50.
[378] York County Orders and Wills (14) 113-4, 116, 13 October 1711.

certified that Powers was to receive this amount as compensation for the loss of his slave.[379] Six days later, Governor Alexander Spotswood pardoned Guy and Sam.[380]

It is possible that Powers had Guy continue to work in his tavern after he received his pardon. Powers operated his business on Lot 30 until the time of his death in the spring of 1719. This tavern keeper left his house and lot in Yorktown where he lived to his wife, Elizabeth. After her death, the property was to go to Philip Lightfoot who would dispose of the lot for the benefit of Elizabeth Moody and Ishmael Moody, his wife's children from her first marriage. The 4 July 1719 inventory of Powers' estate included three white indentured servants: a boy named Samuel Kilpatrick who had six years to serve (valued at £ 12); James Spence, a boy with six and a half years remaining on his indenture; and Mary Cary, a woman who had three more years to serve.[381]

Elizabeth Moody Powers

After the 1719 death of her second husband, Elizabeth Powers decided to operate a tavern.[382] In August 1719, Powers took two slaves to the York County Court to have their ages adjudged. The justices of the peace decided that Nanny, a girl, and a boy named Caesar were both ten years old.[383]

During the 1720s, the widow Powers continued to operate a tavern. She added to the number of slaves whom she owned, a sign that she did a good business and needed additional laborers. In May 1730, Powers sued William Adams because he beat her woman Kate. At the same court session, Lewis Davis reported that he took up "a runaway Negro named Sam belonging to Mrs Powers near to Cole Digges' in this County above ten miles distance from the residence of the said Slave."[384]

Powers received her last tavern license on 16 June 1729, and it is possible that she stopped providing food, drink, and entertainment after this license expired.[385] The widow Powers died between 18 February and 19 March 1732/3. Elizabeth Powers left her "Negro Garle Slave named Frank daughter of Mariah" to her granddaughter Mary Buckler. She bequeathed the remainder of her real and personal property to her son, Ishmael. The 15 September 1733 inventory of Elizabeth Powers' estate included eleven

[379] Ibid., p. 443, 10 September 1715.
[380] Ibid., p. 453, dated 16 September 1715 and recorded 19 September 1715.
[381] York County Orders and Wills (15) 452, dated 12 May 1719 and recorded 15 June 1719; ibid., pp. 464-6, dated 4 July 1719 and recorded 20 July 1719.
[382] The widow Powers also worked as a tavern keeper after the 1707 death of her first husband, Humphrey Moody. In February 1706/7, Moody was described as a cooper when he purchased Lot 45 from Yorktown's trustees. Nine months later, in November 1707, Moody received a license to keep a tavern. York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 228-9, dated 3 February 1706/7 and recorded 24 February 1706/7; York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (13) 95, 24 November 1707.
[383] York County Orders and Wills (15) 472, 17 August 1719.
[384] York County Orders and Wills (17) 64, 74 (quotation), 18 May 1730.
[385] York County Orders and Wills (16) 601, 16 June 1729.

slaves. The widow Powers had three men to labor in her tavern—Caesar, Frank, and "blind Jack." It is likely that the women—Maria and Nanny—assisted Elizabeth Powers with the domestic work at the tavern and helped to train the girls—Amy (a mulatto), an unnamed girl, Sarah, and Moll—to clean, to make beds, to wash sheets, and to prepare food. The boys—Jack and Will—no doubt carried firewood to the tavern and learned how to care for horses from the adult men.[386]

Ishmael Moody

Ishmael Moody followed in the footsteps of both of his parents, Humphrey Moody and Elizabeth Moody Powers, and operated a tavern in Yorktown. After the 1733 death of his mother, Moody inherited ten slaves and gained possession of Lot 30, the property on which his mother and stepfather, Edward Powers, kept a tavern. Moody also inherited debts from his mother. In October 1733, Moody mortgaged four slaves—Caesar, Maria, Nanny, and Frank—to Philip Lightfoot. If Moody paid £ 73 plus interest to Lightfoot by 14 October 1734, the mortgage would be void.[387]

Although Moody met the terms of the October 1733 mortgage, he had additional financial problems by the end of the decade. In December 1739, this tavern keeper mortgaged seven slaves—Caesar, Frank, Maria, Nanny, Jack, Sarah, and Hannah—to Lightfoot.[388] Again, Moody repaid Lightfoot and retained possession of these slaves whom he depended on to work in his tavern.

On 2 June 1742, Moody would have attended the oyer and terminer trial of his slave, Nanny. This enslaved woman and Quash, an adult male owned by William Nelson, "were committed to the Goal of his County on suspicion of Felony, they were this day brought to the Barr and hearing the Indictment agt them read plead not guilty." The justices examined the witnesses and decided that "Nanny is guilty of stealing one piece of foreign coin'd Gold called a double double Sovn. the proper mony of our sd. Lord the King and the Honble. Wm. Gooch Esqr. and 40 Shillings of foreign coin'd silver of the proper mony of Thomas Dickson of the City of Wmsburgh our of the sd. Thos. Dicksons Pocket." In addition, York's officials ruled that "Quash is guilty in being accessory in the receiving part of the sd. mony and they being within the benefit of the act of Clergy they were burnt in the hand at the Barr and it's ord. that they receive each on his bare back 21 Lashes well laid on at the public whiping Post."[389] After being punished, Nanny returned to Lot 30 and continued to work for the Moody family.

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[386] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 35, dated 18 February 1732/3 and recorded 19 March 1732/3; ibid., p. 70, dated 15 September 1733 and recorded 17 September 1733.
[387] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 335-6, dated 15 October 1733 and recorded 20 January 1734/5. In November 1733, Moody mortgaged Lot 30 to Lightfoot.
[388] Ibid., pp. 600-2, dated 3 December 1739 and recorded 19 May 1740.
[389] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 102, 2 June 1742.

In early 1745/6, Ishmael Moody gave a mulatto boy named Elias to Mary Buckler, his niece and the daughter of John Buckler. Perhaps Moody missed the labor that Elias provided, and in November 1746, he acquired another enslaved boy. The justices of the peace determined that Damon was eleven years old.[390]

Ishmael Moody operated a tavern on Lot 30 until the time of his death in the summer of 1748. He bequeathed the houses and land in Yorktown "whereon I now live" to his son, Edward. This tavern keeper gave his executors the authority to sell his portion of the warehouse he shared with William Harwood. Moody left the majority of his estate—including his slaves—to be divided equally between his wife and their children.[391]

The inventory of Moody's estate provides details about the buildings on this lot and on the property he owned in the Read Subdivision. The Moody family lived either in "the back House" which had two floors or in "the New House" so customers could use the rooms in the "Ordinary." A two-story structure, the ordinary had a bar room, a billiard room with a loft, a cellar, and five other rooms, two downstairs and three upstairs. It is possible that Moody's customers rented rooms in another structure—described as "the lower House"—for meetings.

In addition to tending to the needs of their master's customers in the tavern, Moody's slaves labored in other spaces on this lot. Enslaved women and girls made butter in "the old Dairy" and "the New Dairy." The presence of salt in the "Meat House" suggests that female slaves used this space to preserve meat. The women also spent a lot of their time in "the Kitchen" preparing food for the Moody family and people gathered around the tables in the tavern. It is possible that Sall was the cook. The appraisers of Moody's estate valued Sall at £ 45 and Mireah and Nan at £ 35 each. These women would also have made sure that Hannah and Billinder learned the necessary domestic skills, and on Moody's property these skills included mending and making candles used in the tavern. All of the females would have worked in "the Wash House" to clean dishes, kitchen utensils, and eating utensils. Perhaps these slaves also did the laundry in this space on Lot 30.

The work of Moody's male slaves took them to buildings on his property and to other parts of Yorktown. Enslaved men would have made many trips to "the Lower House Cellar" and "the Cellar under the Ordinary" to get the rum and other liquors enjoyed by Moody's customers. The tavern keeper also had "1 Chair & Harness for 2 Horses" so his slaves could transport guests to other locations in Yorktown and the surrounding area. Moody and William Harwood owned a warehouse on the waterfront, and the tavern keeper no doubt had his enslaved men and boys carry items from this storage building to

[390] Ibid., p. 418, 17 March 1745/6; ibid., p. 473, 17 November 1746.

[391] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 122, dated [?] June 1748 and recorded 15 August 1748. On 19 September 1748, the widow Moody and William Harwood leased this warehouse to William Stevenson for twenty-one years. York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 268-70, dated 19 September 1748 and recorded 19 December 1748.

Lot 30 when necessary. Moody's male slaves would have used their master's "1 Boat" and "Sain Rope and Poles" to catch some of the fish that tavern customers ate.[392]

Appraisers valued Moody's ten slaves at £ 329 (just over 40% of his total estate value of £ 818.5.4 ½). Five of his enslaved laborers—Jack (a man valued at £ 50), Frank (a man valued at £ 20), Mireah (also known as Maria, a woman valued at £ 35), Nan (also known as Nanny, a woman valued at £ 35), and Sall (also known as Sarah, a woman valued at £ 45)—had been part of his mother's estate at the time of her 1732/3 death. The appraisers did not note that Caesar and Nan (also known as Nanny) had worked in this Yorktown tavern for almost thirty years or that Elizabeth Powers and Ishmael Moody depended on the work of their skilled slaves to run their businesses.

Mary Moody

As the administrator of her deceased husband's estate, Mary Moody had the responsibility of managing his real and personal property. Soon after Ishmael Moody's death, his widow faced the fact that he left a number of debts that had to be paid. On 18 June 1750, the widow Moody noted that she spent £ 682.8.½ "To sundry payment made the Creditors and for Cloaths for the Children and Negros p Accot. to this day." In order to raise money to pay creditors, Mary Moody raised £ 733.11.7 ½ "By Sales of Household Goods 4 Lotts & House 4 Negroes Vizt. Damon Sawney Nan & Jonathan hire of others & debts recd. to this day." She still owed "upwards of Three hundred Pounds for which she hath no Personal Estate except some Trifles. It appears to that she has at her own expence boarded the five Children left by the said Ishmael Moody."[393]

The widow Moody did what other eighteenth-century Virginians did: she sold slaves in order to protect her family. It is likely that her decision to sell Sawney and Jonathan meant that they were separated from their mothers. In addition, Damon, whom Ishmael Moody purchased in 1746, was forced to leave the only place he had lived in Virginia. The same was true of Nan, who was ten years old when Elizabeth Powers bought her in 1719. The remaining Moody slaves also had their lives disrupted because they were hired out to other colonists.

Evidence suggests that Mary Moody and her children continued to live on Lot 30. It is possible that she rented the tavern in order to raise some money. In May 1759, Moody mortgaged her slave woman Sall to David Jameson to secure the payment of £ 50 plus interest.[394] The widow Moody died between 28 June 1762 and 4 December 1766 when her son, Edward Moody, a resident of Chesterfield County, announced

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[392] Ibid., pp. 134-8, dated 1748 and recorded 16 January 1748[/9].

[393] Ibid., p. 179, dated and recorded 18 June 1750.

[394] In 1751, the widow Moody sold an acre of land in the Read Subdivision to William Lightfoot. York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 447-9, dated and recorded 19 August 1751; York County Deeds (6), 220-1, dated 15 May 1759 and recorded 17 December 1759.

> To be sold to the highest bidder, on the 15th of December Inst. in the town of York, on the main street, an extreme well situated lot, whereon are all convenient and necessary improvements, particularly well plann'd and calculated for the business of a merchant or publican, or both, or any other occupation in a public way. One hundred pounds must be paid on the day of sale and credit will be given for the residue till April next.[395]

Next, on 17 June 1767, Moody conveyed ownership of Sall and her two children, Polly and Mira, to David Jameson for the sum of five shillings. This low amount suggests that the widow Moody had defaulted on her 1759 mortgage to Jameson.[396] The widow Moody's continued financial difficulties can also be seen in the 1767 appraisal of her estate. Her personal possessions included one slave—Frank who was valued at just £ 3—and other goods that totaled £ 35.2.3.[397] It is clear however, that the structures on Lot 30 had value. In December 1767, Edward Moody sold Lot 30 to Yorktown's John Gibbons for the sum of £ 500.[398]

John Gibbons

The John Gibbons who purchased Lot 30 from Edward Moody in December 1767 was the son of John and Ann Gibbons. Born by 1710, the younger John Gibbons grew up in the tavern operated by his father and he inherited Lots 64 and 65 at his father's 1726/7 death.[399] Gibbons married Mary, the daughter of tavern keeper John Butterworth, by May 1742.[400] After the November 1744 probate of Butterworth's will, Mary Gibbons gained possession of her father's slave woman, Grace, and any children she might bear.

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[395] *Virginia Gazette*, Rind, ed., 4 December 1766.

[396] York County Deeds (7) 306-7, dated 17 June 1767 and recorded 20 July 1767. The settlement of Mary Moody's estate included a payment of £ 1.5.7 ½ from Jameson for the balance due from the sale of Sall and her two children, Polly and Mira. York County Wills and Inventories (21) 444, dated 20 February 1769 and recorded 20 March 1769.

[397] York County Wills and Inventories (21) 357-8, recorded 17 August 1767.

[398] York County Deeds (7) 432-5, dated 10 December 1767 and recorded 19 December 1768.

[399] Information about the slaves whom John Gibbons owned during the time he operated a tavern on Lot 64 and Lot 65 is included in Lot 30 because the report does not contain a separate section for these two lots. John Gibbons was the son of John Gibbons and Ann née Moss Gibbons. The elder John Gibbons (son of Thomas and Mary Gibbons) owned slaves (Tom, adjudged to be fifteen in August 1719, and Jemmy, adjudged to be fourteen in August 1719) and a white indentured servant named Lewis Davis (whose service was extended nineteen months in March 1720/1 to compensate Gibbons for time lost when Davis ran away). The 1727 inventory of Gibbons' estate included Lewis Davis valued at £ 10, an enslaved man Barnaby worth £ 25, another enslaved man named "Tomboy" who was worth £ 18, an "old Negro man named Frank" valued at £ 5, and "1 Negro Child 7 Months old" valued at forty shillings. York County Orders and Wills (15) 472, 17 August 1719; York County Orders and Wills (16) 28, 20 March 1720/1; ibid., p. 464, recorded 19 June 1727.

[400] John Butterworth ran a tavern on Lot 10 between 1722 and 1727. See Lot 10.

Elizabeth Gibbons, daughter of John and Mary Gibbons, inherited an enslaved girl named Hagar, and her sister, Damaris Gibbons, became the owner of Violet, a slave girl.[401]

Gibbons had at least three slaves—Grace, Hagar, and Violet—in his household on 17 March 1745/6, the date he received a license to keep an ordinary "at his Home in York Town."[402] It is known that his labor force on Lot 64 and Lot 65 included a white servant named Elizabeth Dutchfield. On 19 December 1748, the justices of the peace ordered the Yorkhampton Parish churchwardens to bind out Dutchfield's mulatto children.[403] In addition, members of the grand jury presented Dutchfield for having a mulatto child. She confessed the presentment to be true and was ordered to pay £ 15 to Yorkhampton Parish. In addition, "at the expiration of her service now due to her present master it is ordered that the Church Wardens of the sd Psh do then sell the sd Elizabeth Dutchfield according to law."[404]

It is possible that Gibbons also counted John Butterworth's male slaves—Jack, Juba, and Orange—as members of his labor force. Gibbons no doubt had an enslaved man help tend to his customer's horses, to serve food, and to convey passengers across the York River after July 1749 when he and James Mitchell, also a tavern proprietor, became the keepers of the ferry between Yorktown and Gloucester.[405] York's officials required Mitchell and Gibbons to provide "four able hands for the dispatch of passengers."[406] The decision to make the ferry a joint operation meant that Mitchell and Gibbons could have male slaves available to convey passengers across the river and to tend to the needs of customers in their taverns. Perhaps Gibbons purchased an imported African in late 1749 so he would have another male slave to help at his tavern and on the ferry. In December 1749, Gibbons took Southwell to the courthouse and the justices of the peace decided that he was eleven years old. Southwell was one of the tithes in the Gibbons household in 1758. It is likely that Lucy, whom Gibbons failed to list as a tithe in 1760, labored in her master's tavern when Camm recorded his list of tithes.[407]

In addition to operating a tavern and the ferry, Gibbons served as the Surveyor of Streets and Landings from 19 September 1743 to 19 August 1745 and again between 20 May

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[401] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 323, dated 15 May 1742 and recorded 19 November 1744; York County Wills and Inventories (20) 40-1, recorded 18 August 1746. The 1746 inventory of Butterworth's estate included four additional slaves: Jack (£ 35), Rose (£ 40), Juba (£ 25), and Orange (£ 42). Butterworth acquired Rose, a fourteen-year old girl, in 1735. The next year, he became the owner of Orange, a twelve-year old boy. York County Wills and Inventories (18) 215, 1735; ibid., p. 300, 1736. Damaris Gibbons married (1) Lawrence Smith and (2) William Mitchell. See Part I. Section 10—The Moore House and Adjoining Rural Land Owned by the Smith and Moore Families and Lot 39.

[402] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 418, 17 March 1745/6.

[403] See Part I. Section 5—Free Blacks in Yorktown and the Yorktown Area, 1680s to 1783.

[404] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 146, 157 (quotation), 19 December 1748.

[405] See Lot 25.

[406] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 221, 17 July 1749. Mitchell operated the ferry between Yorktown and Gloucester with John Gibbons until his 1772 death.

[407] Ibid., p. 269, 18 December 1749; York County Judgments and Orders (3) 186, 17 November 1760.

1754 and 17 June 1754.[408] In this roll, Gibbons had the authority to maintain the streets and landings in Yorktown and to require the town's residents to have their laborers assist him in any necessary repairs. As a tavern keeper, Gibbons depended on customers being able to travel on the roads and goods being unloaded at the landings. Gibbons also held the position of inspector of goods—including beef, pork, pitch, tar, flour, and lumber—from 20 September 1742 until his death.[409] In this position, Gibbons spent time inspecting barrels of food and products before slaves loaded the items on ships. As a tavern keeper, Gibbons knew the appearance and quality of food items and the best way to store the barrels. It is known that he had a meat house on his property. On 7 April 1759, Scipio, a slave owned by Francis Peters, broke into Gibbons' meat house and took "200 lbs. weight of Bacon of the Value of 50 Shillings and 2 Sack bags of the value of 10 Shillings Current Money of Virginia." Although the justices of the oyer and terminer court found Scipio not guilty of a felony and burglary, they decided that "Scipio hath misbehaved himself" and they ordered "the Sherif at the Public Whipping Post give him 39 lashes on his bare back well laid on and then discharge him out of Custody."[410] Extant documents suggest that Gibbons operated his tavern on Lots 64 and 65 and then on Lot 34 until 1767 when he purchased Lot 30 from Edward Moody.[411] On 12 August 1767, Gibbons placed an announcement in the *Virginia Gazette* "to inform my friends and customers, and all who may please to favour me with their company, that I have removed from the fort to the house where Mrs. Moody lately lived, adjoining the courthouse, where they may depend on the best entertainment and civil usage."[412]

Gibbons operated a tavern on Lot 30 until the time of his death. He died by 16 November 1772, the date that his widow, Mary, appeared in the York County Court and received an appointment as "Joint Ferry Keeper with Janet Mitchell Widow."[413] John Gibbons left his wife a slave girl named Grace "forever" as well as his lots and the remainder of his slaves during the rest of her life. After his wife's death, Gibbons wanted his enslaved laborers to be equally divided among all of his living children. The tavern keeper wanted his lots to be sold after the death of Mary Gibbons. He also left a slave girl named Lucy to his daughter Sarah; an enslaved girl known as Rachel to his daughter Ann; and a slave girl called Amy to his granddaughter Mary. Gibbons asked his executors to sell Bridget, an enslaved girl, to raise money to pay his debts.[414]

The March 1773 inventory of John Gibbons' estate included thirteen slaves. First, the appraisers listed the four men: Orange (£ 30), Lewis (£ 75), Southwell (£ 65), and Jack (£ 60). Next, they valued the women: Maria (£ 5), Grace (£ 40), Lucy (£ 50), and

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[408] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 222, 19 September 1743; ibid., p. 384, 19 August 1745; York County Judgments and Orders (2) 419, 20 May 1754; ibid., p. 439, 17 June 1754.
[409] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 125, 20 September 1742; York County Judgments and Orders (3) 213, 15 February 1773.
[410] York County Judgments and Orders (3) 25-6, 14 April 1759.
[411] See Lot 34.
[412] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 20 August 1767.
[413] York County Judgments and Orders (3) 150, 16 November 1772.
[414] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 136-8, dated 23 October 1772 and recorded 18 January 1773.

Hannah (£ 60). Finally, these men noted the names of the enslaved girls: Sue (£ 60), Bridget (£ 30), Polly (£ 30), Aubrey (£ 15), and Jenny (£ 10). They did not assess the worth of the three girls whom Gibbons gave as gifts to family members. The thirteen appraised slaves accounted for £ 530 of the £ 995.10.0 total value of Gibbons' personal estate.[415] Gibbons depended on the labor of his slaves to run both his tavern and to transport passengers across the York River.

Mary Gibbons

John Gibbons died by 16 November 1772, the date that his widow, Mary, appeared in the York County Court and received an appointment as "Joint Ferry Keeper with Janet Mitchell Widow."[416] The widow Gibbons no doubt had the four enslaved men—Orange, Lewis, Southwell, and Jack—whom her husband owned at the time of his death continue to ferry passengers across the York River to Gloucester. Orange, Lewis, Southwell, and Jack would have used Gibbons' "Half the Ferry Boats" which was worth £ 10.[417]

Though Virginia law recognized both Janet Mitchell and Mary Gibbons as autonomous individuals because of their status as widows, they were still vulnerable.[418] As women, it was more difficult for Mitchell and Gibbons to receive prompt payment from customers and to maintain control over their enslaved laborers than it was for men. The two widows decided to use the newspaper to regain their power. In April 1774, Janet Mitchell and Mary Gibbons placed an announcement in both Rind's *Virginia Gazette* and the newspaper published by Purdie and Dixon. They wanted to make sure that as many people read their notice as possible. They began by noting that they had "for some Years past kept the Ferry established at this Place, and experienced the Inconveniences and Loss that attend making Accounts of Ferriage." Because of these inconveniences and losses, the widows Mitchell and Gibbons decided to "take this Method of desiring those Gentlemen who cross to pay their Ferriages at the Swan Tavern, as it has been of infinite Loss to the subscribers their paying the Negroes." They concluded by assuring their customers "that the Ferry shall be kept inferior to none in the Colony."[419] Mitchell and Gibbons ran their announcement in both editions of the *Virginia Gazette* during April 1774. Their decision to discontinue their newspaper notice after one month suggests that it helped Mitchell and Gibbons to gain a greater degree of control over their ferry keeping operation.

It is not clear how long the widows Mitchell and Gibbons managed the work of slaves who transported people and horses across the York River. Perhaps Mary Gibbons continued to operate the ferry until 1786 when her son Lawrence Gibbons received a

[415] Ibid., pp. 158-9, dated 9 March 1773 and recorded 15 March 1773.
[416] York County Judgments and Orders (3) 150, 16 November 1772.
[417] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 158-9, dated 9 March 1773 and recorded 15 March 1773.
[418] Sturtz, *Within Her Power*, chapter 4.
[419] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 7 April 1774.

license for this work. Lawrence Gibbons was the owner of the Swan Tavern, and he operated his business from Lot 25. It appears that Mary Gibbons and her heirs decided to sell Lot 30 before her death. By 1785, Robert Gibbons, John Gibbons, Thomas Gibbons, Lawrence Gibbons, George Gibbons, and Richard Gibbons conveyed Lot 30 to Cabarrus Brothers and Company of Yorktown.

The widow Gibbons lived in Yorktown until her death in late 1792. After her death, the slaves whom she held during her lifetime were reappraised. The appraisers noted that the estate of John Gibbons held twelve slaves: a man named Jack (£ 75), Lewis (£ 20), Southwell (£ 12), Orange (£ 60), Frank a boy (£ 50), a boy named Caesar (£ 20), a boy known as Jack (£ 10), a woman called Hannah (£ 50), a woman known as Sue (£ 40), Polly a woman (£ 50), and two girls, Alice (£ 45) and Rachel (£ 30).[420] Seven of these slaves—Jack, Lewis, Southwell, Orange, Hannah, Sue, and Polly—were a part of Gibbons' estate when it was appraised in 1773.

Cabarrus Brothers and Company

Cabarrus Brothers and Company received the title to Lot 30 from Robert Gibbons, John Gibbons, Thomas Gibbons, Lawrence Gibbons, George Gibbons, and Richard Gibbons by May 1785 when the company mortgaged this property to Anthony Bidard. Cabarrus Brothers and Company defaulted on their mortgage by December of the following year.[421]

Samuel Eddens—Western Portion of Lot 30

In December 1786, Robert Gibbons, John Gibbons, Thomas Gibbons, Lawrence Gibbons, George Gibbons, and Richard Gibbons conveyed five-eighths of Lot 30 to Samuel Eddens of Yorktown. Eddens gained possession of the building known as the new house that Cabarrus Brothers and Company used as a storehouse, two old houses on the lot which were opposite the courthouse, part of the kitchen occupied by Monsieur Guenette, and five-eighths of the garden.[422] Samuel Eddens held five-eighths of Lot 30 until 1789 when he sold it to Francis Moss.

It is possible that Eddens was a slave owner during the time he owned part of Lot 30. In November 1797, he used four deeds to transfer slaves to Henry Digges of Matthews County. First, Eddens conveyed his enslaved man Charles who was living with William Throgmorton of York County to Henry Digges of Matthews County. Next, he sold two enslaved men, George and James, to Digges. Eddens noted that George and James were sawyers "who are known in York County." Third, Eddens received £ 130 pounds for a mulatto woman known as Edy and her children Mirnava, Sam, Elender, Fielding, and

[420] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 385, dated 7 March 1793 and recorded 17 June 1793.
[421] York County Deeds (6) 289, dated 16 May 1785 and recorded 19 December 1785.
[422] Ibid., pp. 368-9, dated 11 December 1786 and recorded 21 April 1788.

Cormiller, all of whom he purchased from Abraham Archer on 10 October 1792. Finally, Eddens transferred "his old negro Tom who is living on his plantation in York County."[423]

Monsieur Guenette

In December 1786, Monsieur Guenette occupied part of the kitchen that stood on the western portion of Yorktown Lot 30.[424]

Francis Moss—Western Portion of Lot 30

In November 1789, Samuel and Ann Eddens sold five-eighths of Lot 30 to a blacksmith named Francis Moss. The deed described three buildings on the ground: the "new house" used as a storehouse by Cabarrus and Brothers, "one old house on the lott opposite the Courthouse, with that half of the kitchen to the same belonging." Moss and his wife Sarah transferred part of Lot 30 to Corbin Griffin in March 1790. This portion was noted as containing thirty-four feet in front the main street, beginning at the Courthouse, and running forty-four and three-quarters feet back.[425]

Corbin Griffin—Western Portion of Lot 30

In March 1790, Corbin Griffin purchased a portion of Lot 30 from Francis and Sarah Moss. This portion was noted as containing thirty-four feet in front the main street, beginning at the Courthouse, and running forty-four and three-quarters feet back.[426] Corbin Griffin retained ownership of part of Lot 30 until the time of his death when it passed to his son, Thomas.

Damaris née Gibbons Smith Mitchell—Eastern Portion of Lot 30

It is possible that Damaris Mitchell, the widow of William Mitchell, moved to Lot 30 soon after her husband's 1786 death.[427] The widow Mitchell purchased a portion of Lot

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[423] York County Deeds (7) 246-7, 247, 247-8, 248, dated 29 November 1797 and recorded 15 January 1798.

[424] York County Deeds (6) 368-9, dated 11 December 1786 and recorded 21 April 1788.

[425] York County Deeds (6) 421-2, dated 29 November 1789 and recorded 21 December 1789; ibid., pp. 445-6, dated and recorded 11 March 1790.

[426] Ibid., pp. 445-6, dated and recorded 11 March 1790.

[427] William Mitchell died between 14 February 1786 and 17 April 1786. Mitchell left his entire estate, real and personal, after the payment of any debts to his wife, Damaris. York County Wills and Inventories (23) 109, dated 12 February 1786 and recorded 17 April 1786. William Mitchell lived on Lot 39 before the Siege of Yorktown. See Lot 39.

30 from her relatives, Robert Gibbons, John Gibbons, Thomas Gibbons, Lawrence Gibbons, George Gibbons, and Richard Gibbons. Damaris Mitchell no doubt had several enslaved laborers on the eastern portion of Lot 30. Before she married Mitchell, Damaris Smith was the widow of Lawrence Smith (the son of Lawrence Smith and Mildred née Read Goodwin Smith).[428] After his death in late 1778 or early 1779, Smith left his wife the use of his enslaved laborers during her lifetime. This group included four enslaved men—Paul (£ 90), Bob (£ 125), Toney (£ 150), and Gaby (£ 90); a boy named Cain (£ 80); three women—Chloe (£ 70), Alice (£ 100), and Nanny (£ 80); an equal number of girls—Celia (£ 60), Moll (£ 45), and Sue (£ 30), and a child named Violet (£ 10).[429]

Damaris Mitchell died between 3 September 1804 and 17 March 1806. In her will, the widow Mitchell stated that her executor, her brother Robert Gibbons, was to sell her slaves at a public sale. Next, Damaris Mitchell noted that her rural land was to be sold and the proceeds from the sale were to go to her granddaughters Mary Calthorpe Smith and Eliza Smith when they reached legal age or married. In addition, she wanted Mary Calthorpe Smith and Eliza Smith to receive the money raised from the sale of "my Houses and Lotts in the Town of York."[430] In 1808, Robert Gibbons, the executor of Damaris Mitchell's estate, sold Joseph Monnet "the House and Lot lying and being in the Town of York formerly occupied by Mrs Damaris Mitchell."[431]

[428] See Lot 72 and Lot 73 and Part I. Section 10—The Moore House and Adjoining Rural Land Owned by the Smith and Moore Families.
[429] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 426-9, dated 9 April 1779 and recorded 19 April 1779. Lawrence Smith inherited slaves from his mother when her will was probated in January 1754. Mildred Smith bequeathed slaves named Frank, Paul, Harry, Chloe, and Grace to her son Lawrence. York County Wills and Inventories (20) 309, dated 10 December 1753 and recorded 21 January 1754.
[430] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 684, dated 3 September 1804 and recorded 17 March 1806.
[431] York County Deeds (8) 526-7, dated [blank] 1808 and recorded 20 June 1808.

Lot 31

William Pattison

The Trustees of Yorktown granted Lot 31 to William Pattison, a planter of York County, in November of 1691. Pattison did not build on the lot and forfeited the half-acre parcel of land.[432]

Michael McCormick

Lot 31 remained empty until May 1706 when the Trustees re-granted it to Michael McCormick. In January 1707/8 McCormick sold half of Lot 31 to John Brooks, a tailor of York Parish. The deed noted that the half lot adjoined McCormick's present house on the east and James Sclater's lot on the west. McCormick transferred the remaining part of Lot 31 to Brooks in September of 1708. The second conveyance included a tenement that McCormick built.[433]

John and Elizabeth Brooks

In January 1707/8, Michael McCormick sold half of Lot 31 to John Brooks, a tailor of York Parish. The deed noted that the half lot adjoined McCormick's present house on the east and James Sclater's lot on the west. McCormick transferred the remaining part of Lot 31 to Brooks in September of 1708. The second conveyance included a tenement that McCormick built.[434]

In 1709, John Brooks received a license to operate an ordinary, and in early January 1710/11 the York County Court paid him 161 pounds of tobacco "for Entertainmt. of Sundry Prisoners." In October 1711, Brooks submitted a claim to the York County Court twenty shillings to cover his costs "for entertainmt of sevl men in the time of their working on the publick works at Yorktown sent to his house by Major Buckner."[435] There is no evidence that Brooks had an enslaved laborer who worked in his ordinary.

Brooks, his wife Elizabeth, and their son John lived on Lot 31 between January 1707/8 and the time of his death in 1712. Brooks left his real and personal estate to his wife,

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[432] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 188-9, 25 November 1692.
[433] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 169, dated 24 May 1706 and recorded 24 September 1706; ibid., p. 266, dated 7 January 1707/8 and recorded 24 January 1707/8; ibid., pp. 299-300, dated 15 and 16 September 1708 and recorded 24 September 1708.
[434] Ibid.
[435] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (13) 251, 24 September 1709; York County Orders and Wills (14) 46-7, 15 January 1710/11; ibid., p. 113, 13 October 1711.

Elizabeth.[436] The widow Brooks used the items that she inherited from her husband to operate an ordinary. She received her license to manage an ordinary.[437]

The widow Brooks died on 18 September 1716. In her nuncupative will, Brooks stated that she wanted Thomas Nelson to "Endeavour to Secure ye Lott & houses for her Child & that all her Estate should be kept together for her Child till he comes of Agee."[438] The inventory of Elizabeth Brooks' estate included one enslaved man valued at £ 40.[439]

Andrew Elmsely and Matthew Ballard

Andrew Elmsley, guardian of the younger John Brooks, occupied Lot 31 for about sixteen months after the September 1716 death of Elizabeth Brooks. During that time he ensured that John Brooks retained ownerships of Lot 31, the property that he inherited from his parents. Elmsley died between 22 October 1717 and 20 January 1717/8. In his will, Elmsley left Brooks "when he Shall attain to the Age of twenty one Years fifty Pounds Currt: money of Virginia to buy him two young Negroes to him & his heirs for ever." The slaves listed in the inventory of Elmsley's estate—Guy a man valued at £ 35, Bess and her child valued at £ 40, and a girl named Jean valued at £ 25—became the property of Matthew Ballard who took possession of Lot 31.[440]

John Roberts, Elizabeth Roberts Harwood, and William Harwood—Tenants of Matthew Ballard

Matthew Ballard, the executor of Andrew Elmsley's estate, took possession of Lot 31 and the houses on this property. Ballard employed John Roberts to keep an ordinary on Lot 31 sometime before his death in May 1719.[441] Roberts also operated the ferry between Yorktown and Tindall's Point.

Although John Roberts operated a tavern on Lot 31 until the time of his own death in late 1719 or early 1719/20, it is likely that he and his family lived on Lot 29. When Roberts wrote his will, he gave his wife Elizabeth "the Remaining time of a Lease I have for a

[436] York County Orders and Wills (14) 189-90, dated 2 December 1710 and recorded 18 August 1712.
[437] Ibid., p. 197, 17 November 1712.
[438] York County Orders and Wills (15) 49, dated 15 September 1716 and recorded 20 November 1716. Basil Wagstaff claimed an interest in Lot 31 because he said that he was a kin of Elizabeth Wagstaff Brooks. Wagstaff did not succeed in his attempt to gain possession of this lot.
[439] Ibid., pp. 86-9, dated 14 December 1716 and 19 February 1716/7 and recorded 18 February 1716/7.
[440] Ibid., p. 186, dated 22 October 1717 and recorded 20 January 1717/8; ibid., pp. 206-8, dated 29 and 30 January 1717/8 and recorded 17 February 1717/8.
[441] York County Orders and Wills (16) 371, 21 February 1725/6.

house & part of a Lott in York Town lately the dwelling house of Esther Powell decd provided she remain in Town."[442]

Extant documents suggest that Elizabeth Roberts moved to Lot 31 after the expiration of her deceased husband's lease for Lot 29. The widow Roberts married William Harwood by May of 1720 and they continued to live on the property owned by John Brooks, son of John and Elizabeth Brooks. Details in the York County Court records do not indicate how long William and Elizabeth Harwood lived on Lot 31 after their marriage.[443]

John Brooks

John Brooks was a minor when his parents, John and Elizabeth Brooks, died. When Elizabeth Brooks wrote her will, she asked Thomas Nelson the Immigrant to secure the title to Lot 31 for her son and to manage her estate—which included an enslaved man valued at £ 40—until John Brooks reached his twenty-first birthday.[444]

Elizabeth Brooks died in February 1716/7 and Andrew Elmsley served as the guardian of John Brooks until his death in late 1717 or early 1717/8. Elmsley bequeathed Brooks fifty pounds to purchase two young slaves. Brooks, however, had to wait until his twenty-first birthday to gain possession of this money.[445]

In July 1724, John Brooks was described as a mariner when he sold a Yorktown lot to Thomas Nelson the Immigrant. It is likely that the deed between Brooks and Nelson conveyed title to Lot 31 to Nelson because there is no evidence that this mariner had possession of another half-acre in Yorktown or that he used the fifty pound legacy from Andrew Elmsley to purchase two slaves.[446]

Thomas Nelson the Immigrant

In July 1724, Thomas Nelson the Immigrant gained possession of Lot 31 from John Brooks. Nelson did not live on this half acre and it is likely that the elder Nelson leased

[442] York County Orders and Wills (15) 560, dated 18 December 1719 and recorded 15 February 1719/20. See Lot 29.
[443] In February 1725/6, John Brooks, son of John and Elizabeth Brooks, took the Harwoods to court in order to receive money due for the rental of Lot 31. In addition, the younger Brooks took out a patent for Lot 31 in order to confirm his title to the property. York County Orders and Wills (16) 371, 21 February 1725/6; Nugent et al., eds., *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, III:261-2.
[444] York County Orders and Wills (15) 86-9, dated 14 December 1716 and 19 February 1716/7 and recorded 18 February 1716/7.
[445] Ibid., p. 186, dated 22 October 1717 and recorded 20 January 1717/8; ibid., pp. 206-8, dated 29 and 30 January 1717/8 and recorded 17 February 1717/8.
[446] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 425, dated 6 July 1724 and recorded 20 July 1724.

the lot and the buildings on the property to tenants. The elder Thomas Nelson owned Lot 31 until he sold it to his oldest son, William, in May 1735.[447]

President William Nelson

In May 1735, President William Nelson was twenty-four years old when he purchased Lot 31 from his father, Thomas Nelson the Immigrant. It is possible that Nelson made his home on this lot after his February 1737/8 marriage to Elizabeth Burwell.[448] If so, Nelson would have moved his slave boy, Louther, to the property. In August 1735, the York County justices of the peace had adjudged Louther to be ten years old. York's magistrates determined that Nelson's slave girl Maria was ten years old in May of 1738.[449]

William Nelson decided to build a house on Lot 47, the half acre opposite his father's home. This dwelling was probably complete by 1741 and Nelson moved his family and his slaves to Lot 47.[450] It is likely that Nelson rented Lot 31 between 1741 and March 1761 when he conveyed this lot as well as Lot 25 to his son, General Thomas Nelson. The deed noted that William Stevenson, a merchant, and a wigmaker named Alexander Maitland occupied Lot 31.[451]

William Stevenson—tenant of President William Nelson

In March 1761, President William Nelson conveyed Lot 31 to his son, General Thomas Nelson. This deed noted that William Stevenson occupied a portion of this half-acre. It is not clear how long Stevenson remained on Lot 31 because he owned property in the Read Addition to Yorktown. Three years earlier, in April 1758, Stevenson purchased a lot in the Read Addition that was "very convenient for Trade, situate on the Second Street in York Town."[452] Twelve years later, in 1770, he acquired a second lot in the Read Addition from Elizabeth Ballard. The deed noted that the lot was on the street and opposite of Stevenson's other lot in the subdivision.[453]

Stevenson died between 21 April 1777 and 16 February 1778. He bequeathed the "houses & lot I now live on & the lot I bought of Mrs. Ballard also my tract of land in York County" to his son, William. The elder Stevenson wanted his "warehouse at the

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[447] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 353-6, dated 16 May 1735 and 17 May 1735 and recorded 19 May 1735.
[448] *Virginia Gazette* 10 February 1737/8.
[449] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 215, 18 August 1735; ibid., p. 412, 15 May 1738.
[450] Emory G. Evans, "The Nelsons: A Biographical Study of a Virginia Family in the Eighteenth Century," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1957), p. 23.
[451] York County Deeds (6) 318-23, dated 12 March 1761 and recorded 16 March 1761.
[452] Ibid., pp. 129-30, dated 12 April 1758 and recorded 15 May 1758; *Virginia Gazette* 12 September 1755.
[453] York County Deeds (7) 85-7, dated 12 October 1770 and recorded 17 December 1770.

waterside & the houses & lot" that he bought from Lightfoot's estate to be sold as soon as possible. He left his daughter Jane "one negro girl named Betty to her & her heirs forever each of my other daughters having a negro girl given them by their grandfather Loury & Robin is given to my son Willliam." Stevenson wanted the rest of his slaves to be divided among his three sons, William, John, and Thomas.[454]

William Stevenson Junior remained in Yorktown and lived on the lots he inherited from his father. After the Siege of Yorktown, he filed a claim for losses. He noted he had "2 Lotts rendered allmost useless in the works a very good Wall destroyed." Stevenson estimated the damages at £ 80.[455]

Alexander Maitland—tenant of President William Nelson

In March 1761, President William Nelson conveyed Lot 31 to his son and heir, General Thomas Nelson. The deed noted that Alexander Maitland was a tenant on the property.[456] Maitland, a wigmaker, had been in Virginia since August 1752 when he and John Bryan requested that their customers pay their debts and announced that they had a wide assortment of imported hair to be used to make wigs.[457]

Maitland was in Yorktown by 1758 when the Reverend John Camm recorded a list of tithes in Yorkhampton Parish. This wigmaker had three tithes, and it is unknown whether the two other tithes in Maitland's household were white or black laborers. In 1760, Maitland gained another worker when the churchwardens of Yorkhampton Parish bound Sarah Jackson, a "poor mulatto girl," to him.[458] It is possible that Sarah Jackson was part of Maitland's household the following year when General Thomas Nelson became the owner of Lot 31.

Perhaps Maitland continued to operate his business on Lot 31. If so, Yorktown residents and visitors to the city could have purchased either hair or wigs from Maitland's store on this half-acre. In 1769, Maitland had four tithables in addition to himself. In the fall of that year, Maitland advertised for "A JOURNEYMAN BARBER, who understands shaving and dressing well," an indication that his previous journeyman decided to establish his own business.[459] In 1770, Maitland had three tithes in his household, and two years later, in 1772, he paid the assessment on himself and just one additional laborer.

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[454] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 393-4, dated 18 February 1776 and recorded 15 June 1778.
[455] "Claims for Losses of York County Citizens in the British Invasion of 1781."
[456] York County Deeds (6) 318-23, dated 12 March 1761 and recorded 16 March 1761.
[457] *Virginia Gazette*, 7 August 1752.
[458] York County Judgments and Orders (3) 180, 15 September 1760.
[459] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 313, 21 August 1769; *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 21 September 1769; York County Judgments and Orders (2) 82, 17 September 1770; York County Judgments and Orders (3) 149, 16 November 1772.

General Thomas Nelson

In March 1761, President William Nelson conveyed two parcels—Yorktown Lot 31 and Lot 25—to his son, General Thomas Nelson. Like his father and grandfather before him, it is likely that this Thomas Nelson rented Lot 31 to tenants including William Stevenson and Alexander Maitland. General Thomas Nelson held Lot 31 until May 1773 when he sold the property to William Reynolds.[460]

William Reynolds

William Reynolds was the son of Thomas Reynolds and Susanna née Rogers Reynolds and the grandson of William and Theodosia Rogers. In 1771, Reynolds returned to Yorktown after working for John Norton and Sons in London. Initially, Reynolds was not sure if he would settle in Yorktown. He rented a room from Martha Goosley because he had leased his property to a woman named Mrs. Robertson. In a September 1771 letter, Reynolds informed George Flowerdewe Norton that he was back in his own house and that he had decided to stay in Yorktown. In August 1773, three months after he purchased Lot 31, Reynolds told Norton that "I have made a purchase of a lott & Houses more conveniently situated for business & for less money & am now commenced Housekeeper."[461]

The events of late 1775 and early 1776 alarmed Reynolds. He feared for the safety of his family. On 30 March 1776 Reynolds wrote George Flowerdewe Norton that "all our Seaport Towns being threatened most People have thought it prudent to remove their family's & Effects, with the rest I have removed mine to Hanover County, from whence I write you this letter."[462] Reynolds, his family, and his enslaved laborers returned to Yorktown by August 1777 when he announced "TO BE SOLD, at York Town, on Monday the 9th of September, three NEGRO MEN that have been used to go by Water, and a Half Worn Mainsail and Foresail, proper for a large Boat."[463]

In 1779, Reynolds sold the north corner of Lot 31 to James Eyma and Company. The deed described the property as "All that House and the Ground whereon it stands commonly called William Reynolds's brick storehouse, lying & being on the main street

[460] York County Deeds (6) 318-23, dated 12 March 1761 and recorded 16 March 1761; York County Deeds (8) 302-4, dated and recorded 17 May 1773.
[461] William Reynolds to George Flowerdew Norton, 9 September 1771 and August 1773, William Reynolds Papers, 1771-1796, (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress), pp. 3-4, 7-8; 41-2.
[462] Reynolds to Norton, 30 March 1776, in ibid., pp. 82-4. See Part I. Section 7—African Americans, Freedom, and the Siege of Yorktown.
[463] *Virginia Gazette*, Dixon, ed., 29 August 1777. It is possible that these slaves were part of the estate of Thomas Reynolds, father of William Reynolds. The executors of Reynolds' estate placed the following advertisement in the 14 April 1768 edition of Rind's *Virginia Gazette*: "To be sold to the highest bidder, on Wednesday the 20th of this month, at the dwelling-house of the late Capt. Thomas Reynolds, in York, All the household and kitchen furniture, and 10 valuable slaves, among which are a good cook wench, and 3 men used to go by water." See Lot 75.

and on the Lot now occupied by Reynolds."[464] This Yorktown merchant held the remainder of Lot 31 during the Siege of Yorktown.[465]

After the end of the American Revolution, Reynolds continued to import goods to sell to customers. Reynolds did not prosper, and by 1790 he had several debts to pay, including one to John Norton and Sons. On 7 December 1790, Reynolds informed John Hatley Norton

> My own losses & affairs have distress'd my mind so much for some years past that I have thought of nothing else. In regard to my debt due J. N. & Sons, it has not been in my power to get money. I intend to sell of my property in the Spring on Credit for Bonds wth. approv'd Security, wch. if you will take I will assign over to you wth. thanks or let you have property at a valuation, but was I to attempt to sell for Cash I am satisfied it woul'd not fetch ½ enough to pay you.[466]

In 1792, Reynolds conveyed the remainder of Lot 31 to Norton.[467]

Extant documents indicate that Reynolds was not able to improve his financial position. On 1 July 1796, Reynolds sold a female slave named Scilla to Hugh Nelson Junior for £ 25.[468] At the end of the month, Reynolds conveyed real and personal estate to Thomas Griffin and Hugh Nelson Junior to sell in order to raise money to pay his several creditors. He transferred six slaves—Caesar, Joe, James, Ben, Tenah, and Sukey.[469]

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[464] York County Deeds (6) 22-3, dated and recorded 15 February 1779.

[465] The structures on Lot 31 survived the Siege of Yorktown with little damage, and the French used the brick storehouse as a barracks after the Siege. Berthier's plan included two substantial buildings on Lot 31 that faced Main Street, a small structure behind the inside building, and a large L-shaped structure on Church Street with "two smaller units behind it in the south corner portion of the lot." French troops used buildings on Lot 31 for their barracks. In April 1783 Reynolds wrote Arthur Lee in Philadelphia to find out if owners would receive compensation for buildings used by the French: "Will you do me the favour to inform me whether it has been customary for the Proprietors of House wch. Have been occupied by the French troops as Barracks to receive any compensation from Congress, the Houses in this Town were appropriated to that purpose eight months & some of them materially injured without receiving any Rent." There is no evidence that Reynolds filed a claim for the damage caused by the French troops. Hatch, Jr., *Yorktown's Main Street*, p. 58; William Reynolds to Arthur Lee, 15 April 1783, William Reynolds Papers, p. 81.

[466] William Reynolds to John Hatley Norton, 7 December 1790, in Frances Norton Mason, ed. *John Norton & Sons Merchants of London and Virginia: Being the Papers from their Counting House for the Years 1750 to 1795*, (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1937), p. 497.

[467] Yorktown Hustings Court Records (1787-1793) 36-7 quoted in Hatch, Jr., *Yorktown's Main Street*, p. 58. John Hatley Norton was a resident of Winchester and it is possible that he allowed his friend to continue to live on his portion of Lot 31. Norton died in 1797, and his estate held part of Lot 31 until 1841. York County Land Tax Lists, 1797-1842.

[468] York County Deeds (7) 221, dated 1 July 1796 and recorded 20 February 1797. Six weeks later, on 11 August 1796, Nelson freed Scilla. In the deed of emancipation, I Hugh Nelson junr of York Town, . . . do enfranchise, manumit, emancipate, and set free and by these Presents have enfranchised, manumitted, emancipate and set free a woman slave named Scilla now my Property. Ibid., dated 13 August 1796 and recorded 20 February 1797.

[469] Ibid., pp. 218-9, dated 10 July 1796 and recorded 20 February 1797.

About a year and a half later, William Reynolds sat down to write his will. On 28 February 1800, Reynolds noted "From the repeated losses I have experienced, I expect after my just debts are paid I shall have no worldly goods to bequeath, but should it happen contrary to devise or any other means, it may be equally divided amongst my Children." Before his children received any of his property, Reynolds wanted Scilla, his former slave and a free woman of color, to receive "twenty dollars as a small compensation for the attention she has always paid to myself and Children."[470] This legacy suggests that Scilla was a domestic slave who helped to care for the Reynolds children.

Three of the Reynolds children received a legacy from their brother, Thomas. On 17 June 1800, Thomas Reynolds wrote a will in which he gave "unto the following Servants hereafter named to Sallar I give ten Dollars to Cesar five Dollars to Becky five Dollars and to Carroline one Dollar." He left his slaves to his siblings—George Norton Reynolds, Lewis Reynolds, and Harriot Reynolds.[471]

James Eyma and Company—North Corner

In 1779, William Reynolds sold the north corner of Lot 31 to James Eyma and Company The deed described the property as "All that House and the Ground whereon it stands commonly called William Reynolds's brick storehouse, lying & being on the main street and on the Lot now occupied by Reynolds."[472] Four years later, in September 1783, Reynolds, on behalf of James Eyma of Martinique, sold the building known as Mr. Reynolds Brick Store to John Moss of Yorktown.[473] Moss held the brick storehouse for

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[470] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 605, dated 28 February 1800 and recorded 17 January 1802 [sic 1803].

[471] Ibid., p. 561, dated 17 June 1800 and recorded 21 July 1800.

[472] York County Deeds (6) 22-3, dated and recorded 15 February 1779.

[473] York County Deeds (6) 185-6, dated 13 September 1783 and recorded 18 November 1783. John Moss was the son of Edward and Elizabeth née Goodwin Moss. John Moss also purchased Lot 36 from Philip Lightfoot and Mary Walner his wife of Caroline County on 1 October 1783. See Lot 36.
It appears that Reynolds placed an announcement about the sale of the brick storehouse in the paper. However, there is some confusion about the date of a possible draft of the advertisement in his letterbook and the notice that appeared in the *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*. The entry in the letterbook read: "To be sold to the highest Bidder for ready money By a Power of Attorney from Mr. James Eyma of Martinicio I shall sell on Saturday 30th inst. To the highest Bidder a large Brick Store House situated on the Main street near the Swan Tavern in this ½ the purchase money to be paid on the day of sale the ballce. on the 1st Jany. 1784 on wch. Day the purchaser will be put in Possession." The announcement in the 14 October 1784 issue of the *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser* read: "FOR SALE, in the town of YORK, A LOT, on which there is a convenient and well finished dwelling-house, with three rooms on a floor, and every necessary out-house; also a storehouse, 36 by 20, well situated for business, all of which are in good repair. A half lot, with a small dwelling-house and kitchen thereon, proper for the reception of a small family." William Reynolds, 1784, William Reynolds Papers, n.p.; *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 14 October 1784.

less than a year before he and his wife Sarah sold it to John C. Ginter of Yorktown in February of 1784.[474]

John Conrad Ginter—North Corner

In February 1784, a tailor named John C. Ginter purchased the north corner of Lot 31 from John Moss. Ginter, who also owned Yorktown Lot 20 and Lot 127, had been in York County since the 1760s. As a tailor, Ginter made clothes for men who lived in and near Yorktown. It is likely that he also cut material to make suits of livery for the personal slaves who tended to the daily needs of their masters.

John Conrad Ginter died between 1 March 1795 and 18 April 1796. He left his wife a life right to all of his real and personal estate. Ginter wanted all of his property, except his lots and houses, sold after his death. Ginter gave his wife his real estate in Yorktown "to will as she pleases." The inventory of Ginter's estate included two enslaved men—Jacob (£ 60) and Colin (£ 45)—as well as Sukey (£ 35) and Mary (£ 45). According to the terms of Ginter's will, these four enslaved laborers were to be sold after his death.[475]

Martha Christiana Ginter—North Corner

Martha Christiana Ginter was in Yorktown by July 1762, the time her uncle, James Mills, wrote his will. Mills left his niece his Yorktown property after the death of his wife, Hannah.[476] Her husband, John Conrad Ginter, was a tailor. The Ginters lived on Lot 31 after the tailor purchased the north corner of this lot in 1784.

After the 1796 death of John Conrad Ginter, Martha Ginter gained a life right to all of her deceased husband's real and personal estate. This tailor wanted all of his property, except his lots and house, sold after his death. Ginter gave his wife his real estate in Yorktown "to will as she pleases."[477] The widow Ginter purchased at least one slave—a woman named Sukey (also known as Sucky) at the sale of her husband's personal estate.

The widow Ginter died between 20 May 1809 and 15 October 1810. She wanted her lots and houses to be sold and £ 100 from the sale to be given to the poor orphans of Yorktown. In addition, she stated "I give to my Negro Woman Sucky and my negro boy John their freedom and one hundred pounds to be divided between them to carry them out of this state." Also, she decided "that my negro man Joe be sold to such person as he shall choose for a master."[478] Sucky and John did not receive the freedom that Ginter

[474] York County Deeds (6) 199, dated 26 February 1784 and recorded 17 March 1784.
[475] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 455, dated 1 March 1795 and recorded 18 April 1796; ibid., pp. 476-8, dated 13 May 1796 and recorded 17 October 1796.
[476] York County Wills and Inventories (21) 113-5, dated 6 July 1762 and recorded [torn] August 1762.
[477] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 455, dated 1 March 1795 and recorded 18 April 1796.
[478] Ibid., p. 776, dated 20 May 1809 and recorded 15 October 1810.

gave them. The account of the 7 January 1811 sale of Ginter's estate noted that Nathaniel Young paid $50 for "Suckey an old Negro Woman" and "John a small Boy" became the property of Nathaniel Taylor who spent $112 for him. Perhaps Suckey and John did not want to leave Virginia and decided to remain in the state so they would be near family members and friends. Peyton Southall purchased Ginter's "Man Joe" for $333.50; it is unknown if Joe chose Southall as his master as Ginter's will stipulated.[479]

The appraisal of Martha Christiana Ginter's estate included her dwelling house that was valued at £ 240.[480] On 25 February 1814, Robert Shield, the sheriff of York County and the administrator of Martha Christina Ginter's estate, sold "the dwelling house in which the said Martha resided, situated in the main street of the Town of York, together with the lot called the Stable Lot, with two lots thereto adj. and five vacant lots, all within the said Town of York" to Willoughby Jordan, the highest bidder.[481]

[479] York County Wills and Inventories (10) 33-6, dated 7 January 1811 and recorded 15 June 1812.
[480] Ibid.
[481] York County Deeds (8) 283, dated 25 February 1814 and recorded 20 June 1814.

Lot 32

Thomas Wooten

Thomas Wooten, a resident of York Parish, became the owner of Lot 32 during the first year that Yorktown's trustees sold half-acre parcels in the town.[482] Wooten did not build on this property, and the title to Lot 32 reverted to the trustees of Yorktown.

John Northern Senior and John Northern Junior

On 24 June 1706, John Northern, a planter of Charles Parish, purchased Lot 32 from the trustees of Yorktown.[483] Northern held this property until his death, and his son, John Northern Junior, became the owner of Lot 32. In September 1717, the younger Northern sold Lot 32 to Benjamin Clifton of Charles Parish. The deed noted that Northern was a resident of the Currituck Precinct in North Carolina.[484] There is no evidence that either John Northern lived on Lot 32.

Benjamin Clifton Senior and Benjamin Clifton Junior

In September 1717, Benjamin Clifton of Charles Parish purchased Lot 32 from John Northern Junior. Clifton retained ownership of Lot 32 until his death on 28 March 1728. He left this half-acre lot to his son, Benjamin. The elder Clifton stated that he wanted his namesake to be apprenticed "to Robert Ballard or some other good tradesman Untill he comes to the Age of Twenty one and that my Execrs. may Rent out his land for his benefit and bind out his Negro Frank to some good Shoemaker."[485] In January 1732/3, the younger Benjamin Clifton conveyed this half-acre to Abraham Archer, a Yorktown shipwright and tavern keeper, soon after his twenty-first birthday.[486]

Abraham Archer Senior

In January 1732/3, Abraham Archer bought Lot 32 from Benjamin Clifton. Three and a half years earlier, Archer purchased a storehouse on the bank of the York River from Mary Cook Lutwidge.[487] He kept a tavern on the waterfront and lived with his family in a

[482] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 188-9, 25 November 1692.
[483] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 208-9, dated 24 June 1706 and recorded 24 September 1706.
[484] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 196-8, dated 13 and 14 September 1717 and recorded 16 September 1717.
[485] York County Orders and Wills (16) 549-50, dated 9 February 1727/8 and recorded 16 September 1728.
[486] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 152-3, dated 10 and 11 January 1732/3 and recorded 15 January 1732/3.
[487] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 523, dated 4 and 5 July 1729 and recorded 21 July 1729.

dwelling near the York River.[488] It is possible that the Archers had two enslaved laborers.[489]

It is possible that Archer rented out the building on Lot 32 as well as the structure on Lot 70 after he acquired this property in October 1742.[490] In January of 1742/3, a widow named Ann Bond received a license to keep "an ordinary at Abrm. Archers house at York Town." Archer continued to operate "an ord[ina]ry at his House under the Hill at York Town."[491]

Abraham Archer died on 14 February 1752 at the age of sixty. He bequeathed his entire estate to his wife, Amy, during her widowhood. When she either remarried or died, his real and personal property was to go to their children. Archer's daughter, Sarah, became the owner of Lot 32 and two enslaved children, Hannah and Jack.[492]

Sarah née Archer Lester

It is possible that Sarah Archer lived in the dwelling on Lot 32 by 19 November 1753 when the grand jury presented her for giving birth to an illegitimate child. Archer appeared in the York County Court to answer this charge two more times—on 21 May 1759 and 16 November 1761. In addition, in the fall of 1761, the grand jurors noted that she failed to list Hannah as a tithe in her household.[493]

Archer married Benjamin Lester by 17 May 1773 and was a widow by the time she submitted a claim for losses during the Siege of Yorktown. Lester's claim covered losses for structures and personal property on the lots her deceased sister, Ann née Archer Adams, held in the Read Addition to Yorktown.[494] Sarah Lester wrote her will on 9 October 1783, and it was probated at the next meeting of the York County Court on 17 November 1783. The widow Lester left "my Houses & Lots whereon I now dwell the two Lotts that lately belonged to my Sister Anne Adams dec[ease]d In this Town together with my Negroes, James, Hannah, Rachell, Debtford & Frankey with their future increase" to her three children, John Lester, Martha Lester Gibbons, and Frances Lester.[495] The widow Lester's slaves included Hannah whom she inherited from her

[488] See Part I. Section 9—Part III. Lot 107.
[489] Archer's wife, Amy, was the daughter of John and Amy Moore of Charles Parish. Moore held a slave named Africa at the time of his death on 25 April 1700. Amy Moore's first husband was Charles Calthorpe and he owned two enslaved laborers, Africa and Frank, when he died on 16 December 1718. Amy née Moore Calthorpe married Archer by late 1720 and if Africa and Frank were still alive, they would have become Archer's slaves.
[490] See Lot 70.
[491] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 146, 17 January 1742/3; ibid., p. 255, 20 February 1743/4.
[492] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 256-7, dated 16 December 1748 and recorded 18 May 1752.
[493] York County Judgments and Orders (2) 19 November 1753; York County Judgments and Orders (3) 32, 21 May 1759; ibid., pp. 298-9, 16 November 1761.
[494] See Part I. Section 9—Part II. Lots in the Gwyn Read Addition to Yorktown.
[495] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 34, dated 9 October 1783 and recorded 17 November 1783.

father, Abraham Archer. It is possible that the enslaved man named James was Jemmy, the slave whom Ann Adams received from her father's estate. "Debtford" may have been Deptford, a slave whom Archer left to his son, Thomas.

Thomas Gibbons

Thomas Gibbons married Martha Lester, daughter of Benjamin and Sarah née Archer Lester, in 1775. The year after the death of Sarah née Archer Lester, Gibbons held Lot 32 in Yorktown.[496] It is possible that he also held the five slaves whom the widow Lester left to her children. Gibbons hired an enslaved man named Jack from the estate of Captain John Goodwin. In 1785 and 1786, Gibbons paid £ 12.10.0 to Goodwin's estate for the labor of this enslaved man. Gibbons lived on Lot 32 until his death in 1810.[497]

[496] In December 1786, Gibbons was a co-grantor with John, Robert, Lawrence, George, and Richard Gibbons when Samuel Eddens purchased five-eighths of Lot 30. See Lot 30.
[497] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 212-7, recorded 21 June 1790.

Lot 33

Edward Moss

Edward Moss, a York County planter, bought Lot 33 from the trustees of Yorktown soon after they began to sell town lots in November 1691.[498] Moss, however, did not build on this property and it reverted to the trustees.

John Dowsing and Robert Dowsing

On 24 August 1707, a resident of Warwick County named John Dowsing bought Lot 33 from Yorktown's trustees.[499] Dowsing built on this half-acre and held Lot 33 until March 1720/1 when he transferred half of the lot to his son, Robert. The deed noted that both father and son were bricklayers who lived in Mulberry Island Parish, Warwick County.[500] Four months later, in July 1721, the elder Dowsing sold the other half of Lot 33 to Robert Dowsing.[501] The younger Dowsing held Lot 33 until September 1726 when he conveyed the property to Joseph Nisbett.[502]

Joseph Nisbett

Joseph Nisbett was a resident of York County in September 1726 when he purchased Yorktown Lot 33 from Robert Dowsing. The following January, Nisbett took two slaves to the York County court to have their ages adjudged. The justices of the peace decided that Sheilds was a fourteen-year old boy and that Phillis, a girl, was twelve years of age.[503] Almost seven years later, in November 1734, Nisbett acquired John Kent, an indentured servant. Kent was sixteen in November 1734, and York's magistrates noted that he was Nisbett's servant until his twenty-fourth birthday. Kent escaped soon after he arrived in Yorktown, and Nisbett regained possession of him. On 17 February 1734/5, the justices of the peace ordered Kent to "Serve his said Master thirty days for fifteen which he was absent & also four Months and a half for the Charges in taking him up over and above the time he is obliged to Serve."[504]

Kent completed his servitude by 20 November 1742 when Nisbett asked the members of the York County court if he could pay the assessment for his three tithes in money instead of tobacco.[505] If Nisbett's household included Sheilds and Phillis in late 1742, these two

[498] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 188-9, 25 November 1692.
[499] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 248-9, dated 24 August 1707 and recorded 25 August 1707.
[500] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 360-1, dated and recorded 20 March 1720/1.
[501] Ibid., pp. 367-8, dated and recorded 17 July 1721.
[502] Ibid., pp. 461-2, dated 18 and 19 September 1726 and recorded 19 September 1726.
[503] York County Orders and Wills (16) 500, 15 January 1727/8.
[504] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 153, 18 November 1734; ibid., p. 174, 17 February 1734/5.
[505] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 135-7, 20 November 1742.

slaves were not on Lot 33 by the time of their master's 1762 death. Nisbett bequeathed his lot where he lived, his house, and all of his personal property to his daughter, Ann. The 1762 inventory of Nisbett's estate included just one slave, a woman named Betty whom the appraisers valued at the sum of £ 18. Thomas Gibbs, whom Nisbett described as his "son-in-law," bought the "wench Bess" for five shillings at the sale of Nisbett's estate.[506]

It is possible that Ann Nisbett conveyed Lot 33 to Thomas Gibbs. If so, it is difficult to determine who lived on Lot 33 after 1762 because there were two men named Thomas Gibbs in the Yorktown area. In 1758, the Reverend John Camm noted that one Thomas Gibbs had three tithes and the second man with this named four laborers aged sixteen or older. In January 1759, the grand jury charged a Thomas Gibbs for concealing a tithe. Two months later, one of these men appeared before the justices of the peace to answer the charge of not listing a slave named Charles. After the Siege of Yorktown, a Thomas Gibbs filed a claim for £ 249.1.2 to cover his losses.[507] This claim did not include enslaved laborers.

On 12 November 1792, Thomas Gibbs decided to sell Lot 33 to Ann Nisbett. The deed noted that Gibbs conveyed "my Lott and houses whereon I now live" as well as two slaves, James and Grace. Gibbs also transferred some of his personal property to Nisbett.[508]

[506] York County Wills and Inventories (21) 104, dated 31 March 1762 and recorded 21 June 1762; ibid., pp. 108-9, dated 24 June 1762 and recorded [19 July 1762]; ibid., pp. 238-41, recorded 19 August 1765. If Gibbs was Nisbett's son-in-law, extant documents suggest that Nisbett had a second daughter who died before he did.

[507] York County Judgments and Orders (3) 9, 15 January 1759; ibid., p. 13, 19 March 1759.

[508] York County Deeds (7) 73-4, dated 12 November 1792 and recorded 20 May 1793.

Lot 34

Francis Page

In November 1691, the Yorktown trustees granted Lot 34 to Captain Francis Page. A resident of Bruton Parish, Page did not build on the lot and forfeited his title to the property.[509]

Joshua Broadbent and Isabella Broadbent

Lot 34 remained empty until July 1699 when Joshua Broadbent, a resident of Gloucester County, purchased this property from the trustees of Yorktown.[510] Broadbent moved to Yorktown and built on the lot. On 24 February 1704/5, he received a license to keep an ordinary in the town.[511] This tavern keeper died between 3 June 1705 and 9 March 1705/6.

In 1707, Isabella Broadbent, widow of Joshua, received an ordinary license, and it is likely that she operated her business on Lot 34.[512] When the widow Broadbent died later in the same year, she left "a small estate without appointing any person to take care thereof for the benefit of the orphan and creditors." The justices of the peace appointed Christopher Jackson to serve as the executor of her estate.

Ann Broadbent McWilliams and William McWilliams

It is likely that Christopher Jackson rented Lot 34 to several tenants during the time that Ann Broadbent, daughter and heir of Joshua Broadbent, was a minor. By late 1729, Ann Broadbent was the wife of William McWilliams. In November of that year, William and Ann McWilliams sold Yorktown Lot 34 to Richard Ambler.[513]

Richard Ambler

In November 1729, Richard Ambler purchased Lot 34 from William McWilliams and Ann née Broadbent McWilliams. It is likely that Ambler rented Lot 34 to several tenants during the time that he owned his property. A tavern keeper named John Gibbons was Ambler's tenant in 1766, and it is possible that Gibbons had operated his business on this half-acre for several years.

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[509] Francis Page's lot adjoined the half-acre granted to Edmund Jenings. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 267, dated and recorded 24 November 1691.
[510] York County Deeds and Bonds (1) 190-1, dated 19 July 1699 and recorded 25 September 1699.
[511] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (12) 273, 24 February 1704/5.
[512] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (13) 102, 15 December 1707.
[513] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 1-2, dated 14 November 1729 and recorded 17 November 1729.

Richard Ambler owned Lot 34 until the time of his death in 1766. In his will, Ambler bequeathed this half-acre parcel to his son, Jaquelin. Ambler noted that the lot was between the fort hill and the churchyard.[514] The following year, Jaquelin Ambler conveyed Lot 34 to his brother, Edward. In return, Edward Ambler transferred ownership of Lots 43, 44, and part of 45 to his brother Jaquelin.

John Gibbons—tenant of Richard Ambler

See Lot 30.

Jaquelin Ambler

After the 1766 death of Richard Ambler, Jaquelin Ambler inherited Yorktown Lot 34. The following year, Jaquelin Ambler conveyed Lot 34 to his brother, Edward, who gave Lot 43, Lot 44, and part of Lot 45 to Jaquelin.[515]

Edward Ambler

In 1767, Edward Ambler received Lot 34 in Yorktown from his brother, Jaquelin Ambler, in exchange for Lot 43, Lot 44, and part of Lot 45. Soon after he gained possession of Lot 34, Edward Ambler lost his tenant. On 20 August 1767, John Gibbons informed readers of the *Virginia Gazette* that he had moved from the fort in Yorktown to the house where Mrs. Moody lately lived on Lot 30.[516] It is possible that Ambler did not find a new tenant for Lot 34 before his death on 29 October 1768. Ambler left this half-acre to his son, John.

John Ambler

John Ambler gained possession of Yorktown Lot 34 after the 29 October 1768 death of his father, Edward Ambler. Perhaps John Ambler continued to lease Lot 34 as his grandfather and father had done before him. Ambler owned this parcel during the American Revolution and there is no evidence that he filed a claim for damages after the Siege of Yorktown even though the British troops erected earthworks on his property.[517] It appears that there was at least one inhabitable building on the lot when Berthier drew

[514] York County Wills and Inventories (21) 278-82, dated [torn] and recorded [torn] 1766. On 21 July 1766, the York County justices of the peace ordered the clerk to record Richard Ambler's will. York County Order Book (1765-1768) 77, 21 July 1766.
[515] York County Deeds (7) 275-9, dated and recorded 18 May 1767; ibid., pp. 279-82, dated and recorded 18 May 1767.
[516] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 20 August 1767.
[517] "Claims for Losses of York County Citizens in the British Invasion of 1781."

his billeting plan in the fall of 1781. Ambler held the title to Lot 34 until his death in late 1813 or early 1814.

Lot 35—Grace Episcopal Church

Between the 1691 establishment of Yorktown and the beginning of the American Revolution, six men—Stephen Fouace, James Sclater, Arthur Tillyard, Benjamin Goodwin, Francis Fontaine, and John Camm—served as ministers of either York Parish, Hampton Parish, or, after 1707, Yorkhampton Parish. While there is no evidence that Fouace, Sclater, Tillyard, Goodwin, Fontaine, or Camm ever lived in Yorktown, these men spent time in the town as they ministered to their parishioners.

Slavery was part of religious life in colonial Yorktown. The reverends Fouace, Sclater, Tillyard, Goodwin, Fontaine, and Camm all were slave owners. In addition, many of the members of their churches were colonists who owned slaves.

Stephen Fouace

The Reverend Stephen Fouace was the minister of Hampton Parish in 1691 when Yorktown was established. It is likely that some of the town's early residents attended Sunday services led by Fouace. In 1697, Fouace began to preach to his congregation in the new church that still stands on Yorktown Lot 35. Two years later, Fouace became the minister of York Parish in addition to his position as the minister of Hampton Parish.

Fouace owned several slaves during the time that he conducted services in the church on Yorktown Lot 35. In 1692, Fouace purchased a slave named Nan from Nathaniel Bacon for the price of £ 20. Nan joined the slaves whom Mary Fouace inherited from Edward Jones, her first husband: three men valued at £ 75, an enslaved woman worth £ 25, and three young slaves assessed at £ 40.[518] Two years later, in November 1694, Fouace took a girl named Moll to the county court, and the justices of the peace determined that she was seven years old.[519]

It is likely that Fouace had his slaves labor on land that he held by right of his wife. In May 1699, Fouace accused a man named Robert Rickman of received a hogshead of tobacco from Lewis, one of his slaves. A month later, the justices of the peace found Rickman guilty of "illegal dealing with a Negro servt without lycense or consent of sd servts master."[520] The labor of Lewis and other slaves made the Reverend Fouace a wealthy man.

Perhaps the death of Mary Fouace prompted her husband to end his service as minister for Hampton and York parishes and to leave Virginia for England. In 1702, Fouace announced his intention to depart the colony. Seven years later, the York County clerk

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[518] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 187, 25 November 1692; ibid., pp. 165-7, dated 19 August 1692 and recorded 24 August 1692.
[519] York County Deeds, Orders and Wills (10) 51, 12 November 1694.
[520] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (11) 164-5, 24 May 1699; ibid., pp. 168-9, 24 June 1699.

described Fouace as a resident of "Sutton in the Parish of Heston in the County of Middlesex."[521] Fouace continued to own land in York County and slaves to tend the fields. In February 1711/2, Philip Lightfoot asked the justices of the peace "to have Nick an old and decriped Negro exempted from paying any Levys & it being suggested that the sd Negro is incapable of service by reason of his great age, It is therefore the opinion of the Ct that he be levy free."[522] It is unknown how much longer Nick and the rest of Fouace's slaves labored in York County.

James Sclater

Extant documents indicate that James Sclater served as minister of York and Hampton parishes (in addition to Charles Parish) between 1701 and 1704. Sclater owned slaves during the time that he was the minister of Hampton and York parish; however, there is no evidence that Sclater took any of his three enslaved girls to Yorktown when he conducted services at the church on Lot 35.

Arthur Tillyard

The Reverend Arthur Tillyard served as the minister of York Parish from 1704 to 1707 when York Parish and Hampton Parish became Yorkhampton Parish. Tillyard, like Fouace, had slaves who labored on the glebe land. In 1712, Tillyard's overseer Dennis Fox sued the minister because he did not remit him a share of the tobacco crop.[523]

In September 1712, Cole Digges took Tillyard's will to the monthly session of the York County Court. This minister bequeathed his library to Digges and the remainder of his personal estate to his godsons Edward Power and William Moody. Power and Moody gained possession of six slaves: an enslaved woman and her child Shu valued at £ 27, a second woman and her child assessed at £ 28, and two enslaved men who were each worth £ 28.[524]

Benjamin Goodwin

In 1714, Benjamin Goodwin was the Yorkhampton Parish minister. It is known that Goodwin owned three slaves during the time he lived in the Yorktown area. In early 1715/6, the York County grand jury ordered that "Isabel belonging to Mr. Benja Goodwin" should be added to the list of tithes. Later in the same year, Goodwin took two

[521] Ibid., p. 591, 24 May 1702; York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (13) 229, 24 June 1709.
[522] York County Orders and Wills (14) 131, 18 February 1711/2.
[523] Ibid., p. 171, 17 June 1712.
[524] Ibid., pp. 194-5, dated 14 August 1712 and recorded 15 September 1712; ibid., pp. 232-3, dated 26 September 1712 and recorded 17 February 1712/3.

enslaved Africans to the courthouse to have their ages adjudged. The officials decided that Caesar and Nan were both fourteen years old.[525]

Francis Fontaine

The Reverend Francis Fontaine was the second professor of Divinity at the College of William and Mary in 1722 when he became the minister of Yorkhampton Parish Church.[526] Fontaine also held the position of chaplain of the House of Burgesses from 1728/9 to 1734 and possibly later. Although Fontaine could have lived at William and Mary, he chose to live in the glebe house provided by Yorkhampton Parish.[527] Perhaps Fontaine met Susannah née Brush Barbar during one of his trips to Williamsburg to conduct classes at William and Mary. Francis and Susannah Fontaine married sometime between January 1736/7 and April 1745.[528] Susannah Fontaine inherited slaves from her first husband, Thomas Barbar, and if any of these enslaved laborers—a man called Tom, a woman with two children, and a girl—were alive when the Fontaines married, they might have been moved to Yorkhampton Parish.[529]

Although there is no evidence that Fontaine lived in Yorktown, he spent time in the city and it is likely that he had an enslaved man who drove his carriage and several boys who rode as postillions. When Susannah Fontaine visited Yorktown she might have brought her personal slave with her so this woman could run errands while she talked to friends. The majority of the Fontaine slaves, however, labored on the glebe land in Yorkhampton Parish. Enslaved men, women, and children tended tobacco plants, herded livestock, and grew much of the food that the Fontaines ate.

Fontaine served as the minister of Yorkhampton Parish until his 1749 death. He left his estate to his wife, Susannah, and the care of their children to her discretion. Fontaine made one exception: his son and namesake. In his will, the minister noted that his son "hath behaved himself Wickedly and Undutifully to prevent any trouble or vexation which he might cause to my dear wife Susanna Fontaine, and my children I do hereby absolutely and entirely disinherit the said Francis Fontaine." In addition, he stated "my

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[525] Ibid., p. 472, 16 January 1715/6; York County Orders and Wills (15) 16, 16 July 1716.

[526] Susan Godson et al., *The College of William & Mary: A History*, 2 vols., (Williamsburg: King and Queen Press for the College of William & Mary, 1993), I:69, 77.

[527] William Stevens Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, 2 vols., (Hartford, 1870; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1969), I:282.

[528] Susannah Fontaine was the daughter of John Brush, a gunsmith who lived on two lots on Williamsburg's Palace Green. She was married to Thomas Barbar by the time her father wrote his will on 26 November 1726. York County Orders and Wills (16) 424, dated 26 November 1726 and recorded 19 December 1726.

[529] Thomas and Susannah Barbar made their home in the dwelling that is known as the Everard House. Barbar died in May 1727 and the inventory of Barbar's estate included a man called Tom who was valued at £ 30, a woman and two children who were appraised at £ 45, and a girl who was valued at £ 18. Perhaps the unnamed woman was one of the two slaves—Joan and Jamie—whom Barbar inherited from his grandfather, Thomas Barbar, in May 1718. Ibid., p. 457, dated 10 May 1727 and recorded 15 May 1727; ibid., p. 475, dated 30 May 1727 and recorded 17 July 1727.

will is that he his Heirs executors administrators or assigns forever have no claim right or title whatsoever to any part of my estate." Although Fontaine directed that his estate "not be inventoried or appraised," his widow recorded his personal property. At the time of his death, Fontaine held four enslaved women—Hebe, Alice, Sarah, and Mary Ann—as well as two girls named Lucy and Joan; and five boys known as Daniel, Sam, Peter, Tom, and Harry.[530]

The widow Fontaine lived in Yorkhampton Parish until her death between 2 August 1756 and 20 September 1756. She left a boy named Harry to her daughter-in-law, Mary Fontaine, and a girl called Lucy and her increase to her son, John Fontaine. She wanted the remainder of her slaves to be divided into three parts. Susannah Fontaine stated that two of these lots were to go to her daughter, Judith Barbar Fontaine, and one portion to James Maury Fontaine, her son.[531]

The inventory of Susannah Fontaine's estate included the eleven slaves whom she listed as part of her husband's personal property five years earlier and the child born to one of the females between 1750 and 1756: Hebe a woman worth £ 20, an enslaved woman called Alice and her child Cyrus assessed at £ 50, Sarah a woman valued at £ 35, Mary Ann (Moll) a woman appraised at £ 35, Lucy a girl valued at £ 20, one girl named Joan appraised at £ 30, a boy known as Daniel who was worth £ 15, a young man named Sam worth £ 40, Peter a boy appraised at £ 30, a boy named Tom assessed at £ 28, and Harry a boy worth £ 28.

The widow Fontaine also owned an additional fourteen slaves: an enslaved man named Tom who was valued at £ 25, a woman known as Betty who was worth £ 35, an adult female named Kate who was assessed at £ 45 with her child Robin, Jack a boy worth £ 28, Joan a girl appraised at £ 28, Jemmy a boy valued at £ 28, boy named Bob assessed at £ 26, a third girl known as Joan who was worth £ 20, Alice a girl appraised at £ 18, Daniel a boy worth £ 15, a boy named Billy was valued at £ 15, Moses a boy valued at £ 12, and a boy known as Dick also valued at £ 12.[532] It is possible that this group of enslaved men, women, boys, and girls appeared in the inventory of Susannah Fontaine's estate because they were the slaves whom she inherited from her first husband and the descendents of those individuals.

The settlement of the widow Fontaine's estate detailed the sale of four slaves: a fellow named Sam for £ 55, an unnamed woman for £ 30, a boy known as Tom for £ 34, and Peter, a fellow, for £ 60. In addition, several people hired slaves from Fontaine's estate. This group included John Wormeley, Henry Bryan, John Bell, Reverend John Camm, Charles Withington, John Hyde, and Samuel Hill. Finally, James Maury Fontaine

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[530] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 171-3, dated 23 April 1745 and recorded 19 March 1749/50; ibid., pp. 177-8, dated and recorded 21 May 1750.
[531] Ibid., pp. 409-10, dated 2 August 1756 and recorded 20 September 1756.
[532] Ibid., pp. 411-2, dated 11 November 1756 and recorded 15 November 1756.

received a woman named Alice and Philip Moody gained possession of Joanna, Daniel, Alice, Dick, Sigh, and Jack.[533]

It is likely that many, and possibly all, of the Fontaine slaves were baptized at the Yorkhampton Parish Church. In May 1724, Reverend Francis Fontaine answered a series of questions posed by Edmund Gibson, the recently appointed Bishop of London. Gibson took an active role in the Church of England's missionary efforts, including the baptism of Virginia slaves. He knew that the colony's slave owners had mixed feelings about introducing Christianity to their enslaved men, women, and children. These white men and women worried that the egalitarian message of the Bible would make their slaves unruly; others were indifferent to the spiritual needs of their slaves. There were, however, some slave owners who saw to it that their slaves received religious instruction. Slaves' reaction to the religion of their masters also varied. Many were baptized and instructed in Christianity; others were unmoved by the formality of the church services or unable to reconcile the Christian message with the institution of slavery.

Fontaine's answer to one of Gibson's questions contains information about the religious instruction that this minister provided to slaves who lived in and near Yorktown. In response to the query "Are there any Infidels, bond or free, within your Parish; and what means are used for their conversion?" Fontaine noted

> I know of no Infidels in my parish except Slaves. I exhort their Masters to send them to me, to be instructed. And in order to their conversion I have set apart every Saturday in the Afternoon and catechise them at my Glebe House.

Yorkhampton Parish's minister also commented on the religious instruction of slaves when he answered the following question posed by Gibson: "At what times do you Catechise the Youth of your Parish?" Fontaine wrote

> I have appointed every Sunday in the afternoon in Lent and 10 other Sundays in the afternoon Immediately after Evening prayer for the public catechising the youth, servants and slaves in my Parish

Fontaine's answers suggest that he divided the slaves who received religious instruction into two groups: adult slaves whom he taught on Saturday afternoons and enslaved boys and girls who learned about the teachings of the Established Church on selected Sunday afternoons.[534]

Unfortunately, there is no extant record of slave baptisms at Yorkhampton Parish Church or Fontaine's criteria for baptizing an enslaved man, woman, boy, or girl. Perhaps Yorkhampton's minister had a policy similar to that of James Blair, the minister of Bruton Parish Church and the President of the College of William and Mary. In 1724,

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[533] York County Wills and Inventories (21) 51-2, recorded 16 March 1761.
[534] Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, I:281, 282.

Blair informed Gibson that "I encourage the baptising & catechising of such of them as understand English [older children, adults?], and exhort their Masters to bring them to Church and baptise the infant slaves when the Master or mistress become sureties."[535] Five years later, in 1729, Blair reported to Gibson on the subject of slave baptism when he wrote:

> Your Lo'ps Letter concerning the Instruction of the Negroes has had this good effect, that it has put several Masters and Mistresses upon the Instruction of them. And the Negroes themselves in our Neighbourhood are very desirous to become Christians; and in order to it come and give an Account of the Lords prayer, and the Creed and ten Commandments, and so are baptized and frequent the Church; and the Negro children are now commonly baptized. I doubt not some of the Negroes are sincere Converts; but the far greater part of them little mind the serious part, only are in hopes that they shall meet with so much the more respect, and that some time or other Christianity will help them to their freedom. But I hope their very coming to church will in time infuse into them some better principles than they have had.[536]

In June of the following year, Blair again commented on the subject of slave baptism when he wrote to the Bishop of London. Bruton Parish's minister noted

> There is a very great number of Negroes lately instructed in the Church-catechism; at least in the Lords prayer, the Apostles Creed and the ten Commandments, and baptized, and great numbers of them frequent the Church. Some allege it makes them prouder, and inspires them with thoughts of freedom; but I take this to be rather a common prejudice than anything else.[537]

Based upon the details in Fontaine's 1724 answers to Gibson's questions and Blair's efforts to educate Bruton Parish slaves, it is likely that Yorkhampton's minister continued his work to instruct enslaved laborers until his 1749 death.

John Camm

In 1749, the Reverend John Camm succeeded Fontaine as the minister of Yorkhampton Parish. Camm also served the College as the Professor of Divinity. Camm lived at William and Mary until 8 July 1769 when he married Betsy Hansford, the fifteen-year old daughter of Charles and Elizabeth Hansford.[538] After his marriage, Camm secured lots in Williamsburg for his family.

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[535] Thad W. Tate, *The Negro in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg*, (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1965), pp. 73-4.
[536] The Reverend James Blair to the Reverend Edmund Gibson, 28 June 1729, Fulham Palace Papers.
[537] Tate, *The Negro in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg*, p. 74.
[538] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 13 July 1769.

In addition, as the minister of Yorkhampton Parish, Camm also had access to a house and the glebe land in this parish.[539] The minister depended on both apprentices and enslaved laborers. In 1753, the justices of the peace ordered the Yorkhampton Parish churchwardens to bind out William Fielding, the mulatto son of Eleanor Fielding, to Camm.[540] Eight years later, the 1761 settlement of the estate of Susannah Fontaine noted that Camm owed £ 8 "for the hire of a negro woman." Camm also hired a slave named Patrick from William G. Baptist.[541]

In late August 1768, one of Camm's slaves ran from his owner's plantation. On 8 September 1768, the minister placed the following advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette*. He noted

> RUN away from York Hampton glebe, about a fortnight ago, an outlandish Negro, whose name is GEORGE. He is near six feet high, strong limbed, has some straight lined scars on his cheeks, and took with him two jackets and two pair of breeches made of fearnought. To any person who shall take up said slave, and have him conveyed to the place above mentioned, twenty shillings, besides what the law allows, will be paid by JOHN CAMM.

He had not recovered George by 22 September 1768, the date that he placed the same announcement in Rind's *Virginia Gazette*.[542] In addition to having enslaved laborers who worked on the glebe land and the 200 acres that he held in Bruton Parish, the Reverend Camm would have had a male slave to drive his chariot and several boys to ride as postilions. It is likely that Camm also had a personal slave and an enslaved woman to prepare meals.[543]

Camm and his family no doubt worried about the events of the early 1770s as many colonists began to question their connection to Great Britain and think about independence. This minister was a Loyalist who disagreed with Virginia's patriots. He was the last Loyalist to remain on the faculty at William and Mary. In the Spring of 1777, the college's board of visitors removed Camm from his position as President of William

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[539] Camm did not include his own name on the list of Yorkhampton residents, perhaps because he did not pay tithes on his own laborers.

[540] York County Judgments and Orders (2) 232, 18 June 1753.

[541] York County Wills and Inventories (21) 51-2, recorded 16 March 1761; York County Guardian Accounts (1) 408, 21 August 1769.

[542] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 8 September 1768; ibid., Rind, ed., 22 September 1768. Camm did not place another ad concerning George. It is possible that Camm regained possession of this enslaved man because the 1779 inventory of Camm's estate in York County included a slave named George.

[543] Reverend John Camm and James Carter were the executors of the estate of the Reverend Josiah Johnson, minister of Bruton Parish Church and Master of the Grammar School at the College. When Camm and Carter announced the sale of Johnson's estate, they noted that Johnson's personal property included a "VALUABLE MULATTO BOY, about eighteen Years old, and has been used to wait on a Gentleman, also a COOK WENCH." *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 7 October 1773. In 1776, Camm had four tithes that tended his 200 acres in Bruton Parish. York County Order Book (4) 129, 18 November 1776.

and Mary.[544] Camm, his wife, and their five children left Williamsburg and settled into the glebe house in Yorkhampton Parish. In January 1778 an unspecified number of tithes belonging to Camm were to be added to the list of taxable workers in Yorkhampton Parish.[545]

The Reverend John Camm died by 15 February 1779 when three residents of Yorkhampton Parish—John Dickeson, William Moody, and John Cosby—appraised his estate. Camm's personal possessions included eleven slaves. The minister held five men: Jack (valued at £ 500), George (worth £ 200), Daniel (assessed at £ 800), a second man named Daniel who was also worth £ 800, and Ben who was valued at £ 800. The two women—Jenny valued at £ 300 and Judith worth £ 500—were probably the mothers of four young slaves who were appraised at £ 2,000.[546] Camm's widow, Elizabeth, died in May 1779, and her personal estate was sold on 24 August 1779. The January 1780 inventory of Elizabeth Camm's estate did not include enslaved laborers.[547]

The lack of a baptism register for Yorkhampton Parish makes it impossible to determine whether or not Camm continued the practice begun by Francis Fontaine and baptized slaves. It is known, however, that a minister in a nearby parish believed it was right to baptize enslaved laborers. On 23 April 1770, the Reverend Thomas Baker of Kingston Parish in Gloucester County noted

> Many Masters are not only averse to learning their Slaves to read, but . . . I've heard some of them say (& blessed be God convinced some of them of their Error) That since we got to baptizing them they are become insolent & Idle, Runaways &c.; that they were never so till Baptism came in Fashion amongst 'em.

Baker stated that each Sunday "I have many at both my Churches, Infant & adult Negroes too. I've baptiz'd some upwards of 60 Years old, who have with Tears runing down their Cheeks, repeated the Lord's Prayer & Creed, & behav'd in such a Manner as would have pleas'd you & every good Christian."[548]

Extant documents do not include details about Camm's opinion about the work of a British philanthropic group known as the Associates of Dr. Thomas Bray. In 1760, the

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[544] Godson et al., *The College of William & Mary*, I:126, 128.
[545] York County Order Book (4) 157, 19 January 1778.
[546] It is important to note that Virginia experienced a high rate of inflation during the Revolution. York County Wills and Inventories (22) 442-5, recorded 21 June 1779. John Camm also owned twelve slaves in King William County: Tom (£ 1,500), James (£ 1,200), Harry (£ 1,400), Charles (£ 1,500), Moll (£ 800), Isabell and her child Sarah (£ 1,500), Hannah (£ 1,200), Oney and her child Louiy (£ 1,800), Ralph (£ 500), and Daniel (£ 400). Ibid., p. 487, dated 18 November 1779 and recorded 17 April 1780.
[547] *Virginia Gazette*, Dixon, ed., 22 May 1779; ibid., 14 August 1779; York County Wills and Inventories (22) 466-7, dated and recorded 17 January 1780.
[548] John C. Van Horne, ed., *Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery: The Correspondence of the Associates of Dr. Bray, 1717-1777*, (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1985), p. 289.

Associates of Dr. Thomas Bray established a school for black children—free and enslaved—in Williamsburg. The goal of the school was to instruct black boys and girls in religion, reading, and writing in order to help them become obedient, dutiful slaves. The Associates of Dr. Thomas Bray hoped to open an additional school for black children in Yorktown. Initially, William Nelson expressed an interest in the school and received a shipment of books for a Yorktown school. These books probably included titles similar to those sent to the Williamsburg school in 1762: spelling books, Psalters, Bibles, and a volume of sermons published by the Reverend Thomas Bacon of Maryland. The Associates of Dr. Thomas Bray could not, however, find anyone who was willing to find a building for the school, hire a teacher, and supervise the school's operation.[549]

[549] Ibid., pp. 24, 81, 244.

Lot 36

William Digges

In November 1691, the Trustees of Yorktown granted Lot 36 to Colonel William Digges. However, Digges forfeited his title to the property because he did not build on it.[550]

Robert Leightenhouse

Yorktown Lot 36 remained vacant until July 1699 when an "innholder" named Robert Leightenhouse purchased this half-acre from the town's trustees. Leightenhouse, the husband of Elizabeth, did not build a house on Lot 36 before his death between December 24, 1700 and February 24, 1700/1. The 1701 inventory of Leightenhouse's personal property noted that he had "one man Servant haveing two years a half to serve" and he was valued at £ 9.1.3.[551]

Elizabeth Leightenhouse Somerwell and Mungo Somerwell

Elizabeth Leightenhouse remained in Yorktown after the death of her husband, Robert, and by February 1701/2 she was married to a man named Mungo Somerwell. A tavern keeper, Somerwell built a dwelling on Lot 36, and he and his wife made their home in this structure. In 1702, Somerwell also received a license to keep the ferry over the York River.[552] Somerwell no doubt counted on the labor of his tithables to help to transport passengers between Yorktown and Tindall's Point in Gloucester County. In 1704, the justices of the peace ordered that Somerwell be paid twenty-five and a half pounds of tobacco for the use of his three tithables.[553] The 1707 settlement of Somerwell's estate included two unnamed slaves.[554]

Somerwell's white indentured servant, Mary Stark, likely helped Elizabeth Somerwell to prepare food for those who ate at the tavern on Lot 36.[555] It was not clear, however, who owned Lot 36. The deed to Leightenhouse was void because he had not built on the half-acre within twelve months of his grant from the trustees. As a result, his widow

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[550] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 188-9, 25 November 1692.
[551] York County Deeds and Bonds (1) 216-7, dated 19 July 1699 and recorded 25 September 1699; York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (11) 483-5, dated 7 June 1701 and recorded 24 July 1701. It is possible that Robert and Elizabeth Leightenhouse rented a house on another Yorktown lot.
[552] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (12) 18, 24 September 1702.
[553] Ibid., p. 253, 3 November 1704.
[554] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (13) 98-9, recorded November 1707.
[555] In 1705, Mary Stark petitioned the York County Court in 1705 and asked the justices to have Somerwell provide her with "her freedom clothes accord to the custom of the country." York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (12) 332, 9 June 1705.

Elizabeth could not inherit the property, and her second husband, Mungo Somerwell, could not hold the lot by right of his marriage to the widow of Robert Leightenhouse.

Somerwell died before May 1707 when the trustees of Yorktown decided to grant a title for Lot 36 to Elizabeth Leightenhouse Somerwell. The widow Somerwell paid 180 pounds of tobacco and became the owner of Lot 36 and the "the several buildings and improvements on ye said Lott made by Mungo Somerwell decd late husband of said Elizabeth."[556]

Between May 1707 and 24 August 1710, Elizabeth Leightenhouse Somerwell married Edward Powers. A carpenter and a tavern keeper, Powers owned Lot 30.[557] Elizabeth Powers died between 25 September 1710 and 10 June 1715. The title to Lot 36 passed to Joseph Mountfort as Elizabeth's heir.

Joseph Mountfort

In June 1716, Joseph Mountfort, the heir of Elizabeth Leightenhouse Somerwell Powers, sold Lot 36 to Philip Lightfoot, a Yorktown merchant. The deed noted that this lot adjoined Mr. Cole Digges on the east [Lot 42], the land where the church stands on the north [Lot 35], the street opposite Mr. Edward Powers's land on the west [Church Street], and the main street opposite Power's land on the south.[558]

Mary Smith—tenant of Joseph Mountfort

Mary Smith leased Lot 36 from Joseph Mountfort by 21 November 1715, the date when she received a license to keep a tavern in Yorktown. Smith, who previously operated a tavern in Williamsburg, might have moved to Yorktown because of the increased number of ships that anchored in the town's harbor. It is likely that Philip Lightfoot did not renew Smith's lease on Lot 36 after he purchased the lot from Joseph Mountfort.[559]

Philip Lightfoot

In June 1716, Philip Lightfoot, a Yorktown merchant, purchased Lot 36 from Joseph Mountfort, the heir of Elizabeth Leightenhouse Somerwell Powers. The deed conveyed a half-acre on Main Street and a storehouse. Three years later, a slave broke into this storehouse. On 27 May 1719, Will, an enslaved man owned by Mary Read, broke into

[556] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 233-4, dated 21 May 1707 and recorded 24 May1707.
[557] See Lot 30.
[558] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 130-2, dated 28 June 1716 and recorded 20 August 1716.
[559] York County Orders and Wills (14) 455, 21 November 1715; York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 130-2, dated 28 June 1716 and recorded 20 August 1716.

this building. Will took fifty pounds of sugar, two gallons of rum, and five gimblets valued at £ 3. The widow Read's slave pled guilty to the charges and York's justices of the peace ordered that he be hung. At Lightfoot's request, the sheriff delivered the goods "found in the Custody of Will....for the use of the Owners."[560]

In addition to using the storehouse that he acquired when he purchased Lot 36, it is possible that Lightfoot lived on this half-acre until the mid-1720s when he constructed an elegant brick house on Lot 22.[561] Philip Lightfoot owned Yorktown Lot 36 at the time of his death on 31 May 1748. He left his son William the lot and appurtenances where he lived in Yorktown, two adjoining lots (with the exception of the stable and lots given to his mother during her lifetime), four lots in the Read Subdivision, the storehouse and lot purchased from Joseph Mountfort, and the warehouse "under the bank" together with the mill and the land adjoining the mill.[562]

William Lightfoot

During the 1740s, William Lightfoot lived in Yorktown, and it is likely that he had an elegant brick dwelling as did his father. Lightfoot, also a merchant, no doubt had slaves carry goods from ships anchored in the York River to his storehouse. He, too, would have had domestic slaves in his household, a personal slave, and an enslaved coachman.

On 14 August 1746, Lightfoot advertised for the return of an escaped slave. Lightfoot informed readers of the *Virginia Gazette* that Boomy, a Virginia-born slave, made his escape from Yorktown two weeks earlier and it was likely that he headed to Fredericksburg. Lightfoot noted that Boomy had "on when he went away, a blue Waistcoat, a red ditto, and other wearing apparel." Later in the same month, Lightfoot offered a reward for the return of Will, an enslaved man who left his Charles City County plantation. The advertisement also indicates that Lightfoot managed his rural properties from his Yorktown home.[563]

Lightfoot gained possession of addition property, real and personal, after the May 1748 death of his father, Philip Lightfoot. He inherited his father's lands and tenements in Charles City and Surry counties, sixty slaves, the lot and appurtenances where he lived in Yorktown, two adjoining lots (with the exception of the stable and lots given to his mother during her lifetime), four lots in the Read Subdivision, the storehouse and lot purchased from Joseph Mountfort, and the warehouse "under the bank" together with the mill and the land adjoining the mill.[564]

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[560] York County Orders and Wills (15) 444, 3 July 1719.
[561] See Lot 10, Lot 11, Lot 23, Lot 28, and Lot 29.
[562] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 103-6, dated 31 July 1747 and recorded 20 June 1748.
[563] *Virginia Gazette*, 14 August 1746; ibid., 27 August 1746.
[564] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 103-6, dated 31 July 1747 and recorded 20 June 1748.

Less than a year later, Lightfoot learned that Bob, an enslaved man owned by John Perrin of Gloucester County, broke into his storehouse. On 12 April 1749, Bob entered this building and stole twenty pieces of garlic valued at £ 40, twenty-three pieces of checked linen worth £ 42, a piece of shalloon worth £ 3, a piece of German serge assessed at £ 10.10, eight yards of broad cloth priced at £ 5, a case that held 145 hats worth £ 33, and six pieces of oznabrig worth £ 20. These items were the property of another Yorktown merchant, William Montgomery.[565] It is likely that Lightfoot also had goods in this storehouse.

Sometime between April 1749 and August 1751, William Lightfoot moved his family from Yorktown to his Charles City County plantation. Lightfoot's decision to leave York's port town meant that he took his slaves away from family and friends who lived in the Yorktown area. Perhaps Boomy did not want to move to Charles City County. On 24 August 1751, Lightfoot offered a reward for the return of Boomy "a subtil fellow, pretends to many Occupations, has been absent 20 Months, and is supposed to be lurking in King and Queen; but is well acquainted with the Country."[566]

Lightfoot maintained a mercantile connection to Yorktown and returned to the port to manage his business. On a 1753 visit to York's port, Lightfoot purchased two recently imported Africans. In July of that year, the justices of the peace decided that William Lightfoot's slaves, Robinson Cruso and Fryday, were both eleven years old.[567] It is possible that Lightfoot had these two boys stay in Yorktown and placed them under the care of his mother or his younger brother, Armistead.

William Lightfoot died in 1765, and his will was recorded in the General Court. His son Philip inherited Yorktown Lot 36 as well as ninety acres in Yorkhampton Parish. In addition, the younger Lightfoot inherited land in Charles City and Surry counties and the slaves whom his father owned at the time of his death. If Robinson Cruso and Fryday were alive in 1765, they became the property of Philip Lightfoot.[568]

Philip Lightfoot

After his father's 1765 death, Philip Lightfoot gained possession of Yorktown Lot 36. It is possible that this Philip Lightfoot rented the lot and the storehouse that stood on his property to his uncle, Armistead Lightfoot, or to another Yorktown merchant. On 1 October 1783, Lightfoot, a resident of Caroline County, sold Lot 36 to John Moss, a Yorktown resident.[569]

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[565] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 191-192a, 12 April 1749.
[566] *Virginia Gazette*, 24 August 1751.
[567] York County Judgments and Orders (2) 261, 16 July 1753.
[568] York County Deeds (7) 57, dated 27 February 1783 and recorded 20 April 1789.
[569] York County Deeds (6) 181, dated 1 October 1783 and recorded 20 October 1783.

Captain John Moss

On 1 October 1783, John Moss of Yorktown purchased Lot 36 from Philip Lightfoot, grandson of Philip Lightfoot and resident of Caroline County. The deed described the lot as adjoining the church walls on the northeast [Lot 35], the lot of Colonel Digges on the southeast [Lot 42], the main street on the southwest, and a cross street on the northwest.

Captain John Moss moved to Richmond by 21 January 1798, the date when he and his wife Sarah sold the building known as Moss's Store and the ground on which it stood to John Moss, a York County resident. The deed conveyed a "Store house with the Ground (only) it stands on, lying and being in the Town and County of York, and . . . known by the name of Moss's Store, lying on the main street of the said Town."[570] Six years later, on 26 July 1804, John and Sarah Moss sold the remainder of Lot 36 to Peyton Southall of Yorktown.[571]

John Moss of York County

On 21 January 1798, John Moss of York County purchased a portion of Lot 36 from John and Sarah Moss of Richmond. This John Moss held one-eighth of Lot 36 until his death in late 1803 or early 1804.

[570] York County Deeds (7) 273-4, dated 21 January 1798 and recorded 15 October 1798.
[571] Ibid., pp. 470-2, dated 26 July 1804 and recorded 18 February 1805.

Lot 37

Thomas Mountfort

On 24 November 1691, the Trustees of Yorktown conveyed Lot 37 to Thomas Mountfort in November of 1691.[572] Mountfort built on this lot and opened an ordinary after he received his license in August of the following year.[573] It is possible that Mountfort owned slaves who labored at his tavern.[574] Initially, Mountfort ran a successful business and relied on a bookkeeper to help him keep track of his customer's debts. However, in 1694, Mountfort accused another tavern keeper named Thomas Sessions of trying to persuade his bookkeeper to work for him.[575]

Mountfort acquired at least four slaves during the time he lived in Yorktown. First, in 1697, he took two slaves, boys named Joe and Benty, to the York County Courthouse to have their ages adjudged. The justices of the peace decided that Joe was six years old and Benty was two years older.[576] Mountfort had an adult male slave named Mingo by March 1701/2 when William Buckner complained that the tavern keeper had not listed this enslaved man as a tithe.[577] This tavern keeper bought a slave from the estate of John Hunt, a Philadelphia merchant who died in Yorktown, sometime between the fall of 1706 and March 1707/8.[578]

It is likely that Mountfort operated a tavern on Lot 37 until November 1707 when his petition for a new license was deemed insufficient by York County's justices of the peace.[579] Mountfort died by September 1708, the time his second wife and widow, Rebecca, appeared in the York County to receive a license to operate her own tavern.

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[572] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 250, dated and recorded 24 November 1691.
[573] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 154, 24 August 1692.
[574] Mountfort's wife, Jane, inherited slaves from her father, John Scasbrooke and she probably gained possession of the slave owned by her first husband, John Duke. Jane nee Scasbrook Duke Mountfort was the daughter of John and Mary nee Martiau Scasbrooke. In his 1679 will, Scasbrooke left six slaves to his son John and another group of enslaved laborers to work on his plantation during the time his youngest children were minors. After all of his children reached adulthood, Scasbrooke's daughters Jane and Elizabeth were to divide the remaining slaves. The 1 August 1679 inventory of Jane Mountfort's first husband, John Duke, included an enslaved man valued at £ 27. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (6) 97, dated 19 April 1679 and recorded 24 June 1679; ibid., p. 120, dated 1 August 1679 and recorded 25 August 1679.
[575] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (10) 58, 12 November 1694.
[576] Ibid., p. 466, 24 September 1697.
[577] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (11) 566, 24 March 1701/2.
[578] See Lot 42.
[579] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (13) 94, 24 November 1707.

Rebecca Mountfort Doswell and Joseph Mountfort

Rebecca Mountfort decided to operate a tavern on Lot 37 after the death of her first husband and tavern keeper, Thomas Mountfort. If any of her deceased husband's slaves were alive, it is likely that the widow Mountfort would have depended on their labor to help operate the tavern. In January 1708/9, the York County grand jury presented the widow Mountfort "for keeping tipling on the Sabboth day & entertaining evill persons in her house." However, she was "very penitent & submissive" and assured the justices that "she would not offend again in the like manner." York's magistrates decided to discharge the complaint against her.[580] The widow Mountfort held Lot 37 until her stepson, Joseph Mountfort, reached his twenty-first birthday and gained possession of the property. In June 1711, Mountfort, the son and heir of Thomas Mountfort, sold his father's lot to Micajah and Richard Perry, merchants of London. The younger Mountfort also conveyed Lot 49 to the Perrys.[581]

Micajah and Richard Perry

In June 1711, Micajah and Richard Perry, merchants of London, purchased Lot 37 from Joseph Mountfort. In July of the following year, the Perrys sold this half-acre to Edward Powers, a Yorktown resident who worked as a carpenter, merchant, and tavern keeper in York County's port.[582]

Edward Powers

In July 1712, Edward Powers, a Yorktown merchant, carpenter, and tavern keeper, purchased Lot 37 from Micajah and Richard Perry, merchants of London. In early 1714/5, John Doswell Senior, the second husband of Rebecca Mountfort, entered into a court case against Powers. The elder Doswell claimed one-third of Lot 37 as Rebecca's dower in her deceased husband's estate. The justices of the peace ruled in favor of Powers.[583] It is possible that Powers leased this property to tenants until February 1718/9 when he sold the half-acre to Philip Lightfoot.[584]

[580] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (13) 187, 25 January 1708/9.
[581] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 371-4, dated 17 and 18 June 1711 and recorded 18 June 1711. See also Lot 49.
[582] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 395-6, dated 14 and 15 July 1712 and recorded 18 August 1712.
[583] York County Orders and Wills (14) 404, 22 March 1714/5; ibid., pp. 412-3, 16 May 1715.
[584] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 273-5, dated 13 and 14 February 1718/9 and recorded 16 February 1718/9.

Philip Lightfoot

In February 1718/9, Yorktown merchant Philip Lightfoot bought Lot 37 from Edward Powers. It is possible that Lightfoot leased Lot 37 to a tenant until the early 1740s when his oldest son, William, reached adulthood. Philip Lightfoot owned Yorktown Lot 37 at the time of his death on 31 May 1748. He left his son William the lot and appurtenances where he lived in Yorktown, two adjoining lots (with the exception of the stable and lots given to his mother during her lifetime), four lots in the Read Subdivision, the storehouse and lot purchased from Joseph Mountfort, and the warehouse "under the bank" together with the mill and the land adjoining the mill.[585]

William Lightfoot

After the 31 May 1748 death of his father, William Lightfoot gained ownership of Lot 37.[586] Sometime between April 1749 and August 1751, William Lightfoot moved his family from Yorktown to his Charles City County plantation. Lightfoot retained ownership of the warehouse "under the bank" because he used this structure to store imported items. He did not, however, need to have Lot 37 to operate his business, and it is possible that he sold Lot 37 to Seymour Powell in the early 1750s.[587]

Seymour Powell

Seymour Powell, the son of Thomas and Mary Powell, was a resident of Yorktown by March 1750/1 when he received a license to keep an ordinary at his house in the town.[588] Two years earlier, in July 1749, Powell inherited three slaves—Kate, a woman valued at £ 15; a woman named Hannah who was worth £ 22; and Jemmy, a man assessed at the sum of £ 30—from his brother, Thomas.[589] Powell likely depended on Kate, Hannah, and Jemmy to work in his Yorktown tavern.

In late 1751 Powell entered into a lease with Griffin Stith of Northampton County. Powell agreed to rent the land that Stith inherited from John Buckner for the term of five years. The annual payment was £ 10.[590] Perhaps Powell wanted to have a place where

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[585] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 103-6, dated 31 July 1747 and recorded 20 June 1748.
[586] See Lot 36 and Lot 38.
[587] A deed from William Lightfoot to Seymour Powell was not recorded in the York County Court records.
[588] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 403, 18 March 1750/1. It is known that Powell renewed his ordinary license on 17 August 1752 and it is likely that he received additional licenses for this business. York County Judgments and Orders (2) 87, 17 August 1752.
[589] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 154, dated 2 April 1749 and recorded 17 July 1749; ibid., p. 158, dated 19 August 1749 and recorded 21 August 1749.
[590] Powell did not have access to the houses which were in the possession of Benjamin Moss. York County Deeds (5) 479-80, dated 1 November 1751 and recorded 18 May 1752. See Part I.—Section 10. Buckner-Powell Plantation.

livestock could graze and where he could have slaves grow vegetables, herbs, and grains that could be used in meals served to his tavern guests.

Powell decided to purchase an imported slave in 1752. By August of that year the slave had escaped. Powell placed the following advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette*. He informed readers of the paper

> Ran away, or stole, from the Subscriber, living in York Town, a Negroe Boy, named York, who was imported here in a Ship this Summer, consign'd to the Hon. William Nelson, Esq; and Company; he is about 14 or 15 Years of Age and had on when he went away a Pair of old Sailors Trowsers, and an old Shirt; his Head was half shaved and scabby; If the said Slave is stolen and carried out of this Government, and the Thief can be brought to Justice, I hereby promise to pay Ten Pistoles Reward, and whoever apprehends and secures the said Slave, so that he may be had again, shall have Five Pistoles Reward.

Powell concluded the advertisement by noting "He can't speak English, but will answer to the Name of York very readily."[591] It is unknown whether Powell regained possession of York.

It is known that Powell owned a slave named Jack by 1766. On 12 March 1766, Powell no doubt attended the oyer and terminer trial of Jack, his enslaved man. Jack, Sam a slave who belonged to the estate of William Sheldon Sclater, and Cornelius, part of the estate of Valentine Jenkins, deceased appeared in court to answer the charge of breaking and entering Powell's warehouse and stealing twenty gallons of Rum valued at £ 5 and twenty gallons of Brandy worth £ 5. The justices dismissed the charges against Jack and then found Cornelius and Sam not guilty. They determined that all three slaves had "misbehaved themselves" and order Jack to receive thirty-nine lashes and Sam and Cornelius each felt the whip hit their backs thirty-five times.[592]

By 1767, Powell joined his brother, Hudson, in trade. On 20 August 1767, Seymour Powell and his brother, Hudson Powell, announced that they had a sloop that could be chartered for the West Indies. The sloop would carry upwards of 3,000 bushels of grain.[593] Perhaps Powell's participation in the grain trade prompted him to acquire additional land. On 11 July 1770, Powell purchased 230 acres in Yorkhampton Parish from Armistead Lightfoot. In late 1772, Powell acquired another 330 acres of land from Griffin Stith.[594]

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[591] *Virginia Gazette*, 14 August 1752.
[592] York County Order Book (1765-1768) 44, 12 March 1766.
[593] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 20 August 1767.
[594] York County Deeds (8) 64-67, dated 11 July 1770 and recorded 20 August 1770; ibid., pp. 286-8, dated 18 December 1772 and recorded [torn] 1773. See Part I.—Section 10. Buckner-Powell Plantation.

Powell continued to operate his tavern and by November 1772 he had a riding chair.[595] He no doubt had an enslaved man who could drive customers to destinations in and near Yorktown. In 1780, Powell hired a woman named Moll from the estate of John Moss.[596] It is possible that Powell returned Moll to Moss's estate because he did not need her labor. Many of Yorktown's residents left the town before the British soldiers arrived.

Powell was an inhabitant of Yorktown when he died in the spring of 1782. He gave his wife a life right to his land in Yorkhampton Parish, ten slaves, and livestock. In addition, Powell let Jane have "the use of my house at the water side in York Town until she can build a house & prepaire proper conveniences on the land lent to her which houses are then to e sold for the most they will yield." Powell also wanted the rest of his slaves to be sold. The October 1782 inventory of Powell's estate included thirteen enslaved laborers: Jack (£ 70), Frank (£ 100), Emanuel (£ 60), Sharper (£ 40), Jack (£ 30), Dinah (£ 20), Hannah (£ 40), Nanny (£ 25), Celia (£ 40), Sall (£ 60), Kitty (£ 60), Pegg (£ 50), and Fanny (£ 40).[597]

Jane Powell

The widow Powell remained in Yorktown after Seymour Powell's death. The names of the ten slaves whom Jane Powell held during her widowhood are not known. Jane Powell lived on her deceased husband's property until her death in the 1796, 1797, or 1798.[598] The lots stayed in the Powell family, and in 1814, her son, Seymour Powell, paid the assessment on the three lots held by Jane Powell's estate.

[595] York County Judgments and Orders (3) 151, 16 November 1772.
[596] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 555-8, recorded 21 October 1782.
[597] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 534-5, dated 6 January 1776 and recorded 20 May 1782; ibid., pp. 546-8, dated October 1782 and recorded 21 October 1782.
[598] Robert Anderson Papers, 1693-1877, (Williamsburg: Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation), Folders 309 and 319.

Lot 38

John Wills

On 25 March 1708, John Wills purchased Lot 38 from the Trustees of Yorktown.[599] Wills was a tavern keeper and the operator of the ferry between Yorktown and Tindall's Point. It is likely that his other property in Yorktown, Lot 44, served as the base of his activities. Wills did not develop Lot 38 and he forfeited the title to this property.[600]

Philip Lightfoot

In November 1709, the Trustees of Yorktown conveyed Lot 38 to Philip Lightfoot, a Yorktown merchant.[601] Lightfoot had a building constructed on this half-acre and retained possession of the property. He no doubt had a house on Lot 38 because this was the first Yorktown lot that he held. Lightfoot might have had his home on this half-acre until 1716 when he acquired Lot 36 or until 1724 when he purchased Lot 22.[602] It is possible that Lightfoot leased Lot 38 to a tenant until the early 1740s when his oldest son, William, reached adulthood.

Philip Lightfoot owned Lot 38 in Yorktown at the time of his death on 31 May 1748. He left his son William the lot and appurtenances where he lived in Yorktown, two adjoining lots (with the exception of the stable and lots given to his mother during her lifetime), four lots in the Read Subdivision, the storehouse and lot purchased from Joseph Mountfort, and the warehouse "under the bank" together with the mill and the land adjoining the mill.[603]

William Lightfoot

It is likely that William Lightfoot, the oldest son of Philip and Mary Lightfoot, lived on either Lot 38 or Lot 37 soon after he reached adulthood in the early 1740s. The younger Lightfoot, a merchant like his father, no doubt had slaves carry goods from ships anchored in the York River to his storehouse. After the 31 May 1748 death of his father, William Lightfoot gained possession of the lot and appurtenances where he lived in Yorktown.[604]

Sometime between April 1749 and August 1751, William Lightfoot moved his family from Yorktown to his Charles City County plantation. William Lightfoot died in 1765

[599] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 272, dated and recorded 25 March 1708.
[600] In September 1710, Wills purchased Lot 30 from John Rogers. See Lot 30.
[601] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 334-5, dated 10 November 1709 and recorded 24 November 1709.
[602] See Lot 36.
[603] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 103-6, dated 31 July 1747 and recorded 20 June 1748.
[604] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 103-6, dated 31 July 1747 and recorded 20 June 1748.

and his will was recorded in the General Court. His son, Philip, inherited Yorktown Lot 38 as well as Lot 36, Lot 37, and ninety acres in Yorkhampton Parish.[605]

Philip Lightfoot

Philip Lightfoot, the son of William and Mildred Lightfoot, gained possession of Lot 38 in Yorktown after his father's death. A resident of Caroline County by October 1783, it is likely that Lightfoot sold Lot 38. It is possible that the deed for this property was recorded in the General Court.

[605] York County Deeds (7) 57, dated 27 February 1783 and recorded 20 April 1789.

Lot 39

John Wythe

In November 1691, the Trustees of Yorktown granted Lot 39 to John Wythe. A planter, Wythe did not build on this half-acre and forfeited his title to the lot.[606]

John Martin

Lot 39 remained empty until August 1707 when Yorktown's trustees sold the half-acre to John Martin, an English mariner who lived in Yorktown. Martin built on Lot 39, but he continued to live on Lot 42. This mariner owned Lot 39 until June 1717 when he sold it to an English merchant named Arthur Bickerdike.[607]

Arthur Bickerdike

On 6 June 1717, John Martin appointed his friend Cole Digges to transfer Lot 39 in Yorktown to Arthur Bickerdike, a merchant.[608] Perhaps Bickerdike hoped that Sexton, an enslaved boy adjudged to be nine years old in May 1716, would soon be able to unload cargo from ships anchored in the York River.[609] Bickerdike's household no doubt included his nephew, Richard Ambler, who arrived in Virginia in October 1716.

Bickerdike owned Lot 39 until the time of his death between 21 September 1719 and 16 May 1720. The merchant died without making a will and his property passed to his sister, Margaret, and John Wise, her husband. In August 1720, John and Margaret Wise appointed Cole Digges and Richard Ambler as their attornies to sell "all & every the houses Lands Tenements & hereditaments . . . lying & being in Virginia aforesd or any part thereof hereof & whereto he the sd Arthur Bickardike died siezed or had any right Title or Interest therein." They also gave Digges and Ambler permission to "sell & dispose of all & every the Negroes whether men or women or boys or girles . . . whereof he the sd Arthr. Bickardike did possessed or anyway entitled to within the Continent of Virginia."[610]

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[606] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 258, dated and recorded 24 November 1691.
[607] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 247-8, dated 24 August 1707 and recorded 25 August 1707; York County Orders and Wills (15) 132, 17 June 1717; York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 193, dated 6 June 1717 and recorded 16 September 1717.
[608] York County Orders and Wills (15) 132, 17 June 1717; York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 193, dated 6 June 1717 and recorded 16 September 1717.
[609] York County Orders and Wills (14) 502, 21 May 1716.
[610] York County Orders and Wills (16) 44, 15 May 1721.

John Ballard

Yorktown merchant John Ballard gained possession of Lot 39 sometime before he wrote his will on 24 December 1744. Ballard left his son William "one acre bought of Mr. Gwyn Read joining two town lots described in the town plan as 67 and 71" in addition to Lot 39.[611]

William Ballard

William Ballard, son of Yorktown merchant John Ballard, inherited an acre in the Read Subdivision that adjoined Lots 67 and 71 as well as Lot 39. After serving an apprenticeship with David Jameson "to learn merchandizing and bookkeeping," Ballard settled in the city of Norfolk.[612] It is likely that Ballard leased this lot to tenants until June 1770 when he sold Lot 39 to William Mitchell.[613]

William Mitchell

In June 1770, William Mitchell, son of James and Janet Mitchell, purchased Lot 39 from William Ballard. Mitchell served as York County's deputy sheriff, and in this role he advertised the sales of slaves in front of the Swan Tavern and informed readers of the *Virginia Gazette* about runaway slaves held in the York County Gaol. Mitchell's actions helped to maintain the institution of slavery in Yorktown and York County.

Mitchell lived on Lot 39 during the Revolution and his property—Lot 39 and a lot in the Read Addition—sustained damages as a result of the Siege of Yorktown.[614] He submitted a claim for the following structures

Dweling House 16 feet square with two sheds & three fire places	250..--..--
Kitchen 16 feet by 24 floord with stone & an oven	70..--..--
Smoke House 12 feet square double shedded	20..--..--
Dary 12 feet square	15..--..--
Necesary House 8 by 6	6..--..--
Stable with two sheds 24 feet square in good repair	60..--..--
Lott paled in with Sawd pales Posts & Rales supposed 70 panels @ 9/	31..10..--
Lott Paled in with comon Rales & posts supposed 70 panels @ 6/	21..--..--
Black Smith Shop 24 by 16 with a shed	40..--..--

[611] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 3-6, dated 24 December 1744 and recorded 16 September 1745.
[612] York County Deeds (6) 264-5, dated and recorded 21 July 1760.
[613] York County Deeds (8) 49-52, dated and recorded 18 June 1770.
[614] York County Deeds (6) 70, dated 15 November 1779 and recorded 17 January 1780.

In addition, Mitchell lost Pool, a thirty-year old man, whom he valued at £ 100 and a two-year old boy named Tom. Mitchell noted that Tom was worth £ 10.[615] The structures that Mitchell lost—a kitchen with an oven, a smokehouse, a dairy, and a stable—provide information about the work that his slaves performed. Male slaves worked in the blacksmith shop, cut down trees and turned the timber into rails and posts for fencing, and tended horses in the stable. Female slaves prepared meals in the kitchen, smoked meat for the family's use, and milked cows.

Between February 1779 and February 1786, Mitchell married Damaris Smith, the widow of Lawrence Smith, a Yorktown merchant. Smith bequeathed to his wife the use of his slaves during her lifetime. Mitchell gained the labor of the following slaves held by his wife, Damaris: four enslaved men—Paul (£ 90), Bob (£ 125), Toney (£ 150), and Gaby (£ 90); a boy named Cain (£ 80); three women—Chloe (£ 70), Alice (£ 100), and Nanny (£ 80); an equal number of girls—Celia (£ 60), Moll (£ 45), and Sue (£ 30), and a child named Violet (£ 10).[616]

It is difficult to determine where the Mitchells lived after the Siege of Yorktown. Although Mitchell paid taxes on Lot 39 and his lot in the Read Subdivision in 1782, 1783, 1784, and 1785, it is possible that they did not build a new dwelling house on Lot 39. The Mitchells might have lived with William Mitchell's brother, Stephen, in Yorktown or on rural land that Damaris Mitchell inherited from her first husband, Lawrence Smith.

William Mitchell died between 14 February 1786 and 17 April 1786. Mitchell left his entire estate, real and personal, after the payment of any debts to his wife Damaris.[617] The widow Mitchell moved to a portion of Lot 30 after she purchased this property from Robert Gibbons, John Gibbons, Thomas Gibbons, Lawrence Gibbons, George Gibbons, and Richard Gibbons.

It is possible that Damaris Mitchell rented out Lot 39 and the lot in the Read Addition that she inherited from her husband. The widow Mitchell died between 3 September 1804 and 17 March 1806. In her will, Damaris Mitchell stated that her executor, her brother Robert Gibbons, was to sell her slaves at a public sale. Next, the widow Mitchell noted that her rural land was to be sold, and the proceeds from the sale were to go to her granddaughters Mary Calthorpe Smith and Eliza Smith when they reached legal age or married. In addition, she wanted Mary Calthorpe Smith and Eliza Smith to receive the money raised from the sale of "my Houses and Lotts in the Town of York."[618]

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[615] "Claims for Losses of York County Citizens in the British Invasion of 1781."
[616] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 426-9, dated 9 April 1779 and recorded 19 April 1779. Lawrence Smith inherited slaves from his mother when her will was probated in January 1754. Mildred Smith bequeathed slaves named Frank, Paul, Harry, Chloe, and Grace to her son Lawrence. York County Wills and Inventories (20) 309, dated 10 December 1753 and recorded 21 January 1754. See Lot 73 and Part I. Section 10—The Moore House and Adjoining Rural Land Owned by the Smith and Moore Families.
[617] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 109, dated 12 February 1786 and recorded 17 April 1786.
[618] Ibid., p. 684, dated 3 September 1804 and recorded 17 March 1806.

In December 1807, Robert Gibbons sold two lots to Asahel Smith of Yorktown. The deed conveyed "two certain lots . . . the one known by the No. 38 [sic No. 39] in the plat of the said town the other adjoining the said lot, and lying to the south of it, and bounded on the south east by the lots of Martha Newman of the town aforesaid."[619]

[619] York County Deeds (8) 522-3, dated 21 December 1807 and recorded 18 January 1808.

Lot 41

David Condon Senior and David Condon Junior

On 24 November 1691, the trustees of Yorktown granted Lot 41 to David Condon Senior, a planter of York Parish.[620] Condon built a house on the property and retained the title to this half-acre. The elder Condon died by 25 February 1702/3, and his son became the owner of Lot 41. On 17 January 1712/3, David Condon of James City County sold Lot 41 to the churchwardens of Yorkhampton Parish.[621]

[620] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 273, dated 24 November 1691 and recorded 21 December 1691.

[621] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 408-9, dated 17 January 1712/3 and recorded 19 January 1712/3.

Lot 42—The Cole Digges House

John Seaborne

In November 1691, a house carpenter named John Seaborne purchased Lot 42 from the Trustees of Yorktown for 180 pounds of tobacco.[622] Seaborne did not build on the property, and the title to this half-acre reverted to the town trustees.

Thomas Pate

Thomas Pate saw Yorktown as a place of opportunity soon after the town's establishment. In May 1692 Pate petitioned the York County Court because he wanted to continue as the ferryman. He noted that he plied "at the ferry over to Tindalls point."[623] In 1694, Pate received a license to keep an ordinary "att ye place called ye Well att Yorke Ferry." The justices of the peace required Pate to

> find good & suff lodging meat & drinke wholsome for a man's body and a stable w/suff provinder for their horses & be always provided w/a pasture well fenced suff to serve them & that he rate & sell the sd provissions etc accord as is prescribed & sett down by the lawes of this country & ords of this ct & to keep good rules & customes in his house.[624]

In August 1694, Pate accused John Seaborne of selling drinks without a license because he might not have wanted any competition.[625]

Five years later, in August 1699, Pate purchased Lot 42 from Yorktown's trustees.[626] Pate's continued employment as a ferry keeper enabled him to pay for the construction of a dwelling house on Lot 42 and retain ownership of the property. In January 1699/1700, Pate asked to receive a license to "keep a ferry at the usual place adjacent to Yorke Town commonly called by the name of the Well."[627] Pate wanted a license to "keep a publick ferry at York Town in York County and parish for the transportation of men & horses over Yorke River to Tindalls point in Gloucester County." He promised to "provide & furnish himself w/boats & hands suitable & proper for the performance of the service & duly during the time of his imploy in sd office of keeping a ferry give diligent & constant

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[622] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 275, dated 24 November 1619 and recorded 21 December 1691.
[623] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 122, 24 May 1692.
[624] Ibid., p. 314, 26 March 1694.
[625] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (10) 34, 24 August 1694. In 1694, Seaborne rented Lot 83 from Robert Read. See Lot 80, Lot 81, Lot 82, and Lot 83—Victory Monument.
[626] The January 1713/4 deed from John Martin to Cole Digges noted that the Yorktown trustees conveyed Lot 42 to Pate. York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 12-4, dated 14 and 15 January 1713/4 and recorded 18 January 1713/4.
[627] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (11) 254, 24 January 1699/1700.

attendance therein for the men ready & quick dispatch of such persons etc s are legally qualifyed to be transported."[628]

Perhaps Pate agreed to take Joseph Prickett as his apprentice in October 1701 because he needed another person to help him operate the ferry due to his poor health.[629] On 7 April 1703, Pate wrote his will and decided to give Lot 42 to Joan Lawson, wife of John Lawson, "for ye Restitution & Satisfaccon of Seven Years Service & also for her diligent care and trouble in Looking after me in this my Sickness & also for divers other weighty causes & Consideracons."[630] The following month Pate informed York County residents "not to give credit to Elizabeth my wife upon any manner of accounts wherein I may be damnified she having absented herselfe from my house and habitation nere Yorktown."[631]

Pate died by 25 October 1703, the date that his will was probated in the York County Court. He gave "unto my Negroe Man Called Tony his Freedom I having Severall times Promist itt him for his True & Faithfull Service & I Do hereby Will & Declare that he Shall be free from all maner of Slavery that shall be Demaunded of him from any Person or Persons Whatsoever." Also, Pate stated "that Imediately after my Decease he be at Liberty to Departe the County according to Law And further my Will & Desire is that my Executor hereafter named be an Assistant to him in his Transportation."[632]

The appraisers of Pate's estate valued Tony at £ 35, almost 40 percent of Pate's personal possessions that were assessed at £ 89.16.1. Two entries describe the living conditions for Tony. The appraisers listed "the Negroes Beding Old" as worth ten shillings, an indication that his bedding was not as nice as Pate's "old flock & feather Bed & furniture wth the Bedstead" that they valued at £ 3. The notation "In the Negroes Roome" suggests that Tony had his own space in Pate's house. In addition, details in the inventory provide some information about the work that Tony might have done for his master. It is likely that Tony used Pate's "1 horse Boate & 1 foot Boate Old & leaky" valued at £ 1.10.0 to ferry men and horses across the York River. It is possible that Tony used the "Fish Giggs," "Saine," and the "Fishing Tackling" to catch fish that Pate served in his tavern. In addition, he might have been trained to use the "Carpentrs & Cooprs Tools."[633]

In December 1703, Tony appeared in the York County Court to secure his freedom. He told the justices of the peace that Pate's executor, Rowland Pierson, "unjustly deteined" him "contrary to the tenor of the sd will."[634] The following month, Pierson discharged Tony from slavery and guaranteed the freedom promised by Pate.[635]

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[628] Ibid., pp. 294-5, 4 March 1699/1700.
[629] Ibid., p. 520, 24 October 1701.
[630] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (12) 151, dated 7 April 1703 and recorded 25 October 1703.
[631] Ibid., p. 112, 24 May 1703.
[632] Ibid., p. 151, dated 7 April 1703 and recorded 25 October 1703.
[633] Ibid., p. 149, recorded 2 November 1703.
[634] Ibid., p. 169, 24 December 1703.
[635] Ibid., pp. 163 dated 19 January 1703/4 and recorded 24 January 1703/4; ibid., p. 174, 24 January 1703/4.

Joan Lawson

Joan Lawson, the wife of a York County planter named John Lawson, helped care for Thomas Pate. On 4 April 1703, Pate decided to transfer Lot 42 to Joan Lawson, wife of John Lawson, in a deed of gift. Pate died in the fall of 1703, and his widow Elizabeth relinquished her dower right to this lot and house in November of the same year. Joan Lawson conveyed Lot 42 to a merchant named John Martin in September of 1705.[636]

John Martin

John Martin, an English merchant, arrived in Yorktown by November 1703 when he bought Lots 56 and 57 from John Penton, another merchant. Martin held these lots until June 1705, the time he transferred this property back to Penton.[637] Three months later, Martin purchased Lot 42 from Joan Lawson. The Trustees of Yorktown granted this lot to Martin in order to give him a clear title to the property.[638] It is likely that John Martin used Lot 42 as the base for his mercantile business. Martin had ties to Antigua merchants and held a power of attorney for three merchants from this island.[639] This merchant added to his property in August 1707 when he purchased Lot 39 from Yorktown's trustees.[640]

In the fall of 1706, John Hunt, a merchant of Philadelphia, died at Martin's Yorktown house. Hunt left "my two negro Slaves Named Quod & Marea" to his son and namesake. The elder Hunt bequeathed £ 5 each to Quod and Marea.[641] Martin took over the responsibility of settling Hunt's Virginia estate. In March 1707/8, he returned an account of Hunt's estate to the York County Court. Martin noted that he spent ten shillings on "2 p^{r} of shoes to Quoad," an indication that Quod was in Yorktown. He also noted the sale of five of Hunt's slaves:

By Jn^{o} Breet one Negroe sold to	16..0..0
By Th^{o} Mountfort one Do:	16..0..0
By Jn^{o} Breet 1 D^{o}	12..10..0
By my Selfe 1 D^{o}	14..0..0
By Maj^{r} Buckner one Child	3..0..0

[636] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 100, dated 3 April 1703 and recorded 24 November 1703; ibid., pp. 138-9, dated 17 September 1705 and recorded 24 September 1705.
[637] Ibid., pp. 94-5, dated 30 November 1703 and recorded 24 December 1703; ibid., pp. 124-6, dated 5 June 1705 and recorded 9 June 1705.
[638] Ibid., p. 140, dated and recorded 24 September 1705.
[639] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (12) 411-2, 24 May 1706.
[640] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 247-8, dated 24 August 1707 and recorded 25 August 1707.
[641] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (13) 25, dated 7 October 1706 and recorded 24 December 1706.

The extant documents do not indicate the names of these five slaves. It is also unknown if Quod and Marea stayed in the Yorktown area or if they were moved to the residence of the younger John Hunt.[642]

John Martin held Lot 42 for eight years before he sold this half-acre to Cole Digges in January 1713/4. He was described as a mariner in the deed, an indication that he had decided to end his career as a merchant. In addition, the deed gave Digges the title to the warehouse that Martin built under the bank. This structure was known as Martin's Store.[643]

Martin retained a connection to Yorktown and, during the 1710s, guided three slave ships into the York River. In 1713, Martin carried twenty-eight slaves on the *Duke of Cambridge*. It is known that Martin sailed the *Duke of Cambridge* into the York River in 1714 and again in 1717. First, in 1714, Martin transported 152 slaves and three years later, he and William Keeling transported 147 enslaved Africans.[644] While in Virginia, in June 1717, Martin appointed Cole Digges, Gentleman, as his attorney. The power of attorney noted that Martin was "Comdr. of the Ship Duke of Cambridge of & belonging to London." That month, Digges used the power of attorney to convey Lot 39, owned by Martin, to Arthur Bickardike, another English merchant.[645]

John Martin returned to Yorktown by August 1720, the month that he took two enslaved Africans to the York County Court to have their ages adjudged. The justices of the peace decided that a girl named Fanny was seven years old and that Dublin, a boy, was twelve years of age.[646] It is not clear where Martin resided during the 1720s. He served as an arbitrator in a case between Mr. John Marriott, "Citizen and Stationer of London," and Yorktown's William Rogers.[647]

Cole Digges

Cole Digges was the son of Dudley Digges and Susannah née Cole Digges as well as the grandson of Edward Digges and William Cole. In February 1710/11, he inherited an unspecified number of slaves from his father.[648] Seven months later, in September 1711, Digges received a slave boy named Sharper as a bequest from Edward Wightwick of

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[642] Ibid., p. 135, dated 4 March 1707/8 and recorded 24 March 1707/8.
[643] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 12-3, dated 14 and 15 January 1713/4 and recorded 18 January 1713/4.
[644] See Part I. Section 3—Yorktown and the Slave Trade.
[645] York County Orders and Wills (15) 132, 17 June 1717; York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 193-5, dated 5 and 6 June 1717 and recorded 16 September 1717.
[646] York County Orders and Wills (15) 666, 15 August 1720.
[647] York County Orders and Wills (16) 339-40, dated 7 November 1724 and recorded 17 May 1725; ibid., p. 345, dated 8 May 1724 and recorded 21 June 1725; and ibid., p. 350, dated [blank] 1724 and recorded 19 July 1725.
[648] York County Orders and Wills (14) 69-70, dated 13 January 1710[/1] and recorded 20 February 1710[/1].

York County.[649] It is possible that Sharper was too young to help build the Yorktown fortifications as did other Digges slaves. In October 1711, Digges submitted a claim to the York County Court "for 180 days work appearing to have been done by his slaves on the forteffications at York town by a certeficate under the hand of Edward Powers overseer the sd Digges haveing made oath that he has received no satisfaction thereof it is ordered to be transmitted to assembly for allowance."[650]

Although Digges lived on his Yorkhampton Parish plantation, it is likely that he spent time in Yorktown. In the decade of the 1710s, Digges established ties to British merchants and received powers of attorney from London merchants in addition to the power of attorney that he received from John Martin, an English merchant who lived in Yorktown. In 1713/4, Digges purchased Lot 42 from John Martin. The deed also gave Digges the title to the warehouse that Martin built under the bank. This structure was known as Martin's Store.[651]

By 1723, Martin's Store was known as "the Store house of Cole Digges." In September of that year, a man named Thomas Queen was in the York County Goal "on Suspition of felony in breaking open the Store house of Cole Digges Esqr. & taking from thence Sundry goods and merchandizes." When Queen appeared in court and the justices of the peace heard the witnesses and listened to "the sd Examinants confession," they "were of opinion that the sd Thomas Queen ought to undergo a trial for the sd Crime at the Genl. Court whereupon it is ordered that he be remanded to the prison of the County in Custody of the Sheriff and from thence to be conveyed to the publick Goal at Wmsburgh in order for a trial at the Genl. Court on the fourth day thereof as the law directs."[652]

In addition to unloading imported goods from ships anchored near his storehouse, it is likely that Cole Digges assisted his father, Dudley Digges, when his ship, the *Providence*, arrived in the River District on 8 June 1725 with 174 slaves from Sierra Leone. Perhaps the elder Digges arranged the sale of the recently arrived Africans soon after the ship anchored. Yorktown residents no doubt were among the people who bought fifty-three slaves in this cargo. The *Providence* cleared the York River District three days after its arrival and took 121 slaves to a port in Maryland. On 15 July 1726, the *Providence* entered the York River. Its cargo included 141 slaves from Africa's Windward Coast. A little over a year later, on 22 September 1727, the captain of the *Providence* navigated this vessel into the York River from the Chesapeake Bay. In the fall of 1727, Cole Digges was listed as the co-owner (with his father) of the *Providence* when their vessel brought 125 enslaved Africans to Virginia.[653]

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[649] Ibid., p. 111, recorded 17 September 1711.
[650] Ibid., p. 114, 13 October 1711.
[651] Ibid., pp. 129-30, dated 19 August 1711 and recorded 21 January 1711/2; York County Orders and Wills (15) 132, 17 June 1717; York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 12-4, dated 14 and 15 January 1713/4 and recorded 18 January 1713/4.
[652] York County Orders and Wills (16) 229, 16 September 1723.
[653] On 18 May 1727, another vessel, the *Fancy*, owned by Dudley Digges left the York River for Maryland. The *Fancy*, a sloop built in Virginia in 1723 and registered in Williamsburg on 29 October 1717, carried

By the late 1720s, Digges wanted to have additional space on the waterfront for his mercantile activities and was one of four Yorktown merchants who petitioned the Council for permission to use the land along the York River. Digges, Richard Ambler, John Ballard, and Thomas Nelson each set "forth that between the land appropriated for the said Town & the River there lies a beach of sand which at high tides is overflowed, but nevertheless may with some expence & labour be made convenient for building warehouses for the securing merchandizes of great bulk and weight." The petitioners continued, "praying that eighty foot square of the Beach may be granted him by patent for the purpose aforesaid, with power to enlarge the same by making a wharf into the river w[hi]ch may be of great benefit to the trade of that Town." The Council ruled in favor of Digges, Ambler, Ballard, and Nelson, provided that their wharves and warehouses did not "encroach upon the publick landings or the Streets leading through the said Town to the River side."[654]

Cole Digges continued to use Lot 42, his storehouse, and his wharf until the time of his death in 1744. It is likely, however, that he remained in his home on his Yorkhampton Parish plantation. Between 1 August 1746 and 6 February 1746/7, three deponents—John Robinson Esquire, John Power of New Kent County, and Elizabeth Digges—told the York County justices of the peace about the bequests that Digges intended to make. John Robinson Esquire stated that Digges declared

> that he had put his son Edward Digges . . . in Possession of his Dwelling House and Estate in the County of York and had also given him the Slaves Stocks of Cattle Household Furniture and other Personal Estate thereto belonging . . . it was his intention that his sd. Son Edward should enjoy the same without any molestation tho' he had never convey'd it to him in Writing or bequeathed it to him by his Will.[655]

Dudley Digges, the third son of Cole and Elizabeth Digges, gained possession of Lot 42 after the death of his mother in 1750.

Dudley Digges

Dudley Digges, the third son of Cole Digges and Elizabeth née Power Digges, gained possession of Lot 42 after the 1750 death of his mother. It is likely that Dudley Digges

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fifty passengers to Maryland. Walter E. Minchinton, Celia King, and Peter Waite, eds., *Virginia Slave Trade Statistics, 1698-1775*, (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1984), p. 191.

[654] Ambler and Nelson submitted their requests to the Council on 15 August 1728; Digges and Ballard made their requests on 12 June 1729. H. R. McIlwaine et al., eds., *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, 6 vols., (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1927-66), IV:183-4 (Ambler and Nelson), 207-8 (Digges and Ballard).

[655] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 492-3, dated 1 August 1746, 3 November 1746, and 6 February 1746/7 and recorded 16 February 1746/7.

made his home for five years in the dwelling that his father had on Lot 42. In July 1755 Digges sold Lot 42 to Patrick Matthews, a Yorktown butcher.[656]

Patrick Matthews

In July 1755, Patrick Matthews, a butcher, bought Yorktown Lot 42 from Dudley Digges. Twelve years earlier, in 1743, Matthews was a gardener when he purchased two lots in the Read Addition from John Dixon and another acre in the subdivision from Thomas Brewer. In late 1744, Matthews acquired half of a Read lot from wigmaker, William Sherrington.[657]

In 1745, Matthews added to his labor force. In November 1745, he purchased an enslaved African whom he named Will. The justices of the York County Court decided that Will was nine years old. At the same court session, a free mulatto named Hannah Banks, with the permission of her mother, apprenticed herself to Matthews. He promised to provide food, clothing, lodging, and washing until she turned twenty-one.[658] It is likely that Hannah learned domestic skills including cooking and sewing from Ann Matthews, her master's wife.

Matthews also had at least one white convict servant, a man named George Glass. In December 1745, Matthews offered a reward to anyone who captured Glass and returned him to Yorktown.[659] Perhaps this butcher hoped that he would regain possession of his laborer because someone would capture him. Matthews himself took up runaway indentured servants and enslaved men and women. In August 1744, Matthews informed the county justices that he captured two runaway servant women as well as six escaped slaves.[660] By November 1746, Mathews was the constable of Yorktown and received a payment of 144 pounds of tobacco from York County "for Whiping 8 Negros on Suspicion of Felony."[661]

In the late 1740s and early 1750s, Matthews decreased the number of lots that he held when he sold two parcels in the Read Addition to Edmund Tabb. In September 1750, Matthews and his wife, Ann, conveyed Lot 44 where Richard Baker lived to Richard Ambler in exchange for part of Lot 43. Matthews gained possession of the land on Lot

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[656] York County Deeds (6) 27-30, dated and recorded 21 July 1755. See Lot 76, Lot 77, and Lot 79.
[657] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 56-8, dated and recorded 20 June 1743; ibid., pp. 72-3, dated 19 September 1743 and recorded 21 November 1743; ibid., pp. 110-1, dated and recorded 17 December 1744.
[658] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 397, 18 November 1745; York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 152, dated and recorded 18 November 1752. See also Part I. Section 5—Free Blacks in Yorktown and the Yorktown Area, 1680s to 1783.
[659] *Virginia Gazette*, 19 December 1745.
[660] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 308, 30 August 1744.
[661] Ibid., pp. 478-9, 21 November 1746.

43 between a row of poles from the southwest corner of the stable across the lot and the buildings that stood on this ground.[662]

During the same time, Matthews increased the number of laborers in his household when he took a girl named Flora to the York County courthouse. On 18 December 1749, the justices of the peace decided that Flora was thirteen years old. Five months later, in May 1750, Hannah Jones, the orphan daughter of Parish Jones, chose Matthews as her master. Belinda, an enslaved girl, was in this household by November 1752 when the local officials decided that she was fourteen years old. Flora, Hannah, and Belinda could have assisted Ann Matthews as she managed the household. Perhaps Matthews agreed to take Jimmy, a free mulatto son of M[torn], as an apprentice in August 1751 because he needed another laborer to help butcher cattle, sheep, and hogs.[663]

Matthews also wanted to have a place where he could store items. In November 1752, he purchased a warehouse near Yorktown from Griffin Stith of Northampton County. The deed noted that this building was "near the Sands" and that Stith inherited the structure from John Buckner. Perhaps the acquisition of this warehouse prompted Matthews to lease a house that measured twenty-eight feet by eighteen feet on the beach to Alexander Bruce, a Norfolk merchant. The deed specified that Bruce could use the house, not the land, for a ten-year period. The structure stood on the lower side of the public wharf, and Bruce had a right of way to the public street that led to the wharf.[664]

In July 1755, Matthews purchased Lot 42 on Main Street from Dudley Digges.[665] This purchase made it possible for Matthews to live on one lot and to operate his business in another location. The Matthews family and their enslaved laborers settled in the dwelling on this property. In 1758, Matthews had four tithes on his property. It is possible that Pollipas, an enslaved man whom Matthews failed to list as a tithe in 1760, had been on Lot 42 in 1758 when Camm recorded his list.[666]

Matthews died by 17 May 1762, the date when the grand jury presented Ann Matthews for failing to list her chair. Six months later, the widow Matthews did not list her enslaved man Jack as a tithe.[667] Perhaps Ann Matthews tried to avoid payment of taxes

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[662] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 251-2, dated 6 June 1748 and recorded 20 June 1748; ibid., pp. 338-9, dated 14 March 1749/50 and recorded 19 March 1749/50; ibid., pp. 421-4, dated 17 September 1750 and recorded 18 March 1750/1. Richard Baker was the first husband of Ann Matthews. See Lot 44.

[663] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 269, 18 December 1749; ibid., p. 306, 21 May 1750; ibid., p. 451, 19 August 1751. In addition to taking several free black children as apprentices, Matthews had a connection to Benjamin Hanson, the free black butcher. In July 1754, Matthews agreed to serve as the security on Thomas Holt's bond for the administration of Hanson's estate. York County Judgments and Orders (2) 461, 15 July 1754. See also Part I. Section 5—Free Blacks in Yorktown and the Yorktown Area, 1680s to 1783.

[664] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 508, dated and recorded 20 November 1752; ibid., pp. 600-2, dated and recorded 19 March 1754.

[665] York County Deeds (6) 27-30, dated and recorded 21 July 1755.

[666] York County Judgments and Orders (3) 186, 17 November 1760.

[667] Ibid., p. 358, 17 May 1762; ibid., p. 437, 15 November 1762.

because her husband was indebted when he died. In January 1772, the creditors of Patrick Matthews appealed to the justices of the peace. These individuals noted "that sundry slaves of the said Patrick Matthews remain in the hands of his Widow and that there is no other Estate to satisfie the Debts due to the said Creditors." In addition, no one was willing to administer the deceased butcher's estate. The justices ordered the York County sheriff to take the "Slaves into his hands and sell the same."[668]

The inventory of the slaves owned by Matthews' estate included Dublin, a man; Will, a man; Phillis, a woman; Betty, Peg, and Phillis, three small children; a boy named Dick; a woman known as Lender; and Jack, an old man. On 23 January 1772, William Russell, the deputy sheriff of York County announced the sale of eight "likely" slaves, "among them a good butcher," belonging to the estate of Patrick Matthews on Saturday, 1 February 1772 in front of the Raleigh Tavern in Williamsburg.[669]

Ann Matthews lived on Lot 42 until the time of her death between 20 January 1772 and 21 September 1772. In her will, the widow Matthews left her lot and houses in Yorktown to her daughter and son-in-law, Katherine and George Davenport, during their lives if they agreed to make arrangements to pay a total of £ 90 to family members. However, Matthews outlived both George Davenport who died in 1766 and Katherine Davenport who was a Williamsburg resident until her 1771 death. In November 1772, the justices of the peace ordered the sheriff to take the estate of Ann Matthews into his possession. In August 1779, James Moir, the administrator of his grandmother's estate, requested "Those indebted to the estate of Ann Matthews, late of Yorktown, . . . to make payment."[670] It is possible that either the York County sheriff or James Moir sold Yorktown Lot 42 to Dudley Digges, a previous owner of this property.

Dudley Digges

Dudley Digges regained possession of Lot 42 sometime after the death of Ann Matthews. It is possible that Digges leased the structures on this half-acre to tenants during the time that he held this property. In March 1784, Dudley and Elizabeth Digges of Williamsburg sold Lot 42 to David Jameson.[671]

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[668] York County Judgments and Orders (2) 450, 20 January 1772.
[669] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 122, recorded 21 September 1772; *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 23 January 1772.
[670] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 122-3, dated 27 June 1763 and recorded 21 September 1772; *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 9 May 1766; ibid., 18 April 1771; York County Judgments and Orders (3) 153, 16 November 1772; *Virginia Gazette*, Dixon, ed., 21 August 1779.
[671] York County Deeds (6) 223-5, dated 27 March 1784 and recorded 16 August 1784.

David Jameson

In March 1784, David Jameson purchased Lot 42 from Dudley and Elizabeth Digges of Williamsburg. Jameson leased the buildings on this half-acre to tenants during the remainder of his life. This Yorktown merchant lived on Lot 53 until his death on 10 July 1793. In his 14 October 1792 will, Jameson gave his nephew

> John Jameson one moiety of both real and personal of which I may die possessed of to him the said John and his Heirs forever. I give the other moiety of my Estate that I may die possessed of both real and personal to be equally divided between my nephews, David Jameson of Culpeper & David Jameson of Caroline county, to them & their Heirs forever.[672]

On 21 August 1793, John Jameson, David Jameson, and David Jameson Junior announced the sale of their uncle's real estate:

> For Sale, on Thursday the 24th day of October next, at the late dwelling house of David Jameson, deceased, in York Town to the highest Bidder, The lot and Houses where the decedent dwelt, and sundry other lots in the said Town, some of which are improved and some others unimproved; the lot under the bank on which the tobacco warehouses stand, with its apendages; a very valuable tract of land about three miles from Town, containing, by estimation, 871 acres, with a large and well improved plantation, and a small mill on it.[673]

The following year John Jameson, David Jameson, and David Jameson Junior, administrators of the estate of David Jameson, sold Lot 42 to George Goosley of Yorktown.[674]

John Moss—tenant

In October 1783, a tailor named John Moss occupied one of the two shops that stood on Yorktown Lot 42. Moss occupied the shop on Lot 36 until the time of his 1795 death. In his will, Moss left all of his estate to his wife, Mary.[675]

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[672] Yorktown Hustings Court Records (1787-1793) 39-40, dated 14 October 1792, codicil dated 21 May 1793, and recorded 23 July 1793 (from a 12 April 1892 copy of the original).
[673] *Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser*, 21 August 1793.
[674] York County Deeds (7) 121-3, dated 12 March 1794 and recorded 20 October 1794.
[675] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 458, dated 13 January 1791 and recorded 21 December 1795.

James Tyrie—tenant

By March 1784, James Tyrie used a shop on Lot 36 as the location of his cabinetmaking business.[676] On 19 July 1785, Tyrie agreed to take Francis Hern, a free mulatto of York County, as his apprentice and to teach Hern the skills of a cabinetmaker.[677] Hern would have seen Ben, a slave whom Tyrie hired from the estate of Captain John Goodwin during 1785 for £ 14.1.0.[678] Perhaps Tyrie hoped that Francis Hern and Ben would help him expand his business and earn enough money to pay his debts. In November 1785, Tyrie mortgaged an enslaved boy name Frank to Yorktown's John McClary. Tyrie promised to repay his debt by 1 November 1786.[679]

It is likely that Tyrie made his payment to McClary before his death in the spring of 1786. Tyrie left his entire estate to his wife Diana during her lifetime and, after her death, wanted his real and personal estate divided between his children. The 27 April 1786 inventory of Tyrie's estate included five slaves: Betty valued at £ 40, Frank who was worth £ 25, Milly and her child Ben who were assessed at £ 60, and Prince who was valued at £ 20.[680]

George Goosely and John Southgate

Yorktown resident George Goosley held this lot until 1797 when he conveyed it to John Southgate of Norfolk.[681] It is likely that both Goosley and Southgate rented out the brick storehouse and the two shops that stood on the property during the years that each man owned Lot 42.

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[676] York County Deeds (6) 223-5, dated 27 March 1784 and recorded 16 August 1784.
[677] Ibid., p. 274, dated and recorded 19 July 1785.
[678] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 212-7, recorded 21 June 1790.
[679] York County Deeds (6) 304, dated 1 November 1785 and recorded 17 April 1786.
[680] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 109, dated 5 March 1786 and recorded 17 April 1786; ibid., pp. 120-1, dated 27 April 1786 and recorded 18 September 1786.
[681] York County Deeds (7) 298-9, dated 25 August 1799 and recorded 21 October 1799.

Lot 43

Daniel Taylor

In November 1691, the trustees of Yorktown sold Lot 43 to Daniel Taylor of Charles Parish in November 1691. Taylor did not build on the property, and it reverted to the trustees.[682]

George Burton, Lucy Burton Andrews, John Andrews, Christopher Haynes, and Charles Haynes

Lot 43 remained vacant until George Burton of Mulberry Island Parish in Warwick County bought this half-acre from Yorktown's trustees in June of 1706.[683] Burton died between 24 September 1706 and 15 December 1707. He managed, however, to construct a building on Lot 43 before his death. His widow, Lucy, retained possession of this half-acre while their daughter, Ann, was a minor. It is possible that Lucy Burton decided to leave Mulberry Island Parish and live in Yorktown during her widowhood. She met a brazier named John Andrews and married him by 13 October 1711, the date she appeared in York County Court to request payment for "a beef had of her for the use of the fort."[684]

If the Andrews lived on Lot 43, it is possible that their household included an enslaved boy named Sibb. Andrews took an enslaved boy named Sibb to the 24 June 1710 court session, and the justices of the peace decided that he was ten years old.[685] John and Lucy Andrews had possession of Lot 43 until the summer of 1713 when Christopher Haynes petitioned to gain this property. Haynes based his claim on the fact that he married Ann, the daughter of George Burton.[686]

Christopher Haynes was a resident of Mulberry Island Parish and did not move to Yorktown to live on Lot 43. It is possible that he rented Lot 43 to a man named Charles Haynes. Based on the extant York County Court records, Charles Haynes did not own property in Yorktown. He needed access to a Yorktown lot because he was an ordinary keeper who received a license on 18 February 1716/7.[687] Charles Haynes also served as the constable of Yorktown from 18 February 1711/2 to 15 February 1713/4 as well as the

[682] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 250, dated and recorded 24 November 1691.
[683] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 176, dated 10 June 1706 and recorded 24 September 1706.
[684] York County Orders and Wills (14) 116, 13 October 1711. John Andrews was a resident of Kecoughtan Parish in Elizabeth City County when he purchased Yorktown Lot 64 from the town's trustees in October 1705. Andrews bought two additional lots in Yorktown: Lot 65 in February 1706/7 and Lot 44 in September 1712. In addition, Andrews was a partner (with William Gordon, Charles Cox, and Nicholas Phillips) to dig and stone a well on the south side of Lot 9, adjoining Main Street. See Lot 9 and Lot 44.
[685] Ibid., p. 16, 24 June 1710. The 18 August 1719 inventory of the estate of John Andrews included a man named Scipio (valued at £ 30) and "His wareing Apparrell" which had no additional value. York County Orders and Wills (15) 490-1, dated 18 August 1719 and recorded 21 September 1719.
[686] York County Orders and Wills (14) 269, 20 July 1713; ibid., p. 274, 17 August 1713.
[687] York County Orders and Wills (15) 81, 18 February 1716/7.

surveyor of streets and landings in Yorktown between 18 August 1718 and his death in the fall of 1718. Haynes had one slave—a ten-year old girl named Jenny—who would have worked in the tavern.[688] There is no evidence that Martha Haynes, the widow of Charles Haynes, operated the ordinary after her husband's death. It is possible that the widow Haynes remained on Lot 43 until she married Daniel MacIntosh. Perhaps the remarriage of Martha Haynes prompted Christopher Haynes and his wife Ann to sell Lot 43 to Richard Ambler in January 1720/1.[689]

Richard Ambler

Richard Ambler journeyed from England to Virginia by October 1716 when he witnessed a power of attorney from Needler Webb to William Harwood. Another witness to this power attorney was Ambler's uncle, Arthur Bickerdike. It is likely that Ambler lived in Bickerdike's house on Lot 39 after his uncle purchased this property in June 1717.[690] The death of Bickerdike between 21 September 1719 and 16 May 1720 no doubt prompted Ambler to purchase a Yorktown lot. On 11 January 1720/1, Ambler bought Lot 43 from Christopher and Ann Haynes of Mulberry Island Parish in Warwick County.[691] It is likely that the location of Lot 43, on the corner of Main and Read Streets with access to the waterfront and the harbor, influenced Ambler's decision to buy this property.

Access to the waterfront was essential to Richard Ambler. On 29 April 1724, Ambler became "Collector of Yorke River in Virginia in the room of Joseph Walker, deceased, at the established allowance and salary." Ambler received a semiannual salary of £ 20 plus a percentage of the duties collected.[692] He decided to use the brick storehouse on Lot 43 as the location of his business.[693] Just over two years later, in May 1726, this merchant purchased the northern part of Lot 44 from Richard and Ann Baker. Three months later, Ambler bought Lot 45 from Elizabeth Powers.[694] In September 1750, Ambler and

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[688] Ibid., p. 314, 15 September 1718.
[689] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 340-1, dated 11 January 1720/1 and recorded 16 January 1720/1.
[690] See Lot 39.
[691] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 340-1, dated 11 January 1720/1 and recorded 16 January 1720/1.
[692] Treasury Out Letters, June 29, 1724, P. R. O., T. 11/18, quoted in Hope M. Hockenberry, "The Amblers of Virginia: A Family's Rise to Prominence," (M. A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1973), p. 48. See also York County Orders and Wills (16) 311, 21 December 1724.
In addition, Ambler served as a justice of the peace for York County from 24 November 1724 until 20 March 1737/8 when he "refused to.Swear & act as Justice of the Peace." In July 1738, the York County Sheriff ordered Ambler to return "the law books" which he received as a justice of the peace. York County Wills and Inventories (18) 407, 20 March 1737/8; ibid., p. 436, 17 July 1738.
[693] According to Arthur Pierce Middleton, a collector usually established his office at his dwelling or a nearby location and used this space to keep his records and official seals. Arthur Pierce Middleton quoted in Hockenberry, "The Amblers of Virginia," p. 43.
[694] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 453-5, dated and recorded 14 May 1726; ibid., pp. 462-4, dated 21 August 1726 and recorded 19 September 1726. See Lot 44 and Lot 45.

Patrick Matthews, a Yorktown butcher, entered into an agreement. Ambler gave Matthews part of Lot 43 and received a portion of Lot 44 in return.[695]

Ambler had a two-story brick structure on Lot 43 to show his status and to provide room for his family. In 1729, Ambler married Martha Jaquelin, daughter of Edward and Martha née Cary Jaquelin, prominent residents of Jamestown. Richard and Martha Jaquelin had three sons: John, Edward, and Jaquelin. The household no doubt included domestic slaves whose work included preparing meals, serving food to the Ambler family and their guests, laundering clothes, tending the kitchen garden, and driving the carriage in which the Amblers rode.

In addition to property in Yorktown proper, Ambler had a wharf on the town's waterfront area. In the late 1720s, Ambler was one of four Yorktown merchants who petitioned the Council for permission to use the land along the York River. Ambler, John Ballard, Thomas Nelson, and Cole Digges each set "forth that between the land appropriated for the said Town & the River there lies a beach of sand which at high tides is overflowed, but nevertheless may with some expence & labour be made convenient for building warehouses for the securing merchandizes of great bulk and weight." The petitioners continued, "praying that eighty foot square of the Beach may be granted him by patent for the purpose aforesaid, with power to enlarge the same by making a wharf into the river w[hi]ch may be of great benefit to the trade of that Town." The Council ruled in favor of Ambler, Ballard, Nelson, and Digges, provided that their wharves and warehouses did not "encroach upon the publick landings or the Streets leading through the said Town to the River side." It is known that Ambler had a wharf at the waterfront by the end of the decade.[696]

Ambler also purchased land in Gwyn Read's Addition to Yorktown. In April 1745, this merchant bought a ten and one-half acre tract from Gwyn Read. Ambler's tract adjoined land that belonged to Robert Jackson, John Trotter, Ishmael Moody, and Reginald Orton. It also bordered on the Yorktown Creek.[697] Soon after Ambler acquired the property, he contracted with Henry Barradell to build a stable. The November 1747 settlement of the estate of Henry Barradell noted that his administrators spent £ 7 for "Work done towards finishing the Stable of Rd. Ambler Esqr." After the completion of the stable, Ambler

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[695] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 421-4, dated 17 September 1750 and recorded [18 March 1750/1]. It is possible that the York County clerk made a mistake when he recorded this deed and that Ambler gave Matthews a portion of Lot 45 instead of Lot 43. Both the Ambler home and the Customhouse were on Lot 43. Also, subsequent deeds transfer the title to Lot 43, Lot 44, and part of Lot 45.

[696] Ambler and Nelson submitted their requests to the Council on 15 August 1728; Digges and Ballard made their requests on 12 June 1729. McIlwaine et al., eds., *Executive Journals*, IV:183-4, 207-8.

[697] Gwyn Read to Richard Ambler, April 1745, Robert Anderson Papers. Ambler owned at least two more lots in the Read Addition to Yorktown. In May 1741, Ambler purchased one acre in the Gwyn Read Addition from James and Janet Mitchell. York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 3-6, dated 16 May 1741 and recorded 18 May 1741. See Part I. Section 9—Part II. Lots in the Read Addition to Yorktown.

paid £ 30 to Barradell's estate.[698] Ambler used another portion of this property for a garden and a smith's shop. In addition, this merchant rented half-acre sections to tenants.

From his home on Lot 43, Richard Ambler managed the work of his urban slaves and the enslaved men, women, and children who labored on his rural land. Ambler had one slave who escaped from his plantation near Yorktown. On 6 April 1739, he placed the following announcement in the *Virginia Gazette*

> RAN away from a Plantation of the Subscriber's near York Town, a Negro Man, named Kingsale, about Twenty Four Years of Age; is very likely, except only a Blemish on one Eye. Had on, when he went away, an Oznabrig Shirt almost new, a Cotton Jacket, and Breeches of the same, or of white Plains. It is suppos'd he will shape his Course over James River, and so to North Carolina, having been lately sent from thence. Whoever secures and conveys the said Slave to York Town aforesaid, if found on the South Side of James River, shall receive Two Pistoles Reward, besides what is allowed by Law, and reasonable Charges, from Richard Ambler.[699]

Later in the same year, on 3 August 1739, William Barbasore, an indentured servant belonging to William Rogers, appeared in the York County court. He was charged with attempting to break into Ambler's storehouse. The key made by Barbasore's accomplice, David Heartly, did not fit the lock on Ambler's door.[700] On 18 March 1744/5, the justices of the peace decided that Frank, an enslaved man owned by Ann Gibbons, was not guilty of "breaking & entering the Store house of Richard Ambler Esqr. and Stealing from thence a peice of broad Cloth of the value of £ 3 Currt. mony:"[701]

Extant documents contain a few details about the lives of Ambler's slaves. It is known that one of his enslaved laborers, Phillis, was baptized on 1 June 175[2] at Bruton Parish Church. Perhaps she was one of the tithes in Ambler's household in 1758 when the Reverend John Camm recorded his list. An enslaved man named America was one of Ambler's urban slaves. Five years later, Ambler no doubt attended America's oyer and terminer trial at the York County Courthouse. On 19 September 1763, America appeared in court because he was accused of breaking and entering William Nelson's kitchen and stealing "1 childs bed of the value to 5s & 3 yds of diaper of the value of 5 s." The justices of the oyer and terminer court found America guilty of the felony and not guilty of the burglary. America pled benefit of clergy, had his left hand burned, and received thirty-nine lashes at the public whipping post.[702]

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[698] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 75, ordered 21 September 1747 and recorded 16 November 1747.
[699] *Virginia Gazette*, 6 April 1739.
[700] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 513-4, 3 August 1739.
[701] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 362, 18 March 1744/5.
[702] York County Judgments and Orders (4) 88-9, 19 September 1763.

In September 1765, Ambler began to transfer a portion of his real estate to his sons, Edward and Jaquelin. He gave these two sons, as co-owners, three acres and some marshland that was part of a ten and one-half acre parcel that Ambler purchased from Gwyn Read.[703] Ambler used his will, probated in 1766, to distribute the rest of the real and personal estate he had acquired.[704] He divided his Yorktown property in the following way:

> I give my said son Edward and to his Heirs forever my dwelling house wherein I now live together with the Lots of Land whereon that and my Out houses and Stable stands also the Garden ground adjoining I give him likewise my Storehouse situate on the bank near the River . . . all the furniture of my said dwelling house, that is to say my Plate Beds Bedding Tables Chairs and all other Utensils belonging to my said dwelling house Kitchen and Stable.
>
> I give my son John One Acre whereon is a Smith's Shop being part of Ten Acres which I bought of Capt[n] Gwyn Reade
>
> I give my son Jaquelin the remaining nine acres of said Land to him and his Heirs forever and alsoe the One Acre after my son John's decease

Amber made an additional bequest of Yorktown land to his youngest son Jaquelin:

> I give my Son Jaquelin and to his Heirs forever One Acre of Land which joines to York Town part of the Acre is a garden on the other part are houses in the occupation of John Davis I give my Son Jaquelin two Negroe boys now on the Black swamp Plantation named Ned and George also two boys at York Town named George and Guy and old Ediths two Girles named Grace and Venis also my Negroe woman named Grace who is now sick I give my Son Edward all the furniture of my dwelling house He acquitting my promise of the House and Lot now in the tenure of John Gibbons which by this will I give my Son Jacquelin all the furniture of my said Dwelling house, that is to say my Plate Beds Bedding Tables Chairs and all other Utensils belonging to my said dwelling house Kitchen and Stable My Stock in trade I mean all the Goods and Merchandise in the Store on hand and also all the Goods and Merchandise now sent for and expected in at the time of my death likewise all the Debts due to me by my Store book a List of which shall be taken and therein shall be included the balances due from my Son Edward and my Son John the amount of all which I give my Son Edward and Son Jaquelin to be equally divided between them and it is my request they carry on Trade in partnership I give all my Bonds and Obligations which are not Entered in

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[703] York County Deeds (7) 144-6, dated and recorded 16 September 1765.

[704] York County Wills and Inventories (21) 278-82, dated [torn] and recorded [torn] 1766. In addition to a portion of his father's Yorktown property, Edward Ambler inherited thirty-seven slaves who were on the land in Caroline County lately sold to Colonel John Baylor, thirteen slaves on his father's plantation in Hanover County, and property in Warwick County with the slaves who usually labored on that land. John Ambler became the owner of the plantation on Powhatan Swamp in James City County and the slaves who worked on the property, slaves at Jamestown Island and the Main, and "the Dairey Woman named Moll Cook, Negroe Hannah, Jupiter, Phillis, boy Cupid, The three Carpenters viz[t] Old Ben Mark and John."

> my Storebook to my said Sons Edward and Jaquelin to be equally divided between them. . . .

Next, Ambler made additional bequests of slaves:

> I give my Son Edward my Slaves under mentioned, to wit Old Edith, Peg Abel Will America, Sawney, Polly Jerry James Genney and the Carpenter named Sharper and His Son Named Ben I give to my Grandson Edward and John Two boys named Ned and Scip[io?] also I give them little Edith and Pegs boy named Billy[.]

Also, he recorded that "I give my Grand daughters Sally & Molly Pegs youngest child named Hannah and Polly's child named Tamo[.]"

The inventories of Ambler's properties indicated that, at his death, this Yorktown merchant held slaves in Hanover (twenty slaves), Louisa (fifty-six slaves who were valued at £ 2729.01.0 with the Hanover slaves), James City (seventy-six slaves valued at £ 2549.10.0), Warwick (eleven slaves valued at £ 430), and York counties (twenty-two slaves valued at £ 905.0.0).[705]

Ambler bequeathed slaves to his sons and grandchildren in order to give the white members of his family enslaved laborers to tend fields on their plantations and to do domestic chores in their homes. Ambler's gifts did not benefit the slaves whom he owned because these bequests divided his Yorktown slaves (and other groups as well) among several different owners. The April 1767 inventory of Ambler's York County estate included the following slaves:

> James (£ 70), Abell (£ 100), Edith (£ 40), America (£ 70), Jenny (£ 40), Will (£ 75), Polly and her three children—Tamar, Grace, and Peg (£ 120), Jerry (£ 20), Ned (£ 40), little Edith (£ 40), Sarah (£ 45), Little Billy (£ 40), Hannah (£ 30), Dan (£ 25), Edith (£ 20), Scipio (£ 25), Patty (£ 25), and Peg and her young child (£ 80).[706]

Ambler divided his Yorktown slaves among six family members. Edward Ambler gained possession of Edith, Abell, Will, America, Polly, Jerry, James, and Jenny. This decision separated Polly from her children—Tamar, Grace, and Peg. Ambler's grandsons Edward and John became the owners of Ned and Scipio, Little Edith, and Billy (also known as Little Billy) who was taken away from his mother. Sally and Molly, Ambler's granddaughters, inherited Peg's youngest child Hannah and Polly's child named Tamo

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[705] York County Wills and Inventories (21) 386-91, dated 9 August 1766 and recorded 15 February 1768 [James City, Hanover, and Louisa counties]; ibid., pp. 391-2, dated 27 November 1766 and recorded 15 February 1768 [Warwick County]; and ibid., pp. 392-6, dated 22 April 1767 and recorded 15 February 1768 [York County].

[706] Ibid., pp. 392-6, dated 22 April 1767 and recorded 15 February 1768.

(also called Tamar). The five slaves whom Jaquelin Ambler received—George, Guy, old Edith's daughters Grace and Venus, and a woman named Grace—did not appear on the inventory of Richard Ambler's estate. For these five enslaved laborers, the move to Yorktown disrupted ties to family and friends.[707]

Ambler did not specify who would gain possession of Grace and Peg (two of Polly's children), Sarah, Hannah, Dan, Edith, Patty, or Peg and her young child. This group of individuals no doubt wondered where they would live after the death of Richard Ambler. It is possible that the slaves whom John Ambler inherited from his father also felt uncertainty. John Ambler died by 17 October 1766, the date that Edward Ambler announced that he would sell "some house servants" who had belonged to his deceased brother, John. The sale would be held on 30 October 1766 "before Mr. Trebell's door in Williamsburg."[708] On that day, "the Dairey Woman named Moll Cook, Negroe Hannah, Jupiter, Phillis, boy Cupid, [and] The three carpenters viz^{t} Old Ben Mark and John" stood on the steps of the Raleigh Tavern and waited to find out who would bid on them and become their new owner.

Edward Ambler

On 18 May 1767, Edward Ambler and Jaquelin Ambler exchanged Yorktown properties. Edward Ambler transferred ownership of Lot 43, Lot 44, and part of Lot 45 to his brother Jaquelin. The deed noted that the lots adjoined Main Street on the northeast, Ann Matthews on the southwest, Armistead Lightfoot on the northwest, and Thomas Nelson on the southeast. In exchange, Jaquelin Ambler conveyed Lot 34 to his brother Edward and a lot that adjoined Mrs. Hannah Mills on the northeast, the street from the river on the southeast, another street perpendicular to the other street on the southwest, and Jaquelin Ambler's property on the northwest.[709] The deeds noted that Jaquelin Ambler was a Yorktown merchant.[710]

Jaquelin Ambler

On 18 August 1766, the York County justices of the peace ordered Jaquelin Ambler's nine tithes, chariot, and chair to be added to the list for lower Yorkhampton Parish.[711] It is possible that his tithable laborers included a woman named Grace whom he inherited from his father. It is possible that two boys, George and Guy, and an equal number of girls—Grace and Venus—were still under the age of sixteen and not yet taxable workers.

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[707] Two of the slaves whom Jaquelin Ambler received—George and Guy—had spent some time in Yorktown.
[708] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon eds., 17 October 1766.
[709] See Lot 34.
[710] York County Deeds (7) 275-9, dated and recorded 18 May 1767; ibid., pp. 279-82, dated and recorded 18 May 1767; ibid., pp. 282-4, dated and recorded 18 May 1767.
[711] York County Order Book (1765-1768) 103, 18 August 1766.

In May of the following year, Jaquelin Ambler and Edward Ambler exchanged Yorktown properties. Jaquelin Ambler, a Yorktown merchant, gained possession of Lot 43, Lot 44, and part of Lot 45 from his brother, Edward who became the owner of Lot 34.

Jaquelin Ambler followed in his father's footsteps and held several important positions. On 20 April 1767, he took the oath as a justice of the peace for York County. The following year, Ambler became the collector of the Port of York. Finally, in January 1777, Ambler received an appointment as the Naval Officer for the York District.[712] It is likely that Ambler's personal slave accompanied him when he attended the meetings of the York County Court or walked to the waterfront area of Yorktown to inspect goods imported in the ships anchored in the harbor.

Jaquelin Ambler and his family made their home in the brick house that stood on Lot 43. In December 1773, Ambler decided to sell this property. The announcement that he placed in the *Virginia Gazette* provided information about his urban property and a tract of rural land within two and a half miles of Yorktown:

> FOR SALE THE HOUSES and LOTS in the Town of York, where the Subscriber now lives. The Dwelling-House is a very commodious One, with four Rooms above and four below, a very large Brick Storehouse, a large and well cultivated Garden, Stables, Kitchen, Wash House, &c. in good Repair. Also about one Hundred Acres of cleared high Land, and about sixteen Acres of exceeding good Meadow, making together a very square compact Parcel of Land, and will make a convenient little Farm for any Gentleman residing here, as it does not exceed two Miles and a Half from Town.[713]

Ambler had not sold the property by the time of the Revolution began and he decided to move his family and enslaved laborers to Richmond. In 1778, Ambler sold Lot 43, Lot 44, and part of Lot 45 to Thomas Wyld for £ 1000 sterling.

Thomas Wyld

In 1778, Thomas Wyld purchased Lot 43, Lot 44, and part of Lot 45 from Jaquelin Ambler.[714] A tavern keeper, Wyld decided to move his business to the Ambler property.

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[712] Ibid., p. 246, 20 April 1767; *Virginia Gazette*, Rind, ed., 9 June 1768; ibid., Dixon, ed., 17 January 1777.

[713] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 9 December 1773. A week earlier, Ambler advertised the sale of his Yorktown lots. Perhaps he revised the notice and included the nearby rural land in order to make the property more attractive to potential purchasers.

[714] Wyld operated a tavern in at least two other locations in Yorktown. On 13 August 1777, Wyld informed readers of the *Virginia Gazette* that he had "removed from the house on the water side to the large brick house behind the courthouse, the property of Dr. John Griffin, and formerly belonging to Mrs. Lightfoot; where gentlemen who please to favour me with their custom may depend on my best endeavors to entertain them." *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie, ed., 22 August 1777.

There is no evidence that he had enslaved laborers to assist him provide for the needs of his customers. His wife, Henrietta née Ballard Powell Wyld no doubt helped to prepare food and clean the tavern. Wyld renewed his ordinary license on 16 August 1779 and again on 17 July 1780.[715] This tavern keeper was forced to leave this property shortly before the Siege of Yorktown.

Jaquelin Ambler

After the end of the American Revolution, Jaquelin Ambler filed a claim for damages to Yorktown Lot 43 and Lot 44 as well as part of Lot 45 because his 1778 conveyance to Thomas Wyld became void when the tavern keeper tried to pay Ambler in depreciated currency.[716] Ambler filed a claim for four structures on his lots in Yorktown proper: a dwelling house in good repair with three rooms and a passage below, two rooms above, and four fire places (£ 200), a kitchen (£ 30), a smoke house (£ 15), and a sixteen foot by fourteen foot stable (£ 20). During the Siege of Yorktown, British troops took over the property and used the dwelling as a barracks. The men stationed on Lot 43, Lot 44, and Lot 45 destroyed the garden, fences, and outbuildings. Ambler stated that they also damaged the house to such a degree that it was "out of his power to make it a comfortable residence for his family."[717]

Ambler, his family, and his enslaved men, women, and children remained in Richmond after the end of the American Revolution. It is possible that he repaired the structures on his Yorktown property and found a tenant to live in the dwelling house. Ambler owned Lot 43, Lot 44, and part of Lot 45 until January 1797 when he sold this property to Alexander Macaulay, a merchant of Yorktown.[718]

Alexander Macaulay

In January 1797, Alexander Macaulay, a Yorktown merchant, purchased Lot 43, Lot 44, and part of Lot 45 from Jaquelin Ambler, a resident of Richmond. Macaulay was a Yorktown resident by 9 June 1786, the date he purchased a warehouse adjoining the tenement of Richard C. Walters from Richard Brown. In addition to being a merchant, Macaulay was a mariner. In July 1787, James Cocke, son of James Cocke of Williamsburg, apprenticed himself to Macaulay for three years to learn the trade of a mariner.[719]

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[715] York County Order Book (4) 232, 16 August 1779; ibid., p. 272, 17 July 1780. It is also possible that Thomas Wyld Junior operated an ordinary in 1778.
[716] In 1793, the lawsuit between Ambler and Wyld concerning the property in the 1778 deed was decided in favor of Ambler. Hatch, Jr., *Yorktown's Main Street*, p. 76.
[717] Ibid.
[718] York County Deeds (7) 305-7, dated 20 January 1797 and recorded 16 December 1799.
[719] York County Deeds (6) 320, dated 9 June 1786 and recorded 16 October 1786; ibid., pp. 348-9, dated 16 July 1787.

Macaulay no doubt believed that his business would be prosperous. He acquired two additional lots in Yorktown that he hoped would be beneficial to a merchant. On 18 July 1788, Macaulay bought Lot 110 from the Trustees of Yorktown.[720] On 27 November 1794, Alexander Macaulay purchased Lot 120 and the improvements on this half-acre from Jameson's executors.[721] This merchant also acquired two additional slaves by June 1790 when he owed the estate of Mary Philips the sum of £ 110 for the purchase of Dick and Oliver.[722] It is possible that Macaulay purchased Dick and Oliver so he could increase the number of slaves who loaded and unloaded ships anchored in the Yorktown harbor.

Alexander Macaulay failed in his attempt to establish a successful business in Yorktown. On 15 November 1797, Macaulay mortgaged a wide range of real and personal property including slaves, lots in Yorktown, land in Warwick County, lots in Norfolk, lots in Hanover Town, livestock, furniture in his Yorktown house, and all the goods in his store to Thomas Griffin and Thomas Nelson in order to secure his payment of three debts that totaled £ 10,000 current money. The mortgaged slaves were Sukey and her two children, Hannah and Will; Betty and her four children Charles, Mary, Vine, and Pat; Sall and her child Hannah; Rachel and her four children Amos, Nancy, Phoebe, and Beck; Aggy; Cate; Annie; Lucy; Sam Hostler; Jack Daniel; Bob; Jebun; George; Jack the elder; Jack the younger; Dick, and Jupiter. Griffin and Nelson agreed to sell Macaualay's real and personal estate to raise money to pay his debts.[723] The deed of mortgage, however, did not specify the names of the slaves who lived in Yorktown nor the identities of those enslaved men, women, and children who worked on other property owned by Macaulay.

Elizabeth Macaulay

In November 1799, Thomas Griffin and Thomas Nelson, trustees of the estate of Alexander Macaulay, sold Lot 43, Lot 44, and part of Lot 45 to Macaulay's widow. Elizabeth Macaulay gained possession of "a certain tenement in the Town of York, formerly the property of Jaquelin Ambler with all the Lots, and buildings thereon, adjoining thereto, and bounded by the main street of the Town aforesaid, by the lands of Seymour Powell on the N west and a cross street on the S East. Also one other lot of

[720] Ibid., p. 383, dated 18 July 1788 and recorded 21 July 1788. See Lot 110.
[721] York County Deeds (7) 136-7, dated 27 November 1794 and recorded 20 April 1795. See Lot 120.
[722] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 201-2, dated 21 June 1790 and recorded 21 June 1790. The inventory of Mary Philips included only Dick valued at £ 80 and Oliver appraised at £ 60. It is possible that Dick was the one of the slaves whom Philips inherited (along with his mother Moll and brothers Frank and Harry) from her mother, Ann née Moss Mennis Philips Gibbons, in September 1768. The 1768 inventory of Ann Gibbons' estate included six slaves: man Dick valued at £ 100, Frank valued at £ 70, Harry valued at £ 80, Sue valued at £ 60, Jack valued at £ 50, and Oliver valued at £ 35. Ibid., p. 161, recorded 16 July 1788; York County Wills and Inventories (21) 430-1, dated 14 February 1745/6 and recorded 19 September 1768; ibid., pp. 432-4, dated [torn] 1768 and recorded 21 November 1768.
[723] York County Deeds (7) 249-54, dated 15 November 1797 and recorded 19 February 1798.

Land in Town aforesaid formerly the property of Richard Brown and bounded by a cross street on the N West and by the tenements of Richd: C: Walters on the South West."[724]

Elizabeth Macaulay insured this property in 1818. The policy covered a wooden dwelling that was two stories high and forty-six feet by forty-six feet in size. The brick store was also two stories and measured forty-six feet by twenty-four feet. There were two kitchens on the property: the first was a sixteen foot by twenty foot wooden building and the second was a twenty foot by twenty-two foot brick structure that was covered with wood. The dimensions of the stable were twenty-eight feet by twenty-two feet and the size of the smokehouse is unknown.[725]

[724] Ibid., p. 318, dated 20 November 1799 and recorded 17 March 1800.
[725] Charles E. Hatch, Jr., *'York Under the Hill': Yorktown's Waterfront*, (Denver: Historic Preservation Team, Denver Service Center, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior), pp. 76-7.

Lot 44

Edward Dodd

A merchant named Edward Dodd bought Lot 44 from Yorktown's trustees during the first year that these men sold lots in the new town.[726] Dodd forfeited his title to the property because he did not build on the lot.

Cornelius Wilson

On 8 January 1706/7, the trustees of Yorktown conveyed Lot 44 to Cornelius Wilson, a resident of Yorkhampton Parish.[727] Wilson died by 24 May 1707, and his estate forfeited the title to Lot 44.

John Wills

On 24 March 1707/8, John Wills of Charles Parish acquired Lot 44 from the trustees of Yorktown.[728] Wills did not build on this property and the town's trustees regained ownership of this half-acre.[729]

James Calthorpe

On 20 August 1711, the trustees of Yorktown sold Lot 44 to James Calthorpe, a resident of Charles Parish.[730] Six months later, in February 1711/2, Elizabeth Calthorpe, the executrix of her deceased brother James, conveyed Lot 44 to Ady Booth.[731]

Ady Booth

Ady Booth, the widow of Michael Booth, received a license to keep an ordinary in Yorktown on 20 August 1711.[732] Two months later, on 13 October 1711, Booth "preferred a Claim to this Ct for entertaining sevl labourers in the time of their working

[726] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 188-9, 25 November 1692.
[727] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 209-10, dated and recorded 8 January 1706/7.
[728] Ibid., pp. 272-3, dated and recorded 24 March 1707/8.
[729] On 25 March 1708, Wills also received a deed for Lot 38 from the trustees on 25 March 1708. In September 1710, Wills bought Lot 30 from John Rogers. See Lot 30.
[730] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 375, dated and recorded 20 August 1711.
[731] Ibid., pp. 380-1, dated and recorded 18 February 1711/2.
[732] York County Orders and Wills (14) 104, 20 August 1711. On 24 August 1710, Michael Booth received an ordinary license. Booth died by 16 January 1710/11 and he left his entire estate to his wife, Ady. There is no evidence that the widow Booth inherited slaves from her husband. Ibid., p. 26, 24 August 1710; ibid., pp. 59-60, dated 7 November 1711 and recorded 19 February 1710/1.

on the fortifications at York town amounting to 2-9-6."[733] It is possible that there were some enslaved men among the group of laborers who spent time at Booth's tavern.

The widow Booth purchased Lot 44 from Elizabeth Calthorpe, the executrix of James Calthorpe, on 18 February 1711/2. Six months later, Booth renewed her ordinary license.[734] Extant documents do not indicate where Ady Booth operated her business. It appears that she did not build on Lot 44 and forfeited the title to this half-acre.

John Andrews and William Andrews

On 15 September 1712, John Andrews bought lot 44 from Yorktown's trustees.[735] A brazier, Andrews left Elizabeth City County and moved to Yorktown after he acquired Lot 64 from the trustees of Yorktown in October 1705. On 25 February 1706/7, Andrews also received a deed for Lot 65 from Yorktown's trustees. In July 1714, Andrews became one of William Gordon's partners in an agreement to dig a well on part of Lot 9.[736]

Andrews married Lucy, the widow of George Burton, by 20 July 1713, and it is possible that they lived on Lot 43 until the summer of 1713 when Christopher Haynes petitioned to gain this property. Haynes based his claim on the fact that he married Ann, the daughter of George Burton.[737] Perhaps the Andrews moved to part of Lot 44, to Lot 64, or to Lot 65.

This brazier leased part of Lot 44 to William Heron by 1 March 1717/8, the date he wrote his will. Andrews died by 17 August 1719. He left Heron "one Years rent free of the house he now lives in with thirty foot of Land wide running the width of the Lott from the Street to that part Joyning to Humphrey Moodys known by number (44)." Andrews gave the remainder of his property, real and personal, to his brother, William Andrews, and his sister, Elizabeth Smith, both residents of Wiltshire, England. He wanted his brother to travel to Virginia, sell his real property, and share the proceeds with their sister. Andrews stipulated "that if my brother William Andrews Should not come within Two full years that Capt. Lawrence Smith may Sell all my houses Lotts Negroe & all other my Goods & Chattles & return the effects unto my brother & Sister."[738]

William Andrews, son of John Andrews, gained possession of his father's real and personal estate. The younger Andrews, a resident of Nansemond County, held this lot for a short time. In September 1719, William Andrews sold part of Lot 44 to Richard Baker,

[733] Ibid., p. 116, 13 October 1711.
[734] Ibid., p. 187, 18 August 1712.
[735] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 406-7, dated 15 September 1712 and recorded 15 December 1712.
[736] Ibid., p. 172, dated 8 October 1705 and recorded 24 September 1706; ibid., p. 221, dated and recorded 25 February 1706/7; York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 78-9, dated 2 July 1714 and recorded 20 June 1715. See Lot 9.
[737] York County Orders and Wills (14) 269, 20 July 1713; ibid., p. 274, 17 August 1713. See Lot 43.
[738] York County Orders and Wills (15) 474-5, dated 1 March 1717/8 and recorded 17 August 1719.

a Yorktown tailor.[739] It is unknown if he sold his father's slave, a man named Scipio, or retained possession of this enslaved laborer.[740]

William Heron

William Heron was a tenant on part of Lot 44 by 1 March 1717/8 when John Andrews wrote his will. Andrews decided to allow Heron to live in a house on Lot 44 for a year without paying rent. In addition, Heron could use a portion of the land in this parcel. By 14 November 1719, Heron gained possession of a portion of Lot 44 and sold his property to Richard Baker. The deed noted that Heron was a planter of Yorkhampton Parish[741]

Richard Baker

A Yorktown tailor named Richard Baker acquired part of Lot 44 in September 1719 from William Andrews of Nansemond County. Two months later, in November 1719, William Heron, a Yorkhampton Parish planter, transferred a small portion of this lot to Baker.[742] Baker held all of Lot 44 until 14 May 1726 when he and his wife Ann sold part of this parcel to Richard Ambler, a Yorktown merchant.[743]

In the fall of November 1726, Baker took an enslaved girl to the York County Court. The justices of the peace decided that Betty was ten years old. Baker acquired an apprentice in August 1729 when William Davis, the orphan of William Davis, was bound until the age of twenty-one to learn the trade of a tailor.[744]

Baker lived on a portion of Lot 44 until the time of his death between 30 November 1735 and 17 May 1736. This tailor left his estate, including his house and lot in Yorktown, to his wife, Ann. The inventory of Baker's estate included "one White Woman Servant 5 years to Serve" valued at £ 7.10.0.[745]

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[739] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 307, dated 19 and 21 September 1719 and recorded 21 September 1719.
[740] The 18 August 1719 inventory of the estate of John Andrews included Scipio, valued at £ 30, and "His wareing Apparrell" which had no additional value. York County Orders and Wills (15) 490-1, dated 18 August 1719 and recorded 21 September 1719.
[741] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 311-2, dated 14 November 1719 and recorded 16 November 1719.
[742] Ibid., p. 307, dated 19 and 21 September 1719 and recorded 21 September 1719; ibid., pp. 311-2, dated 14 November 1719 and recorded 16 November 1719.
[743] Ibid., pp. 453-5, dated and recorded 14 May 1726.
[744] York County Orders and Wills (16) 415, 21 November 1726; ibid., p. 616, 18 August 1729.
[745] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 289, dated 30 November 1735 and recorded 17 May 1736; ibid., pp. 298-9, dated 17 June 1736 and recorded 21 June 1736.

Patrick Matthews and Ann Baker Matthews

Patrick Matthews, a Yorktown butcher, married Ann Baker and gained possession of the portion of Lot 44 owned by her first husband, Richard Baker.[746] On 17 September 1750, Matthews and Richard Ambler entered into an agreement. Ambler gave Matthews part of Lot 43 and received Lot 44 in exchange. The merchant transferred land between a row of poles from the southwest corner of the stable and across the lot and the buildings that stood on this ground.[747]

Richard Ambler

See Lot 43.

[746] Matthews also owned property in the Read Addition to Yorktown and Lot 42. See Lot 42 and Part I. Section 9—Part II. Lots in the Gwyn Read Addition to Yorktown.
[747] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 421-4, dated 17 September 1750 and recorded [18 March 1750/1].

Lot 45

Humphrey Moody, Elizabeth Moody Powers, and Edward Powers

In February 1706/7, Humphrey Moody Senior purchased Lot 45 from the Trustees of Yorktown. He constructed a building on Lot 45 before his death between 24 November 1707 and 24 February 1707/8. Moody bequeathed all of his estate, real and personal, to his wife Elizabeth in his will.[748] Elizabeth Moody married Edward Powers, a tavern keeper, by 10 June 1715. Powers operated a tavern on Lot 30 until the time of his death in 1719, and it is likely that he rented out Lot 45 during his lifetime.[749] The widow Powers retained ownership of Lot 45 until August of 1726 when she sold the parcel to Richard Ambler.[750]

Richard Ambler

See Lot 43.

[748] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (13) 122, dated 24 November 1707 and recorded 24 February 1707/8.
[749] See Lot 30.
[750] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 462-4, dated 21 August 1726 and recorded 19 September 1726.

Lot 46

Thomas Chisman Senior

On 24 November 1691, Yorktown's trustees conveyed Lot 46 to Thomas Chisman Senior of Charles Parish. The elder Chisman gained possession of a half-acre that adjoined lots held by Daniel Parke and Lt. Governor Francis Nicholson. This lot also bordered on the Great Valley.[751] Chisman, the husband of Elizabeth née Read Chisman, did not build on Lot 46 and forfeited the title to the trustees of Yorktown.

John Owen

On 22 September 1705, John Owen, a merchant of Prince George County, acquired Lot 46 from the Yorktown trustees.[752] Owen failed to build on this property, and the title to Lot 46 reverted to the town trustees.

Thomas Nelson the Immigrant

See Lot 47.

[751] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 270, dated 24 November 1691 and recorded 21 December 1691.
[752] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 141, dated 22 September 1705 and recorded 24 September 1705.

Lot 47

Daniel Parke

The trustees of Yorktown granted Lot 47 to Daniel Parke in November 1691. This lot adjoined the half-acre purchased by Thomas Chisman Senior.[753] Parke did not build on Lot 47 and forfeited his title.

Charles Cox

Charles Cox became the second owner of Lot 47 when he paid £ 180 to the town's trustees in 1706. The deed described Cox as an inn holder of Bruton Parish.[754] Cox opened a public house on Lot 47 when he received a license to keep an ordinary "at his dwelling house in York Town" in May of the following year.[755] This ordinary keeper acquired a second lot in Yorktown in March 1708 when he bought Lot 81 from William Tunley.[756] Cox expanded his business in 1707 when he and John Wills petitioned the York County justices of the peace for a license to keep the ferry between Yorktown and Tindall's Point in Gloucester County.[757] It is likely that Cox and Wills hired male slaves to transport men and horses across the York River.

Perhaps Cox's work as an ordinary keeper and ferry keeper helped him to keep an eye on slaves who traveled to and from Yorktown with their masters. On three occasions, Cox took up runaway slaves and informed members of the York County Court. In October 1710, Cox preferred a claim to the court "for takeing up a runaway negro woman belonging to Damosinah Dixon of this County & it appearing ... that the sd negro was apprehended more than ten miles from her sd mistresses dwelling." At the same court session, Cox also registered a claim for having taken up "a runaway Indian Boy belonging to Richd. Wharton of this County," who was also found more than ten miles from his owner's property.[758] Two years later, in October 1712, Cox filed another claim with the county court "for takeing up a runaway negro man," in this instance Dick, "belonging to John Newman of this county."[759]

Cox died by March 1716/7 court session, the date when his wife Sarah petitioned the York County justices of the peace to become the administrator of her deceased husband's estate. The 1717 inventory of Cox's personal possessions included household items as

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[753] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 270, dated 24 November 1691 and recorded 21 December 1691.
[754] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 179, dated 24 May 1706 and recorded 24 September 1706.
[755] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (13) 65, 24 May 1707.
[756] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 281-2, dated and recorded 24 June 1707. See Lot 81.
[757] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (13) 106, 15 December 1707.
[758] York County Orders and Wills (14) 37, 5 October 1710.
[759] Ibid., p. 196, 1 October 1712.

well as "1 boat, 2 oars & graplin." Cox did not own slaves at the time of his death.[760] Sarah Cox might have lived on Lot 47 until her death. It is also possible that she made her home on Lot 81 and rented Lot 47 to an ordinary keeper. In March 1729/30, Charles Cox, a planter of York County and possibly the son of the ordinary keeper of the same name, conveyed Lot 47 to Thomas Nelson the Immigrant. The deed noted that this half-acre adjoined Nelson's storehouse.[761]

Thomas Nelson the Immigrant

In March 1729/30, Thomas Nelson purchased Lot 47 from Charles Cox, a York County planter. Perhaps Nelson acquired this lot because it adjoined his storehouse. Extant documents do not indicate how Nelson used this property. It is possible that Nelson leased the property to a tenant until his oldest son William decided to build a house of his own on Lot 47. William Nelson moved his family and his slaves to Lot 47 in ca. 1741.[762] Thomas Nelson Senior owned Lot 47 until the time of his death in 1745. The elder Thomas Nelson bequeathed Lot 47 as well as his other Yorktown lots to his oldest son William in his will.[763]

President William Nelson

It is possible that William Nelson lived on either Lot 31 or Lot 52 after he returned from England. Nelson no doubt began to think of having his own house after his February 1737/8 marriage to Elizabeth Burwell.[764] Construction on Nelson's home on Lot 47 began in the late 1730s and was complete in ca. 1741. William Nelson became the owner of Lot 47 (and ten and a half other lots in Yorktown) after his father's 1745 death.

President William Nelson and the Acquisition of Slaves

Like his father before him, President William Nelson acquired slaves, both for his Yorktown property and his rural plantations. The York County Court records contain details about the slaves whom Nelson took to the courthouse for the purpose of having their ages adjudged. Nelson purchased a slave named Louther and in August 1735 the York County justices of the peace decided that this boy was ten years old. Nelson added another slave when his girl Maria was adjudged to be ten years old in May of 1738.[765]

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[760] York County Orders and Wills (15) 96, 18 March 1716/7; ibid., pp. 120-1, recorded 20 May 1717.
[761] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 33-6, dated and recorded 16 March 1729/30.
[762] Evans, "The Nelsons," p. 23.
[763] "A Copy of a Copy of the Will of Thomas Nelson, of York," p. 143.
[764] *Virginia Gazette*, 10 February 1737/8.
[765] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 215, 18 August 1735; ibid., p. 412, 15 May 1738.

During the 1740s, Nelson purchased three recently imported slaves. In 1743, the justices of the peace determined that Annabelle was fourteen years of age and that Lucy was three years younger. Six years later, Nelson bought a slave whom he named Priscilla. The York County clerk failed to record her age in the county record book. In July 1752, a girl named Beck was adjudged to be eight years old. A year later, the justices of York County decided that Harry was nine years of age.[766]

According to a 1758 list kept by the Reverend John Camm, Nelson had thirty-eight tithes in Yorkhampton Parish in that year. Unfortunately, it is not known how many of this group labored in Yorktown and how many labored on the nearby plantations. During the 1760s, Nelson added to his enslaved labor force. In June 1760, the justices of the peace determined that Roger was eleven years old and that Mingo and Frank were both fourteen years of age. In September of the following year, Nelson took two girls to the York County Court—Lucy, age ten, and eight-year old Beck.[767]

In June 1766, Frances Nelson, the stepmother of William Nelson, died. If any of the slaves—Grace, Penny, Suckey, Frank, Will, Cesar, and Tryal—whom Frances Nelson inherited in 1745 were alive in 1766, they became the property of William Nelson Senior, left the house on Lot 52, and moved to the dwelling on Lot 47. In addition, Nelson would have acquired any children that Grace, Penny, or Suckey bore during the time they worked for Frances Nelson.

Nelson also had white males who worked for him. In December 1743, Robert Page, the son of Mann Page deceased, became Nelson's apprentice. Three years later, in March 1746/7, Daniel Moore indentured his son, Augustine, to Nelson so he could learn to be a merchant. Augustine Moore remained with Nelson as an employee after he finished his indenture and was part of Nelson's labor force in 1764 when a Nelson servant named John Thomas ran away. The justices noted that "the said Servant hath Run away twenty six days and that his said master hath expended four Pounds and six pence in retaking him It is Ordered that he serve his said Master fifty two days from the Expiration of the time now due by Indenture and that his said Master deduct the said four pounds and six pence out of his Wages."[768] It is likely that Nelson did not continue Thomas's employment as he did for Moore. In 1773, Moore became a partner in the Nelson business with Hugh and Thomas Nelson, sons of President William Nelson.[769]

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[766] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 193, 20 June 1743; York County Judgments and Orders (1) 205, 19 June 1749; York County Judgments and Orders (2) 66, 20 July 1752; ibid., p. 261, 16 July 1753.
[767] York County Judgments and Orders (3) 144, 16 June 1760; ibid., p. 290, 21 September 1761.
[768] York County Judgments and Orders (4) 228, 18 June 1764.
[769] Evans, "The Nelsons," pp. 187-8.

President William Nelson and the Acquisition of Rural Land

Nelson, a native-born Virginian, recognized the importance of land and acquired property in several counties in the Piedmont region during his lifetime. In June 1752, Nelson patented 1,000 acres in Orange County. He bought land in Albemarle County in 1755 and a second parcel in the same county two years later. In 1758, Nelson acquired land in Louisa County. When Nelson learned, in 1764, of an opportunity to obtain 3,500 acres in Albemarle County, he made this purchase. He also counted 369 acres in Fauquier County among his holdings.[770]

In addition, Nelson entered into deeds for land in York County. In 1743, Nelson added twelve lots in the Gwyn Read Addition to his holdings. He had a stable built on this property, and it is likely that this parcel included other outbuildings that Nelson did not want to have near his house.[771] In February 1761, Nelson sold a total of seventy-two and a half acres in Yorkhampton Parish to Charles Miles. Three months later, in May 1761, he purchased twenty-five acres of land known as Terrapin Point from a group that included John Norton.[772] By the late 1760s, Nelson transferred a York County plantation to his son Thomas who decided to use the property as a farm "to produce Wheat Corn etc." for the use of his family.[773]

President William Nelson and the Slave Trade

President William Nelson handled the consignment of at least three shipments of slaves, including one with his father and one with his brother. On 8 June 1739, Nelson and his father, Thomas Nelson the Immigrant, informed readers of the *Virginia Gazette*

> THAT the Black Prince, Capt. John Simpson, of London, is lately arrived from the Gold Coast, with a Cargo of choice Slaves, the sale of which began at York Town on the 7th Instant, and is to continue there 'till the whole Cargo is disposed of. She is intended to take in Tobacco at Seven Pounds per Ton, for London; will make a reasonable Allowance to those that bring their Tobacco on board, and will sail the first Week in August, tho' but half Loaded. She is but 3 Years old, and is well fitted. Thomas and William Nelson.

The sale of the slaves was slow, and the Nelsons placed their announcement in the 15 and 22 June 1739 editions of the newspaper to let readers know that they still had a chance to purchase an enslaved laborer.

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[770] Ibid., pp. 63, 88, 109, 134.
[771] Robert Anderson Papers.
[772] York County Deeds (6) 336-8, dated [blank] February 1761 and recorded 18 May 1761; ibid., pp. 338-42, dated and recorded 18 May 1761.
[773] Evans, "The Nelsons," p. 132.

Thirteen years later, in June 1752, President William Nelson and his brother, Secretary Thomas Nelson, placed the following announcement in the *Virginia Gazette*:

> Just arriv'd in York River, from Africa,
> The Ship Boyne, William Wilkinson Commander, with a Cargoe of fine healthy Slaves, the Sale of which will begin at York Town, To-morrow, and at West-Point, on Wednesday next; and continue there 'til all are sold.[774]

A month later, in July of 1752, Nelson was part of the group who informed Virginians that a ship had just arrived from Angola. They announced the following details about the vessel and its cargo:

> THE Ship Molly, Captain Isaac Lane with a Cargoe of fine Slaves, the Sale of which will begin at York Town, on Monday the 6th of July, and at West Point, on Wednesday, the 8th; and be continued there 'til all are sold.
>
> N. B. She is an entire new Ship, and will taken in Tobacco at 6 l. per Ton, with Liberty of Consignment to any Merchant in London: Notes may be delivered to the Captain on Board, and at the adjacent County Courts, or to Nelson, Tucker, & Company

It is possible that William Nelson, like his father before him, played a more active role in the slave trade than extant documents indicate.[775]

Extant documents indicate the work that Nelson did as the local agent for one of the last slave ships to anchor in Yorktown's harbor. On 10 June 1761, the *Eadith* entered the York River District with a cargo of 154 enslaved Africans.[776] Nelson served as the local agent for the vessel, and the surviving account documents the many activities that took place in guiding a ship into Yorktown, provisioning the crew on the ship, advertising the sale, and piloting the vessel as it left the York River for its return voyage to its home port of Liverpool.

On 24 July 1761, Nelson submitted bills for expenses that he incurred as the *Eadith's* local agent. Nelson noted that he spent £ 1.15 for "express with advertisements" so he could let prospective purchasers know about the sale. The £ 1.10 that Nelson put towards "printing & publishing ads" indicates that he advertised the sale of enslaved Africans in the *Virginia Gazette*. Nelson paid another £ 4.16.3 for "sale liquors, etc."

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[774] *Virginia Gazette*, 25 June 1752.

[775] Ibid., 3 July 1752; Emory G. Evans, "The Rise and Decline of the Virginia Aristocracy in the Eighteenth Century: The Nelsons," in Darrett B. Rutman, ed., *The Old Dominion: Essays for Thomas Perkins Abernethy*, (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1964), pp. 64-5.

[776] Lorena S. Walsh generously shared her transcription of documents concerning the *Eadith*. See Yale University Microfilm Collection, *Abolition and Emancipation*, Part 2: Slavery Collections from the Merseyside Maritime Museum, Liverpool; Adam Matthew Publications, Marlborough Wiltshire England Reel 18, Invoice Book of the Brig *Eadith*, July 1760.

The list of men who stood along Yorktown's waterfront and bought slaves reveals that residents of the Yorktown area still wanted to purchase new slaves. On 16 July 1761, Secretary Thomas Nelson paid £ 245 for five male slaves and two enslaved women. Thomas Archer spent £ 36 on an enslaved woman, the same amount of money that Thomas Gibbs paid for an adult female slave. President William Nelson, the local agent, decided to add three enslaved women to his labor force at the cost of £108. The crowd gathered in Yorktown also included residents of Williamsburg. Robert Carter Nicholas acquired two adult male slaves and four enslaved women for the sum of £ 210. George Davenport spent £ 36 for an enslaved boy and Joseph Davenport paid the same amount of money for a young female slave. The following day, 17 July 1761, Thomas Gibbs was the only person to purchase a slave from the *Eadith's* cargo. Gibbs expended £ 8.12.5 for a girl who was described as "meagre." Near the end of the sale, Secretary Nelson decided to spend £ 35 for an enslaved woman.

On 18 July 1761 and 23 July 1761, the auctioneer sold most of the slaves to merchants in wholesale lots. The firm of Taylor and Snelson purchased twenty slaves—eight men, four women, four boys, and four girls—for the sum of £ 666.13.4. Eight enslaved Africans—four adult males, one boy, and three girls—became the property of Smith and Allen. A total of eight mercantile firms bought twenty-four men, twenty-three women, twenty-four boys, and twenty-six girls at the sales of the slaves transported by the *Eadith.* Having purchased these enslaved Africans, the merchants then took the *Eadith's* slaves to the upcountry portion of the Piedmont for resale. The captain and crew of the *Eadith* prepared the vessel for the return voyage to Liverpool and departed Yorktown on 24 July 1761, just over six weeks after it arrived in York County's port.

President William Nelson and Rural Plantations

President William Nelson, like other Virginia planters, had slaves to tend to his plantations in the Piedmont region. Nelson managed the work of his enslaved laborers in Orange, Albemarle, Louisa, and Fauquire counties from his Yorktown home. During the 1750s and early 1760s, Nelson had his slaves focus on tobacco production[777] As the price for tobacco dropped and conflicts with Great Britain increased, Nelson and his sons began to diversify the production on their plantations. Nelson commented on this diversification in a 24 January 1770 letter to John Norton:

> I am glad to find that the Merchants are at last going to bestir themselves, in order to procure the Repeal of the Revenue *Acts*, and I hope they remember a Repeal of one *Act* only, vizt, That for laying a Duty on Glass Paper Colours &ca will be doing the work by halves, and cant give us the Satisfaction & Security We think We ought to have. They have already taught us to know that We can make many things for ourselves, & that We can do very well without many other things we used to indulge in. I now wear a good suit of Cloth of my Son's wool,

[777] Evans, "The Nelsons."

> manufactured, as well as my shirts in Albmarl & Augusta Counties, my Shoes, Hose Buckles, Wigg, & Hat etca of our own County, and in these We improve every year, in Quantity as well as Quality[.][778]

Nelson's letter reveals his pride in the ways in which his family managed the labor of their slaves and found ways in which enslaved laborers could make items that the Nelsons previously imported from England.

President William Nelson and the Institution of Slavery

William Nelson followed in his father's footsteps and served as a justice for oyer and terminer trials between December 1734 and March 1745.[779] Nelson's eligibility to serve as an oyer and terminer justice ended later in 1745 when he became a member of the Council. It is known that Nelson attended several other meetings of the oyer and terminer court, including three sessions that focused on Nelson's slaves and property. First, in September 1753, Nelson's slave man Peter appeared in court. The justices of the oyer and terminer court heard the charge against Peter. Nelson's enslaved man was accused of breaking into and entering the kitchen of Martha Goosley between the hours of 10 pm and midnight. Once in Goosely's kitchen, it was said that Peter took "two diaper table cloths of the value of 10s, 1 napkin of the value of 1s, 1 pair of cotton stockings of the value of 7s & 1 petticoat of the value of 4s, 3 childrens frocks & 3 shirts of the value of 20s." The justices decided that Peter was guilty of felony but not guilty of burglary. Peter received his punishment—thirty-nine lashes on his bare back—at the public whipping post and returned to Nelson.[780]

Next, in October 1761, Nelson was the victim of slave crime. Davy, a male slave who belonged to Nelson's stepmother, Frances Nelson, and Dick, one of the slaves held by Anne Gibbons, appeared in an oyer and terminer court. The charge presented against Davy stated that on 3 October 1761, this enslaved man broke into

> the storehouse of the Honble. William Nelson Esqr. there situate btwn. the hours of 9 and 12 in the Night of the same day feloniously did break and enter and 20 yards of Irish Linnen of the Value of £ 4-10-0 and half a piece of Callico of the Value of £ 3 and £ 18-10-0 Current Money of Virginia of the Goods and Chattels of the sd. William Nelson.

On 11 October 1761, Dick received the goods from Davy with the knowledge that the items were stolen. After hearing witnesses, the justices of the peace decided that both men were guilty. As his punishment, Dick was "burnt in his left hand wch. being done in the presence of the Ct. he is discharged out of Custody and it is further considered by the

[778] Mason, ed., *John Norton & Sons*, p. 122.
[779] Willis, "The Masters' Mercy," p. 123.
[780] York County Judgments and Orders (2) 322-3, 18 September 1753.

Ct. that the sd. Davy be hanged by the Neck until he be dead." The justices decided that the York County sheriff would have Davy executed on "Monday the 9th day of November next. The sd. Davy was by the Ct. valued at £ 80 Current Money."[781]

Nearly two years later, in September 1763, Nelson was again the victim of slave crime. The justices of the oyer and terminer court charged America, an enslaved man owned by Richard Ambler, of breaking into Nelson's kitchen between the hours of nine o'clock in the evening and twelve midnight on 16 September 1763. Having entered the kitchen, America stole "1 childs bed of the value of 5s & 3 yds of diaper of the valued of 5s of the goods & chattels of the sd William Nelson esqr." The court decided that America was "guilty of the felony aforesd & not guilty of the burglary & his offence being w/in the benefit of the act it is considered that he be burnt in his left hand wch was done in the presence of the ct." In addition, "it is further considered that he receive on his bare back at the public whiping post 39 lashes well laid on & it is comanded the sheriff that immediate exec thereof be done & that the sd. America be then discharged out of custody nothing further appearing agt him."[782]

Lastly, in March 1769, slaves named Peter and Paul, two slaves owned by John Chisman, stood in the York County Courthouse before the justices of the oyer and terminer court. They faced a trial on the charge of stealing a sheep from William Nelson. After hearing the evidence, the justices decided that Peter and Paul were "Guilty in Manner and form as in the Information aforesaid against them is alledged and the said offence being within the benefit of the Act of Assembly It is Considered by the Court that the said Paul and Peter be severally burnt in the left hand which being done." The magistrates also "Ordered that the Sherif give each of them twenty five Lashes at the Public Whipping Post on their bare backs well laid on and then discharge them out of his Custody."[783]

In addition to attending oyer and terminer trials and watching slaves receive death sentences as punishment, Nelson had the opportunity to review the convictions of enslaved men and women during the time he served as Acting Governor of the Colony. As President of the Council, Nelson became the acting Governor of Virginia between the 15 October 1770 death of Governor Botetourt and the 25 September 1771 arrival of Governor Dunmore. At the 4 March 1771 meeting of the Council, Nelson

> was also pleased to desire the Advice of the Board upon the Petition of Gavin Lawson, John Ashby and Thomas Thrailheld, praying a Pardon for three Negro Men Slaves under Sentence of Death in King George County, for a Burglary by them committed on the Store-House of the said Gavin, at Falmouth in that County.

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[781] York County Judgments and Orders (3) 294-5, 19 October 1761.
[782] York County Judgments and Orders (4) 88-9, 19 September 1763.
[783] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 214, 1 March 1769.

The petition noted that James belonged to Gavin Lawson, George was the property of John Ashby, and Thomas Thrailheld owned Roger. The three slave owners wanted their slaves pardoned on account of "their general good Behaviour, the Temptation of a favourable Opportunity, and their Candour in confessing their Guilt, when otherwise there could have been no sufficient Evidence against them." Nelson and members of the Council also examined a letter from Mr. Andrew Buchanan, "who prosecuted the said Slaves on Behalf of the Crown" because this letter confirmed "the several Allegations of the said Petition." After a discussion of the evidence, "the Council advised his Honour to grant the Prayer of the Petition."[784]

President William Nelson, Slaves, and Williamsburg

Between 15 October 1745, the date he became a member of the Council, and his 19 November 1772 death, President William Nelson made many trips to Williamsburg. By 1749, Nelson owned a house that stood a short distance from the Capitol building. It is possible that Nelson and his brother, Secretary Thomas Nelson, stayed in this structure when they attended meetings of the Governor's Council.

Nelson owned a chariot and would have had an enslaved coachman drive him to Williamsburg. It is likely that he also had several slave boys serve as postillions on the trip. Nelson would also have had his personal slave make the trip to Virginia's colonial capital. While in Williamsburg, Nelson's personal slave would have run errands for his master, and the coachman would have tended to the horses.

President Nelson's slaves also traveled to Williamsburg by themselves to deliver food and other items to the Governor's Palace. As Ann Smart Martin notes, a number of prominent colonists

> such as the Speaker of the House or the President of the Council curried favor by sending special foods, usually carried by their slaves. These slaves were tipped well for their services. The generosity of the Governor meant that the value of the tips in some cases equaled the value of the foods themselves. This regular movement of cash into the slave economy ensured that the power of the governor to command attention rested at the top and bottom of the Williamsburg hierarchy. The provisioning of the colony's most important political leader took on special significance. One group gained or buttressed political patronage, the other added to pocket change.

The tips that slaves received for delivering goods to the Governor's Palace meant that they had cash to purchase items and to participate in the local economy.[785] In May 1769,

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[784] McIlwaine et al., eds., *Executive Journals*, VI:390.

[785] Ann Smart Martin, "Consumption Patterns in Individual Households," in Lorena S. Walsh, Ann Smart Martin, and Joanne Bowen, "Provisioning Early American Towns. The Chesapeake: A Multidisciplinary

slaves from Nelson's household delivered a humming bird and a sheep's head to the Palace. These individuals each received five shillings and nine pence. During the next month, enslaved laborers carried flowers and fish to the governor's home. William Marshman, the Palace butler, gave out tips of two shillings and six pence for these items. In addition, Nelson's man "with the cart" stopped at the Palace gates and left with five shillings and nine pence. Marshman's payment of £ 3 on 19 June 1769 suggests that one of the President's slaves labored at the Palace for several months. Early August 1769 was the time that two Nelson slaves received tips for the yams and the melon that they carried to the Palace. Two months later, Nelson directed a slave to take fish and figs to Governor Botetourt's home. In November 1769, the governor dined on a turkey presented by one of Nelson's enslaved laborers. On 7 December 1769, the slave who delivered lavender water received one shilling and three pence from Marshman.[786]

Nelson realized that Virginia's governor, like the colony's gentry, depended on slaves to indicate his position at the top of the social order. As acting governor of Virginia, Nelson hired the coachman from Botetourt's estate to drive him between Yorktown and Williamsburg.[787] It is also possible that Nelson paid to have the late governor's postillions accompany the chariot on the trips from York's port and Virginia's colonial capital.

On one of his trips to Williamsburg, it is possible that Nelson visited the Bray School established by a British philanthropic group known as the Associates of Dr. Thomas Bray. The aim of the school was to teach black children—boys and girls—in reading, religion, and writing so they would become obedient, dutiful slaves. The Williamsburg school also counted a small number of free black children among its students. In the early 1760s, the Associates of Dr. Thomas Bray planned to open another school for young slaves in Yorktown. Initially, President Nelson was interested in the endeavor, and in April 1762, the British philanthropists sent seventy-eight books for a Yorktown school. It is likely that the shipment included spelling books, Psalters, Bibles, and a volume of sermons delivered by Maryland's Reverend Thomas Bacon. A Yorktown school did not open because the Associates of Dr. Thomas Bray did not find a town resident to agree to find a building for the school, hire a teacher, and supervise the school's operation.[788] The extant correspondence of Dr. Thomas Bray's Associates does not include any information about why President Nelson did not help to establish a school for enslaved children in Yorktown.

Case Study," (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Final Performance Report, National Endowment for the Humanities Grant RO-22643-93, 1997), pp. 145-6.

[786] William Marshman, "Palace Accounts," (Personal Collection of His Grace the Duke of Beaufort, Badminton, Gloucestershire, England; transcription, Williamsburg: Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

[787] Evans, "The Nelsons," p. 156.

[788] Van Horne, ed., *Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery*, pp. 24, 81, 244. See also Part I.—Section 4. African and African American Life in Yorktown.

President William Nelson and the Great Dismal Swamp Company

On 1 November 1763, President William Nelson and his brother, Secretary Thomas Nelson, were among a group of men who petitioned the Council for a grant of land in the Great Dismal Swamp. A total of 151 men each received 1,000 acres in the Great Dismal Swamp. The Nelson brothers and George Washington were among the group's trustees. Each member of the Great Dismal Swamp Company was to send five enslaved laborers to help drain the swamp.[789] On 4 July 1764, Washington recorded an "Appraisment of slaves sent to the Dismal Swamp." This list included the five slaves whom William Nelson sent to the Great Dismal Swamp and their values: Harry (£ 60), Jupiter (£ 60), George (£ 50), Jolly (£ 60), and Bella (£ 45). Next on the record were the slaves whom Thomas Nelson sent: George (£ 75), Phill (£ 65), Joe (£ 60), Humphrey (£ 75), and Rachel (£ 60) (HM 5495). It is unknown how long the Nelson slaves labored in the Great Dismal Swamp.

The Will of President William Nelson

President William Nelson wrote his will on 6 October 1772, a short time before his death on 19 November 1772. Nelson left his wife, Elizabeth, a life right to the following property:

> my house wherein I now live, with the lotts & gardens thereto belonging including the store garden, but not the store houses also my stables & the lott whereon it stands the use of all my household furniture plate, coach, chariot, & cart with all their harness my town horses & town cows & the use of ten house servants such as she shall chuse.

After the death of his mother, Hugh Nelson was to gain possession of the "ten house servants with their children & future increase."

The widow Nelson also gained a life right to her husband's "plantations in Warwick & James City Counties commonly called Cheesecake Plantation with the use of the slaves & stocks of every kind thereto belonging & after her decease I give & devise the sd lands slaves stocks & everything else belonging thereto to my son Hugh & his heirs forever." Nelson continued his bequests to his wife when he gave her the use of "my plantation near York Town called Pennys & Tarrapin Point including my meadows with the slaves horses carts & stocks of every kind thereto belonging with liberty of cutting her fire wood off the sd lands & also off a tract called Dowsings." He also wanted his widow to be supplied with "such beef, pork, wheat, & corn as she shall require annually."

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[789] George Washington, "Apprais[e]ment of slaves sent to the Dismal Swamp July the 4th. 1764," (San Marino, California: Huntington Library, Art Gallery, and Botanical Gardens), HM 5495.

Next, Nelson turned to his sons. Hugh Nelson gained possession of "my house wherein I now live, with the lotts & gardens thereto belonging including the store garden, but not the storehouses, also my stable & the lott whereon it stands likewise all the furniture of my house as it may remain at his mothers death my plate excepted. I also give to my sd son Hugh & his heirs forever my mulatto woman named Aggy with all her children & future increase." Nelson's "store houses in York Town & at the water side" became the property of Hugh and his brother Thomas "as tenants in common & not as joint tenants." The elder Nelson noted that he had already given Hugh "all my lands & slaves in the counties of Frederick & Fauquier."

Nelson also owned land and slaves in Albemarle and Hanover counties. He gave his son Robert "all my lands in the county of Albermarle with the slaves & stocks of very kind thereto belonging which lands, slaves & stocks are now in the possession & occupation of my son Thomas Nelson, but as I shall be this will give my sd son Thomas a much larger proportion of my estate I do hereby order & direct that he shall give a release to his brother Robert & his heirs forever of all that whole estate in the county of Albermarle, upon which condition he is to hold my lands & estate in the county of Hanover." General Thomas Nelson became the owner of his father's "mulatto woman Hannah with her children & all her future increase."[790]

William Nelson's decision to free his executors from inventorying his personal estate means that it is difficult to identify the slaves who worked in his Yorktown household and to determine the work that these enslaved men, women, and children did. Nelson left his wife "ten house servants as she shall chuse." This phrase indicates that the widow Nelson could run a gentry household with the labor of ten slaves and that the family had more than ten domestic slaves in Yorktown at the time of Nelson's death.

Elizabeth Nelson no doubt selected female slaves who cooked, tended the kitchen garden, cleaned the house, mended clothes, milked cows, made cheese and butter, washed clothes, and helped her look after her young children. She might have chosen male slaves to run errands in town, to cart goods to the nearby plantations, and to carry foodstuffs to Yorktown. In addition, the widow Nelson probably had a personal slave who helped her dress each day and who accompanied her on visits to friends and family members.

It is interesting that Nelson named just two slaves in his will. First, he mentioned "my mulatto woman Hannah" whom he left to his son Thomas along with her children. Second, Nelson left "my mulatto woman named Aggy" to his son Hugh. By 1775, Aggy was the wife of Caesar, a slave owned by Susannah Riddell. Aggy and Caesar were the parents of at least one child, a son named Aberdeen. Four years later, Susannah Riddell petitioned the General Assembly for permission to free Caesar, also known in Yorktown as Barber Caesar. Members of the Nelson family supported the widow Riddell's petition and helped to secure Caesar's freedom. On 9 August 1783, Barber Caesar purchased Aberdeen from Hugh Nelson for the sum of £ 50. If Aggy was alive in 1783, Nelson

[790] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 132-6, dated 6 October 1772 and recorded 21 December 1772.

chose not to sell her. The next year, Barber Caesar and Aberdeen moved to Williamsburg where they lived until their 1786 move to Richmond.[791]

Elizabeth Nelson

After the 1772 death of her husband, Elizabeth Nelson remained in the dwelling house on Lot 47 and selected "ten house servants" to continue to work on this property during her lifetime. The widow Nelson left Yorktown during the latter part of the Revolution and by 1784 she was in Williamsburg. The 1784 Williamsburg Personal Property Tax List noted that Elizabeth Nelson had seventeen slaves over the age of sixteen in her household: Agga, Billow, Caesar, Dick, Dick, Grace, Hagar, Hannah, Marcia, Molly, Nanny, Peter, Phil, Phil, Phillis, Roger, and Sucky. She also had two enslaved children—Sussex and Tony—in Williamsburg.

Elizabeth Nelson returned to Yorktown by 1786 and lived in the house on Lot 47 until her death in 1798. She named four slaves in her will. The widow Nelson wanted her slaves—Marcia, Hannah, Nancy (with her children and any additional children she bore), Phillis, and any other slaves to whom she had a right—"to be equally divided between my sons Hugh, Robert and William."[792]

Nathaniel Nelson and Doctor William Nelson

Nathaniel Nelson, a son of President William Nelson and Elizabeth Nelson, also left Yorktown during the Revolution.[793] In 1784, Nathaniel Nelson had one adult slave named Iris in Williamsburg. He also had three enslaved children—John, William, and "an infant."[794] Perhaps he had his slaves in the same household as his mother, Elizabeth Nelson.

By 1786, Nathaniel Nelson's wife and their children lived on Lot 47 with Hugh Nelson's family. Nathaniel Nelson died between 18 March 1786, the date he wrote his will, and 16 October 1786, the date his brothers Hugh and Thomas presented his will in the York County Court. Nathaniel Nelson noted it was his "wish and desire that none of my negroes shall be sold if it can be prevented." He left "unto my brother Hugh's man Jack five pounds and to my man Dick five pounds." If Nathaniel Nelson's son William died without any legal heirs and before the age of twenty-one, he wanted his brothers "to have the following negroes respectively, which they gave me, namely, Thomas is to have Jacob and Molly with the present and future increase, Phil and Hagar with her present and

[791] Michael L. Nicholls, "Caesar Hope: 'the famous barber of York;' ca. 1733-1810," (forthcoming).
[792] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 504, dated 26 February 1793 and recorded 16 July 1798.
[793] Nathaniel Nelson and his brother William inherited their father's shares in the Dismal Swamp Land Company. York County Wills and Inventories (22) 132-6, dated 6 October 1772 and recorded 21 December 1772.
[794] Williamsburg Personal Property Tax List, 1784.

future increase, Lidia with her children (except Liddias eldest child Mildred) and future increase." He gave Davy to his brother Hugh and "Jem (alias Jem B[illeg]ick) and Peg with her present and future increase" to his brother Robert.

If Nelson's son died without legal heirs and under the age of twenty-one and if his daughter died without a legal heir, unmarried, and before her twenty-first birthday, he gave "Iris and her children and future increase to my brother Hugh and his heirs forever and to my said own brothers Thomas, Hugh, and Robert the negroes above given to them." He also bequeathed Sukey and her children to his brother, Thomas. At the end of his will, Nelson made additional bequests of slaves. He gave his "man Dick to my brother Thomas Nelson (as a mark of my affection) to him and his Heirs forever Peg commonly called little Peg to my brother Hugh and his Heirs for ever, Melinda eldest child of Peg the greater to my brother Robert and his heirs for ever, Lidda's Eldest Child Mildred to my brother William Nelson and his Heirs for ever."[795]

Initially, the death of Nathaniel Nelson had just a small impact on his slaves. Nelson's children, Elizabeth and William, remained in Yorktown with their uncle, Hugh Nelson. William Nelson reached adulthood and became a doctor. He was a Yorktown resident on 1 September 1801 when he wrote his will. William Nelson died by 19 July 1802, the date when his executors took his will to the York County Court. He left his sister "Iris and her Children and her future issue except those which will be hereafter differently disposed." Iris's daughter Kate became the property of Maria Nelson, his cousin and the daughter of Hugh Nelson. The July 1802 inventory of Nelson's Yorktown estate included ten slaves: John (£ 110), Sukey (£ 80), Kate (£ 75), Nancy (£ 60), Tom (£ 90), Phoebe (£ 40), Hannah (£ 36), Betty (£ 36), Israel (£ 15), and Harry (£ 90). The inventory of Nelson's personal property in Hanover County listed fifty-seven enslaved men, women, and children.[796]

Hugh Nelson

According to the terms of President William Nelson's will, his son Hugh Nelson inherited his father's home on Lot 47 after the death of his mother. It is likely that Hugh Nelson and his family moved to this dwelling following his father's 1772 death. Nelson's decision to live in his childhood home meant that the slaves whom he inherited did not have to move from their family and friends. It is possible that Aggy, a mulatto woman whom Hugh Nelson inherited from his father, was especially glad that she was not forced to move. By 1775, Aggy was the wife of Caesar, a slave owned by Doctor

[795] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 129, dated 18 March 1786 and recorded 16 October 1786.
[796] Ibid., p. 600, dated 1 September 1800 and recorded 19 July 1802; ibid., pp. 610-1, dated 27 July 1802 and recorded 21 February 1803; ibid., pp. 612-3, dated 2 December 1802 and recorded 21 February 1803.

George Riddell. Aggy and Caesar were the parents of at least one child, a son named Aberdeen.[797]

Like his father before him, Hugh Nelson managed his mercantile business and his plantations from his Yorktown house.[798] Nelson and his brother, Thomas, were "tenants in common" of their father's "store houses in York Town & at the water side." The brothers depended on enslaved men to unload crates and barrels containing imported goods from the ships anchored in the Yorktown harbor. Male slaves carried some items to the storehouse on Lot 47 while others remained in the warehouse near the river.

The following year, 1773, the Nelsons added Augustine Moore as a partner in their mercantile business. Moore was one of their father's former apprentices who remained with the firm after the completion of his apprenticeship.[799] The Nelsons and Moore operated their mercantile business until 1777 when Thomas Nelson announced the decision to close Thomas Nelson, Jr. and Company.[800]

During the American Revolution, Hugh Nelson also decided to move his family and slaves out of Yorktown. He was a Williamsburg resident in 1783 when he agreed to sell Aberdeen, the son of his mulatto woman Aggy, to John Hope who was also known as Barber Caesar and Aberdeen's father. Nelson received the sum of £ 50 from Hope.[801] It is possible that Nelson's slaves joined the enslaved laborers whom his mother, Elizabeth Nelson, moved to Williamsburg or that he moved his slaves to one of his plantations in 1780-1781 when British forces were in Virginia.

Nelson was back in Yorktown by the middle of the 1780s and his family returned to the house on Lot 47. During the 1780s and 1790s, Nelson, like other members of his family, experienced financial problems in the years following the Revolution. In January 1795, Nelson mortgaged "the following Negroes to wit, Frank, Jim, Bull Daniel, Harry, Waggoner Sam, Ralph, little Harry, Bristol, Stephen, Peg and her Children Venus and Isreal Pleasant and her Children Betty and her Children Sarah and Tamar together with all

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[797] In 1779, Riddell's widow, Susannah, petitioned the General Assembly for permission to free Caesar, also known in Yorktown as Barber Caesar. Members of the Nelson family supported the widow Riddell's petition and helped to secure Caesar's freedom. On 9 August 1783, Barber Caesar purchased Aberdeen from Hugh Nelson for the sum of £ 50. If Aggy was alive in 1783, Nelson chose not to sell her. The next year, Barber Caesar and Aberdeen moved to Williamsburg where they lived until their 1786 move to Richmond. Nicholls, "Caesar Hope."

[798] Hugh Nelson inherited land in Frederick and Fauquier counties from his father.

[799] Evans, "The Nelsons," pp. 187-8.

[800] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie, ed., 11 April 1777.

[801] York County Deeds (6) 171, dated 9 August 1783 and recorded 18 August 1783. On 18 August 1783, John Hope, also known as Barber Caesar, emancipated "and forever set free a Negro boy called Aberdeen the Son of a Mulatto Woman named Aggy the property of Mr. Hugh Nelson of the City of Williamsburg which said boy I have purchased for the sum of Fifty Pounds from the said Nelson as by the bill of sale from the said Nelson to me dated the ninth day of this present August more fully appears." Hope noted that he "relinquished all right and title to and in the said Aberdeen or his services." Ibid., p. 172, dated and recorded 18 August 1783

the future Increase of he said female Slaves" to Nathaniel Burwell of Carter's Grove in James City County. Nelson also mortgaged 112 acres of land in Yorkhampton Parish to Burwell.[802]

Perhaps Nelson decided to sell slaves in order to raise money to pay a portion of his debt. In March 1796, Nelson conveyed four slaves—Caesar, Dick, Hannah, and Aggy, the children of Page—to William Nelson of Abyville in Charles City County.[803] By July 1798, Burwell released Nelson from the mortgage on his enslaved laborers because he "has repaid the greater part of the debts for which Burwell was his security."[804]

Nelson's financial troubles continued. In May 1799, he conveyed Sam, Lucy Baker, Daniel, and Harry to his nephews, William Nelson and Thomas Nelson who were the sons of General Thomas Nelson and Lucy Nelson. He directed the Nelsons to sell these enslaved laborers and to use the proceeds to pay his debt to Francis Walker Esquire of Albemarle County. If the Nelsons failed to sell any slaves, these individuals were to be returned to Hugh Nelson.[805]

Hugh Nelson was a resident of Yorktown when he died between 15 May 1799 and 20 January 1800. He wanted his "just debts to be paid" and "the Remainder of my estate may be kept together for the benefit of my family during the Life of my wife." After the death of his wife, Nelson directed his executors to divide his estate among their children.[806]

The January 1800 inventory of Hugh Nelson's estate included twenty-nine "Slaves in Town": Barber Jack (£ 150), Page (£ 50), Ralph (£ 80), John (£ 90), Sally (£ 20), Dean (£ 60), Dick (£ 45), Hannah and Agga (twins valued at £ 46), Smith Will (£ 120), Agga (£ 60), Billy (£ 60), Rose (£ 40), John (£ 15), Cook Nan (£ 60), Sarah (£ 60), Roger (£ 80), Bella (£ 40), Molly (£ 10), Milly (£ 70), Bob (£ 40), Peg (£ 25), Jenny (£ 15), Lucy (£ 15), Sam (£ 90), Dick (£ 75), Cook Will (£ 75), Lucy Baker (£ 70), and Daphne (£ 12). In addition, the appraisers recorded the names of ten "Slaves at the Quarter" in nearby Yorkhampton Parish. This group included Old Jack (no value), old Sary (£ 5), Peter (£ 70), Phil (£ 80), Daniel (£ 80), Harry (£ 90), Bristow (£ 85), Stephen (£ 75), Alice (£ 45), and Milly (£ 30).[807] These slaves probably labored and lived on Nelson's 112 acres in Yorkhampton Parish.[808]

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[802] York County Deeds (7) 129-30, dated 31 January 1795 and recorded 16 February 1795; ibid., pp. 130-1, dated 31 January 1795 and 16 February 1795.
[803] Ibid., p. 195, dated 24 March 1796 and recorded 18 July 1796.
[804] Ibid., pp. 267-8, dated 10 May 1798 and recorded 15 October 1798.
[805] Ibid., pp. 286-7, dated 15 May 1799 and recorded 17 June 1799.
[806] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 545, dated 16 September 1790 and recorded 20 January 1800.
[807] Ibid., pp. 549-52, dated 28 January 1800 and recorded 17 February 1800.
[808] York County Deeds (6) 307-8, dated 18 August 1785 and recorded 18 August 1786; ibid., pp. 325-7, dated 11 September 1786 and recorded 16 October 1786.

Details in Nelson's inventory provide information about the work that a few of his Yorktown slaves did. Jack worked as Nelson's barber, Will was a smith, and Nan and a second man named Will cooked the meals that the Nelson family ate. Like other female members of the Nelson family, Judith Nelson would have had at least one personal slave who tended to her daily needs.

Judith Nelson lived in the house on Lot 47 until 3 March 1814, the day a fire destroyed this structure and many of the buildings that stood between Main Street and the York River. Robert Nelson described the destruction in a letter to St. George Tucker the following day when he wrote "the houses belonging to my Uncle Hughs estate the old Store and the Grannery near it are all burnt." The 1815 Land Tax List noted that the improvements on four of the widow Nelson's five lots had been burned.[809]

[809] York County Land Tax List, 1814 and 1815; Hatch, Jr., *'York Under the Hill,'* p. 189.

Lot 48

William Cary

On 24 February 1706/7, William Cary of Warwick County gained possession of Lot 48 from Yorktown's trustees.[810] Cary did not build on this half-acre, and the title to the property reverted to the trustees.

Thomas Nelson the Immigrant

See Lot 52.

[810] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 225-6, dated and recorded 24 February 1706/7.

Lot 49

James Bowman

On 24 June 1706, the Yorktown trustees sold Lot 49 to James Bowman, a resident of Yorktown.[811] Bowman, a blacksmith, held Lot 49 until 25 November 1707 when he conveyed the property to Thomas Mountfort.[812]

Thomas Mountfort and Joseph Mountfort

On 25 November 1707, Thomas Mountfort acquired Lot 49 from James Bowman. Mountfort made his home on Lot 37 where he also had a tavern.[813] This tavern keeper died by 15 December 1707, and his widow gained possession of Lot 49. The widow Mountfort remarried John Doswell of Yorkhampton Parish, and it is possible that they rented Lot 49 to a tenant or tenants until her stepson reached his twenty-first birthday. In June 1711, Joseph Mountfort, son and heir of Thomas Mountfort, conveyed this half-acre of land as well as Lot 37 to Micajah Perry, a London merchant.[814]

Micajah Perry and Richard Perry

In June 1711, Micajah Perry, a merchant of London, purchased Lot 49 from Joseph Mountfort. Within a few months, Micajah Perry and his brother, Richard Perry, instructed their attorney, William Buckner, to sell Lot 49. In September 1712, Buckner conveyed Lot 49 to Thomas Nelson the Immigrant.[815]

Thomas Nelson the Immigrant

See Lot 52.

[811] Ibid., p. 175, dated 24 June 1706 and recorded 24 September 1706.
[812] Ibid., pp. 253-4, dated 25 November 1707 and recorded 15 December 1707.
[813] See Lot 37.
[814] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 371-4, dated 17 and 18 June 1711 and recorded 18 June 1711. This deed transferred the title to 200 acres in Yorkhampton Parish and two half-acres in Yorktown—Lot 37 and Lot 49—to Micajah Perry. For additional information about Micajah Perry and the role he played in the overseas slave trade, see Lot 37 and Part I. Section 3—Yorktown and the Slave Trade.
[815] Ibid., pp. 407-8, dated 15 September 1712 and recorded 15 December 1712.

Lot 50

John Dunbar

On 22 September 1707, John Dunbar of Gloucester County gained possession of Lot 50 from Yorktown's trustees. The deed noted that Dunbar was a "bachelor."[816] Dunbar did not build on this half-acre and forfeited ownership of the property.

Edward Powers

On 24 January 1709/10, the trustees of Yorktown transferred Lot 50 to Edward Powers, a Yorktown carpenter.[817] The trustees re-granted the same half-acre to Powers in February of the following year.[818] Powers held Lot 50 until June 1715 when he sold the property to Thomas Nelson the Immigrant.[819]

Thomas Nelson the Immigrant

See Lot 52.

[816] Ibid., p. 269, dated 22 September 1707 and recorded 24 February 1707/8.
[817] Ibid., pp. 335-6, dated and recorded 24 January 1709/10.
[818] Ibid., p. 366, dated 19 February 1710/1 and recorded 21 May 1711.
[819] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 75-6, dated 10 and 11 June 1715 and recorded 20 June 1715. See also Lot 30.

Lot 51 and Lot 55—The "Poor Potter" Site

Lot 51—Richard Cheshire

In May 1708, the Trustees of Yorktown conveyed Lot 51 to Richard Cheshire, a merchant of Mulberry Island Parish in Warwick County.[820] Cheshire forfeited his title to this lot because he did not build on the property. The lot remained empty until May 1711 when the town's trustees re-granted it to William Rogers.

Lot 55—James Walker

In August 1707, James Walker, a merchant of Middlesex County, purchased Lot 55 from the Trustees of Yorktown. Walker did not build on the lot and the title to this half-acre reverted to the trustees.[821] The next owner of Lot 55 was William Rogers, a brewer who lived in Yorktown. Rogers acquired this lot and Lot 51 in May 1711.

Lot 51 and Lot 55—William Rogers

It is possible that William Rogers rented a lot soon after he arrived in Yorktown so he would have a place to set up his brew house. William Rogers brewed ale by early 1710/11 when "several ordinary keepers within this county" petitioned York County's justices of the peace to have rates set for various ales and wines. At the 19 March 1710/11 court session, the local magistrates set the price for "Roger's best Virg Aile" at six pence per quart.[822]

Perhaps his success in selling ale to local tavern keepers convinced Rogers to settle in Yorktown and to purchase two lots in the port. On 19 May 1711, Rogers bought Lot 51 and Lot 55 from Yorktown's trustees for 180 pounds of tobacco. This price indicates that the previous owners of the lots had not built on either of these parcels. The deed noted that Rogers was a "brewer" and it is likely that he had a dwelling house and a brew house built on his property soon after he acquired it.[823] Perhaps he purchased two lots so he would have enough space to have a dwelling house and a separate building for his brewery. Rogers was one of a small number of brewers in the Chesapeake at a time when few colonists brewed beer and women were responsible for producing most of the alcohol made in the region.[824]

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[820] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 280-1, dated and recorded 24 May 1708. Cheshire also received patents for Lot 59 and Lot 63.
[821] Ibid., p. 246, dated 5 August 1707 and recorded 25 August 1707.
[822] York County Orders and Wills (14) 71-2, 19 March 1710/11.
[823] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 365-6, dated 19 May 1711 and recorded 21 May 1711.
[824] The number of brewers was small due to the difficulty in securing basic ingredients—grain, hops, and barley—as well as the necessary equipment to produce beer. Sarah Hand Meacham, *Every Home a*

William Rogers and His Labor Force: Slaves and Indentured Servants

In the early 1710s, the Rogers household included the brewer, his wife Theodocia, an enslaved man named London,[825] a white indentured servant named Elizabeth Elerker, and possibly one child. In November 1714, Elerker appeared before York County's justices of the peace to answer two charges against her. First, the local magistrates decided that she was not guilty of stealing "sundry goods belonging to her sd master" and that Rogers had to pay the costs of keeping Elerker in the York County Jail before her trial. At the same court session, Rogers asked to have Elerker's term of servitude extended in order to compensate him for the time she was absent from his household and the twenty-six shillings and nine pence that he spent to apprehend her. The justices of the peace agreed with Rogers' request and extended Elerker's servitude six months and four days."[826]

Elizabeth Elerker would have completed her servitude by early 1720/1, the time that Rogers added to his labor force. On 20 March of that year, Rogers took a slave boy to York County Court. The justices of the peace decided that Scipio was twelve years old.[827] In July of the same year, Rogers purchased three more slaves: Henry, a boy of twelve years; Rumford, a ten year old boy; and Phillis, a girl of nine years.[828] Perhaps the presence of London on the Rogers property made it easier for Scipio, Henry, Rumford, and Phillis to adjust to life in Yorktown. In addition, Henry, Rumford, and Phillis might have journeyed across the Atlantic on the same ship and had opportunities to form friendship ties during that time and while they waited to be sold as slaves.

On 20 January 1723/4, Rogers took an enslaved boy named Joe to the York County court, and the justices determined that Joe was fourteen years old.[829] In June of the same year, Rogers' enslaved girl Betty was adjudged to be fourteen and a boy named Tony was a year older.[830] Eleven years later, on 15 September 1735, Rogers took an enslaved boy named Jack to the court and York's justices of the peace determined that he was thirteen years old.[831]

During the 1720s and the 1730s, the Rogers household also had at least six male indentured servants, each of whom appeared before the York County justices of the peace. In September 1722, the justices of the peace extended the service of an indentured servant named John Jones six months to reimburse Rogers for the time that Jones

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Distillery: Alcohol, Gender, and Technology in the Colonial Chesapeake, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), chapter 2.

[825] C.O. 5/1320 f 6.

[826] York County Orders and Wills (14) 368, 15 November 1714.

[827] York County Orders and Wills (16) 25, 20 March 1720/1.

[828] Ibid., p. 59, 17 July 1721.

[829] Ibid., p. 248, 20 January 1723/4.

[830] Ibid., p. 280, 15 June 1724.

[831] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 223, 15 September 1735.

absented himself and the 372 pounds of tobacco that Rogers spent to recover this servant. Jones also received thirty-nine lashes at the public whipping post.[832]

Next, a servant named Samuel Cross ran from Rogers. After Rogers recovered Cross, he took him to the June 1723 court session. York's magistrates decided to add four months and eight days of service added to Cross's indenture. At the same court session, the justices of the peace ordered Thomas Queen, who was absent from Rogers' property for fourteen days, to serve his master another three months and twenty-eight days.[833] Three months later, on 16 September 1723, Queen was back in the York County Court to answer the charge of breaking into the storehouse of Cole Digges and taking "from thence Sundry goods and merchandizes." Based on the evidence against Queen as well as Queen's confession, the justices of the peace decided to send him to the Public Jail in Williamsburg where he would wait until his trial in the General Court.[834]

Four years later, on 20 November 1727, Rogers took his indentured servant, Thomas Waterhouse, to the York County Courthouse. The justices of the peace added two years and eight months to Waterhouse's indenture to compensate Rogers for the time that he was absent from Rogers' property.[835] At the same session, Henry Ham had his servitude extended one year and four months for the same offense.[836] It is known that Ham lived until the end of his term of service. In July 1732, Henry Ham informed the York County Court that he had completed his servitude to Rogers. The justices of the peace ordered Rogers to appear at the next court session to confirm Ham's statement. On 21 August 1732, Ham's petition against Rogers was dismissed.[837]

When William Rogers wrote his will on 16 May 1739, he noted that he had an indentured servant who was a carpenter. Perhaps an indentured servant named William Barbasore was Rogers' carpenter. On 3 August 1739, Barbasore appeared before York's magistrates to answer the charge of breaking and entering Philip Lightfoot's storehouse and taking "Sundry Goods & Merchandises" from this building. Barbasore confessed to this and

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[832] York County Orders and Wills (16) 156, 17 September 1722. It is possible that Rogers' servant was the John Jones who was a felon in Middlesex, England and arrived in Virginia in 1721 on the *The Prince Royal*, a vessel registered at Port Rappahannock. Peter Wilson Coldham, ed., *The King's Passengers to Maryland and Virginia*, (Westminster, Maryland: Family Line Publications, 1997), p. 11; see also Martha McCartney, "William Rogers, the 'Poor Potter' of Yorktown," (draft study prepared for Colonial National Historical Park and funded by Eastern National, 2002), p. 19.

[833] York County Orders and Wills (16) 202, 17 June 1723.

[834] Ibid., p. 229, 16 September 1723.

[835] Ibid.,p. 489, 20 November 1727. Thomas Waterhouse was a felon from Yorkshire, England and he arrived in Virginia in October 1723 on the *Forward*. Coldham, ed., *The King's Passengers*, p. 20; McCartney, "William Rogers," p. 20.

[836] York County Orders and Wills (16) 489, 20 November 1727. Henry Ham, a convict servant, was from Devon, in the southern part of England. Ham arrived in Virginia in July 1724. Peter Wilson Coldham, ed., *Emigrants in Chains: A Social History of Forced Emigration to the Americas of Felons, Destitute Children, Political and Religious Nonconformists, Vagabonds, Vagrants, and Other Undesirables, 1607-1776*, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1992), p. 39; McCartney, "William Rogers," p. 20.

[837] York County Orders and Wills (17) 296, 17 July 1732; ibid., p. 308, 21 August 1732.

other charges when he told the justices that he and David Heartly, an indentured servant of Yorktown's John Trotter, broke into Lightfoot's storehouse as well as the storehouse of his master, William Rogers. Barbasore and Heartly also tried to enter buildings belonging to Thomas Nelson the Immigrant and Richard Ambler. According to Barbasore, Heartly, a blacksmith, made a key that was supposed to fit the lock on Lightfoot's lower storehouse. After the key did not open the lock on Lightfoot's building, Heartly made a second key that fit the lock on Rogers' storehouse. Barbasore confessed that he "open'd the sd. store house in the Night and took thereout two or three butterpotts and a stone sauce pan which the said David Heartily carried to Poquosin [Charles Parish] and sold." He told the officials that he returned to his master's storehouse on another night "and took thereout about 14 pocket bottles," which Heartly also took to Charles Parish and sold. After a third key failed to open the storehouses of Nelson and Ambler, Barbasore and Heartly used this key to break into Lightfoot's lower store, and then they stole two pieces of brown linen. The justices of the peace decided that both Barbasore and Heartly should be tried in the General Court in Williamsburg.[838]

Perhaps the difficulties that Rogers had with his indentured servants led him to invest in enslaved laborers and to do what he could to support the institution of slavery.[839] Rogers captured two runaway slaves whom he saw. In May 1730, Rogers presented two claims to the York County justices of the peace. He took up an enslaved man named Pompey who belonged to John Crawley of Bruton Parish and Will, a slave who belonged to Eleanor Crawley, also of Bruton Parish.[840]

William Rogers as the "Poor Potter" of Yorktown

William Rogers acquired both white indentured servants and enslaved boys and girls because he wanted to have laborers who worked in his businesses as well as in his household. Rogers began his life in Yorktown as a brewer and extant documents do not indicate when he began to work as a merchant or as the "Poor Potter" of Yorktown.[841] It is likely that Rogers soon learned that Virginians needed something other than wood barrels if they wanted to preserve their cider or beer. Once air entered a barrel, the contents would spoil. Colonists turned to earthenware vessels to store alcoholic drinks because they did not have a good source of glass bottles. Virginians tended to use "a porous redware" to hold cider and beer.[842]

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[838] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 513-4, 3 August 1739.
[839] McCartney, "William Rogers," p. 21.
[840] York County Orders and Wills (17) 74, 18 May 1730.
[841] For additional information about William Rogers see Norman F. Barka, Edward Ayres, and Christine Sheridan, *The "Poor Potter" of Yorktown: A Study of a Colonial Pottery Factory*, Yorktown Research Series No. 5, 1984.
[842] Meacham, *Every Home a Distillery*, p. 57.

It is possible that Rogers added a kiln to Lots 51 and 55 soon after he gained possession of this property. In addition to enabling him to produce earthenware containers for his beer, a kiln was an essential item for brewing. As Sarah Hand Meacham notes, a brewer who wanted to make malt "needed a large vessel for soaking the grain, a ladle to draw off the water, a shovel or fork to turn the grain, and a device such as a kiln for drying the grain, as well as the oats or barley."[843]

Archaeological excavations indicate that Rogers had a kiln and operated a pottery by the beginning of the 1720s. An artifact excavated at one of Rogers' kilns is inscribed with the initials "A.C." and the date "1720." This inscription indicates that Rogers opened his pottery by 1720 and that at least one of his workers was literate. Perhaps "A.C." was an indentured servant whom Rogers imported because of his skills. If so, Rogers might have used his connections to merchants in London and Bristol to find a skilled worker.[844] Perhaps Rogers saw himself as a merchant when he began to sell vessels made at his pottery. Other Yorktown residents considered him to be a merchant by 1724 when Thomas Nelson the Immigrant, Philip Lightfoot, Thomas Jones, and John Martin—"of York River in Virginia Merchants"—agreed to settle a dispute between Rogers, described as being "of York River in Virginia Merchant," and John Marriott "Citizen and Stationer of London."[845]

Rogers sold his earthenware to customers in Yorktown, Virginia's Eastern Shore, and beyond. A March 1725/6 account between Rogers and Alexander Wordie indicates that Rogers had clients in Maryland.[846] In the mid-1730s, Yorktown's "Poor Potter" told the justices of the peace that a man named Richard Saunderson of North Carolina owed him money.[847] Rogers did not note whether Saunderson purchased pottery or other goods, including food items. An announcement that Rogers placed in the 4 May 1739 issue of the *Virginia Gazette* indicates that his vessel carried corn: "To be Sold a Pennyworth, A Small Shallop, belonging to the Subscriber, in York Town; She is about Five Years old, and will carry between Four and Five Hundred Bushels of Corn."[848]

William Rogers and Additional Property

Profits generated from the work of indentured servants and slaves enabled William Rogers to add to his property holdings in and near Yorktown. It is likely that he added a storehouse on Yorktown's waterfront soon after he began to produce pottery and to ship his earthenware to Virginia's Eastern Shore and to Maryland. In 1730, Rogers purchased

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[843] Ibid., p. 37.
[844] McCartney, "William Rogers," p. 18.
[845] Nelson, Lightfoot, Jones, and Martin determined that Rogers owed £ 400 to Marriott and that he should pay the debt of £ 400 by 9 May 1725. York County Orders and Wills (16) 345, 21 June 1725.
[846] Ibid., p. 380, 21 March 1725/6.
[847] The justices decided to certify Rogers' bill. York County Wills and Inventories (18) 290, 21 June 1736.
[848] *Virginia Gazette*, 4 May 1739.

a twenty-five acre tract of land known as Terrapin Point from William Stark.[849] Rogers no doubt acquired this land in order to have a place where slaves could produce food for his Yorktown household. In late December 1738, Rogers placed the following announcement in the *Virginia Gazette*: "A Single young Man, that is qualified to be an Overseer, may hear of a good Place, in that Employment, if he will apply himself to Capt. William Rogers at York Town."[850] Rogers and other Virginians knew that the qualifications of an overseer included the ability to manage the work of slaves who labored in a plantation's fields.

In addition to the acquisition of rural land, Rogers added to his property holdings in Yorktown. In September 1738, Rogers purchased Lot 75 in Yorktown from Francis Moss. Six months later, in March 1738/9, Rogers bought two-thirds of an acre of land that adjoined Lot 75 from Edmund Smith.[851] No doubt Rogers purchased Lot 75 and the adjoining land in the Gwyn Read Subdivision so he could have living space that was separate from the working areas on Lots 51 and 55.

The Will and Inventory of William Rogers

When William Rogers sat down to write his will on 16 May 1739, he divided his real and personal estate among his wife and their four children. First, Rogers left bequests to his wife, Theodosia. He decided that she would hold the lot behind Yorktown Lot 63 during her lifetime and then this parcel of land in the Gwyn Read Addition would go to their daughters, Sarah and Hannah Rogers. William Rogers also left his wife the property in the Read Addition (adjoining Lot 75) that he bought from Edmund Smith and the improvements on this land. He reserved one chain of this parcel (adjoining Lot 75). Rogers also noted "And in case I shou'd dye before I build upon it, I then leave all the plank & framing stuff together with the window frames & all the other things design'd for the house to my sd. wife and not to be appraised with my Estate, and if my Carpenter is not free that he shall not be appraised but serve his time out with my said wife." This phrase indicates that Rogers was in the process of building a house on Lot 75 so he could separate his work area from his dwelling house.

Theodosia Rogers also gained a life right to the land known as Terrapin Point, a legacy that allowed her to have a steady supply of food grown and produced on this nearby plantation. Rogers left his wife seven slaves: men named Waterford, Adam, and Blackwall; a woman named Betty and her daughter Peggy; and two girls, Lucy and Molly. After Theodosia's death, this group of slaves and any children born to the females would become the property of Sarah and Hannah Rogers.

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[849] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 71-3, dated [torn] 1730 and recorded 18 January 1730/1.
[850] *Virginia Gazette*, 22 December 1738.
[851] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 514-5, dated 14 September 1738 and recorded 18 September 1738; ibid., pp. 550-1, dated 13 March 1738/9 and recorded 19 March 1738/9. See Lot 75.

Next, Rogers turned to his son and namesake. When he reached the age of twenty-one, the younger William Rogers would inherit Lots 51 and 55 in Yorktown as well as "the warehouse by the waterside." The elder Rogers also bequeathed six enslaved men to his son: Joe, Tony, Harry, George, Tom, and Jack. In addition, William Rogers Junior gained possession of "one India Man named Pritty." If his son died without heirs, Rogers specified that these six male slaves would become the property of his wife and daughters.

Rogers decided to leave enslaved men, women, and children to each of his three daughters. Susanna Reynolds (wife of Thomas Reynolds) inherited men named York and London; a woman known as Betty and her three children Chloe, Kate, and Rachel; and one boy, Jimmy. Rogers specified that she would receive these laborers six months after his death. His two unmarried daughters, Sarah and Hannah Rogers, were to gain possession of their legacies at age eighteen or the time of marriage. Rogers left Sarah a total of seven slaves: men named Monmouth and Ben; and Phoeby and her children Sary, Nanny, Cato, and Frank. He noted that if "Ben shou'd be sold the Mony shall be laid out in buying another Negro for her." Hannah's bequest included three men—Barnaby, Samson, Quaro—and a woman known as Nanny and her three children, Amy, Grace, and Lazarus. If either Sarah or Hannah died before they gained possession of their slaves, these laborers would become the property of their mother and their surviving siblings.

The elder Rogers left his personal estate to his wife, son William, and daughters Sarah and Hannah. In lieu of personal items, Rogers left Lot 75 to Susanna Reynolds. This legacy included "the Brickhouse and all other Improvements upon it." If Rogers died before the house was completed, he also left his married daughter the necessary materials to finish the construction.

Rogers made one direct reference to his pottery in his will. He stated "that my intent is that no potters ware not burnt and fit for Sale shall be appraised." Rogers no doubt intended that his business would continue to operate after his death. He gave his wife "the Use and profit of all the Estate both real & personal hereby devised unto my said Son until he shall attain to the age of Twenty Years [sic Twenty One] aforesaid. if he shall live so long." Rogers also wanted Theodosia to have "the Use & profits of" the slaves whom he left to their daughters Sarah and Hannah "till they are Marry'd or of Lawfull Age."[852]

William Rogers died by 17 December 1739, the date that his will was recorded in the York County record book and the date that the justices of the peace ordered John Ballard, John Trotter, and Ishmael Moody to appraise his estate. Ballard, Trotter, and Moody returned a list of Rogers' personal property at the 18 February 1739/40 court session. These appraisers valued his possessions at £ 1224.5.6, and Rogers' thirty-six slaves accounted for £ 700 of his total estate value:

> Waterford £ 25 Betty £ 25 Adam £ 30 Blackwall £ 30
> Nanny £ 18 Lazarus, Son of Nanny £ 5

[852] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 537-40, dated 16 May 1739 and recorded 17 December 1739.

Amy Daughter of Nanny £ 16 Grace Daughter of Nanny 8 £
Barnaby £ 15 Samson £ 25 Quaqua £ 25 Tony £ 30
Jo £ 30 York £ 25 Jack £ 25 George £ 22 Tom £ 30
Monmouth £ 30 London £ 30 Ben £ 30 Pritty £ 30
Phillis £ 25 Sarah £ 30 Harry £ 25 Lucy £ 12
Little Nanny £ 15 Pheeby £ 10 Phill son of Pheeby £ 25
Frank Daughter of Phoeby £ 8 Chloe £ 15 Kate £ 12 Mole [Molly] £ 15
Cato £ 20 James £ 18 Peg £ 16

The men who appraised Rogers' estate did not include details about the work that these enslaved men, women, and children did. Perhaps some of the adult men—Waterford, Adam, Blackwall, Barnaby, Samson, Tony, Joe, York, Jack, George, Tom, Monmouth, London, Ben, Pritty, and Harry—made earthenware. The appraisers noted the presence of "a pcel crakt red ware" worth £ 2 and "a parcel crakt Stone Do. [ware]" valued at £ 5. The following list of earthenware items was also a part of Rogers' personal property:

26 doz. qt. Mugs £ 5.4 60 doz. pt. Do. £ 7.10	12..14..0
11 doz. Milk pans £ 2.4 9 large Cream potts 4/6	2..8..6
9 Midle Sized Do. 3/ 12 small Do. 2/	0..5..0
2 doz. red Sauce pans 4/ 2 doz. porringers 4/	0..8..0
6 Chamber potts 2/ 4 doz. bird bottles 12/	0..14..0
3 doz. Lamps 9/ 4 doz. small stone bottles 6/	0..15..0
4 doz. small dishes 8/ 6 doz. puding pans 2/	0..10..0

Others might have used the worm still, casks, beer tubs, and hops to brew beer to be stored in earthenware contains.

While several of his enslaved men would have labored in the pottery, other adult men and boys tended crops at Terrapin Point. An enslaved male also would have cared for Rogers' four horses, kept his coach in good order, and driven his master when he traveled. It is likely that one of the male slaves used the fishing equipment to catch fish in the York River and the nearby Chesapeake Bay as well as "a pcel old Saile & riging" worth £ 3.

The enslaved women—Betty, Nanny, Phillis, and Phoebe—and Phoebe's oldest daughter, Sarah, would have been responsible for domestic work in the Rogers household. Phillis and Betty had labored in the Rogers house since Rogers purchased them in 1721 and 1724, respectively. Rogers left an adult female to his wife and each of their three daughters. This is an indication that he wanted to make sure that they had a female slave to work in their homes.

Under the supervision of Theodosia Rogers, Betty, Nanny, Phillis, Phoebe, and Sarah did the family's cooking, laundry, and cleaning. In the kitchen, the cook would have used the various kitchen utensils listed in the Rogers inventory—including a kitchen jack, large and small copper pots with covers, a basting ladle, a copper stew pan, copper and iron

frying pans, and a tin fish kettle. The appraisers noted the presence of salt on the Rogers property, an indication that the enslaved women could have helped to butcher and smoke meat for the family's use. One of the women or perhaps the older girls used the spinning wheel, ironed clothes with the flat irons, and used the molds to make candles that illuminated the house's various spaces including "the Hall," "the work room," and "the little Chamber." The presence of seven bell glasses valued at sixteen shillings indicates that there was a garden on the Rogers property.

The slaves who labored in the kitchen, in the garden, in the pottery, and at Terrapin Point would have worn loose fitting clothes made of osnaburg, coarse linen that Virginians imported. The appraisers listed several pieces of material—"50 Ells Ozenbrigs" valued at £ 2.10, 15 ½ yards of "Duroy," and "11 yds Coarse Stuff" worth five shillings and six pence—that Rogers intended to be made into shirts, pants, shifts, and skirts for his slaves. In addition, his enslaved laborers would have worn the ten yarn caps valued at two shillings and six pence and the "8 pr. Negros Shoes" valued at £ 1.4.[853]

Archaeological exactions on the site of Rogers' pottery provide some information about the lives that the slaves on this property were able to create. The presence of cowrie shells among the artifacts recovered from the "Poor Potter" site indicates that this group of enslaved men, women, and children were able to maintain aspects of their African cultures. Cowrie shells served as money in West Africa and European slave traders took them to Africa; if pierced, the shells could have been worn as a decoration.[854]

Theodosia Rogers

After the death of her husband, Theodosia Rogers gained possession of Lots 51 and 55 until the twenty-first birthday of her son, William Rogers Junior. Soon after her husband's death, the widow Rogers decided to sell a portion of his personal estate. An advertisement in the 4 January 1739/40 issue of the *Virginia Gazette* listed items to be sold "at the House of Mr. William Rogers, of York Town, deceas'd, on Tuesday the 22d of this Instant; and to continue till all are sold":

> all the Household Goods, Cattle, and Horses; also 6 very good draught Steers, 3 Carts, a Parcel of Wheat, and Salt, a large Parcel of old Iron, a Parcel of Stone and Earthen Ware, a good Worm Still, a very good Horse Mill to go with one Horse; also a new Sloop, built last March, with all new Rigging, and very well fitted, with 2 very good Boats, and several other Things.[855]

Theodosia Rogers lived on Lots 51 and 55 until the completion of a new house that stood on the land that adjoined Lot 75. On 9 August 1743, the widow Rogers included the

[853] Ibid., pp. 553-7, dated 17 December 1739 and recorded 18 February 1739/40.
[854] Personal communication, Nick Luccketti, 19 May 2010.
[855] *Virginia Gazette*, 4 January 1739/40.

following entry in the settlement of the estate of the elder William Rogers: a payment of £ 58.13.5 use to purchase "Sundries to finishing the House I know live in."[856] Theodosia Rogers lived on the lot that adjoined Lot 75, with her daughter Sarah and her son-in-law, William Montgomery, until her spring 1752 death. In her will, Theodosia Rogers left all of her estate to her son in law, William Montgomery. The summer 1752 inventory of the estate or Theodosia Rogers included six slaves: Waterford (valued at £ 30), Betty (valued at £ 45), Pegg and her child Betty (valued at £ 60), and Lucy and her child Phillis (valued at £ 65).[857]

William Rogers Junior

William Rogers Junior, the son of William and Theodosia Rogers, died in the early 1740s and he did not leave any heirs. According to the terms of his father's will, the real and personal property that he would have inherited was to become the property of his mother and his three sisters, Susannah, Sarah, and Hannah. In addition, George Rogers, the younger brother of William Rogers Senior and a collar maker of Brantree, in the county of Essex, in England, inherited a portion of his brother's estate at the death of his nephew, William Rogers Junior. In February 1742/3, George Rogers conveyed his interest in his brother's land, slaves, and stock to Thomas Reynolds, a London mariner who was the husband of Susanna née Rogers Reynolds.[858]

Thomas Reynolds and Susanna née Rogers Reynolds

The 1742/3 decision of Thomas Reynolds to secure the interest of George Rogers in his brother's land, slaves, and stock suggests that he wanted to continue to work of the pottery on Lot 51 and Lot 55 from his home on Lot 75.[859] Once he obtained an interest in

[856] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 226-8, dated 14 September 1743 and recorded 19 September 1743.

[857] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 264, dated 27 March 1752 and recorded 15 June 1752; ibid., p. 269, ordered 15 June 1752 and recorded 17 August 1752.
William and Sarah Montgomery decided to leave Yorktown after the death of Theodosia Rogers. In late May 1752, Montgomery announced his intention of leaving for England in early July of that year. On 18 June 1752, Montgomery advertised the 24 June 1752 sale of "the Dwelling-House of the Subscriber, with the Furniture, a Chariot, Harness, and four Horses." On 28 June 1752, William and Sarah Montgomery sold two-thirds of an acre that adjoined Lot 75 to John Snelson, a merchant of Hanover County. In early July 1752, John Norton informed readers of the *Virginia Gazette* that they could rent "The Dwelling House lately belonging to Mr. William Montgomery, in York Town, with a good Garden, Kitchen, Stable, and other Out-Houses, conveniently situated." *Virginia Gazette*, 22 May 1752; ibid., 18 June 1752; York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 519-21, dated 30 June 1752 and recorded 15 January 1753; *Virginia Gazette*, 3 July 1752.

[858] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 64-6, dated 9 February 1742/3 and recorded 20 June 1743.

[859] See Lot 75.

the pottery, Reynolds could have supervised the work of the slaves whom William Rogers Junior inherited from his father. As a merchant, Reynolds had both the vessels and the enslaved laborers he needed to transport earthenware items to customers. Thomas Reynolds died between 19 October 1756 (the date that he wrote his will) and 20 August 1759 (the dated that his will was recorded by the York County clerk).[860] Reynolds bequeathed enslaved women and children to his two daughters, Ann and Susanna, after the death of his wife. The executors of his estate could sell the remainder of his slaves—including enslaved men previously owned by his deceased father-in-law, William Rogers Senior—if necessary. The inventory of the estate of Thomas Reynolds included four of the enslaved men whom the younger Rogers received from the elder Rogers. Perhaps Pretty (valued at £ 25), Jack (valued at £ 50), Harry (valued at £ 70), and Tony (valued at £ 25) continued to make earthenware on Lots 51 and 55 until 1760.[861]

The ownership of Lot 51 and Lot 55, for a time, was in dispute. William Montgomery and Sarah née Rogers Montgomery initiated a suit to gain possession of these lots. On 20 October 1758, the General Court ruled that the sisters were co-owners of their father's lots. William Montgomery died soon after this decision, and on 8 August 1759, the widow Montgomery appointed John Snelson, a merchant of Hanover County, to serve as her attorney. Sarah Montgomery gave Snelson authority to manage and sell the Yorktown property as well as power "to Ask Demand Sue for recover and receive all and every the moneys Goods Debts Negroes Slaves Effects and Estate real and Personal which I am in any manner or Sort intituled unto in Virginia."

Almost a year later, Snelson sent information to the widow Montgomery about her father's estate. On 5 July 1760, Snelson informed Sarah Montgomery that

> I believe you will not have a right to any Profits from the Pott House as you had no right to the Slaves, but I ~~think~~ I think you are intituled to half what the Houses would Rent for, this Matter is not yet Settled but I believe we shall leave it to some of the Council to determine of which I shall [illeg] take every prudent step for Your Interest and advise you of it[.][862]

Snelson's opinion indicates that the Rogers Pottery continued to operate for several years after the death of Yorktown's "Poor Potter." His statement that the widow Montgomery "had no right to the Slaves" is an indication that Sarah Montgomery did not inherit slaves who worked in the pottery from her father. Instead, she gained possession of two enslaved men, an enslaved woman, and four children who labored in other areas of Rogers's urban property or on his Yorkhampton Parish plantation. Snelson appears to have believed that Susanna Reynolds was entitled to the profits from the pottery. The

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[860] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 535-7, dated 19 October 1756 and recorded 20 August 1759.
[861] York County Wills and Inventories (21) 99-102, recorded 21 June 1762.
[862] John Snelson to Sarah Montgomery, 5 July 1760, John Snelson Letter Book, 1757-1775, (Frederick's Hall Plantation Book Group A, Volume 5; Williamsburg: Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation), Microfilm M-24.3.

widow Reynolds had a right to money earned from the labor of the slaves who worked in the "Pott House" because Thomas Reynolds became the owner of Tony, Harry, Jack, and Pritty after the death of William Rogers Junior.

Extant documents suggest that Sarah Montgomery did not make additional attempts to secure a share of the money earned from sales of pottery produced on Lot 51 and Lot 55. It is possible that the widow Montgomery and the widow Reynolds leased their father's Yorktown lots for a short time before they decided to sell this property. On 7 August 1760 Sarah Montgomery and Susanna Reynolds sold Lot 51, Lot 55, and a waterfront warehouse to James Pride, a Yorktown resident.[863]

James Pride

On 7 August 1760, James Pride purchased Lots 51 and 55 from Susanna (née Rogers) Reynolds and Sarah (née Rogers) Montgomery.[864] It is possible that Pride did not own slaves when he acquired Lots 51 and 55. Pride's name did not appear on Reverend John Camm's 1758 list of tithes in Yorkhampton Parish, and this suggests that either he did not own slaves in that year or he hired out slaves in that year.

During the time that Pride lived on Lots 51 and 55, he was removed from his position as Naval Officer and spent time in both the York County Jail and the Public Jail in Williamsburg. Pride also began to acquire land in James City County and enslaved laborers to tend the fields on his plantation.[865] It is also possible that he had a waiting man who worked in his Yorktown household. [866]

James Pride owned Lots 51 and 55 for ten years. This Yorktown merchant sold these lots to George Chaplin, a butcher of Williamsburg, in April 1770. The deed conveyed Pride's title to two lots known as "the Pothouse lots."[867]

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[863] York County Deeds (6) 267-71, dated 7 August 1760 and recorded 18 August 1760.

[864] Pride also owned Lot 59, which he purchased from William Dowsing in April 1760, and 150 acres in Yorkhampton Parish. Ibid., pp. 242-5, dated 23 April 1760 and recorded 16 June 1760; ibid., pp. 303-7, dated 22 December 1760 and recorded 19 January 1761. See Lot 59.

[865] See Lot 76, Lot 77, and Lot 79.

[866] In September 1774, Peter Pelham, the Keeper of the Public Gaol in Williamsburg, informed readers of the *Virginia Gazette* that a slave named Charles was in the Public Gaol. According to Pelham, Charles claimed he "belonged to Doctor Corbin Griffin of York, which I have repeatedly notified to the Doctor; but no Application having been made from him for the said Fellow, it is probable he has told me a Falsity. From his own Story, he was lately the Property of Mr. James Pride, from whom Doctor Griffin received him last February, and kept him in Possession till the July following, at which Time he eloped. He is about 25 Years old, five Feet nine Inches high, slim made, well dressed, and fit to act in the Capacity of a Waiting Man. His Owner is desired to take him away, and pay Charges." *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 29 September 1774.

[867] York County Deeds (8) 42-3, dated 10 April 1770 and recorded 21 May 1770.

George Chaplin

On 10 April 1770, George Chaplin, a Williamsburg butcher, purchased Lots 51 and 55 in Yorktown from James Pride. The deed described this property as "the Pothouse lots."[868] Chaplin was a resident of Yorktown by 19 August 1770, the date that he mortgaged his two Yorktown lots to James Anderson, a blacksmith in Williamsburg. The butcher had use of Lots 51 and 55 during the time of the mortgage.[869]

On 2 January 1771, George Chaplin mortgaged an enslaved man named Paul to Thomas Gibbons. The agreement noted that Chaplin purchased Paul from William Potter and that this slave would belong to Gibbons until Chaplin paid £ 82 to Potter.[870] It appears that Gibbons kept Paul in Yorktown. On 17 June 1771, Paul and Joe, a slave who belonged to Samuel Meredith, appeared before York County's oyer and terminer justices. Paul and Joe were accused of entering the storehouse of William Cary and taking rum, sugar, material, and tobacco. The justices decided that Paul was guilty of the felony and burglary and ordered his execution on 6 July 1771. The court valued Paul at £ 85.[871]

The £ 85 that Chaplin received as compensation for the loss of Paul's labor was not enough to help him through his financial difficulties. Three months before Paul's execution, in April 1771, Chaplin and his wife Rebecca mortgaged eight lots in Williamsburg to William Pearson, a resident of Virginia's colonial capital. Chaplin bought the lots, described as being on the main road to Capitol Landing, from John Blair the day before he mortgaged this property to Pearson. Chaplin had until 15 May 1774 to pay £ 250 to Pearson. Evidence suggests that Chaplin realized he would not be able to repay Pearson. On 17 July 1772, this butcher sold the eight lots on the road to Capitol Landing to Pearson.[872]

Perhaps Chaplin's decision to sell his Williamsburg lots to Pearson prompted James Anderson to ask the butcher to repay his debt. In the summer of 1773, Chaplin failed to appear before the York County justices of the peace, and Thomas Everard, the clerk of the York County Court, placed a notice in the 22 July 1773 issue of the *Virginia Gazette*. Everard requested that the York County sheriff summon Chaplin to appear at the August

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[868] Ibid. Chaplin owned a lot on "the main street" in Williamsburg when he bought Yorktown Lots 51 and 55. *Virginia Gazette*, Rind, ed., 14 September 1769.

[869] York County Deeds (8) 59-61, dated 19 August 1770 and recorded 20 August 1770.

[870] Ibid., pp. 151-2, dated 2 January 1771 and recorded 19 August 1771. Paul was a boy valued at £ 30 when the estate of Edward Potter was appraised in 1757. Potter's executors hired Paul out to York County residents from 1758 to 1768. In January 1764, Potter's executors assigned Paul to William Potter. York County Wills and Inventories (20) 453-4, recorded 19 December 1757; York County Guardian Accounts (1) 237 (20 August 1759), 267 (15 December 1760), 283 (21 September 1761), 329 (20 August 1764), 356 (19 August 1765), 362 (18 August 1766), 374 (17 August 1767), 393 (15 August 1768), 417 (21 August 1769); York County Judgments and Orders (4) 136, 16 January 1764.

[871] York County Judgments and Orders (2) 311-2, 17 June 1771.

[872] York County Deeds (8) 109-11, dated 20 April 1771 and recorded 20 May 1771; ibid., pp. 245-7, dated 17 July 1772 and recorded 20 July 1772.

court session.[873] Chaplin failed to answer the summons, and the justices of the peace decided that the sheriff would sell the property at a public auction. Anderson placed an announcement of this sale in the 30 September 1773 issue of Purdie and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*. Anderson was the highest bidder at the 18 October 1773 auction and became the owner of Lots 51 and 55.[874]

James Anderson

James Anderson, a Williamsburg blacksmith, purchased Lots 51 and 55 at a public auction held on 18 October 1773. Perhaps Anderson rented the buildings on these lots to Yorktown residents who could not afford to purchase their own property. By 1776, Anderson leased a portion of his Yorktown property to William Finnie. On 16 November 1776, Finnie, the Deputy Quarter Master General, paid Anderson £ 1.5.0 for "Rent of Room."[875]

Perhaps Finnie was involved in the decision to purchase Anderson's Yorktown property. On 21 July 1777 the Council of the State of Virginia "being informed that a Commodious dwelling house and outhouses at York Town, belonging to M[r] James Anderson might be purchased for the Sum of two hundred and forty pounds and that the said Houses would answer all the purposes of an Hospital at that Station and save the Expence of building one at this time, Ordered that Doctor Matthew Pope be empowered to Contract with the said James Anderson for the purchase of the said House for the Sum aforesaid."[876] Three months later, on 17 October 1777, "The Governor, with the advice of the Council, issued a Warrant upon the Treasurer in favor of M[r] James Anderson for two hundred & forty pounds for the purchase of his Houses & Lots in the Town of York for the purpose of an Hospital."[877]

State of Virginia

It is likely that all the buildings on Lots 51 and 55 were destroyed during the Siege of Yorktown. The list of public claims in York County includes "The Hospital, a kitchen, dairy, & other necessary Houses, a Garden well paled in, and a large stable all pulled

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[873] *Virginia Gazette*, Rind, ed., 22 July 1773.
[874] York County Judgments and Orders (3) 379, 20 September 1773; *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 30 September 1773.
[875] William Finnie to James Anderson, 16 November 1776, in William Finnie, Deputy Quartermaster General Accounts, 1776-1780, (Richmond: Library of Virginia), quoted in Harold B. Gill, Jr., "The Blacksmith in Colonial Virginia," (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1965).
[876] H. R. McIlwaine, et al., eds., *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia*, 5 vols., (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1931-82), I:453-4.
[877] Ibid., II:11.

down & destroyed by Cornwallis valued at £ 500" might describe the structures that stood on Lots 51 and 55.[878]

[878] "Claims for Losses of York County Citizens in the British Invasion of 1781."

Lot 52—The Nelson House

James Darbyshire

James Darbyshire, a blacksmith, purchased Lot 52 from the Trustees of Yorktown in July 1699.[879] Darbyshire built on Lot 52 and held this half-acre until his death between July and September 1705.[880] There is no evidence that this blacksmith had any enslaved laborers.

Thomas Nelson the Immigrant

Thomas Nelson the Immigrant visited Virginia three times—in 1695, 1698, and 1700—before he decided, in 1705, to settle on the "York River."[881] In August 1706, Nelson was a York Parish merchant when he purchased Lot 52 from Yorktown's trustees.[882] Having purchased a lot on Yorktown's Main Street, Nelson moved to the port and established his business operations in the city. Nelson used his abilities as a merchant and marriage connections to prominent Virginia families to make the Nelsons one of the colony's most powerful families.[883]

Thomas Nelson the Immigrant and the Acquisition of Yorktown Lots

Thomas Nelson the Immigrant began to acquire land soon after he settled in Virginia. Nelson purchased urban land in Yorktown so he would have lots on which he could build a house as well as storehouses and warehouses. Less than two years after acquiring Lot 52, Nelson added to his urban property. At the March 1707/8 session of the York County Court, the Yorktown Trustees recorded the transfer of Lot 46 to Nelson.[884] Eighteen months later, in September 1709, Nelson gained possession of Lot 48 from the city's trustees.[885] In September 1712, this Yorktown merchant bought Lot 49 from William Buckner, the attorney for Micajah Perry and Richard Perry, London merchants.[886] A little more than three years later, in June 1715, Nelson purchased Lot 50 from Edward Powers.[887] In July 1717, Nelson added Lot 57 to his property holdings when he acquired this parcel of land from Nathaniel Huggins, a weaver of Gloucester County.[888]

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[879] York County Deeds and Bonds (1) 195-6, dated 19 July 1699 and recorded 14 October 1699.
[880] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (12) 352, 24 September 1705.
[881] York County Orders and Wills (16) 558-9, 19 November 1728.
[882] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 171, dated 2 August 1706 and recorded 24 September 1706.
[883] Evans, "The Rise and Decline of the Virginia Aristocracy," pp. 62-3.
[884] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 271, dated 4 March 1707/8 and recorded 24 March 1707/8.
[885] Ibid., p. 326, dated and recorded 24 September 1709.
[886] Ibid., pp. 407-8, dated 15 September 1712 and recorded 15 December 1712.
[887] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 75-6, dated 10 and 11 June 1715 and recorded 20 June 1715.
[888] Ibid., pp. 178-9, dated 2 July 1716 [sic] and recorded 15 July 1717.

In August 1719, Nelson and a merchant named Joseph Walker acquired Lot 25 from Benjamin Clifton, a Charles Parish planter.[889] Five years later, a mariner named John Brooks granted Lot 31 to Nelson.[890] This merchant gained possession of Lot 47 in March 1729/30 when he purchased it from Charles Cox. Lot 47 adjoined Nelson's storehouse.[891] Nelson the Immigrant bought three more lots in 1731 when he purchased Lot 40, Lot 84, and Lot 85 from Kingsmill Eyre of Westminster, England.[892]

Between 1706 and 1731, Thomas Nelson the Immigrant acquired eleven lots that he held in his own name and half of Lot 25, the property that he and Joseph Walker (and Walker's descendants) possessed. In May 1735, Nelson began to dispose of his property when he sold Lot 31 to his oldest son, President William Nelson.[893] In February 1738/9, Nelson held eleven lots valued at £ 495 and the Swan Lot which was worth £ 50. The elder Nelson maintained possession of Lot 31 even though he had conveyed the title to this parcel to his son William.[894]

Sometime before August 1745, Thomas Nelson purchased fifteen acres of land from Doctor John Dixon. This property was part of the 100-acre parcel that Gwyn Read acquired in 1737 and it adjoined the eastern end of Yorktown. Nelson the Immigrant bequeathed "the houses, Lots, and plantations bought for him of Doctor John Dixon" to his second son and namesake, Thomas (later known as Secretary Thomas Nelson).[895]

Thomas Nelson the Immigrant and the Acquisition of Rural Land

In the mid-1710s, Thomas Nelson started to purchase rural land near Yorktown and in other areas of the colony. In 1716, Nelson bought 215 acres on land in Yorkhampton Parish from Benjamin Read, the son and heir of Francis Read.[896] Twenty-four years later, in 1740, Nelson bought another 206 acres in Yorkhampton Parish.[897]

Between 1723 and 1743/4, Nelson gained possession of a total of 600 acres in Charles Parish in the lower end of York County. It is known that Nelson had two tenants on his Charles Parish land—John James rented fifty acres in 1724, and John Avery leased a tract of the same size five years later.[898] Nelson might have leased the rest of the land to Charles Parish residents who did not have enough money to buy property.

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[889] Ibid., pp. 303-5, dated 13 and 14 August 1719 and recorded 17 August 1719.
[890] Ibid., pp. 425-6, dated 6 and 7 July 1724 and recorded 20 July 1724.
[891] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 33-6, dated and recorded 16 March 1729/30.
[892] Ibid., pp. 101-4, dated 12 July 1731 and recorded [torn] 1731.
[893] Ibid., pp. 353-6, dated 16 and 17 May 1735 and recorded 19 May 1735.
[894] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 478-9, 23 February 1738/9.
[895] "A Copy of a Copy of the Will of Thomas Nelson, of York," p. 144. See Secretary Nelson's House.
[896] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 102, dated 16 March 1715/6 and recorded 19 March 1715/6.
[897] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 587-90, dated 15 February 1739/40 and recorded 18 February 1739/40; ibid., pp. 596-9, dated 15 May [1740] and recorded 19 May 1740.
[898] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 401-4, dated 12 and 13 July 1723 and recorded 15 July 1723; ibid., pp. 431-3, dated 13 and 14 November 1724 and recorded 16 November 1724; York County Orders and

Nelson also acquired land in other counties. In 1719, he patented 3,273 acres in New Kent County (later Hanover County).[899] This merchant gained possession of land in King William County in the mid-1730s when he foreclosed on a mortgage granted to him by Colonel Thomas Jones of Hanover. Jones had mortgaged 3,375 acres of land and thirty-five enslaved laborers to Nelson in order secure the payment of a debt of close to £ 2,000. After Nelson foreclosed on Jones, he acquired most of the 3,375 acres. In addition, Jones hired the thirty-five slaves to Nelson each year until the rest of the debt was paid. In addition, shortly before his 1745 death, Nelson began to speculate in western lands.[900]

Nelson's decision to acquire rural land indicates his realization that he needed to own land in order to become a prominent Virginian and to pass this position and tobacco plantations onto his sons, William and Thomas. He purchased land in nearby Yorkhampton Parish, so slaves could produce foodstuffs and raise livestock that would be used to feed the members of his urban household. The acquisition of land in other counties made it possible for Nelson to produce tobacco that he shipped to Great Britain and food items that he loaded on vessels that sailed along the Atlantic Coast and to the Caribbean.

Thomas Nelson the Immigrant and the Acquisition of Slaves

In March 1707/8, Thomas Nelson took an enslaved girl named Jane to the York County Court and the justices of the peace decided that she was twelve years old.[901] When Nelson's father-in-law, Robert Read, died in early 1712/3, Margaret Read Nelson inherited a slave man named Will, a woman known as Ibo Hannah, and Grace, an enslaved girl.[902] A fourteen-year old slave girl named Pendrith was part of the Nelson household by September 1714 when her age was adjudged in the York County Court.[903] In July 1717, Nelson's slave girl Venus was adjudged to be thirteen years old. Sixteen months later, in November 1718, the justices of the peace decided that Jack was twelve years old and Frank was ten years of age.[904]

In early 1720/1, one of Nelson's slaves was involved in a court case. Nelson prosecuted Thomas Robins and his wife Mary for £ 5 damages for dealing with one of his slaves. Based on her confession, the justices of the peace decided "Mary did receive of the sd Negroe Slave Sixteen pounds & a half of Tallow of the value of Eight shillings & three pence." They

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Wills (17) 3-4, 17 November 1729; York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 97-8, dated [blank] March 1743[/4] and recorded 19 March 1743/4.

[899] Evans, "The Nelsons," p. 10.

[900] Ibid., pp. 19-20.

[901] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (13) 125, 24 March 1707/8.

[902] York County Orders and Wills (14) 241, dated 30 December 1712 and recorded 16 March 1712/3.

[903] Ibid., p. 354, 20 September 1714.

[904] York County Orders and Wills (15) 139, 15 July 1717; ibid., p. 337, 17 November 1718.

> ordered that the sd Mary be imprisoned for the space of one Kalender month without bail or Mainprize & then be continued in prison untill she gives security in the sum of Ten pounds for her good behaviour for one year & moreover that the deft. pay into the plt. the sume of thirty three shillings being four times the value of the Goods."[905]

This trouble did not stop Nelson from continuing to increase the size of his labor force. In December 1721, Nelson had an unnamed slave appear before the justices. The age of this enslaved individual is torn in the county record book.[906] In 1722, Mary Nelson inherited three slaves at the death of her grandmother, Mary Read. The widow Read left —"one Negro Man named [torn] one Negro woman named Sarah and [one] Negro [torn]bina" to Mary Nelson.[907]

Near the end of the 1720s, Nelson purchased two slaves. In August 1728, York's magistrates decided that Jeffery and Lydia were both twelve years old.[908] The June 1734 court session was the last time that Nelson took recently imported Africans to the York County Courthouse to have their ages adjudged. The justices determined that Nelson's slave boy Isaac was ten years old and that his slave boy Will was a year older than Isaac.[909]

It is possible that William Nelson lived in his childhood home on Lot 52 after he returned from England. He purchased a slave named Louther and in August 1735 the York County justices of the peace decided that this boy was ten years old.[910] If Nelson remained in his father's house after his February 1737/8 marriage to Elizabeth Burwell, the number of slaves in the Nelson House would have increased.[911] Elizabeth Nelson would have received slaves from her father at either her eighteenth birthday or the time of her marriage. William Nelson added another slave when his girl Maria was adjudged to be ten years old in May of 1738.[912] William and Elizabeth Nelson, their children, and their slaves moved to their new house on Lot 47 after its c. 1741 completion.[913]

Thomas Nelson's Business Activities

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[905] York County Orders and Wills (16) 30, 20 March 1720/1.
[906] Ibid., p. 95, 18 December 1721.
[907] Ibid., p. 165, recorded 17 October 1722. Because Mary Read's will is badly torn, it is impossible to determine whether or not Mary Read left an enslaved laborer to her grandson, William Nelson.
[908] Ibid., p. 541, 19 August 1728.
[909] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 124, 17 June 1734.
[910] Ibid., p. 215, 18 August 1735.
[911] *Virginia Gazette* 10 February 1737/8.
[912] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 412, 15 May 1738.
[913] Evans, "The Nelsons," p. 23. See Lot 47.

Initially, Thomas Nelson the Immigrant based his mercantile business in a building on Lot 46.[914] He would have relied on the labor of slaves—perhaps those he owned as well as some whom he hired—to unload goods from ships anchored in the York River and to carry imported items from Yorktown's waterfront, up the hill to the main part of the town, and to his store. By early 1713/4, Nelson had a warehouse on the town's waterfront, an indication of the success of his business.[915] In the latter part of the 1720s four of Yorktown's merchants—Nelson, John Ballard, Richard Ambler, and Cole Digges—petitioned the Council for permission to use land along the waterfront for warehouses. The Council ruled in favor of Nelson and the other merchants provided that their wharves and warehouses did not "encroach upon the publick landings or the Streets leading through the said Town to the River side."[916]

Nelson used the profits from his mercantile business to expand into other areas. In 1714 Nelson became one of the investors—along with Governor Alexander Spotswood—in the Virginia Indian Company.[917] Two years later, in January 1715/6, Nelson and John Roberts, a ferryman, received an appointment to serve as ferry keepers in the room of Major William Buckner deceased. They promised to operate the ferry between Yorktown and Tindall's Point in Gloucester County and to provide necessary boats and workers to convey passengers across the York River.[918] Perhaps Nelson had Will, the enslaved man whom his wife inherited from her father, help to transport people and horses across the York River. It is likely that Nelson had more than one adult male slave to ferry passengers.

Two years later, in 1718, Nelson bought a half-acre of land and a watermill in Yorkhampton Parish from John and Elizabeth Wills of Mulberry Island Parish in Warwick County. Nelson operated the mill with Joseph Mountfort of Yorkhampton Parish into the late 1720s.[919] Perhaps Nelson had slaves carry corn to the mill to be ground and then returned to Yorktown where they stored the barrels of ground corn in one of their master's warehouses.

It is likely that Nelson invested in the mill because he wanted to be able to ship corn flour in the provisioning trade. In September 1720, Nelson, John Martin (a mariner and former Yorktown resident), and Thomas Jones fitted out a sloop called *The Martha*, loaded her with pork, Indian corn, "& other goods" worth £ 1200 sterling, and had her sail to Barbados.[920] Nelson no doubt had slaves load provisions on *The Martha* before it departed on the voyage to Barbados. It is possible that *The Martha* carried slaves on the

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[914] Ibid., pp. 3-4.
[915] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 24-6, dated 18 June 1714 and recorded 19 July 1714.
[916] Ambler and Nelson submitted their requests to the Council on 15 August 1728; Digges and Ballard made their requests on 12 June 1729. McIlwaine et al., eds., *Executive Journals*, IV:183-4, 207-8.
[917] Evans, "The Rise and Decline of the Virginia Aristocracy," p. 64.
[918] York County Orders and Wills (14) 470, 16 January 1715/6.
[919] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 252, dated 14 November 1718 and recorded 17 November 1718; York County Orders and Wills (16) 584, 17 March 1728/9; ibid., p. 599, 19 May 1729.
[920] Evans, "The Nelsons," p. 14.

return voyage to Virginia. During the 1720s, Nelson continued to ship goods to the Caribbean, and in ca. 1730-31, he began to operate a boat known as *The Nelson.*[921]

In addition to enslaved men and boys who loaded and unloaded vessels, Nelson had at least two white men who assisted him. In May 1728, Nelson had a bookkeeper named John Thruston.[922] Extant documents do not indicate the work that Edmund Gwyn did for Nelson. It is clear, however, that he abused his position. In August 1732, Gwyn appeared in York County Court with a woman named Alice Murray to face the charge of "taking the Goods of his Mastr Thomas Nelson gent and Murray for fellonius receiving the Goods." York's justices of the peace heard Gwyn's confession "that he purloined several Goods of his Mastrs" and decided that the amount of the theft did not constitute a felony. The justices ordered York County's sheriff to "carry Gwyn to the publick whipping post and there give him thirty nine lashes." Murray did not receive punishment, because they could not prosecute her for receiving stolen goods.[923]

During the 1730s, Nelson continued to expand his business activities. In 1732 Nelson invested £ 500 in an iron mine near Fredericksburg with Governor Gooch and two other investors. He also carried tobacco to England on several occasions.[924] In the late 1730s, Nelson managed the sale of slaves imported from Africa. He placed the following announcement in the 8 April 1737 edition of the *Virginia Gazette*:

> THE Ship Jonathan, of Liverpool, Capt. James Gildart, is arriv'd at York, from Angola, with 490 choice young Slaves: The Sale of them is to begin on Tuesday the 12th Instant, at York Town, by Thomas Nelson

Two years later, Nelson and his eldest son, President William Nelson, agreed to sell a group of slaves imported into Virginia. They informed readers of the 8 June 1739 issue of the *Virginia Gazette*

> THAT the Black Prince, Capt. John Simpson, of London, is lately arrived from the Gold Coast, with a Cargo of choice Slaves, the sale of which began at York Town on the 7th Instant, and is to continue there 'till the whole Cargo is disposed of. She is intended to take in Tobacco at Seven Pounds per Ton, for London; will make a reasonable Allowance to those that bring their Tobacco on board, and will sail the first Week in August, tho' but half Loaded. She is but 3 Years old, and is well fitted. Thomas and William Nelson.

The sale of the slaves was slow, and the Nelsons placed their announcement in the 15 and 22 June 1739 editions of the newspaper. According to Emory Evans, "from time to time he handled the sale of slaves on consignment from English firms." Evans noted that it is

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[921] Ibid., p. 19.
[922] York County Orders and Wills (16) 532, 17 June 1728.
[923] York County Orders and Wills (17) 307, 17 August 1732.
[924] Evans, "The Nelsons," pp. 19-20.

difficult to determine the extent to which Nelson was involved in either the tobacco trade or the slave trade. He concluded "it is probable that his dealings in the slave trade were considerable and account in part for his relatively quick success."[925]

The Will of Thomas Nelson the Immigrant

On 6 August 1745, Thomas Nelson the Immigrant sat down at a desk in his home to write his last will and testament. His will was probated after his death in October 1745. Nelson left his wife Frances "the use of my Dwelling-House, Kitchens, Gardens, on the same side of the street with the house, stable, chariot, and chariot Horses, and of all the Furniture at my said house and Kitchens and my Town Cows." Nelson also left his wife "the service of my negroes Grace, Penny, Suckey, Frank, Will, Cesar, Tryal, and Little Davy during her life." After Frances Nelson's death the enslaved laborers were to become the property of President William Nelson, the eldest son of Thomas Nelson the Immigrant.[926]

Next, Nelson left his daughter Mary Berkeley "twenty-five pounds sterling to buy her a House Wench." Another daughter, Sarah Burwell, received "the Negro Wench Belinda, with her increase." Secretary Thomas Nelson received a bequest of £ 4000 sterling, because, according to the elder Nelson, he had "already given him the estate in King William county, which I purchased of Col°. Thomas Jones; and the houses, Lots, and plantations bought for him of Doctor John Dixon, etc." Nelson concluded his will by leaving "All my Lands, tenements, slaves, and real estate whatsoever I give and Devise to my son, William Nelson, and his heirs forever."[927]

A comparison of the slaves named in Nelson's will with the list of those slaves whose ages were adjudged in York County Court indicates that Nelson acquired enslaved laborers whom he did not take to the local courthouse. It is possible that Nelson had the deeds for the purchase of Grace, Suckey, Cesar, Tryal, Little Davy, and Belinda recorded in the General Court. There were two slaves in Nelson's will—Frank and Will—who labored for many years in the household on Lot 52. Frank was ten years of age in 1718, and sixteen years later, Will was a boy of eleven years when he joined the Nelson household. The adjective "Little" before Davy's name suggests that he was a child, perhaps the son of one of female slaves in Nelson's Yorktown household. Nelson also acquired slaves to tend the fields at his Yorkhampton Parish plantation. His 1745 will did not indicate the number, gender, or ages of these enslaved laborers.

The details in Nelson's will provide some information about the work that Penny, Frank, Will, and the other domestic slaves did. Nelson noted that he left his wife "the use of my Dwelling-House, Kitchens, Gardens, on the same side of the street with the house, stable,

[925] Evans, "The Rise and Decline of the Virginia Aristocracy," pp. 64-5.
[926] "A Copy of a Copy of the Will of Thomas Nelson, of York," p. 143.
[927] Ibid., p. 144.

chariot, and chariot Horses ... and my Town Cows." Penny, Grace, Suckey, and Belinda would have cooked the meals that the Nelsons ate, tended the vegetables and herbs grown in the kitchen garden, cleaned the house, washed clothes, milked the town cows, made cheese and butter, and made soap and candles. Frances Nelson no doubt had a personal slave who tended to her needs during the day. Frank, Will, Cesar, Tryal, and Little Davy cared for the chariot horses, drove Nelson's chariot, ran errands, helped unload goods from ships docked at Nelson's wharf, carried imported items up to their master's store, and carted goods between the Yorktown household and Nelson's other properties. It is also likely that Nelson had a personal slave who helped him dress in the morning and accompanied him when he attended meetings of the York County Court, watched the sale of recently imported slaves, and supervised the unloading of ships.

During his lifetime, Thomas Nelson the Immigrant used his abilities as a merchant to move his family into the upper levels of Virginia society and make the Nelsons one of the most powerful families in the colony. Emory Evans observed that almost all of the prominent Virginians based their wealth on land and slaves.[928] In addition to investing in real estate and enslaved laborers, Nelson prospered because of his involvement in trade. This merchant managed the work of his slaves from his Yorktown dwelling. Nelson needed slaves to load and unload ships anchored along the Yorktown waterfront, to carry imported items from the waterfront to his store on Main Street, and to grow and prepare the food that he and his family ate. In addition, profits from the sales of slaves, tobacco, and foodstuffs gave Nelson the money he used to build his house, to fill the rooms with elegant furniture, to place imported china on his dining room table, and to cloth his family in garments made from expensive imported material. For Nelson, his Yorktown home and slaves were symbols of his social and economic position.

Frances née unknown Tucker Nelson

When Thomas Nelson the Immigrant died in October 1745, his widow, Frances Nelson, gained a life right to her husband's Yorktown property, including the dwelling house and domestic slaves "Grace, Penny, Suckey, Frank, Will, Cesar, Tryal, and Little Davy during her life."[929] The widow Nelson supervised the work of the female slaves in the house, the kitchens, and the gardens. Perhaps one of her stepsons, President William Nelson or Secretary Thomas Nelson, managed the tasks of the enslaved men on the property and made sure that the coachman was available to drive the chariot for her.

There was at least one slave in the household whom Frances Nelson gained from her first husband, Robert Tucker. In June 1752, Robert Tucker of Norfolk and John Tucker of Barbados gave their mother, Frances Nelson, ownership of Edith, the daughter of an

[928] Evans, "The Rise and Decline of the Virginia Aristocracy."
[929] "A Copy of a Copy of the Will of Thomas Nelson, of York," p. 143.

enslaved woman named Peg.[930] It is possible that Edith had been part of the Nelson household for many years.

The widow Nelson was the owner of Davy in October 1761 when he appeared before the justices of the oyer and terminer court. The charge presented against Davy stated that on 3 October 1761, this enslaved man broke into

> the storehouse of the Honble. William Nelson Esqr. there situate btwn. the hours of 9 and 12 in the Night of the same day feloniously did break and enter and 20 yards of Irish Linnen of the Value of £ 4-10-0 and half a piece of Callico of the Value of £ 3 and £ 18-10-0 Current Money of Virginia of the Goods and Chattels of the sd. William Nelson.

Eight days later, on 11 October 1761, Dick, a slave who belonged to Anne Gibbons, received the goods from Davy with the knowledge that the items were stolen. After hearing witnesses, the justices of the peace decided that both men were guilty. As his punishment, Dick was

> burnt in his left hand wch. being done in the presence of the Ct. he is discharged out of Custody and it is further considered by the Ct. that the sd. Davy be hanged by the Neck until he be dead and it is ord. that the Sher. cause Exec. thereof to be done on Monday the 9th day of November next. The sd. Davy was by the Ct. valued at £ 80 Current Money.[931]

There is no evidence that the widow Nelson had any additional troubles with her slaves.

Frances Nelson lived in the family house on Lot 52 for twenty-one years after the death of her husband. Purdie and Dixon's 13 June 1766 edition of the *Virginia Gazette* reported "On Monday last died at York, in the 84th year of her age, Mrs. Frances Nelson, relict of Thomas Nelson, Esq; late of York county."[932] If any of the slaves—Grace, Penny, Suckey, Frank, Will, Cesar, and Tryal—whom Frances Nelson inherited in 1745 were alive in 1766, they became the property of President William Nelson and moved to the household on Lot 47.

General Thomas Nelson, son of President William Nelson and Elizabeth Nelson

General Thomas Nelson, son of President William Nelson and Elizabeth Nelson, gained possession of the brick house on Lot 52 after the June 1766 death of his step-

[930] Robert Tucker had given his wife a life right to Edith. York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 509, dated 15 June 1752 and recorded 20 November 1752.
[931] York County Judgments and Orders (3) 294-5, 19 October 1761.
[932] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 13 June 1766.

grandmother, Frances Nelson. The younger Nelson and his wife, Lucy née Grymes Nelson, moved from the house on Lot 31 where they had lived since their 1762 marriage and made their home in the house that Thomas Nelson the Immigrant built.[933]

In addition to gaining possession of the house on Lot 52, Nelson received Lot 25 and Lot 31 from his father. By the late 1760s Nelson transferred a York County plantation to his son Thomas who decided to use the property as a farm "to produce Wheat Corn etc." for the use of his family. It is likely that the younger Nelson had several slaves who labored on his land in Yorkhampton Parish. In the early 1770s, Nelson decided to acquire additional land near Yorktown. On 12 August 1773, Thomas Archer of Yorktown sold Nelson a tract of 120 acres that adjoined the land he held in Yorkhampton Parish.[934] After the November 1772 death of his father, Thomas Nelson and his brother Hugh became "tenants in common," not "joint tenants," of their father's "store houses in York Town & at the water side."[935]

Unlike his father and grandfather, this Thomas Nelson did not need to purchase a large number of slaves to work in either his Yorktown household or on his Yorkhampton Parish plantations. He gained possession of enslaved laborers from his father. Nelson did, however, add some slaves during the late 1760s and early 1770s. In December 1767, Nelson purchased a slave man named Cooper from Robert Wise for £ 8.5.4.[936] Almost five years later, he gave Thomas Archer £ 50 for a slave boy named Ben.[937] After the November 1772 death of his father, Nelson gained possession of his father's "mulatto woman Hannah with her children & all her future increase."[938] The last reference to Nelson's purchase of slaves in the Yorktown area was on 25 November 1773 when he bought two slaves from Miles Wills of Warwick Parish and County for £ 39.9.10 3/4. Thomas Nelson Junior and Company became the owner of a boy named Tom who was about ten or twelve years old and Nanny, a girl who was about five or six years old.[939]

General Thomas Nelson and the American Revolution

As a member of one of Virginia's most prominent families, residents of Yorktown expected Thomas Nelson to play an important role as a leader. In addition to serving York County as a burgess, the younger Thomas Nelson helped to lead Virginia to declare independence from Great Britain.

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[933] See Lot 31.
[934] York County Deeds (8) 350-1, dated 12 August 1773 and recorded 20 September 1773.
[935] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 132-6, dated 6 October 1772 and recorded 21 December 1772.
[936] Evans, "The Nelsons," p. 132; York County Deeds (7) 408-9, dated 21 December 1767 and recorded 18 July 1768.
[937] York County Deeds (8) 351, dated 12 August 1773 and recorded 20 September 1773.
[938] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 132-6, dated 6 October 1772 and recorded 21 December 1772.
[939] York County Deeds (8) 424, dated 25 November 1773 and recorded 20 June 1774.

In July 1774, Nelson and Dudley Digges, the second burgess from York County, led a meeting in the York County Courthouse in which men discussed the ideas of non-importation and non-exportation as ways to respond to measures approved by Parliament. Nelson served as the moderator of the meeting and those in attendance decided to have both Nelson and Digges represent York County at the First Virginia Convention, a group of men who met in early August 1774 in Williamsburg. In addition to attending this gathering, Nelson pledged to send one hundred bushels of wheat to help feed the residents of Boston.[940]

Nelson continued to lend his support to the men who opposed King George III and Parliament. In mid-1775, Nelson was elected to represent Virginia in the Second Continental Congress that began in Philadelphia in September 1775. Nelson, his wife Lucy, and a small group of their slaves traveled to Philadelphia with Peyton Randolph and George Wythe. Once in Philadelphia, the Nelsons and their slaves were inoculated against smallpox.[941] It is known that Thomas and Lucy Nelson had two slaves—Frank and Barnaby—in Philadelphia. On two occasions—14 October 1775 and 29 October 1775—Frank received a tip of seven shillings and six pence from Thomas Jefferson. On 30 December 1775, Jefferson noted that he gave two shillings and six pence to "mrs. Nelson's Barnaby."[942] No doubt there were more slaves from the Nelson household in Philadelphia; Lucy Nelson would have had her personal slave accompany them on the trip to Philadelphia. The Nelsons rode in a coach driven by their coachman and attended by several male slaves who served as postillions.

Thomas and Lucy Nelson remained in Philadelphia until 23 February 1776 when they began their return trip to Yorktown. On 6 May 1776, Nelson was in Williamsburg when members of the Fifth Virginia Convention decided to authorize the Virginia delegation at the Second Continental Congress to propose independence from Great Britain. Nelson carried the motion to independence to Philadelphia, helped to secure its passage, and signed the Declaration of Independence. He remained in Philadelphia until May 1777 when he, his wife, and their slaves traveled to Offley Hoo (Nelson's Hanover County plantation) to recover from a stroke.[943]

In addition to suffering poor health, Nelson had financial difficulties during the Revolution. In April 1777, Nelson placed an advertisement in Purdie's *Virginia Gazette* to announce his decision to close Thomas Nelson, Jr. and Company.[944] Soon after ending his work as a merchant, Nelson worried that soldiers stationed in Yorktown would destroy much of the town.

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[940] Evans, "The Nelsons," pp. 194-5, 198-9.
[941] Ibid., pp. 218-9.
[942] "Thomas Jefferson. Daily Accounts & Memoranda in an interleaved almanac. 1775." HM590, Henry E. Huntington Library, Art Gallery, and Botanical Gardens, San Marino, California.
[943] Evans, "The Nelsons," pp. 229, 243-4.
[944] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie, ed., 11 April 1777.

After regaining his health, Nelson returned to public service. He represented York County in the newly established House of Delegates and followed the clashes between American forces and the British army. In early 1781, Nelson moved his family and domestic slaves from his Yorktown household to Offley Hoo. Nelson traveled to Hanover County in May of that year and decided to move his wife, children, and enslaved laborers from Offley Hoo to a safer location in either Loudon County or Prince William County.[945]

On 12 June 1781, Nelson became Virginia's governor and commander of the state militia. He led Virginia's militia during the Siege of Yorktown in October 1781. After the end of the fighting and the surrender of British forces, General Nelson assessed the damage to his real and personal property. He decided to wait until he moved his enslaved men, women, and children back to Yorktown. In 1783, General Nelson had six enslaved men—Bob, Cooper, Dean, George, a second man named George, and Pompey—in Williamsburg.[946] Nelson contracted with Humphrey Harwood to make repairs to the dwelling that stood near the Capitol. The general's 26 June 1783 account with Humphrey Harwood noted a credit for five days of work done by Cooper.

Nelson moved an enslaved woman named Crinder to Williamsburg by 8 June 1783, the date that her daughter Editha was baptized at Bruton Parish Church. In 1784, Bob, Cooper, George, George, and Crinder were joined in Williamsburg by the following adult slaves: Agga, Barnaby, Beck, Betty, Cain, Cain, Criss, Effy, Frank, Grace, Halifax, Jacob, Jemmy, Jenny, Letty, Lydia, Penny, Peter, Rose, Sam, Suckey, Cue (sic Sue), and Trial. In addition to twenty-eight adult slaves, Nelson recorded the presence of sixteen enslaved children in the Williamsburg household: Betty, Betty, Billy, Bob, Charles, Dinah, Edy (also known as Editha), George, James, John, Lucy, Penny, Rachel, Roger, Sam, and Sam. Extant documents suggest that the Nelson slaves remained in Williamsburg for one additional year. Penny's daughter Sarah was baptized on 6 March 1785 at Bruton Parish Church, the same date that Grace, the daughter of an unnamed slave, was baptized.

Thomas Nelson, his Family and his Slaves Return to Yorktown

It is possible that Nelson hoped to reopen his mercantile business after he and his family returned to Yorktown. He managed his extensive holdings—over 20,000 acres of land in five counties (Hanover, Prince William, York, James City, and Loudon), close to 400 enslaved laborers, 500 head of cattle, one hundred horses and mules, sheep, and hogs. Nelson depended on at least six overseers to direct the daily operations on his plantations. Nelson, however, also had debts. In May 1787, he told Edmund Berkeley "If I do not

[945] Evans, "The Nelsons," p. 309.
[946] Humphrey Harwood Account Book, 1776-1794, (Williamsburg: Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation), 26 June 1783.

raise a sum of money in the course of this Week, some of my Negroes will be sold on Monday next."[947]

By September 1788, Nelson's debts exceeded the sum of £ 13,000. In addition, he had recently sold 120 of the slaves on his land in Prince William County. When Nelson wrote his will on 26 December 1788, he worried about his ability to provide legacies for his sons and daughters even though he had been able to retain ownership of most of his real and personal property. General Nelson died less than two weeks later, on 4 January 1789, while he was at Montclair, his plantation in Hanover County.[948]

Thomas Nelson left his wife Lucy "my Farm near York together with the Slaves, Stocks and Plantation Utensils thereon and the Choice of Ten of my House servants . . . likewise my Houses and Lots in York Town (except such of them as I shall herein after bequeath otherwise) my Household and Kitchen furniture and my Plate of every kind."[949] Nelson left "a Negro Woman named Aggy living at York together with her Increase except her eldest son Charles" to his son, Thomas.

His sons Philip, Hugh, and Robert gained possession of "ten hoe Negroes" and "five plow Boys" to work on the Hanover County land that they inherited. In addition, Hugh Nelson became the owner of "one hundred acres of Land in the County of York which I purchased of my brother Hugh and fifty acres in the same County on the large swamp in Charles Parish; also the Reversion which I have in a Tract of Land near York, now occupied by Mrs. Lucy Moore." His son Hugh also received "the Interest which I have or may have in a Water Grist Mill on the said Lands."

Nelson gave his daughter Elizabeth Page "the Reversion of a Negro Woman named Nancy in possession of my Mother." Four of Nelson's daughters—Mary, Lucy, Susanna, and Judith—acquired "a Negro Girls to be chosen out of my Estate at large by my wife and Executors." Like other members of Virginia's gentry, Nelson wanted each of his daughters to have a personal slave.

Domestic slaves were also an important part of a legacy left to a son. After the death of Lucy Nelson, William Nelson could choose "five of the ten house servants which I have herein before lent to my wife, and it is my will that the remaining five servants with their Increase be divided at the Death of my wife among my other five Sons." However, "in case any of the said House Servants should die before my wife, it is my will that then my son William shall have his choice of one half of what shall remain alive and the Remainder be divided among my other five sons." William Nelson also received his father's "trusty and faithful servant James Rideout" and the "Lotts in the Town of York" which his father purchased from "William Rowsay adjoining the street which runs by Mr

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[947] Evans, "The Nelsons," pp. 355-9, 369 (quotation).
[948] Ibid., pp. 373-4.
[949] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 171-5, dated 26 December 1788 and recorded 16 February 1789.

Abraham Archers and the late Secretary Nelsons, and at the Death of my Wife I give to him and his Heirs for ever all my Lotts, Lands and other Property in and about York which I have herein before lent to my Wife during her Life, and not herein otherwise disposed of."

Another bequest indicated the skills of several of Nelson's enslaved laborers. The general specified that all his "Blacksmiths, Carpenters, Shoemakers and Weavers do continue to work for my wife and several children." After his wife's death, Nelson left these skilled slaves to his son William, and his other sons gained possession of an enslaved boy "to be taken from my Estate at large and put to work with my Carpenters in order to learn the trade." The general wanted "a negro boy named Dick who now rides as a Postillion" for his mother to became the property of his nephew, William Nelson (the son of Nathaniel Nelson), after his mother's death.

Nelson had a legacy for one of his slaves. He wrote "It is my will that Smith Harry be furnished out of the Profits of the Estate which I have lent to my wife, with a good House to live in during his Life." In addition, Nelson wanted Harry to have "a good Suit of Cloaths, two shirts, two Blankets, three hundred weight of Pork and five Barrels of Corn each Year during his Life, and that he be considered from hence forward as free and discharged from all service."

On 4 June 1789, Lucy Nelson appeared in the York County Court. She informed the justices of the peace "I do hereby declare that I will not take or accept the provision made for me in the said will [of her deceased husband] or any part thereof but so hereby renounce all benefit which I might claim by virtue of the said will." Instead, she said she would "claim that portion of the Estate of the aforesaid Thomas Nelson deceased to which by law I am entitled."[950] The widow Nelson's decision to renounce her husband's will meant that the executors of his estate could sell portions of his estate if they needed to raise money to pay his debts.[951]

The 2 June 1789 inventory of Nelson's personal property in York County included fifty-two enslaved men, women, and children. The list included Cook Cain (£ 80), old Tryall (£ 10), Sukey (£ 15), Wagoner Cain (£ 70), Peter (£ 40), Penny (£ 40), Heffy (£ 30), Grace (£ 40), Krender and her infant (£ 45), Rose (£ 35), Sue (£ 25), Beck (£ 15), Betty (£ 50), Lucy Mountfort (£ 40), Bob (£ 17.10), Sally (£ 15), Sukey (£ 10), Edy (£ 17.10), Louisa (£ 5), Jany (£ 10), Aggy (£ 40), Betty (£ 12), Dinah (£ 5), Betsy (£ 20), Cooper (£ 25), Phil (£ 65), Roger (£ 45), a child named George (£ 30), Jerry (£ 17.10), Aggy (£ 20), Massey (£ 45), Letty and her child Grace (£ 45), Betty (£ 20), Tenah (£ 15), Pegg (£ 40), Judy (£ 30), Dinah (£ 20), Jammey (£ 25), old Hannah (£ 15), Phillis (£ 5), Nancy and her child known

[950] York County Deeds (6) 414, dated 4 July 1789 and recorded 20 July 1790.

[951] According to Emory G. Evans, Nelson's executors sold a large number of the slaves whom he owned at his death as well as land in York, Hanover, and Frederick counties. Evans, "The Nelsons," p. 374 n. 33. See York County Wills and Inventories (23) 661-3, recorded 21 March 1791.

as Tom (£ 55), Joan (£ 17.10), Rachael (£ 15), Else (£ 12), Charles (£ 5), Charles (£ 40), John (£ 40), George (£ 40), and York (£ 40).[952]

The appraisers of Nelson's estate did not separate the slaves who worked on Lot 52 and other urban properties from those enslaved individuals who labored on plantations in Yorkhampton Parish. The few details that these men included indicate that Nelson had an enslaved cook—a man named Cain. A second man called Cain served as the wagoner. In this role, Cain traveled between Nelson's Yorktown household and his plantations. Cain had the opportunity to visit with enslaved men, women, and children in York, James City, Hanover, Prince William, and Loudon counties and to pass on news from one plantation to another. The appraisers noted both a first and a last name for Lucy Mountfort, a sign that she had ties to a slave owned by the Mountfort family.

Thomas Nelson's Yorktown and Yorkhampton Parish slaves might have had ties to some of the slaves whom their master held in Hanover County. Nelson's quarter known as Mountclair was home to sixty-eight enslaved men, women, and children. This plantation had four blacksmiths, three carpenters, two weavers (one male and one female), and two shoemakers. The five women described as being "aged and infirm" watched the young children so their mother's could put in a full day of work. A second Hanover County plantation known as "Skelton Smiths" was home to thirty-one slaves. This group also included "an old and infirm" woman who cared for boys and girls during the daytime. The plantation called "George Smiths" was smaller in size and had eight slaves. Fifteen enslaved workers tended the fields at "Richard Mauray's." Another quarter, William Mallory's, had twenty-seven slaves who labored in the fields. Nelson had another small plantation—Bridge Quarter—in Hanover County. This quarter had seven slaves, including a miller. The last area—Bullfield—was the place where thirty-four enslaved men, women, and children lived and worked. Two "infirm" women were responsible for the children during the time their mothers labored.[953]

William Nelson Junior

It is possible that William Nelson Junior, the son of Thomas and Lucy Nelson, lived in the house on Lot 52. Nelson's mother Lucy renounced her husband's will and extant documents indicate that her son William gained possession of Yorktown slaves and property in 1789.

Nelson wrote his will on 27 April 1799, four years before his 1803 death. He left his wife, Sarah Burwell Nelson, "during her natural life her Maids Mary and Priscilla and old

[952] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 181-3, dated 2 June 1789 and recorded 20 July 1789. Edy was one of the slaves who labored for Lucy Nelson after the death of her husband. The 19 December 1803 will of William Nelson Junior noted that Edy, a mulatto girl in service to his mother; was to be freed after his death. See Lot 47.

[953] Ibid., pp. 184-6, dated 27 April 1789 and recorded 20 July 1789.

Zenith and Cate the daughter of Mary." In addition, Sarah Nelson had a life right to ten "working hands" of her choice in Hanover County and her husband's "Servant Stephen." When Nelson's daughter Elizabeth Page Harrison Nelson reached the age of twenty-one or married she would become the owner of "two Negro Girls one named Judith Carter daughter of Mary the other named Betty daughter of Priscilla to her and her heirs forever." Thomas Nelson, son of William Nelson Junior, received "the rest and residue" of his father's estate.[954]

Nelson added two codicils to his 27 April 1799 will. First, on 20 October 1799, Nelson noted "I do further Will that a Mulatto Girl named Edith who now waits on my Mother be free at my Mothers death." Second, on 22 October 1800, he determined "My further will is and I do hereby bequeath unto my daughter Elizabeth Page Harrison Nelson a Negro Girl by the name of Nancy the Daughter of Mary."[955]

The inventory of Nelson's estate listed thirty-six slaves. As was the case with the inventory of his father's personal property, the appraisers did not note which slaves labored in Yorktown and which enslaved laborers tended fields in Yorkhampton Parish. Nelson held the following slaves at the time of his death: Adam (£ 75), Jenny (£ 60), George the youngest (£ 100), Zachariah (£ 75), Adam (£ 65), Ned (£ 10), Polly (£ 45), Hannah (£ 30), Eve (£ 40), old Venus (£ 30), Iris (£ 2), Tom (£ 100), Venus (£ 65), Franky (£ 60), Phil (£ 75), George the eldest (£ 75), Massey (£ 30), York (£ 135), George the younger (£ 100), Jerry (£ 100), Aggy and her infant child (£ 90), Betty (£ 30), Cain (£ 25), Zeny (£ 5), Stephen (£ 120), Sue (£ 5), Priscilla (£ 75), Jacob (£ 30), Mary (£ 75), Kate (£ 60), Judy (£ 60), Harry (£ 60), Nancy (£ 30), John (£ 36), and Nat (£ 20).[956] The connections of one enslaved family appeared in the inventory. The appraisers described Polly, Hannah, and Eve as the "youngest children of Jenny and Adam." The first two slaves in Nelson's inventory were Adam and Jenny. Three names—George the youngest, Adam, and Ned—appeared between the enslaved couple and their three youngest children. Perhaps George, Adam, and Ned were also the children of Adam and Jenny.

[954] Ibid., p. 638, dated 27 April 1799, codicils dated 20 October 1799 and 22 October 1800, and recorded 19 December 1803.
[955] Ibid.
[956] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 639-41, recorded 16 January 1804. Nelson's estate also included thirty-two slaves in Hanover County. See ibid., pp. 650-1, dated 5 January 1804 and recorded 16 April 1804.

Lot 53

William Simpson

William Simpson, a tailor of Yorktown, was the first owner of Lot 53 when he received a patent for this half-acre from the Trustees of Yorktown in July 1699.[957] Simpson did not build on the property and forfeited his title to the lot.

Lawrence Smith, son of Lawrence Smith Senior of Gloucester County

In February 1706/7, the Trustees of Yorktown conveyed Lot 53 to Lawrence Smith, a resident of York Parish. Smith decided not to move to Lot 53. Instead, he made his home on the 1,700-acre plantation that he inherited from his father, Lawrence Smith Senior, a resident of Gloucester County. The younger Smith built on Lot 53 and retained ownership of the property. It is likely that Smith rented this half-acre to tenants until he conveyed it to his son, Edmund, in January 1734/5.[958]

Edmund Smith

In January 1734/5, Edmund Smith acquired Yorktown Lot 53 from Lawrence Smith, his father.[959] Smith no doubt leased this half-acre to a tenant or tenants during his lifetime because he lived on his Yorkhampton Parish plantation. Smith owned a portion of the land known as Temple Farm.

Edmund Smith retained ownership of Lot 53 until the time of his death between 13 December 1750 and 18 March 1750/1. He bequeathed his lot of land in Yorktown "whereon I am now building a house" to his daughter Mildred. The 1751 inventory of Smith's estate included twenty-two slaves. It is likely that Smith had his enslaved men, women, and children work in the fields on his Yorkhampton Parish plantation.[960]

Mildred née Smith Jameson and David Jameson

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[957] York County Deeds and Bonds (1) 193-4, dated 19 July 1699 and recorded 25 September 1699.

[958] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 227-8, dated 10 February 1706/7 and recorded 24 February 1706/7; York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 332-3, dated 17 and 18 January 1734/5 and recorded 20 January 1734/5. On 19 March 1738/9, Mildred Smith, widow, relinquished her right of dower to a lot in Yorktown conveyed by her deceased husband, Lawrence, to their son, Edmund. York County Wills and Inventories (18) 480, 19 March 1738/9. See Part I. Section 10—The Moore House and Adjoining Rural Land Owned by the Smith and Moore Families.

[959] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 332-3, dated 17 January 1734/5 and recorded 20 January 1734/5.

[960] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 212-3, dated 13 December 1750 and recorded 18 March 1750/1; ibid., pp. 232-4, recorded 16 September 1751.

Perhaps David Jameson rented Lot 53 from Edmund Smith soon after his 1749 arrival in Yorktown to work as the bookkeeper for Mordecai Booth and William Lightfoot.[961] In September 1750, Jameson was described as a merchant, and by January 1750/1 he had a storehouse in Yorktown. In June 1752, Jameson and John Norton announced the sale, in Yorktown, of slaves who had been transported from Africa.[962]

Jameson no doubt was recognized as a skillful merchant, and in January 1753, Lawrence Smith, orphan of Edmund Smith, apprenticed himself to Jameson for seven years to learn merchandizing and bookkeeping. This merchant was married to Mildred Smith, sister of his apprentice, by September of that year when they were noted as the owners of Lot 53.[963] In addition to inheriting Lot 53 from her father, Mildred née Smith Jameson also gained possession of an enslaved girl named Grace. The second slave in the Jameson household was Sue, a slave whom Mildred Jameson inherited from Jane Moore of Yorkhampton Parish in early 1734/5 when she was a young girl.[964]

In February 1754, Jameson bought a twenty-eight foot by twenty-foot warehouse on the Yorktown waterfront from Thomas Archer. The deed noted that a man named Francis Riddlehurst lived in the warehouse. Jameson agreed that Archer could have the warehouse at any time on paying back the sum of £ 60.[965] Jameson no doubt counted on enslaved men to carry goods from ships anchored in the York River to this warehouse on land that became Lot 120 as well as his storehouse.[966]

Four years later, in 1758, the Reverend Camm reported that Jameson had four tithes in his household. The following year, Jameson took an enslaved girl to the York County Courthouse, and the justices of the peace determined that she was eight years old.[967] This merchant gained another tithe in July 1760 when William Ballard, orphan of John Ballard, apprenticed himself to Jameson for seven years to learn merchandizing and bookkeeping.[968]

Seven years later, in June 1767, Jameson became the owner of a slave woman named Sal and her two children, Polly and Mira, from Edward Moody of Chesterfield County. Moody's mother, Mary, had mortgaged Sal to Jameson in May 1759 and failed to repay the sum of £ 50 plus interest.[969] Jameson decided to sell Sal, Polly, and Mira. In early 1769, this merchant owed £ 1.5.7 ½ to the estate of Mary Moody, an indication that the

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[961] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 252, 18 September 1749.
[962] Ibid., p. 361, 17 September 1750; *Virginia Gazette*, 31 January 1750/1; ibid., 5 June 1752.
[963] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 526, dated and recorded 15 January 1753; ibid., pp. 560-2, dated 18 September 1753 and recorded 19 November 1753.
[964] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 178, dated 19 April 1733 and recorded 17 February 1734[/5].
[965] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 618-9, dated 24 February 1754 and recorded 15 July 1754.
[966] See Lot 120.
[967] York County Judgments and Orders (3) 54, 16 July 1759.
[968] York County Deeds (6) 264-5, dated and recorded 21 July 1760.
[969] York County Deeds (7) 306-7, dated 17 June 1767 and recorded 20 July 1767; York County Deeds (6) 220-1, dated 15 May 1759 and recorded 17 December 1759.

purchase price for these three slaves was just over the sum that Mary Moody owned to Jameson.[970]

Perhaps Jameson sold these three slaves because he did not need additional female slaves to work in his household. In the early 1760s, however, he hired a slave from the estate of Edward Potter deceased for £ 7.[971] Extant documents do not indicate if Jameson's adult slave, Liverpool, who was baptized on 6 December 1767 in Bruton Parish Church, was an enslaved laborer who worked in Yorktown or on his master's rural property.

Like other Yorktown residents, Jameson managed his Yorkhampton Parish plantations from his urban home. The 19 March 1772 issue of Purdie and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*, contained a notice from Jameson. He informed readers of the paper that

> A Negro, belonging to me, carried to his Overseer a 40 shilling and a 20 shilling Bill, supposing them to be Pisteceen Bills, to ask if they were good money. He says he received them, about the first of this Month, of a lusty Negro Fellow, clothed in an old Virginia Cloth Waistcoat and Sailor's Trousers, who told him he was travelling from Williamsburg to Hampton. I have the Bills, and shall be glad to deliver them to the proper Owner.[972]

Jameson likely placed this information in the *Virginia Gazette* because he believed that his slave had received stolen money. Unfortunately, he did not comment on the reason that one of his enslaved laborers had this money. Perhaps Jameson allowed his slaves to tend gardens near their slave quarter, to sell vegetables and herbs, and to keep the money they earned.[973]

This merchant stayed in Yorktown after the 10 December 1778 death of his wife, Mildred. It is probable that Jameson had at least two slaves on Lot 53—a man named Peter and a woman known as Sue.[974] Perhaps Jameson moved Peter and Sue out of the house on Lot 53 during the Siege of Yorktown. His dwelling survived the siege, and Jameson decided to remain in Yorktown.

During the 1780s, Jameson purchased three additional lots in the town. On 27 March 1784, Dudley and Elizabeth Digges of Williamsburg sold Lot 42 to Jameson.[975] In early

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[970] York County Wills and Inventories (21) 444, dated 20 February 1769 and recorded 20 March 1769.
[971] Ibid., pp. 110-3, dated 13 August 1762 and recorded 19 August 1762.
[972] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 19 March 1772.
[973] Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove*, chapter IV.
[974] Jameson was presented for not listing Peter as a tithe on 18 November 1771 and he faced the same charge regarding Sue on 15 November 1779. York County Judgments and Orders (2) 405, 18 November 1771; York County Order Book (4) 242, 15 November 1779.
[975] York County Deeds (6) 223-5, dated 27 March 1784 and recorded 16 August 1784. See Lot 42.

December 1787, this merchant purchased Lot 90 and Lot 91 on Yorktown's waterfront from the town trustees.[976]

In September 1792, Jameson was a party to a deed that transferred the ownership of fifteen slaves. The Yorktown merchant gave nine slaves—Dinah, Phillis, Nan, Peg, Harry, Winna, Birow, Betty, and John—to Dorothy Grayham Jameson and Thomas Jameson, children of Thomas Jameson deceased of Yorktown. David Jameson purchased these nine enslaved laborers at the sale of his nephew's personal property. In return, Jameson gained possession of Fanny, Jenny, James, Molly, Hercules, and Silvia.[977]

David Jameson lived on Lot 53 until his death on 10 July 1793. In his 14 October 1792 will, Jameson gave his nephew

> John Jameson one moiety of both real and personal of which I may die possessed of to him the said John and his Heirs forever. I give the other moiety of my Estate that I may die possessed of both real and personal to be equally divided between my nephews, David Jameson of Culpeper & David Jameson of Caroline county, to them & their Heirs forever.

This merchant added a codicil to his will on 21 May 1793. William Reynolds noted that Jameson wanted him "to add, by way of Codicile to his Will, that Cupid & Frank, two of his slaves, should at his decease be Emancipated." In addition, he wished that Frank would "be bound out to some trade by the administrators of his Will, and that Grace a Girl at present about the House should be given to Mrs. Mary Mennis."[978]

On 21 August 1793, John Jameson, David Jameson, and David Jameson Junior announced the sale of their uncle's real estate:

> For Sale, on Thursday the 24th day of October next, at the late dwelling house of David Jameson, deceased, in York Town to the highest Bidder, The lot and Houses where the decedent dwelt, and sundry other lots in the said Town, some of which are improved and some others unimproved; the lot under the bank on which the tobacco warehouses stand, with its apendages; a very valuable tract of land about three miles from Town, containing, by estimation, 871 acres, with a large and well improved plantation, and a small mill on it.[979]

John Jameson, a resident of Culpeper County, purchased Lot 53 from his uncle's administrators and held it until his death.[980]

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[976] Ibid., pp. 381-2, dated 6 December 1787 and recorded 21 July 1788. See Part I. Section 9—Part II. Lot 90 and Lot 91.
[977] York County Deeds (7) 56-7, dated 1 September 1792 and recorded 15 October 1792.
[978] Yorktown Hustings Court Records (1787-1793) 39-40, dated 14 October 1792, codicil dated 21 May 1793, and recorded 23 July 1793 (from a 12 April 1892 copy of the original).
[979] *Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser*, 21 August 1793.
[980] York County Deeds (8) 120-1, dated 27 May 1811 and recorded 17 June 1811.

Lot 54—The Ballard House

Thomas Sessions

A carpenter named Thomas Sessions became the first owner of Lot 54 when he purchased it from the Trustees of Yorktown in July 1702.[981] Sessions did not build a house on the lot and forfeited his title to this property.

Edward Fuller, Use Gibson, and Stephen Fuller

In June 1706, Yorktown's trustees granted Lot 54 to Edward Fuller, a baker of Hampton Parish. Two years later, Fuller gave Lot 54 to Use Gibson, a carpenter of Yorkhampton Parish, in exchange for Lot 58.[982] It appears that Fuller regained possession of Lot 54 before the time of his death in 1709. The baker left his lot and house in Yorktown to his son Stephen.[983] It is possible that the younger Fuller rented out Lot 54 between 1709 and early 1720/1 when he sold this half-acre to John Gibbons. Stephen Fuller was described as a planter of New Kent County in his deed to Gibbons.[984]

John Gibbons

In early 1720/1, John Gibbons purchased Lot 54 from Stephen Fuller, a New Kent County planter.[985] Gibbons owned another five lots in Yorktown—Lots 58, 64, 65, 67, and 71 where he operated a tavern between 1723 and 1726. The elder John Gibbons died in March 1726/7. In his will, Gibbons wrote that "Item I Give and bequeath my Son John Ballard & my daughter Elizabeth Ballard my lot in York Town which I Escheated from the Gibsons to them & their heirs for Ever."[986]

John Ballard

John Ballard, the son of Thomas and Katherine Ballard, was born on 25 August 1700. Ballard inherited all of his father's land "on the South side of the swamp called white

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[981] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 55-6, dated 13 July 1702 and recorded 24 July 1702.
[982] Ibid., p. 180, dated 10 June 1706 and recorded 24 September 1706; ibid., pp. 291-2, dated 10 June 1706 and recorded 24 September 1706.
[983] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (13) 255, dated 25 February 1708/9 and recorded 24 September 1709.
[984] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 346-8, dated and recorded 20 February 1720/1.
[985] Ibid.
[986] York County Orders and Wills (16) 458, dated 9 March 1726/7 and recorded 15 May 1727. It is likely that Gibbons referred to Use and Peter Gibson when he wrote that he obtained Lot 54 "from the Gibsons." See two notes below.

marsh" and "negro Madge & her increase" when he reached adulthood. Madge was appraised at £ 28 in the June 1711 inventory of Thomas Ballard's personal property.[987]

Ballard had lived in the Gibbons household since 1720 when John Gibbons became his guardian. Gibbons made sure that Ballard learned the skills of a merchant during the time that he served as his guardian. Ballard married Elizabeth Gibbons by 16 January 1724/5 when their daughter Katherine was born. It is possible that the Ballards already lived on Lot 54, the half-acre that they inherited in 1727 from John Gibbons.[988] Their household would have included Madge and any children she had born. In 1727, Ballard added to his labor force. He bought a recently imported African slave whom he named Edinburgh. The justices of the York County Court determined that Edinburgh was twelve years old.[989]

No doubt Ballard had Edinburgh help his white indentured servant, John Armistead, unload barrels from ships anchored in the Yorktown harbor.[990] By the late 1720s, Ballard wanted to have a wharf on the town's waterfront so there was a place to store imported goods that Armistead and Edinburgh would have carried off of vessels. In the late 1720s, Ballard was one of four Yorktown merchants who petitioned the Council for permission to use the land along the York River. Ballard, Richard Ambler, Thomas Nelson, and Cole Digges each set "forth that between the land appropriated for the said Town & the River there lies a beach of sand which at high tides is overflowed, but nevertheless may with some expence & labour be made convenient for building warehouses for the securing merchandizes of great bulk and weight." The petitioners continued, "praying that eighty foot square of the Beach may be granted him by patent for the purpose aforesaid, with power to enlarge the same by making a wharf into the river w[hi]ch may be of great benefit to the trade of that Town." The Council ruled in favor of Ballard, Ambler, Nelson, and Digges, provided that their wharves and warehouses did not "encroach upon the publick landings or the Streets leading through the said Town to the River side."[991] Perhaps Ballard accepted his 1731 appointment to serve as the surveyor of the streets in Yorktown because he depended on the streets being in good repair.[992]

Ballard was one of the Yorktown residents who added to his labor force during the 1730s. In August 1735, this merchant took Phillis, an imported African slave, to the county courthouse to have her age adjudged as eight years old. Two years later, the local

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[987] York County Orders and Wills (14) 92-4, dated 26 September 1706 and recorded 18 June 1711; ibid., pp. 100-1, dated 2 June 1711 and recorded 16 July 1711.

[988] On 6 May 1727, John Ballard received a patent for Lot 54. The patent noted that the property had escheated from Peter Gibson and that Use Gibson had purchased the lot from Edward Fuller. Nugent et al., eds., *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, III:321.

[989] York County Orders and Wills (15) 665, 15 August 1720; York County Orders and Wills (16) 488, 20 November 1727.

[990] In 1729, Armistead had time added to his servitude to compensate Ballard for the five days he was absent. York County Orders and Wills (16) 601, 16 June 1729.

[991] Ambler and Nelson submitted their requests to the Council on 15 August 1728; Digges and Ballard made their requests on 12 June 1729. McIlwaine et al., eds., *Executive Journals*, IV:183-4, 207-8.

[992] York County Orders and Wills (17) 248, 20 December 1731.

officials decided that Ballard's slave named Dover was twelve.[993] Elizabeth Ballard would have had Phillis learn to do domestic work while Dover might have spent time working along Yorktown's waterfront.

Ballard worked as a merchant until the time of his death between 20 August 1745 and 16 September 1745.[994] He left six slaves—Mingo, Frank, Old Will, George, Jenny, and Mary to his wife Elizabeth "for the better enabling her to maintain and bring up my children." After her death, these six enslaved laborers were to become the property of their son, Thomas. Ballard decided to leave Lot 54 to his son Thomas as well as an acre of land in the Read Addition to Yorktown, his plantation near Yorktown, his warehouse at the waterside, and two young slave men, Giles and Jerry. The younger John Ballard gained possession of a lot in the Read Addition and William, an enslaved boy who was the son of Madge. Robert Ballard inherited a lot in the Read Addition and a slave boy known as Ben. Ballard's son William received an acre in the Read Addition and two enslaved children, Michael and Kate.

This merchant also included instructions for his sons' education and training in his will. Ballard specified that Thomas was to be apprenticed to Thomas and William Nelson until the age of twenty-one. John Ballard was to become the apprentice of a mariner when he reached the age of sixteen if he approved of the plan. Robert and William were to be bound to a tradesman or other calling as the executors thought proper.

Ballard's legacies to his daughters did not include land; instead, he gave each daughter slaves. Katherine Ballard became the owner of a woman named Phillis and her child Lucy as well as a girl named Hannah who was the daughter of Mary. Elizabeth Ballard received a woman known as Rose and a girl named Moll.[995] Ann Ballard inherited two enslaved girls—Hannah and Grace.

The 1745 inventory of John Ballard's estate included a total of seventeen slaves: Mingo (£ 35), Giles (£ 40), Frank (£ 40), Jerry (£ 40), Old Will (£ 20), George (£ 15), Young Will (£ 30), Ben (£ 25), Rose (£ 30), Old Moll (£ 30), Young Moll (£ 25), Hannah (£ 18), Hannah (£ 20), Kate (£ 15), Grace (£ 9), Frankey (£ 8), and Sue (£ 5).[996] It is likely that Katherine Ballard Boush, the wife of Samuel Boush of Norfolk, moved Phillis, Lucy (the daughter of Phillis), and Hannah (the child of Mary) to Norfolk soon after she gained possession of these slaves.[997] Ann Ballard also relocated to Norfolk after her 1761

[993] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 215, 18 August 1735; ibid., p. 375, 20 June 1737.
[994] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 3-6, dated 24 December 1744 and recorded 16 September 1745.
[995] According to entries in the Ballard Family Bible, Rose gave birth to a boy named Miles on 4 November 1743 and Miles died in 1744. Rose had another child, a girl, on 20 July 1745. Ballard Family Bible, (Yorktown: Transcription at Colonial National Historical Park, used with the permission of the Ballard Family).
[996] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 10-14, recorded 16 December 1745.
[997] Katherine Ballard married Mr. Samuel Boush on 7 July 1745. Ballard Family Bible.

marriage to Doctor James Ramsey. She would have taken Hannah and Grace with her if they were still alive.[998]

Elizabeth Ballard managed the work of the slaves after the death of her husband because only her daughter Katherine was an adult. It is likely that the enslaved men helped to unload the imported goods that arrived in September 1745. The widow Ballard announced an auction of "a Choice sortable Cargoe of Goods, amounting to between eight and nine hundred Pounds Sterling, consisting of Linens, Woolens, and all other necessary Goods to complete a Store." These items would be sold "with the remaining Cargoe of the last Year's Goods, that belong'd to Capt. John Ballard, of York Town deceas'd, also about 800 weight of Indigo, and about 3000 weight of the best Muscovado Sugar."[999] Perhaps Giles was one of the Ballard slaves who spent time in Yorktown's waterfront area and on the Ballard wharf. On 9 August 1746, Giles; Sampson, a slave who belonged to Theodosia Rogers, the widow of William Rogers; and Damon, an enslaved man owned by John Norton broke into "the storehouse of one Walter Charles Merchant situate in the Parish of York Hampton in the sd. County of York feloniously and burglarily did break and enter and 100 gallons of Rum of the Value of £ 20 Current Money of Va. . . . did take Steal and carry away agt the Peace of our sd. Lord the King his Crown and Dignity." The King's Attorney decided not to prosecute Damon and then heard evidence against Giles and Sampson. The justices of the oyer and terminer court decided that Giles would be executed. When asked "if any thing he had to say why the Ct. should not proceed to Judgt & Exec. of Death agt him . . . . he pray'd the benefit of the Act to him to be allow'd and to him it is granted." The officials burned Giles in the left hand in the presence of those in the courtroom and then led him outside to the public whipping post where he received thirty-nine lashes on his bare back.[1000] Giles returned to the Ballard household after he received his punishment.

Thomas Ballard

Thomas Ballard, son of John and Elizabeth Ballard, gained possession of Lot 54 after the 31 August 1745 death of his father. He also became the owner of two young slave men, Giles and Jerry. According to a note in the Ballard Family Bible, Thomas left Yorktown for the Eastern Shore in September 1747 "and was never after heard after."[1001] His brother Robert became the next owner of Lot 54.

Robert Ballard

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[998] Ann Ballard was born on 20 August 1741. She married Doctor James Ramsey, son of Doctor George Ramsey and his wife, Sarah, of the borough of Norfolk, on 28 October 1761. James Ramsey died on 18 September 1762 and Ann Ballard Ramsey married John Hutchings on 25 November 1766. Ibid.
[999] *Virginia Gazette*, 26 September 1745.
[1000] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 449-50, 14 August 1746.
[1001] Ballard Family Bible.

Robert Ballard received the title to Lot 54 after the September 1747 disappearance of his brother, Thomas. Ballard shared the house on this half-acre with his mother and his siblings who were underage. In addition, the household included the slaves whom the Ballards inherited from John Ballard deceased.

In 1758, Robert Ballard appeared on the Reverend John Camm's list with eleven tithes. This group of laborers included those slaves whom he held as well as enslaved men, women, and children in the possession of his mother and youngest brother, William. Perhaps his sister Ann's upcoming marriage to Doctor James Ramsey or his plans to relocate prompted Ballard to sell Lot 54. In May 1761, Ballard and his wife Ann transferred the title to Lot 54 and two lots in the Read Addition to John Thompson, a Yorktown merchant.[1002] By June of the following year, Ballard moved his mercantile business, his family, and his enslaved laborers to Princess Anne County. Ballard died by 8 November 1770 when his executor, Lemuel Newton, announced the sale of a portion of his estate.[1003]

John Thompson

John Thompson was a mariner and a merchant who was in the Yorktown area by the late 1730s. It is possible that he used the area that became Lot 109 soon after he began to sail vessels into the York River. In late July 1738, Thompson sailed the *Molly*, a sloop owned by Francis Willis of Gloucester County, into the York River. The 4 August 1738 issue of the newspaper noted the 27 July arrival of the "Sloop *Molly*, of Virginia, John Thompson, Master, from Barbados, with 45 Hogsheads, 8 Tierces, and 9 Barrels of Rum, 69 Barrels of Sugar, 1 Bag of Cotton, and 3 Negroes."[1004] Seven years later, on 24 August 1745, Thompson was the owner of a vessel, the *Ranger*, that arrived in the York River with 185 slaves from Africa.

In addition to transporting enslaved Africans to Virginia, Thompson was a slave owner. He no doubt counted on male slaves to unload his vessel once it arrived in the Yorktown harbor and to carry goods onboard the vessel before he set sail. In early 1746/7, Will, a slave who belonged to Thompson, and Cambridge, a man owned by George Russell, stood trial on the charge of taking

> 2 Pieces of Linnen of the Value of £ 15 Current Money of Virginia the proper Goods and Chattels of Thomas Hornsby of the City of Williamsburgh Merchant 12 pair of Cotton Stockings of the Value of £ 12 24 Silk Purses of the Value of £ 5 of like Money the proper Goods and Chattels of Armistead Burwell of the City

[1002] York County Deeds (6) 350-3, dated 28 May 1761and recorded 20 July 1761.
[1003] Ibid., pp. 447-50, dated [25?] May 1762 and recorded 21 June 1762; *Virginia Gazette*, Rind, ed., 8 November 1770.
[1004] *Virginia Gazette*, 4 August 1738.

> aforesd. Merchant and 9 pair of Shoes of the Value of £ 5 of like Money the proper Goods and Chattels of the Honble William Gooch Esqr.

The justices of the oyer and terminer court determined that Will and Cambridge were guilty and sentenced them to die. Both slaves "pray'd the benefit of the Act to them to be allow'd." Next, each man was burnt in his left hand and taken to the Public Whipping Post to receive thirty-nine lashes on his back.[1005] Once Will returned to Thompson's property, it is possible that he received additional punishment.

During the 1750s, Thompson continued to sail ships into the York River District. When the ship *Brotherhood*, sailing from Philadelphia, entered the York River on 21 February 1750/1, the *Virginia Gazette* described Thompson as its master. Later in the same year, 1751, Thompson was the master of the *Fanny*, departing the York River between March 10 and April 10 for Barbados. Thompson guided the *Fanny* back into the York in October 1751 and the ship's cargo included a slave.[1006] In April 1755, the *Fanny* departed Yorktown carrying bread, flour, shingles, ale, tar, and turpentine. Three months later, on 29 July 1755, Thompson's vessel, the *Fanny*, had eleven slaves from Barbados when it arrived in the York River.[1007]

In May 1761, John Thompson purchased Yorktown Lot 54 and two lots in the Read Addition from Robert Ballard.[1008] Thompson's household included his family and an unknown number of enslaved laborers. On 17 November 1766, the grand jury presented Thompson for not listing his son, John Thompson Junior, and a slave named Bristol.[1009]

By the late 1760s, Thompson decided that he was not able to carry on his business. In the 18 August 1768 issue of Rind's *Virginia Gazette*, he announced

> As I find myself very infirm, and not able to carry on business, I intend to move as soon as I can settle my affairs, and have for sale the following articles; one lot with a very good dwelling-house, kitchen, and all convenient out houses, in York town, adjoining Mr. David Jamesons's two lots, with a large stable and chair house on them; one new convenient store-house, near the town wharf; and one warehouse at the water side; two lots and houses in Gloucester, on one of them a large warehouse, 40 by 20, and shedded with a good sail loft; one sloop of about 1800 bushels burthen, well fitted, and ready to take in a cargo; with a nine hhd. Flat, and several valuable water Negroes, one of them an extraordinary good sailmaker. I have also about three hundred pounds worth of dry goods, lately imported, which I would sell with or without the above store, situated near the

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[1005] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 489-90, 14 February 1746/7.
[1006] *Virginia Gazette*, 14 March 1750/1; ibid., 11 April 1751; Minchinton, King, and Waite, eds., *Virginia Slave Trade Statistics*, p. 147.
[1007] *Virginia Gazette*, 25 April 1755.
[1008] York County Deeds (6) 350-3, dated 28 May 1761and recorded 20 July 1761.
[1009] York County Order Book (1765-1768) 160-1, 17 November 1766.

town wharf. Any person or persons inclinable to purchase, may know the terms by applying to the subscriber in York town.[1010]

Two months later, Thompson decided to sell his real property at a sale "before Mr. Archer's door, near the town wharf. Again, he offered to sell "one dwelling house and lot, with all convenient outhouses, adjoining Mr. David Jameson's; one lot, with a large stable on it, near Dr. Riddell's; one warehouse at the water side, and a new storehouse, completely fitted, near the town wharf."[1011]

Thompson failed to sell his real and personal property. He no doubt worried because he needed to raise money to settle debts. First, Thompson mortgaged Lot 54 and three slaves—Dublin, Lucy, and Hagar—to President William Nelson to secure the payment of his debt of £ 250.11.11 plus interest by 14 April 1770. Thompson had the right to use this property during the time of the mortgage.[1012] Next, Thompson decided to hold a lottery to raise money "to pay off his debts, and reserve some part of his estate for his wife and family. On 11 May 1769, Thompson published the "SCHEME of a LOTTERY" to be drawn on 20 June 1769. The lots include information about five of Thompson's slaves. He had four enslaved men whom he described as watermen. The directors of Thompson's lottery valued Jack at £ 80, Frank at £ 71, Will at £ 65, and Caesar at £ 55. A woman named Hagar, "a good washer and ironer," was worth £ 45.15. On the same day, Thompson also noted "As the sum proposed to be raised by my lottery will not be sufficient to satisfy all my creditors, I intend selling privately the following articles, viz. A Negro man who is a good seaman and sailmaker, several other Negroes." He informed potential purchasers "If the above articles are not sold before the drawing of the lottery, they will be set up at publick auction." [1013]

The directors cancelled the lottery because tickets remained on 20 June 1769. Six months later, Thompson again tried to sell some of his slaves. On 18 January 1770, he announced that he still wanted to raise funds to satisfy his debts and to return "up the country in the spring." Thompson advertised that he would sell "several valuable Negroes, who understand going by water, and good pilots to any part of the bay, one of whom is an extraordinary good sailmaker, some house servants, one of them a very good washer, ironer, and sempstress" as well as his property in Yorktown.[1014]

When this property still did not sell, in March 1770, Thompson mortgaged his "Storehouse on Yorktown beach, just below the town wharf" as well as two female

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[1010] *Virginia Gazette*, Rind, ed., 18 August 1768.
[1011] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 20 October 1768.
[1012] York County Deeds (7) 462-4, dated 14 April 1769 and recorded 19 June 1769. In 1778, six years after Nelson's death, his son and heir, Thomas released William Cary from Thompson's 1769 mortgage. If Dublin, Lucy, and or Hager were alive, they became Cary's property. York County Deeds (6) 21-2, dated 10 June 1778 and recorded 15 February 1779.
[1013] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 11 May 1769. The directors included Dudley Digges, General Thomas Nelson, Jaquelin Ambler, William Stevenson, George Riddell, and David Jameson.
[1014] Ibid., 18 January 1770.

slaves, Hagar (the "good washer, ironer, and sempstress") and Judy, to Yorktown resident Doctor George Riddell to secure the payment of his debt of £ 95.13.1.[1015] Six months later, in September 1770, Thompson announced that he hoped to sell "A new store, near the town wharf" at an auction to be held at the Swan Tavern on 17 September 1770.[1016] Again, Thompson failed to find a purchase and to secure money. As a result, Thompson defaulted on the mortgage to Riddell and transferred Lot 109 to this doctor.[1017]

By the fall of 1773, Thompson found a purchaser for his house. In October 1773, he sold Lot 54 and another lot on which a stable stood to Thomas Powell, a surgeon of Yorktown.[1018] It is possible that John Thompson did succeed in his plan of retiring "up the country." In 1787, his son and namesake was a resident of King and Queen County. In November of that year, John and Lucy Thompson sold a Yorktown lot to William Cary, a Yorktown merchant.[1019]

Thomas Powell

In October 1773, Thomas Powell, a Yorktown surgeon, purchased Lot 54 from John Thompson. He also acquired a second lot with a stable. Powell worried for the safety of his family in the time leading up to the Revolution and decided to leave Yorktown. In June 1776, Powell noted that he was a resident of Fredericksburg when he placed the following announcement in the *Virginia Gazette*: "THE present Situation of York has occasioned me to remove my Family to this Town. I shall open a large and fresh Assortment of MEDICINES in a Shop formerly kept by Dr. Mercer, and shall attend to Practice."[1020] In December 1777, Powell sold Lot 54 to William Cary.

William Cary

In November 1777, Thomas Powell conveyed his Yorktown property to William Cary. This Yorktown merchant gained possession of Lot 54 and "one other Lot or half acre of Ground situate lying and being in the Town and County aforesaid adjoining to two other Lots of the said Town Land which is denoted in the Plan or Survey of the said Town Land with the Number [blank] with a Stable thereon, which said Lots of Land were Sold and Conveyed to the said Thomas Powell by John Thompson."[1021] The following year, Cary

[1015] York County Deeds (8) 53-4, dated 19 March 1770 and recorded 16 July 1770.
[1016] Ibid., 13 September 1770.
[1017] In August 1774, Riddell advertised the availability for sale or lease of "A COMMODIOUS STOREHOUSE on the Beach, adjoining to Mr. Richard Brown's Store, with a Compting Room, a Loft above for Grain or sailmaking, and a good Stone Cellar." See *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 11 August 1774.
[1018] York County Deeds (8) 406-8, dated 10 October 1773 and recorded 16 May 1774.
[1019] York County Deeds (6) 362-4, dated 10 November 1787 and recorded 1 January 1788.
[1020] *Virginia Gazette*, Dixon ed., 22 June 1776.
[1021] York County Deeds (6) 1-2, dated 15 December 1777 and recorded 16 February 1778.

paid the money that John Thompson owed to William Nelson Senior. Nelson's son and heir, Thomas Nelson, released Cary from the mortgage. If Thompson's slaves Dublin, Lucy, and Hager were still alive, they became the property of William Cary. This merchant also gained a clear title to Lot 54.[1022]

Cary was a familiar figure in Yorktown, having worked for John Norton and Sons. In 1758, the Reverend John Camm noted that Cary had two tithes—himself and perhaps an enslaved laborer. He helped to support the institution of slavery in October 1766 when he produced a certificate for taking up an enslaved laborer who escaped from his master.[1023]

This merchant ended his work with the Norton family and acquired his own storehouse by 1771. In June of that year, Paul, a slave owned by George Chaplin, and Joe, an enslaved man held by Samuel Meredith, broke into this building. Paul and Joe were accused of stealing goods that included five gallons of rum, sugar, a piece of shalloon, a piece of woolen cloth valued at twenty shillings, and two pieces of duroy valued at £ 4. They did not, however, steal the bale of osnaburg that Cary also had in his storehouse.[1024]

In March 1773, Cary married Sarah née Shield Dudley, the widow of William Dudley Junior. She held five slaves—Sue, James, Phil, Jenny, and Joe—whom her father gave to Dudley in late 1769.[1025] The names of six slaves were in the 1771 inventory of William Dudley's estate: a man named James valued at £ 20; a boy known as James worth £ 50; a woman called Sue who was assessed at £ 45; Phil, a boy worth £ 45; Joe, another boy, valued at £ 25; and Jenny, a girl appraised at £ 30.[1026] Perhaps Cary decided to sell one of the male slaves who his wife inherited from her father. In the 9 December 1780 issue of the *Virginia Gazette* Cary announced that he would sell "A VERY able handy young NEGRO FELLOW, Virginia born. He has been used both to wait in the house and attend the stable, and is a very tolerable cook."[1027]

William Cary held Lot 54 during the American Revolution and he filed a claim for losses to his property during the Siege of Yorktown:

> a stable 32 feet by 16 double sheded, 10 feet each, serving for stable, Chair-House, Grainery, a Room for Harness Saddles & Bridles, & a Loft for Hay £ 100

[1022] York County Deeds (7) 462-4, dated 14 April 1769 and recorded 19 June 1769; York County Deeds (6) 21-2, dated 10 June 1778 and recorded 15 February 1779.
[1023] York County Order Book (1765-1768) 160, 20 October 1766.
[1024] York County Judgments and Orders (2) 311-2, 17 June 1771; *Virginia Gazette*, Rind, ed., 1 August 1771. The justices of the oyer and terminer court found Joe guilty of breaking into the storehouse, but not of burglary; they determined that Paul was guilty of both charges. Joe pled benefit of clergy, was burnt on his left hand, and whipped thirty-nine times at the public whipping post. Paul was executed for his role in the crime.
[1025] York County Deeds (8) 29, dated 18 November 1769 and recorded 20 November 1769. See Lot 19.
[1026] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 27-9, dated 27 April 1771 and recorded 20 May 1771.
[1027] *Virginia Gazette*, Clarkson and Davis, eds., 9 December 1780.

a Kitchen 24 by 20 with Brick Chimney & Oven, the floar laid with Brick & Tile sash windows, lathed & plaisterd, Dressers & lodging rooms upstairs [£] 80

a Store House 24 by 16 Poplar frame [£] 30

a smoak House £ 15 a Dairy £ 15 [£] 30

Larder 8 feet square brick floar all new [£] 6

a Garden abot. 70 Panels Posts Pales & Rails [£] 21

Damage done the Lotts by throwing up entrenchments & Breast Works [£] 15

Damage done the Dweling House by shot & shells & breaking all the Glass in the Windows [£] 25

This merchant's slaves would have worked in all areas of Lot 54. Enslaved men worked in the stable, caring for horses, making any necessary repairs to Cary's carriage and the harnesses worn by horses when they pulled the carriage, and carrying corn and hay to be stored in the building. Female slaves, young and old, prepared meals in the kitchen, milked cows in the dairy, and tending vegetables and herbs in the garden. Cary's slaves slept in the "lodging rooms upstairs" in the kitchen building.

Cary repaired the damaged structures and then added to his urban property. In November 1787, he purchased a lot from John and Lucy Thompson of King and Queen County. Thompson sold Cary a lot in Yorktown that he had inherited from his father, John Thompson. This merchant also held Lot 81 and Lot 83 in trust after Abraham Archer conveyed this acre of land to Cary. According to the terms of the deed, Cary was to sell the property at a public sale.[1028] Cary was one of the Yorktown residents who invested in waterfront lots when the town's trustees offered these parcels for sale. This merchant gained possession of Lot 94, Lot 95, Lot 96, Lot 101, and Lot 102.[1029]

In April 1800, William Cary had a deed recorded in the York County Court. In the deed, he announced "Know all men by these presents that I William Cary of the Town and County of York do hereby liberate emancipate and perpetually set free my Negro man slave known & called by the name of Samuel Barber Given under my hand and seal this 21st day of April in the year of our Lord 1800."[1030]

[1028] York County Deeds (6) 362-4, dated 10 November 1787 and recorded 1 January 1788; York County Deeds (7) 294, dated 1 July 1799 and recorded 15 July 1799. See Lots 80-83.
[1029] See Lot 94, Lot 95, Lot 96, Lot 101, and Lot 102.
[1030] York County Deeds (7) 320, dated and recorded 21 April 1800.

Two years later, on 2 January 1802, when Cary sat down to write his will, he decided to include provisions to free another one of his slaves. Cary died in 1805 and when his will was probated on 15 July 1805, his legacies included the following:

> My desire is that my Boy Joe may be bound to some good Mecanic when he comes to the age of sixteen years to learn his Trade, and if he behaves himself faithfully and obedient to his present mistress during her life my will is that he may be Free at her decease and that my Executors pay to him ten pounds in money & give him a good strong and warm suit of cloths.

In addition, Cary left his wife "during her life the use of all my houses and Lands in York Town and adjoining thereto either to use herself or to rent out." After his wife's death, Cary noted "my Will and desire is that all my Estate real and personal may be equally divided between the Children of my Sister Martha Goosley, my Sister Judith Eggleston and my Sister Elizabeth Eggleston."[1031]

[1031] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 675, dated 2 January 1802, codicil dated 1 May 1805, and recorded 15 July 1805.

Lot 59

William Kemp

Lot 59 remained vacant until 24 June 1707, when William Kemp, a resident of Gloucester County, bought this half-acre from the trustees of Yorktown.[1032] Kemp deserted Lot 59, and the title to the property reverted to the trustees.

Richard Cheshire

On 20 January 1717/8, Yorktown's trustees granted Lot 59 to Richard Cheshire.[1033] On the same day, Cheshire also purchased Lot 63. As a merchant, it is likely that Cheshire had slaves carry goods to a storehouse on the property. Cheshire was a resident of Princess Anne County in June 1725 when he sold Lot 59 to Robert Dowsing.[1034]

Robert Dowsing and William Dowsing

In June 1725, Robert Dowsing of York County purchased Lot 59, and the house that stood on this property from Richard Cheshire, a merchant of Princess Anne County. Dowsing, a bricklayer, also owned Lot 78. Extant documents do not indicate where Dowsing's home stood. It is possible that Dowsing and his family lived on Lot 59 and Lot 78, the lots he owned, or on Lot 79 in the dwelling of his wife's parents, William and Margaret Gordon.[1035]

Robert Dowsing held until his death in early 1736/7. The elder Dowsing bequeathed both of his Yorktown properties to his son, William Dowsing.[1036] The settlement of Dowsing's estate included a payment of five shillings cash to Benjamin Hanson for the balance of his account.[1037]

After the death of his father, Dowsing lived on Lot 59, Lot 78, or Lot 79 with his mother and stepfather, John Dailey.[1038] Dowsing was a planter of King William County on 23 April 1760 when he and his wife, Elizabeth, sold Lot 59 to James Pride.[1039]

[1032] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 239-40, dated and recorded 24 June 1707.
[1033] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 224, dated and recorded 20 January 1717/8. In addition to acquiring Lot 63, Cheshire also owned Lot 51 for a short time. See Lot 51 and Lot 63.
[1034] Ibid., pp. 444-5, dated 3 and 4 June 1725 and recorded 21 June 1725.
[1035] See Lot 78 and Lot 79.
[1036] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 347-8, dated 13 January 1736/7 and recorded 21 February 1736/7.
[1037] Ibid., pp. 574-5, recorded 17 March 1739/40.
[1038] See Lot 79 for information about the slaves whom William Dowsing inherited from his grandfather, William Gordon.
[1039] York County Deeds (6) 242-5, dated 23 April 1760 and recorded 16 June 1760.

James Pride

On 23 April 1760, James Pride purchased Lot 59 from William and Elizabeth Dowsing. A Yorktown merchant, Pride lived on Lot 51 and Lot 55.[1040] It is likely that Pride rented Lot 59 to a tenant or tenants during the time he owned this lot. On 14 December 1771, James Pride conveyed Lot 59 to David Jameson, a Yorktown merchant.[1041]

David Jameson

In December 1771, David Jameson of Yorktown purchased Lot 59 from James Pride. Jameson and his wife, Mildred, lived in a house on Lot 53.[1042] Jameson no doubt leased Lot 59 to one or more tenants during the time he owned his property. The house and many of the outbuildings on Lot 59 were destroyed during the Siege of Yorktown. As owner of the property, David Jameson filed a claim for the losses on Lot 59:

> a dwelling House 5 rooms & a passage below stairs & 3 rooms and a passage above, with a brick cellar halfway the length of the House [£] 200
>
> a stable 24 by 16 with a ten feed [sic] shed on each side, fitted with 7 stalls, Racks &c a Corn room a Carriage House, and Cow shelter [£] 100
>
> a smoak House 10 feet square, double studded & underpin'd 4 feet deep with Brick [£] 20
>
> 74 pannels of paling round the stable Garden put up with Cedar posts sawed Oake pales & Rails, 3 Rails to a pannel at 9/ [£] 33.6
>
> 24 pannels paling belonging to the upper garden and Yard at the Dwelling House [£] 10.16

The details in Jameson's claim provide information about the physical appearance of Lot 59 and about the spaces in which enslaved men, women, and children could have labored. Enslaved female slaves might have worked in the dwelling house and tended vegetables and herbs grown in the "upper garden and Yard at the Dwelling House." Male slaves could have taken care of the horses in the stable "with 7 stalls" and the cleaned and repaired the carriage in the "Carriage House." Enslaved men and boys no doubt cut down trees and turned the timber into posts, panels, and palings for the "stable Garden," the "upper garden," and the "Yard at the Dwelling House."[1043]

[1040] See Lot 51 and Lot 55.
[1041] York County Deeds (8) 235-6, dated 14 December 1771 and recorded 20 July 1772.
[1042] See Lot 53.
[1043] "Claims for Losses of York County Citizens in the British Invasion of 1781." It is not clear if the "57 pannels post & Rail round a Lot, six Rails to a pannel at 5/ [£] 14.5" were on Lot 53 or Lot 59.

Jameson owned Lot 59 until his death on 10 July 1793. In his 14 October 1792 will, Jameson gave his nephew

> John Jameson one moiety of both real and personal of which I may die possessed of to him the said John and his Heirs forever. I give the other moiety of my Estate that I may die possessed of both real and personal to be equally divided between my nephews, David Jameson of Culpeper & David Jameson of Caroline county, to them & their Heirs forever.[1044]

On 21 August 1793, John Jameson, David Jameson, and David Jameson Junior announced the sale of their uncle's real estate:

For Sale, on Thursday the 24th day of October next, at the late dwelling house of David Jameson, deceased, in York Town to the highest Bidder, The lot and Houses where the decedent dwelt, and sundry other lots in the said Town, some of which are improved and some others unimproved; the lot under the bank on which the tobacco warehouses stand, with its apendages; a very valuable tract of land about three miles from Town, containing, by estimation, 871 acres, with a large and well improved plantation, and a small mill on it.[1045]

[1044] Yorktown Hustings Court Records (1787-1793) 39-40, dated 14 October 1792, codicil dated 21 May 1793, and recorded 23 July 1793 (from a 12 April 1892 copy of the original).
[1045] *Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser*, 21 August 1793.

Lot 63

Richard Cheshire and John Cheshire

On 20 January 1717/8, the trustees of Yorktown conveyed Lot 63 to Richard Cheshire.[1046] Four months later, Cheshire purchased a slave girl named Betty from William Sheldon, the York County sub sheriff, for £ 21. The deed noted that Cheshire was a resident of Norfolk County.[1047] This merchant relocated to Princess Anne County by June 1725 when he sold Lot 59 to Robert Dowsing. Richard Cheshire retained ownership of Lot 63 until the time of his death.

By February 1738/9, John Cheshire was the owner of this half-acre in Yorktown. The younger Cheshire, a merchant of Norfolk County, held Lot 63 until 1746. In April of that year, he conveyed this Yorktown lot to John Thruston, a merchant of Gloucester County.[1048]

John Thruston

In April 1746, John Thruston, a merchant of Gloucester County, purchased Lot 63 from John Cheshire of Norfolk County. Eighteen years earlier, in June 1728, Thruston worked as a bookkeeper for Thomas Nelson the Immigrant. It is likely that Thruston was a resident of Yorktown in July 1735 when he took a recently arrived African to the York County Courthouse. The justices of the peace determined that Phil was nine years old.[1049]

By 1752, Thruston moved his mercantile business to the north side of the York River. In November of that year, Thruston and his wife, Sarah, were residents of Gloucester County when they sold a lot in the Read Addition to Yorktown to David Jameson. The deed noted that this merchant purchased the parcel from Gwyn Read.[1050] Nine years later, on 31 March 1761, Thruston sold Lot 63 to John Norton.[1051]

John Norton and John Hatley Norton

On 31 March 1761, Yorktown merchant John Norton purchased Lot 63 from a Gloucester County merchant named John Thruston. Three and a half years later, in September 1764, Norton announced his intention to return to England. His son, John Hatley Norton,

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[1046] Richard Cheshire also held Lot 51 and Lot 59. See Lot 51 and Lot 59.
[1047] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 223-4, dated and recorded 20 January 1717/8; ibid., p. 243, dated 18 April 1718 and recorded 16 June 1718.
[1048] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 169-70, dated 22 April 1746 and recorded 16 June 1746.
[1049] York County Orders and Wills (16) 532, 17 June 1728; York County Wills and Inventories (18) 207, 21 July 1735.
[1050] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 512-4, dated 20 November 1752 and recorded 18 December 1752.
[1051] York County Deeds (6) 342-5, dated 31 March 1761 and recorded 18 May 1761.

gained possession of his Yorktown properties and some rural land a short distance from the town.[1052]

It is possible that the younger Norton made his home in a dwelling on either Lot 60 or Lot 63, two of the parcels that his father owned in 1764 when he returned to England.[1053] During the time that he lived in Yorktown, John Hatley Norton acquired several other half-acre parcels. First, Norton bought Lot 74 at the May 1769 sale of Edward Cary's estate. Next, in July 1772, Norton bought Lot 72 and Lot 73 from Lawrence and Damaris Smith.[1054]

Like his father, Norton was a Yorktown merchant. In 1768, Norton hired William Cary to receive money due to the firm of John Norton and Sons. After Cary left Norton's employment, William Goosley and Cornelius Livingston of Gloucester County worked for John Norton and Sons.[1055] Norton no doubt depended on enslaved men to unload crates and barrels of imported goods and to carry hogsheads of tobacco on vessels before they left for England.

Norton's November 1771 presentment for failing to list his riding chair suggests that he had a slave who drove him when he traveled on business.[1056] Perhaps Norton kept the riding chair and horses in the stable on Lot 71. After Norton's 1772 marriage to Sally Nicholas, the daughter of Williamsburg's Robert Carter Nicholas, this merchant's household would have included any slaves whom his wife received from her father.

Correspondence between Norton and Martha Goosley provides information about some of this merchant's enslaved laborers. The letters concerned a rental agreement in which Norton leased his father's house to the widow Goosley. On 5 May 1773, Martha Goosley wrote a letter to Norton which she hoped would "clear up some grand Mistakes you have made in regard to the agreement between us for Board & c[.]" She began by writing

> you say I was to Board you: your Man, Grace and Greenwich for £ 20 a year you must suppose me very Stupid to find four People for that Sum when your Washing and Mending would have come to half the Money I very well remember the agreement was as follows you were to have one half the House my self the other in consideration of which instead of asking £ 40 for you and your Man which I should have done I allowed half for House Rent [.]

Next, the widow Goosley turned to Grace, Norton's enslaved woman and reminded the merchant

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[1052] See Lot 71 for information about John Norton.
[1053] John Norton sold Lot 56 to George Wilson in August 1764, the same month that this merchant gave Secretary Thomas Nelson the right to use a stable on Lot 71 as well as the stable yard. See Lot 71.
[1054] See Lot 72, Lot 73, and Lot 74.
[1055] Cary decided not to work for Norton because it would interfere with his own business. *Virginia Gazette*, Rind, ed., 16 June 1768; ibid., 22 September 1768.
[1056] York County Judgments and Orders (2) 405, 18 November 1771.

she was only to stay till you could Provide a Place for her and that I told you she had then been a burthen upon my hands for two years. her Service I could not have wanted as I had five Women Servants in the House of My Brothers & My Own: indeed she was so very worthless that I would not have accepted of her as a Gift: She was at one Time Six Months at least under the hands of a Surgeon all which time I Put up with the inconvenience of having her in the House with Me gave her the Medicines My Self and had her Victual & drink Prepared before Me: and was at the expense of Providing such as was Proper for her [.]

Martha Goosley recalled that

> Greenwich was at that time hired out nor did I ever hear that you entended to take him home till the Sept afterward & our agreement was Made in June: his employment then was to tend your Stable & to cut yr Wood he might indeed have done that and have worked in the Garden at leisure times but he did not chuse to do it and I had no right to Make him I therefore did not trouble My Self with him but hired day Labourer to tend the Garden you must likewise remember that you agreed to furnish yr own Part of the House, to find yr Bed fire Candle &c. the bed I bought for you but the furniture for that as well as for the rooms was Mine yr white man George ate and lodged two or three Months Surely that was not to go into the £ 20.

Next, the widow Goosley turned to her complaints about an enslaved man named William. She informed Norton that

> Willm. was sometime at my House after he was yr. Property before Doct. Griffin had him he sent him home the last of Jany and he continued at home till some time in Augst when you sold him to Capt Robertson he sent him back in Octr & I had him from that time till a day or two before Christmas not only to feed but to Doctor and take off or when he must have died when Robertson came in last year I told him I expected to be Payed for the trouble and expence he ansered that he thought it reasonable I should: but as you had sold him to Mr. Page for £ 20 and had only allowed him in Proportion to the time at what he Paid you for him & that he had never had any Service from him he therefore Desired I would charge you with his Board &c & I believe you will find that no white Man can be found in a Town for less than twenty Shillings a Month.

Martha Goosley concluded her discussion of Norton's slaves with a few sentences about Tom, an adult male slave whom she purchased from Norton. She observed

> Tom you sold me for a Song but I assure you I should have thought you had favoured me in his Price: and greatly if he had been well: as to his Service I believe any impartial Person would allow: who knew the State he was in when he first came to me: that I well Deserved it but you think I over rate all My Services I assure you it is not my disposition to be ungratefull I am ready and do

> acknowledge My Self under great obligations to Many of my friends for the generous returns they have made Me for Services not a tenth Part so great as I have rendered you.

Goosely concluded her long letter to Norton by commenting on the treatment she received from William Reynolds. She informed Norton that

> Mr Reynolds boarded with me last year he Breakfasted and lodged at home & had his washing Done by his own Servant he was gone to the Norward five Months yet he Paied me £ 25 for him self & £ 5 for his Man he Several times made me a Present of Wine double Sugar &c when we parted he gave Me a negro Woman who tho old....[remaining portion of letter is missing].[1057]

It is clear that Martha Goosley wanted Norton to realize that he had not dealt with her in a fair manner or in a way that she deserved.

In addition to the slaves whom he boarded with Martha Goosley, Norton had a personal slave. This enslaved man escaped in mid-June 1774. Norton informed readers of the 30 June 1774 edition of Purdie and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette* that

> RUN away from the Subscriber, about a Fortnight ago, a Mulatto Fellow named CORNELIUS, who is well known in York, Gloucester, and most Counties of Virginia, having traveled with me for several Years through different Parts of the Colony. When he first eloped it was imagined he would have gone to Carolina, but within these ten Days he was met about three miles from Gloucester Town, in Company with a Mulatto Woman of Mr. Dedman's of York, who is said to be his Wife.

A month later, Norton gave an update on Cornelius. He reported that this slave "was apprehended at Fredericksburg, brought here and imprisoned, and last night broke Jail." In addition, while Cornelius "continued at Fredericksburg unmolested, he passed for a Freeman. His Wife, a mulatto, was in Company with him; both were considered as free People, and hired in the Harvest by some Planters." Cornelius and his wife planned "to get Money, and to proceed back upon the Frontiers of Virginia." Norton concluded the advertisement with the offer of a reward for the return of Cornelius and a physical description of this escaped slave. Cornelius was "middle sized; he carried with him a Russia Drill Postillion Coat and Waistcoat, and an old blue Livery Cloth Suit."[1058]

Sometime in 1774, Norton decided to move to Williamsburg. On 10 November 1774, Norton announced that his dwelling house in Yorktown was for sale.[1059] A 1775 deed recorded in the York County Court records indicate that he conveyed three Yorktown

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[1057] Mason, ed., *John Norton & Sons*, pp. 319-21.
[1058] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 30 June 1774; ibid., 28 July 1774
[1059] Ibid., 10 November 1774.

properties—Lot 72, Lot 73, and Lot 74—to Nathaniel Littleton Savage of Northampton County.[1060] Perhaps Norton also sold Lot 63 to Savage at that time.

Nathaniel Littleton Savage and Robert Nelson Esquire

It is possible that Nathaniel Littleton Savage purchased Lot 63 from John Hatley Norton in 1775, the year in which he bought Lot 72, Lot 73, and Lot 74 from this merchant. A resident of Northampton County, Savage no doubt leased this half-acre during the time he owned it. Savage might have conveyed Lot 63 to Robert Nelson, son of President William Nelson and Elizabeth Nelson, in 1777, the year when he sold three other Yorktown parcels—Lot 72, Lot 73, and Lot 74—to Nelson.

It is known that Nelson possessed Lot 63 by 1786. Robert Nelson was a resident of Henrico County on 27 September of that year when he and his wife, Mary, sold Lot 63 as well as Lot 72, Lot 73, Lot 74, and a lot adjoining Lot 63 on the southwest side of Yorktown to General Thomas Nelson.[1061]

General Thomas Nelson

See Lot 52.

[1060] See Lot 72, Lot 73, and Lot 74.
[1061] York County Deeds (6) 324, dated 27 September 1786 and recorded 16 October 1786.

Lot 67

John Gibbons

On 20 January 1717/8, the Yorktown trustees granted Lot 67 to John Gibbons.[1062] Gibbons, an ordinary keeper, operated his business on the adjoining parcel, Lot 71.[1063] It is possible that he had outbuildings or a kitchen garden on Lot 67. Gibbons owned Lot 67 at the time of his death in the spring of 1727. In his March 1726/7 will, Gibbons left Lot 67 to his daughter, Sarah.[1064]

Sarah Gibbons

On 15 May 1727, Sarah Gibbons gained possession of Lot 67 in Yorktown when the will of her father, John Gibbons, was probated in the York County Court. Sarah Gibbons appeared on the February 1738/9 list of Yorktown property holders. It is possible that she was the "Sally Gibbons" whose lot adjoined a half-acre parcel that William and Mary Harwood of Warwick County sold to William Reynolds on 28 July 1772.[1065]

[1062] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 222, dated and recorded 20 January 1717/8.
[1063] See Lot 71.
[1064] York County Orders and Wills (16) 458, dated 9 March 1726/7 and recorded 15 May 1727.
[1065] York County Deeds (8) 300-2, dated 28 July 1772 and recorded 15 March 1773.

Lot 70

Reverend James Sclater

On 24 March 1706/7, the trustees of Yorktown conveyed Lot 70 to the Reverend James Sclater of Charles Parish.[1066] Sclater failed to build on this lot, and the title to the property reverted to the town's trustees.

Nathaniel Hook, Rebecca née Watkins Hook, and William Watkins

Lot 70 remained vacant until 12 February 1714/5 when the trustees of Yorktown transferred this half-acre to Nathaniel Hook, a York County carpenter.[1067] Hook built a structure on this parcel and retained ownership of the property. In July 1719, Mary Cary took Hook to court. She told the justices of the peace that she "bound to Nathaniel Hook a Mulatto boy to learn the Trade of a Carpenter & that the sd. Nathaniel neglects to teach or cause him to be taught the sd. Trade." It appears that Cary and Hook settled their dispute out of court because on 17 August 1719, the York County clerk noted that the suit had been dismissed.[1068] Hook and Cary had another interaction. In September 1720, the members of the York County Court awarded Hook a certificate for taking up Tom, a slave who ran from Mary Cary's Gloucester County plantation.[1069]

On 29 January 1721/2, the justices of the peace determined that there was enough evidence against a man named Lewis Davis to have him tried at the General Court. York's magistrates ordered Hook to send "his Servant Bertrand a Mulatto" to Williamsburg to provide evidence in Davis's felony trial.[1070] It is not known if Bertrand was Mary Cary's servant or if he was another mulatto bound to Hook to learn the skills of a carpenter.

Hook died between 29 January 1721/2 and 17 September 1722, the date his will was probated in the York County Court. He left his Yorktown lot to his wife, Rebecca, during her lifetime and then to his godson, Thomas Watkins, son of William Watkins Junior, and to John Nixon, son of Humphrey Nixon, to share. After the death of John Nixon, his portion of Lot 70 would go to William Watkins, the son of William Watkins. The inventory of Hook's personal estate is badly torn; however, it does not appear that he owned any enslaved laborers at the time of his death.[1071]

[1066] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 232, dated and recorded 24 March 1706/7.
[1067] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 62-3, dated 12 February 1714/5 and recorded 21 March 1714/5. The trustees re-granted this property to Hook in August 1716. Ibid., p. 133, dated and recorded 20 August 1716.
[1068] York County Orders and Wills (15) 455, 20 July 1719 (quotation); ibid., p. 471, 17 August 1719.
[1069] Ibid., p. 677, 24 September 1720.
[1070] York County Orders and Wills (16) 103, 29 January 1721/2.
[1071] Ibid., p. 161, [not dated] and recorded 17 September 1722; ibid., p. 171, recorded [7] December 1722.

It is possible that Rebecca Hook was a Yorktown resident in August 1727 when she took Matthew Lutwidge, a Yorktown tavern keeper, to court.[1072] The widow Hook's name appeared on the February 1738/9 list of Yorktown lot owners.[1073] She was a resident of Charles Parish by the time of her death on 10 September 1741. Extant documents suggest that Rebecca née Watkins Hook survived both Thomas Watkins and John Nixon. In October 1742, William Watkins, a resident of St. Paul's Parish in Hanover County, sold Lot 70 to Abraham Archer, a Yorktown tavern keeper. He gained possession of the half-acre after the death of Rebecca née Watkins Hook.[1074]

Abraham Archer Senior

In July 1729, Abraham Archer purchased a storehouse on the bank of the York River from Mary Cook Lutwidge.[1075] He operated a tavern on the property that became Lot 107 and lived on the waterfront with his family. During his lifetime, Archer acquired additional property in Yorktown. This tavern keeper acquired Lot 32 in 1732/3 and two lots in the Read Addition to Yorktown in 1739. Three years later, in October 1742, William Watkins, a resident of St. Paul's Parish in Hanover County, sold Lot 70 to Abraham Archer. It is possible that Archer leased Lot 32, his property in the Gwyn Read Addition to Yorktown, and Lot 70 to tenants while his children were underage. In January of 1742/3, a widow named Ann Bond received a license to keep "an ordinary at Abrm. Archers house at York Town."[1076]

Abraham Archer Senior died on 14 February 1752 at the age of sixty. He bequeathed his entire estate to his wife, Amy, during her widowhood. When she either remarried or died, his real and personal estate was to go to their children. Archer left his storehouse under the hill, Lot 70, land in Warwick County, and slaves called Caesar and Deptford to his son Thomas.[1077]

Thomas Archer Senior

Thomas Archer, like his father before him, was a tavern keeper. Archer received a license to keep an ordinary "at his house in Yorktown" on 15 May 1749, an indication that he did not work in his father's establishment on the town's waterfront. It is possible that he leased Lot 70 from his father and used the same buildings where Ann Bond

[1072] Ibid., p. 479, 21 August 1727.
[1073] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 478-9, 23 February 1738/9.
[1074] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 27, dated 22 October 1742 and recorded 15 November 1742.

[1075] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 523, dated 4 and 5 July 1729 and recorded 21 July 1729.
[1076] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 146, 17 January 1742/3. See Lot 32 and Part I. Section 9—Part III. Lot 107.
[1077] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 256-7, dated 16 December 1748 and recorded 18 May 1752.

previously kept a tavern.[1078] Extant documents suggest that Archer also had the labor of a slave named Deptford while his father was alive. On 20 August 1753, Archer mortgaged Deptford and another slave named Jack to David Jameson. Perhaps Archer sold a recently built twenty-eight foot by twenty-foot warehouse on the waterfront to Jameson in February 1754 to obtain money to pay his debt to this Yorktown merchant.[1079] Archer met the terms of the mortgage and retained ownership of Deptford. This enslaved man was one of the six tithes in Archer's 1758 household when the Reverend Camm recorded a list of Yorkhampton Parish tithes.

It is possible that Archer's mother, Amy, died soon after Camm wrote his 1758 list because this document is the last extant record to include her name. According to his father's will, Archer gained possession of the waterfront tavern after his mother's death. Archer moved his business to the banks of the York River, and it is likely that he lived in the dwelling on Lot 70. He would have had the majority of his slaves spend their working days in the tavern so he could provide sufficient food, drink, and lodging to his customers.[1080] Archer no doubt had domestic slaves work in his household when he did not need these enslaved women and girls to labor in the waterfront tavern.

On 22 November 1775, Archer decided to give Lot 70 to his son, Abraham Archer. In the deed, Thomas Archer transferred ownership of this property to his son "for his Better Advancement in the world." The elder Archer moved to the dwelling on Lot 75, a parcel that he had purchased from William Reynolds.[1081]

Abraham Archer Junior

See Lot 107.

[1078] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 15 May 1749. See Part I. Section 9—Part III. Lot 107.
[1079] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 597-600, dated 20 August 1753 and recorded 19 March 1754; ibid., pp. 618-9, dated 28 February 1754 and recorded 15 July 1754. See Part I. Section 9—Part III. Lot 120.
[1080] See Part I. Section 9—Part III. Lot 107.
[1081] Ibid., pp. 500-1, dated 22 November 1775 and recorded 18 December 1775. See Lot 75.

Lot 71

John Gibbons

On 20 January 1717/8, John Gibbons bought Lot 71 from the trustees of Yorktown. Gibbons also purchased Lot 67 on the same day and by the early 1720s, he held a total of five lots in the town.[1082] Gibbons was the son of Thomas Gibbons, a Yorkhampton Parish planter, and his wife, Mary. Although a 1719 deed described Gibbons as a "planter of Yorktown," once Gibbons acquired urban property, he worked as an ordinary keeper.

Gibbons married Ann née Moss Mennis Phillips. It is likely that Ann Gibbons was a slave owner when she married her third husband. The June 1696 inventory of the estate of her first husband, Charles Mennis of York Parish, included an old enslaved man valued at £ 26 and a young slave lad worth £ 20.[1083] Perhaps the old male slave was Tony, the man who broke into Lawrence Smith's storehouse on Lot 72.[1084]

After the February 1715[/6] probate of Nicholas Phillips's will, the widow Phillips inherited Adam, Nan, and the remainder of the "service of Peg an indentured servant."[1085] In December 1716, after the death of her father, Edward Moss of Yorkhampton Parish, Ann Phillips received an enslaved woman Sarah and "the Child she now goes with" in addition to an old woman named Frank.[1086] Ann Phillips no doubt moved Sarah, her newborn child, and Frank to the lot where she lived in Yorktown.

In addition to the slaves owned by his wife, Gibbons acquired additional laborers to work in his tavern. On 17 August 1719, Gibbons took two slaves to the York County Courthouse. The justices of the peace determined that Jemmy was a boy of fourteen years and that Tom was a year older than Jemmy.[1087] Soon after Gibbons purchased Jemmy and Tom, his white indentured servant, Lewis Davis, escaped. In March 1720/1, York's officials decided that Davis would serve Gibbons an extra nineteen months "for absent time and charges to taking him up." Davis ran from his master a second time. On 19 December 1726, the justices of the peace added twenty days to Davis's time of service as compensation for Gibbons.[1088]

[1082] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 221-2, dated and recorded 20 January 1717/8. See Lot 67. In September 1719, Gibbons purchased Lot 64 and Lot 65 from William Andrews of Nansemond County. Almost a year and a half later, on 20 February 1720/1, he acquired Lot 54 from Stephen Fuller, a planter of New Kent County. Ibid., p. 222, dated and recorded 20 January 1717/8; ibid., pp. 309-10, dated 19 and 21 September 1719 and recorded 21 September 1719; ibid., pp. 346-8, dated and recorded 20 February 1720/1. See Lot 54.

[1083] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (10) 306-8, dated 4 June 1696 and recorded 24 July 1696.

[1084] See Lot 72.

[1085] York County Orders and Wills (14) 485-6, dated 10 February 1715[/6] and recorded 20 February 1715[/6].

[1086] York County Orders and Wills (15) 61-2, dated 16 July 1715 and recorded 17 December 1716.

[1087] Ibid., p. 472, 17 August 1719.

[1088] York County Orders and Wills (16) 28, 20 March 1720/1; ibid., p. 419, dated 19 December 1726.

As a tavern keeper, Gibbons managed the work of the male slaves and his indentured servant. He also served in two official positions that required him to interact with slaves. First, on 14 October 1713, Gibbons submitted a claim to the York County Court for the payment of 250 pounds of tobacco. A deputy sheriff for York County, Gibbons conveyed a slave owned by William Byrd II of Charles City County from the York Gaol to the Public Gaol in Williamsburg. Second, on 17 September 1716, Governor Alexander Spotswood gave Gibbons a commission to serve as an agent of the York Storehouse during the time that Philip Lightfoot was away from Yorktown.[1089] In this role, Gibbons would have encountered enslaved men who carried crates and barrels to the storehouse.

Gibbons operated his tavern on Lot 71 until his 1727 death. In his will dated 9 March 1726/7 and probated on 15 May 1727, Gibbons bequeathed Lot 71 to his son, Lawrence. Another son, John, gained possession of Lot 64 and Lot 65. A daughter named Sarah became the owner of Lot 67, a lot adjoining the family tavern. Thomas Gibbons received the lot that his father bought from Stephen Fuller. John Ballard, husband of Elizabeth née Gibbons Ballard, inherited Lot 54 from his father-in-law. Gibbons did not leave his enslaved laborers to any of his children. As a result, it is possible that Ann Gibbons and John Gibbons Junior, the executors of the estate of John Gibbons Senior, sold these individuals at a sale.[1090]

The inventory of Gibbons' estate included Lewis Davis valued at £ 10, an enslaved man Barnaby worth £ 25, another enslaved man named "Tomboy" who was worth £ 18, an "old Negro man named Frank" valued at £ 5, and "1 Negro Child 7 Months old" valued at forty shillings. At the request of the orphans of Nicholas Phillips, Yorktown residents Thomas Nelson the Immigrant, Philip Lightfoot, Richard Ambler, and William Stark made a separate appraisement of four additional slaves. This request indicates that these individuals—Jemmy, about twenty-two years of age, valued at £ 35; Tom, also

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[1089] York County Orders and Wills (14) 285, 14 October 1713; York County Orders and Wills (15) 28, 17 September 1716.

[1090] York County Orders and Wills (16) 458, dated 9 March 1726/7 and recorded 15 May 1727. It is possible that Ann née Moss Mennis Phillips Gibbons lived with her son John on Lot 64 and Lot 65 after the death of her third husband. On 18 March 1744/5, the justices of an oyer and terminer court found her enslaved man Frank not guilty of the charge of breaking and entering Richard Ambler's storehouse and taking a piece of broad cloth valued at £ 3. Sixteen years later, on 19 October 1761, another one of the widow Gibbons' slaves appeared in an oyer and terminer trial. Dick admitted that he received stolen goods from Davy, a slave owned by Frances Nelson, the widow of Thomas Nelson the Immigrant. After the justices sentenced Dick to death, he "prayed the benefit of the Act of Assembly and to him it is allowed Therefore it is considered by the Ct. that the sd. Dick be burnt in his left hand wch. being done in the presence of the Ct. he is discharged out of Custody." Ann Gibbons died in 1768, and her will was probated on 19 September 1768. The widow Gibbons left an enslaved woman named Moll and her three children—Dick, Frank, and Harry—to a daughter. Unfortunately, her name is torn. Aaron Phillips gained possession of a man named Frank. It is possible that she also left an enslaved laborer to her son Francis Mennis, her daughter Sarah Nelson, and another child. The 1768 inventory of Ann Gibbons' estate included a man named Dick (£ 100), Frank (£ 70), Harry (£ 80), Sue (£ 60), Jack (£ 50), and Oliver (£ 35). York County Wills and Inventories (19) 362, 18 March 1744/5; York County Judgments and Orders (3) 294-5, 19 October 1761; York County Wills and Inventories (21) 430-1, dated 14 February 1745/6 and recorded 19 September 1768; ibid., pp. 432-4, dated [torn] 1768 and recorded 21 November 1768.

approximately twenty-two years old, worth £ 30; a nine-year old boy Jack assessed at £ 18; and a four year old girl known as Frank and work £ 10—belonged to Ann née Moss Mennis Phillips Gibbons because Nicholas Phillips bequeathed two slaves—Adam and Nan—and any children born to Nan to his wife during her lifetime and then to two of their children.[1091]

Lawrence Gibbons

After the 15 May 1727 probate of his father's will, Lawrence Gibbons gained possession of Lot 71. In June 1740, his mother petitioned the York County Court to receive "her third part in the houses & Lott whereon Lawrence Gibbons now lives laid off & Assign'd to her." The justices ordered Edmund Smith, President William Nelson, and Samuel Read to view the structures on the lot, divide the property into three equal shares, and assign one-third to the widow Gibbons since Lawrence "refused to lay it off accord. to Law."[1092] Ann Gibbons assigned her portion of Lot 71 to her son, John Gibbons, by late 1742. In December of that year, Lawrence and Ann Gibbons of Surry County and John and Mary Gibbons of Yorktown sold Lot 71 to Robert Shield Junior, a Yorktown merchant.[1093]

Robert Shield Junior

On 15 December 1742, Robert Shield Junior purchased Lot 71 from John and Mary Gibbons of Yorktown and Lawrence and Ann Gibbons of Surry County. Shield, the son of Robert and Sarah Shield, was born in Charles Parish in December 1717. After Shield moved to Yorktown, he worked as a merchant. His wife Rebecca was the daughter of Samuel Hyde.[1094]

In August 1746, Shield took an enslaved boy to the York County Courthouse. The justices of the peace determined that Billy was eight years old.[1095] After the 1753 death of his father, the younger Robert Shield inherited ten slaves: Dick, Rachel (who was already in his possession), Jack, Kate and her unnamed child, another slave known as Dick, Charles, Little Ben, Edy, and a child named Tom. This Yorktown merchant also

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[1091] York County Orders and Wills (16) 464, recorded 19 June 1727.
The settlement of the estate of John Gibbons included a payment of £ 1 to Margaret Baptist of Yorkhampton Parish for "Nursing a Negro Child." Ibid., p. 525, recorded 20 May 1728.
[1092] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 611, 16 June 1740.
[1093] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 32-6, dated 15 December 1742 and recorded 20 December 1742. The deed noted that Lawrence Gibbons was a bricklayer.
[1094] Rebecca née Hyde Shield inherited four slaves—Mingo, Phyllis, Sampson, and Amy—from her father, Samuel Hyde. York County Wills and Inventories (18) 591, dated 16 January 1739/40 and recorded 17 March 1739/40.
[1095] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 452, 18 August 1746.

gained possession of his father's Charles Parish plantation.[1096] In 1758, the Reverend John Camm noted that Shield had five tithes in Yorkhampton Parish. Shield's tithes might have included Billy and Rachel.

It is possible that Shield decided to leave Yorktown soon after Camm recorded his list of tithables. In September 1758, Shield and his wife, Rebecca, sold a storehouse on the York River to Edmund Tabb of Yorktown. The deed noted that Tabb was in possession of the forty-eight foot by twenty-eight foot structure.[1097] On 21 May 1759, Shield agreed to record a list of the tithes in the upper precinct of Charles Parish, an indication that he had left Yorktown. Two and a half years later, on 16 November 1761, Robert and Rebecca Shield sold Lot 71 to John Norton.[1098]

John Norton

On 16 November 1761, Yorktown merchant John Norton purchased Lot 71 from Robert and Rebecca Shield of Charles Parish. Nearly fifteen years earlier, on 17 March 1745/6, Norton was a resident of King William County when he bought Lot 56 from Thomas Phillips, and it is possible that he made his home on this half-acre of land after he moved to Yorktown.[1099]

[1096] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 293-4, dated 23 February 1753 and recorded 21 May 1752.

[1097] York County Deeds (6) 160-2, dated and recorded 18 September 1758.

[1098] York County Judgments and Orders (3) 31, 21 May 1759; York County Deeds (6) 379-80, dated and recorded 16 November 1761.
Shield was a resident of Charles Parish when he died in 1773. He bequeathed the following slaves to his wife, Rebecca: Ben, Gaby, Tom, Rachel and four of her children (Sarah, Frank, Hannah, and Janey), Bess and three of her children (Judy, Alice, and Sukey), Dick, Phillis, and Patt during her lifetime. After the death of Rebecca Shield, these slaves were to be divided between their sons Samuel and Robert. Shield left an enslaved girl named Pamela to his daughter, Mary. He gave his son Robert a woman known as Sarah and her children as well as Sue and her children (except Pamela). Samuel Shield gained possession of the remainder of his father's personal estate. The 1773 inventory of Shield's estate included forty-eight slaves: a man named Ben (£ 65), another man known as Gaby (£ 60), Dick (£ 60), Robin (£ 60), Lewis (£ 60), Tom (£ 50), Toney (£ 60), Paul (£ 60), Paul (£ 60), Billy (£ 60), Cyrus (£ 60), Jack (£ 60), George (£ 55), Rachel and her child Jamie (£ 50), Hannah and her child Tom (£ 35), Bess and her child Suckey (£ 35), Suckey (£ 40), Sarah and her child Ned (£ 55), Phillis (£ 50), Judith (£ 50), Sarah (£ 55), Patt (£ 40), Phillis and her child Ballard (£ 65), Edith (£ 40), Amy (£ 10), Harry (£ 45), Frank (£ 40), Sam (£ 35), Hannah (£ 35), Lucy (£ 30), Sam (£ 30), Pamela (£ 25), Hannah (£ 25), Rachel (£ 25), Alice (£ 20), Edith (£ 18), Celia (£ 15), Grace (£ 35), James (£ 30), Charles (£ 30), old Mingo and Dick (£ 5), and old Rachel (£ 5). York County Wills and Inventories (22) 183-4, dated 7 May 1773 and recorded 19 July 1773; ibid., pp. 201-3, recorded 20 December 1773.

[1099] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 166-7, dated 7 March 1745/6 and recorded 17 March 1745/6.
Norton was a resident of Yorktown by August 1746 when his enslaved man Damon appeared before the justices of an oyer and terminer court. The officials decided not to prosecute Damon on the charge of breaking and entering the storehouse of Walter Charles and taking 100 gallons of rum from this merchant. York County Wills and Inventories (19) 449-50, 14 August 1746.
Norton added to the number of slaves whom he owned. On 17 November 1746, the justices of the peace decided that Barry was a five-year old girl. If Barry was alive in September 1748, she lived in a household that included eleven tithables. Perhaps Candace, a girl of nine years, was one of the slaves who arrived in the York River on the *Polly*. Norton and Mr. Hill sold the slaves who were transported on this vessel. It is

By August 1764, Norton had a stable built on Lot 71. According to the terms of an August 1764 agreement between Secretary Thomas Nelson and Norton, Nelson agreed to rent part of two Yorktown lots to Norton. These two parcels adjoined Norton's dwelling on the north, the lot Susanna Reynolds bought from Gwyn Read on the west, the street to Doctor George Riddell's house on the south, and a parcel owned by Miss Read, an orphan, on the east. Ten years earlier, in 1754, Nelson sold part of these lots to Norton. Nelson gained the right to use "the new stable" on Lot 71 and a 132' by forty-foot section of this parcel for the stable yard. This part of Lot 71 began at the corner on the street next to the unimproved lot owned by John Ballard's estate, ran north along this street for forty feet, ran 132' west across the property to the lot of John Gibbons, then forty feet to the street, and then east 132' to the beginning."[1100]

Less than two weeks later, on 1 September 1764, Norton announced his intention to leave Yorktown and return to London. He appointed Robert Tucker of Norfolk, Edward Ambler and George Riddell of Yorktown, John and Charles Mynn Thruston of Gloucester County, George Wythe and William Holt of Williamsburg, Humphrey Hill of King and

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also possible that Candace crossed the Atlantic on the *Alice*. On 5 June 1752, Norton and David Jameson announced the sale of slaves from the *Alice*. Two more Norton slaves—Mingo, a boy of twelve years, and twelve-year old Daphne—might have been transported on the *Alice*. York County Wills and Inventories (19) 471, 17 November 1746; York County Judgments and Orders (1) 128, 19 September 1748; York County Judgments and Orders (2) 38, 15 June 1752; *Virginia Gazette*, 22 May 1752; ibid., 5 June 1752; York County Judgments and Orders (2) 108, 20 November 1752.

In addition to Damon, Norton had other slaves who resisted the institution of slavery. On 31 December 1753, four of Norton's enslaved men—Duncan, Abraham, Tom, and Bob—appeared before the oyer and terminer justices. The lawyer decided not to prosecute either Duncan or Bob. Next, he turned to the charge against Abraham and Tom: entering their master's storehouse with Putney, a slave owned by John Wormeley, and stealing a variety of goods. The justices moved Abraham's trial to 21 January 1754 on account of his sickness. They determined that Tom and Putney were guilty and were to be hung on 11 January 1754. The officials valued Tom at £ 45. Tom and Putney escaped from the York County Gaol, were captured, and returned to prison. On 21 January 1754, the justices ruled that these men would be executed on 25 January. They also noted that Abraham, who died in Gaol, was worth £ 41. In July 1760, another slave entered Norton's storehouse. The oyer and terminer justices sentenced Lewis, a slave owned by Francis Lee of Warwick County, to death. York County Judgments and Orders (2) 364-6, 31 December 1753 and 21 January 1754; York County Judgments and Orders (3) 168-9, 21 July 1760.

Next, Mingo whom Norton bought in 1752, escaped. On 29 August 1755, Norton informed readers of the *Virginia Gazette* that "a young Negro Fellow, named Mingo, of a yellowish Complexion, slim made, about 15 Years of Age" had escaped. In addition, he reported that Mingo "had on when he went away, a light colored Russia Drab Coat: He was seen in and about Hampton, and pretended he was sent down to wait on a Gentleman." It is unknown if Norton regained possession of Mingo. *Virginia Gazette*, 29 August 1755.

Norton also owned a lot in the Read Addition to Yorktown from January 1746/7 to August 1764. This merchant added to his landholding in June 1752 when he bought the Yorktown property that William Rogers bequeathed to his wife, Theodosia. York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 519-21, dated 30 June 1752 and recorded 15 January 1753. See Part I. Section 9—Part II. Lots in the Gwyn Read Addition to Yorktown.

In addition to Lot 56 and Lot 71, Norton acquired Lot 63 in March 1761 and Lot 60 in May 1763. He sold Lot 56 to George Wilson, a Yorktown merchant, in August 1764. York County Deeds (6) 342-5, dated 31 March 1761 and recorded 18 May 1761; ibid., pp. 509-12, dated and recorded 16 May 1763; York County Deeds (7) 55-7, dated 6 August 1764 and recorded 20 August 1764. See Lot 63.

[1100] York County Deeds (7) 57-9, dated and recorded 20 August 1764.

Queen County, and Francis Jerdone of Louisa County as his attorneys to settle his business in Virginia.[1101] Norton's son, John Hatley Norton, stayed in Virginia and gained possession of Lot 71.

John Hatley Norton

A son of merchant John Norton, John Hatley Norton became the next owner of Lot 71. The younger Norton no doubt chose to live on a different half-acre so his home was not near the stable his father built. It is possible that the younger Norton held Lot 71 until 1785, the last date he is known to have owned Yorktown property.[1102]

[1101] Ibid., pp. 74-6, dated 1 September 1764 and recorded 15 October 1764.
[1102] See Lot 63.

Lot 72

Lawrence Smith Senior of Gloucester County

In November 1691, Lawrence Smith Senior of Gloucester County gained possession of Lot 72 in Yorktown.[1103] The elder Smith built a store on the property, and it is possible that other structures stood on this half-acre parcel. In early 1694, Tony, a slave owned by Charles Mennis of York Parish, broke into Smith's store in Yorktown and stole rum. On 13 April of that year, the Council ordered the York County justices of the peace to examine the evidence against Tony. Ten days later, on 23 April 1694, York's magistrates considered the information before them. They found "the sd Negroe guilty as an Accessary to the fact charged agt him." The justices of the peace ordered Thomas Ballard, the sheriff, to take Tony into custody and give him thirty-nine lashes on his back. Ballard was to release Tony to his master after Mennis paid "prison fees & other charges" that totaled 800 pounds of tobacco.[1104]

It is possible that Smith operated a store on Lot 72 until the time of his death in 1703. If so, he might have had enslaved men carry goods from the town's waterfront up the hill to his store. After Smith's death, Lot 72 became the property of his son and namesake, Lawrence.

Lawrence Smith, son of Lawrence Smith Senior of Gloucester County

On 24 November 1708, Yorktown's trustees conveyed Lot 72 to Lawrence Smith of Yorkhampton Parish. The deed noted that Smith's father, Colonel Lawrence Smith of Gloucester County, was the previous owner of this property and that he added a building to this half-acre.[1105] Perhaps the younger Smith took out a patent on Lot 72 to clarify his right to the parcel.

Smith remained on his Yorkhampton Parish plantation, and it is probable that he leased Lot 72 to tenants. Smith died on 24 February 1738/9.[1106] He left Yorktown Lot 72, described as adjoining "Mr. Robert Reades Lotts" on the south side of Main Street, to his son, Lawrence Smith (also known as Lawrence Smith Senior).[1107]

[1103] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 188-9, 24 November 1692. Smith chose not to live on either Lot 72 or on the land he owned in York County. See Part I. Section 1—Africans in and Around the Yorktown Area During the Seventeenth Century.

[1104] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (10) 1, 25 June 1694.

[1105] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 309-10, dated and recorded 24 November 1708.

[1106] See Part I.—Section 10. The Moore House and Adjoining Rural Land Owned by the Smith and Moore Families.

[1107] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 487-8, dated 17 March 1736/7 and recorded 19 March 1738/9.

Lawrence Smith Senior, son of Lawrence Smith and Mildred née Read Goodwin Smith

In March 1738/9, Lawrence Smith, son of Lawrence and Mildred Smith, inherited Lot 72 from his father. The younger Smith also gained possession of 400 acres of land in Yorkhampton Parish.[1108] On 21 January 1754, the will of Smith's mother, Mildred née Read Goodwin Smith, was probated and Smith became the owner of Lot 73 and five slaves—Frank, Paul, Harry, Grace, and Chloe.[1109]

Extant documents do not indicate when Smith decided to move his family to Lot 72 and Lot 73. In February 1770, Lawrence Smith informed readers of the *Virginia Gazette* that he wanted to sell two Yorktown lots at a sale on 19 March 1770 at the York County Courthouse. These two lots adjoined "the lot where Mr. Edward Cary had lately lived." On 15 June 1772, Lawrence and Damaris Smith of Yorktown sold Lot 72 and Lot 73 to John Hatley Norton. The deed noted that Smith was a merchant.[1110] After he transferred his lots to Norton, Smith returned to his plantation in Yorkhampton Parish.[1111]

John Hatley Norton

On 21 July 1772, John Hatley Norton purchased Lot 72 and Lot 73 from Lawrence and Damaris Smith. Norton held these two parcels until 1 April 1775 when he conveyed Lot 72 (as well as Lot 73 and Lot 74) to Nathaniel Littleton Savage of Northampton County.[1112]

Nathaniel Littleton Savage

On 1 April 1775, Nathaniel Littleton Savage purchased Lot 72 from John Hatley Norton and his wife Sarah. Savage also bought Lot 73 and Lot 74 on that day. Savage and his wife, Anne, held these three Yorktown lots until November 1777. The Savages conveyed these urban parcels to Robert Nelson Esquire, resident of King William County.[1113]

[1108] See Part I.—Section 10. The Moore House and Adjoining Rural Land Owned by the Smith and Moore Families.
[1109] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 336-7, dated 10 December 1753 and recorded 21 January 1754.
[1110] *Virginia Gazette*, Rind, ed., 22 February 1770; York County Deeds (8) 247-9, dated 15 June 1772 and recorded 21 July 1772.
[1111] See Part I.—Section 10. The Moore House and Adjoining Rural Land Owned by the Smith and Moore Families.
[1112] York County Deeds (8) 483-7, dated 1 April 1775 and recorded 17 July 1775.
[1113] York County Deeds (6) 3-4, dated 29 November 1777 and recorded 20 July 1778.

Robert Nelson of King William County

On 29 November 1777, Robert Nelson, a resident of King William County, purchased Yorktown Lot 72, Lot 73, and Lot 74 from Nathaniel Littleton Savage and his wife, Anne. Perhaps Nelson leased these lots to a family member. Nelson retained possession of these lots until 27 September 1786 when he and his wife, Susannah, sold Lot 72, Lot 73, and Lot 74 to General Thomas Nelson.[1114]

General Thomas Nelson

See Lot 52.

[1114] York County Deeds (6) 324, dated 27 September 1786 and recorded 16 October 1786. The deed also transferred ownership of Lot 63 and a lot adjoining Lot 63 "on the southwest side thereof which said Lots were purchased by the said Robert Nelson of Nathaniel Littleton Savage."

Lot 73

Robert Read

On 2 December 1706, Robert Read acquired Lot 73 from Yorktown's trustees.[1115] Read built upon this parcel, and it is possible that he leased this structure and the half-acre to individuals who did not own urban property. In his will, written on 30 December 1712 and probated on 16 March 1712/3, Read left his Yorktown property—Lot 73, Lot 74, and Lot 83—to his son, Thomas. If Thomas Read died without heirs, these three parcels would become the property of his sister, Mildred.[1116]

Thomas Read

On 16 March 1712/3, Thomas Read inherited three half-acre parcels in Yorktown—Lot 73, Lot 74, and Lot 83—from his father, Robert Read.[1117] Although Read remained in the Yorktown area, there is no evidence that he lived on any of his town lots. It is likely that he continued to lease the buildings on these parcels to tenants as his father had done before him. Thomas Read died between 21 May 1718 and 15 June 1719.[1118] Because Read died without heirs, his three Yorktown lots became the property of his sister, Mildred.

Mildred née Read Goodwin Smith

Mildred née Read Goodwin gained possession of Lot 73 after the death of her brother, Thomas Read. It is likely that Mildred Read and her husbands—James Goodwin (whom she married by 21 May 1718) and Lawrence Smith Junior (whom she married by 20 February 1720/1)—leased Lot 73 to tenants because they lived on plantations in Yorkhampton Parish.

Mildred Smith held three Yorktown lots at the time of her death between 10 December 1753 and 21 January 1754. The widow Smith left Lot 73 as well as five slaves—Frank, Paul, Harry, Grace, and Chloe—to her son Lawrence. She bequeathed Lot 74 to her son Robert and Lot 83 to her daughter Lucy Moore, wife of Augustine Moore.[1119] In the 1754 inventory of Mildred Smith's estate, the appraisers included five enslaved laborers and their values: Frank £ 40, Paul £ 45, Harry £ 40, Grace £ 40, and Chloe £ 35.[1120]

[1115] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 194-5, dated 2 December 1706 and recorded 24 December 1706.
[1116] York County Orders and Wills (14) 241-3, dated 30 December 1712 and recorded 16 March 1712/3. See Part I. Section 1—Africans in and Around the Yorktown Area During the Seventeenth Century.
[1117] See Lot 74 and Lot 83.
[1118] York County Orders and Wills (15) 452-3, dated 21 May 1718 and recorded 15 June 1719; ibid., pp. 478-9, dated 17 July 1719 and recorded 17 August 1719.
[1119] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 309, dated 10 December 1753 and recorded 21 January 1754.
[1120] Ibid., pp. 336-7, recorded 19 August 1754.

Lawrence Smith, son of Lawrence and Mildred née Read Goodwin Smith

See Lot 72.

Lot 74

Robert Read

On 2 December 1706, the trustees of Yorktown transferred the title to Lot 74 to Robert Read.[1121]

See Lot 73 for history of Lot 74 between 20 December 1706 and 21 January 1754.

Robert Smith

On 21 January 1754, Robert Smith inherited Yorktown Lot 74 from his mother, Mildred née Read Goodwin Smith.[1122] It is likely that Smith continued the family practice of leasing Lot 74 to tenants because he lived in Yorkhampton Parish.[1123] On 18 August 1766, Smith and his wife, Mary, conveyed Lot 74 to Edward Cary.[1124]

Edward Cary

Edward Cary was in the Yorktown area by 19 May 1760, the dated he witnessed a deed of gift from Susanna Reynolds to her son, William Reynolds.[1125] Four years later, on 17 September 1764, Cary served as a petit juror, an indication that he possessed property, either an urban lot or rural land in York County.[1126] It is possible that Cary rented a lot in Yorktown before 18 August 1766, the date he purchased Lot 74 from Robert Smith.

Cary was one of the merchants who lived and worked in Yorktown. He no doubt relied on slaves to carry goods from ships anchored in the harbor to his storehouse. It is known that Cary had nine tithes in August 1768 when York County's justices of the peace ordered these laborers to be added to the list of tithes for Lower Yorkhampton Parish.[1127]

In October of the same year, Cary announced his intention to sell a Yorktown lot. He noted the lot was "pleasantly situated in this town, whereon is a dwelling-house, 52 feet long and 24 feet wide, with three rooms below and six above, a fine dry cellar with two brick partitions, a good storehouse, kitchen, stable, dairy, smokehouse, &c. all entirely

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[1121] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 198-9, dated 2 December 1706 and recorded 24 December 1706.
[1122] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 309, dated 10 December 1753 and recorded 21 January 1754.
[1123] See Part I. Section 10—Moore House and Adjoining Rural Land Owned by the Smith and Moore Families.
[1124] York County Deeds (7) 197-9, dated and recorded 18 August 1766.
[1125] York County Deeds (6) 241, dated and recorded 19 May 1760.
[1126] York County Judgments and Orders (4) 287, 17 September 1764.
[1127] Cary also had two chairs that were added to the list of taxable property. York County Judgments and Orders (1) 75, 15 August 1768.

new, and finished in the best manner." Cary asked all those interested in the property to contact John Hatley Norton.[1128]

In March 1769, John Hatley Norton felt that it was

> Absolutely necessary to acquaint the publick that I have a mortgage of Mr. Edward Cary's slaves, land, houses, and furniture, also a brigantine, now out of the country, commanded by Capt. Brookes, and a river sloop, and that all contracts with that Gentleman for the above mentioned effects I shall deem invalid and void, unless confirmed by my agent, Mr. William Goosley, of this town, or myself.[1129]

In late April 1769, Norton announced that Cary's house and all outbuildings would be sold to the highest bidder at a sale on 8 May 1769.[1130] Unfortunately, Norton did not include any details about Cary's slaves in the *Virginia Gazette*.

John Hatley Norton

John Hatley Norton purchased Lot 74 at the sale of Cary's property. Norton held Lot 74 until 1 April 1775 when he conveyed this half-acre as well as Lot 72 and Lot 73 to Nathaniel Littleton Savage, a resident of Northampton County.[1131]

Nathaniel Littleton Savage

See Lot 72.

[1128] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 13 October 1768.
[1129] Ibid., 16 March 1769.
[1130] Ibid., 27 April 1769.
[1131] York County Deeds (8) 483-7, dated 1 April 1775 and recorded 17 July 1775.

Lot 75

Samuel Cooper

On 19 November 1716, the trustees of Yorktown conveyed Lot 75 to Samuel Cooper, a resident of York County.[1132] Cooper built on this half-acre parcel within twelve months and retained ownership of the property. On 15 February 1716/7, Cooper decided to give Lot 75 to his daughter and her family. According to the terms of the deed of gift, Sarah née Cooper St. Ledger and her husband, Lewis St. Ledger, could use Lot 75 until their son, Abraham, reached his twenty-first birthday. When Abraham St. Ledger turned twenty-one, he would gain possession of half of the lot, and his parents would have the other half of the parcel and the house on the land. After the death of his parents, Abraham St. Ledger would receive their portion of the lot.[1133]

Lewis St. Ledger, Sarah née Cooper St. Ledger Bellamy, and Abraham St. Ledger

On 15 February 1716/7, Abraham St. Ledger received half of Lot 75 in a deed of gift from his grandfather, Samuel Cooper. St. Ledger survived both of his parents, Lewis St. Ledger and Sarah née Cooper St. Ledger Bellamy, and gained possession of their share of Lot 75. It is possible that St. Ledger leased part or all of his Yorktown lot. According to the terms of the deed of gift from his grandfather, St. Ledger could lease his urban property on an annual basis.

William Moss and Francis Moss

Abraham St. Ledger sold Lot 75 to William Moss

William Moss held Lot 75 until his death in late 1735. He bequeathed this property to his son, Francis.[1134] In September 1738, Francis and Elizabeth Moss of Yorkhampton Parish conveyed Lot 75 to William Rogers.[1135]

William Rogers

In September 1738, William Rogers purchased Lot 75 in Yorktown from Francis Moss. Less than a year later, in May 1739, Rogers sat down to write his will. In lieu of personal items, Rogers left Lot 75 to his daughter, Susanna Reynolds. This legacy included "the

[1132] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 140-1, dated and recorded 19 November 1716.
[1133] Ibid., pp. 151-2, dated 15 February 1716/7 and recorded 18 February 1716/7.
[1134] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 250-1, dated 10 November 1735 and recorded 15 December 1735.
[1135] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 514-5, dated 14 September 1738 and recorded 18 September 1738.

Brickhouse and all other Improvements upon it." If Rogers died before the house was completed, he also left his married daughter the necessary materials to finish the construction.[1136] In the settlement of the estate of William Rogers, Theodosia Rogers noted a 4 June 1741 payment of £ 24 to Aaron Philips for "buildg. a house for Capt Reynolds."[1137]

Susanna née Rogers Reynolds and Thomas Reynolds

Thomas Reynolds, a mariner and merchant from London, was in Yorktown by 17 June 1734, the date York County's justices of the peace decided that his two slaves, Whitefield and Daphne, were both eight years old.[1138] Four years later, the local magistrates determined the ages of two more slaves—nine-year old Cato and Chloe, an eleven-year old girl.[1139] It is likely that Reynolds had Whitefield and Cato help carry items off of ships anchored in the Yorktown harbor. Daphne and Chloe no doubt helped Susanna Reynolds with domestic work.

It is unclear where Thomas and Susanna Reynolds lived before they gained possession of Lot 75 after the 1739 death of her father, William Rogers, and Aaron Philips completed a house on the property. Perhaps they made their home on Lot 51 and Lot 55. In December 1743, Reynolds' decision to buy 150 acres in Yorkhampton Parish from James Hewitt no doubt indicated his desire to have a plantation near Yorktown so his enslaved laborers could produce food to feed the members of his urban household.[1140] Like his father-in-law before him, Reynolds did business with Benjamin Hanson, a free black butcher.[1141]

In addition to being a mariner and a merchant, Reynolds managed the labor of slaves. He had an interest in the enslaved men who continued to labor at the Rogers Pottery and would have kept apprised of work performed on Lots 51 and 55.[1142] In the mid-1740s, it is possible that Reynolds acquired Sam from Gloucester County's John Thruston because he needed an additional laborer.[1143] Reynolds and his partner, Charles Seabrook, owned three sloops and seven enslaved men who guided these vessels in and out of Yorktown

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[1136] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 537-40, dated 16 May 1739 and recorded 17 December 1739.
[1137] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 226-8, dated 14 September 1743 and recorded 19 September 1743.
[1138] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 120, 17 June 1734.
[1139] Ibid., p. 412, 15 May 1738.
[1140] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 78-83, dated 15 December 1743 and recorded 19 December 1743.
[1141] See Part I. Section 5—Free Blacks in Yorktown and the Yorktown Area, 1680s to 1783.
[1142] See Lot 51 and Lot 55.
[1143] It is clear that there was some confusion surrounding the transfer of Sam from Thruston to Reynolds. It is possible that Thruston believed that he hired his enslaved man to Reynolds who thought that he bought the laborer. Thruston took Reynolds to court and in June 1746, the York County justices of the peace determined that Reynolds detained Sam (also known as Gloucester Sam) from Thruston. Reynolds appealed this decision to the General Court. Unfortunately, the outcome of the case is unknown. York County Wills and Inventories (19) 439, 16 June 1746.

harbor. It is likely that Reynolds and Seabrook had slaves load items from the Rogers pottery onto their sloops.

Charles Seabrook died between 14 September 1751 and 20 January 1752, the date his will was probated in York County Court.[1144] Reynolds was both the executor of Seabrook's estate and one of his heirs. On 24 January 1752, Reynolds announced the 10 February sale of

> Sundry Goods, belonging to the Estate of Capt. Charles Seabrook, deceas'd, viz. his half Parts of three Sloops, one a Sea Sloop, about 75 Tons, now fitted for the Sea, two Years old, two Tobacco Sloops of 70 Hogsheads each, one 2 Years the other 4 Years old, all now lying in Sarah's Creek, seven young Negroe Men, some Sail-cloth and Cordage, two Hawses, and sundry other Things.[1145]

In 1752, in addition to managing Seabrook's estate, Reynolds attended two oyer and terminer trials that involved three of his male slaves. First, on 4 June 1752, Jemmy stood before the justices of the oyer and terminer court to hear the charges against him. He was accused of breaking into the home of Catherine Hansford, a spinster, with the intention of raping Lucy Hansford, another spinster in the dwelling. After hearing the testimony of witnesses, the justices determined that Jemmy was guilty. They sentenced him to be hung on 19 June of that year. Reynolds received £ 55 as compensation for the loss of an enslaved laborer.[1146]

Next, on 29 June 1752, Bristol, another one of Reynolds' enslaved men, went to the York County Court. The charges against Bristol claimed that he took thirty ells of linen from Archibald Ritchie, a merchant. After the oyer and terminer justices found Bristol guilty of theft, he pled benefit of clergy. The magistrates accepted Bristol's plea and had him burned in the left hand in the presence of those gathered in the courthouse. In addition, Bristol received thirty lashes at the public whipping post. At the same court session, the justices ordered that Dick, a man owned by Reynolds, should be given thirty-nine lashes "for his sundry offences."[1147]

During the same year, Reynolds also went to the Courthouse to secure the services of additional enslaved laborers. On 15 June 1752, the justices of the peace decided that two girls, Flora and Daphne, were both nine years old.[1148] At the end of the year, Reynolds returned the inventory of the possessions that he and Seabrook held as partners. The partners had six slaves—Dick valued at £ 50, Ocean valued at £ 50, Radcliff valued at £ 45, Davy valued at £ 50, Bristol valued at £ 25, and Limehouse valued at £ 45. It is possible that Reynolds purchased Dick and Bristol at the 10 February 1752 sale and that

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[1144] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 250, dated 14 September 1751 and recorded 20 January 1752.
[1145] *Virginia Gazette*, 24 January 1752.
[1146] York County Judgments and Orders (2) 36-7, 4 June 1752.
[1147] Ibid., pp. 60-2, 29 June 1752.
[1148] Ibid., p. 38, 15 June 1752.

these men were two of the three Reynolds slaves who stood before oyer and terminer justices.

In addition to enslaved laborers, the possessions that Seabrook and Reynolds held as partners included three sloops (the *Judith*, the *York*, and the *Eltham*), a boat sail and four oars, a new spare main sail for a sloop, eleven new pairs of oars, and a parcel of old sails and bags. The "Warehouse at Water Side" was worth £ 140, the "Dwelling House" at the waterside was valued at £ 50, and the "old Warehouse" was worth just £ 1.5.0. Perhaps Reynolds and Seabrook planned to have some or all of the twenty-one ells of "Oznabs." made into clothes for their slaves or for Seabrook's own slave, Dublin (valued at £ 30). These enslaved men might also have worn some of the following clothing items: five pairs of shoes valued at seventeen shillings, two jackets valued at eleven shillings, two check shirts valued at nine shillings, two pairs of "Trowsers" valued at five shillings, and nine "Oznabs. Shirts" valued at thirty-one shillings and six pence."[1149]

Reynolds continued to import and sell goods during the remainder of his life. This Yorktown merchant died between 1758, when the Reverend John Camm noted that he had eighteen tithes and 20 August 1759, the date that his will was recorded in the York County Court. Reynolds left all of his estate to his wife Susanna during her lifetime. After the death of his widow, Reynolds wanted his slave Chloe and her son Emanuel as well as a girl named Daphne to become the property of his daughter, Ann. Another daughter, Susanna, was to gain possession of a woman named Phoebe and her daughter Mary and another girl named Flora. Reynolds wanted the remainder of his estate, real and personal, to be sold and the profits used to raise his son, William. The merchant specified that his house and lot in Yorktown were to be leased until his son's twenty-first birthday.[1150]

The inventory of Thomas Reynolds' estate was recorded at the 21 June 1762 session of the York County Court.[1151] The inventory of the estate of Thomas Reynolds included six men: Pretty valued at £ 25, Abraham valued at £ 70, Bristol valued at £ 25, Jack valued at £ 50, Harry valued at £ 70, and Tony valued at £ 25. The enslaved women on Lot 75 were Pheby valued at £ 40, Flora valued at £ 50, Little Chloe valued at £ 60, Cate valued at £ 50, Daphney valued at £ 60, and "blk Chloe" valued at £ 45. Emanuel, valued at £ 25, was the only enslaved boy on the property. Lot 75 was home to three girls: Mary valued at £ 25; Betty, the daughter of Cate valued at £ 15; and Lucy, the daughter of Phebey, valued at £ 12. It is possible that Reynolds purchased three items in the inventory—222 ells of "Ozns. at one shilling and three pence per ell," seventy "Ells of Rolls at £ 3," and "4 Pair Course Do [sheets]"—for his enslaved laborers.

The widow Reynolds continued to live on Lot 75 after the death of her husband. In May 1760, she decided to give Emanuel to her son, William Reynolds, instead of her daughter

[1149] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 298-9, dated 20 December 1752 and recorded 16 July 1753.
[1150] Ibid., pp. 525-7, dated 19 October 1756 and recorded 20 August 1759.
[1151] York County Wills and Inventories (21) 99-102, recorded 21 June 1762.

Ann, the wife of Nathaniel Littleton Savage.[1152] An entry in the 13 June 1766 issue of Purdie and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette* provides some information about where slaves worked on Lot 75. Four days earlier, on the morning of 9 June, a violent thunderstorm struck Yorktown

> during which a chimney of Mrs. Reynold's house, upon which was an electrical spire, being struck, the points were knocked off the standard, and the conductor is no where to be found. The kitchen door being opposite to the chimney, and only about ten yards distance, at which a Negro woman was washing, the lightning entered at a window a little above the door, and stove the tub she was washing in to pieces, struck the Negro down, and darted to where a Negro man was sitting, whose head and leg were most terribly cut and bruised, it is supposed by the pieces of the tub, that were drove about the kitchen, who lived but a short time. There were three children in the kitchen who were not hurt; and the Negro woman is recovered, but complains of great pain in her body.[1153]

It is likely that the three enslaved children were in the kitchen to help the woman with washing and other domestic chores.

Two years later, on 18 March 1768, Susanna Reynolds conveyed a slave girl named Bridget to her granddaughter, Susanna Savage, in lieu of a £ 20 bequest. Reynolds purchased Bridget from her son-in-law, Nathaniel Littleton Savage.[1154] The widow Reynolds died between the date of the gift to her granddaughter and 14 April 1768 when the executors of her estate placed the following announcement in the *Virginia Gazette*:

> To be sold to the highest bidder, on Wednesday the 20th of this month, at the dwelling-house of the late Capt. Thomas Reynolds, in York, All the household and kitchen furniture, and 10 valuable slaves, among which are a good cook wench, and 3 men used to go by water.[1155]

In her will, Susanna Reynolds let her house and the lot where she lived and her personal estate to her son, William.[1156]

William Reynolds

On 18 April 1768, William Reynolds inherited Lot 75 when the will of his mother, Susanna Reynolds, was probated in the York County Court. Soon after his mother's

[1152] York County Deeds (6) 241, dated [blank] May 1760 and recorded 19 May 1760.
[1153] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 13 June 1766.
[1154] York County Deeds (7) 370-1, dated 18 March 1768 and recorded 21 March 1768.
[1155] *Virginia Gazette*, Rind, ed., 14 April 1768.
[1156] York County Wills and Inventories (21) 407-10, dated [torn] 1767 and recorded 18 April 1768.

death, Reynolds expressed an interest in traveling to England to work for John Norton. On 23 August 1768, David Jameson wrote Norton a letter that

will be deliv'd to you by Mr. Wm Reynolds who is very desirous of getting into your Counting House and as I think he will be very attentive to business I hope it will be agreable to you. You will no doubt remember it is part of his Father's request to us in his Will that we have him brot. up in the Mercantile way. As you have the direction as well as myself of every thing that relates to him I leave the regulation of his expence to you who are so much a better judge and I do not doubt but you will by your example and advice make it as moderate as it should be having regard to his income which I shall send you state of as soon as I can reduce the whole to a small compass and certainty. Immediately after his Mothers death I sold the Household Goods and most of the Slaves and shall sell everything as it comes into my possession & I have given notice to those who have borrowed the Estates money that they must pay it in order to make a distribution according to Capt. Reynold's Will[.][1157]

It is possible that Nathaniel Littleton Savage, husband of Ann née Reynolds Savage, lived on Lot 75 during part of the time that William Reynolds was in England. Extant documents indicate that Savage, a resident of Northampton County for most of his life, made his home in Yorktown from late 1767 to mid-1768 and possibly longer.[1158] Reynolds returned to Yorktown in 1771 and he owned Lot 75 until 20 May 1772, the day he sold the property to Thomas Archer Senior.[1159]

Thomas Archer Senior

On 20 May 1772, Thomas Archer Senior purchased Lot 75 from William Reynolds. It is possible that Archer leased Lot 75 until November 1775 when he gave Lot 70 to his son, Abraham Archer, and moved to Lot 75. This tavern keeper continued to operate his business on his waterfront property.[1160]

Archer held Lot 75 until the time of his death. In his will, probated in the York County Court on 20 January 1783, the elder Thomas Archer left his son, Thomas, "the houses & lotts in York Town where I live which I purchased of William Reynolds, one negro man Jack, one negro woman Cloe, one negro boy Lewis, one negro girl Silvia, one negro boy Frank, & one negro boy Hazard." In addition, the younger Thomas Archer gained possession of half of his father's "store house & warehouses at Water Side."[1161]

[1157] Mason, ed., *John Norton & Sons*, p. 61.
[1158] York County Deeds (7) 366-8, dated 4 November 1767 and recorded 21 March 1768; ibid., pp. 423-8, dated 20 August 1768 and recorded 19 September 1768.
[1159] York County Deeds (8) 221-2, dated 20 May 1772 and recorded 15 June 1772. See Lot 31.
[1160] See Lot 70 and Part I. Section 9—Part III. Lot 107, Lot 118, and Lot 119.
[1161] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 576-7, recorded 20 January 1783.

Thomas Archer Junior

On 20 January 1783, Thomas Archer Junior inherited Lot 75 and five slaves—Jack, Chloe, Lewis, Silvia, Frank, and Hazard—from his father, Thomas Archer Senior. The bequest also included half of his father's "store house & warehouses at Water Side." Five years later, in July 1788, Archer and his brother, Abraham, received a deed from the trustees of Yorktown for Lot 107, Lot 118, and Lot 119.[1162] This conveyance confirmed their ownership of the waterfront land their father first held in July of 1729.

In 1801, Thomas Archer and his wife, Lucy, were residents of Yorktown. In September of that year, the Archers conveyed two parcels of land, Lot 68 and Lot 69, to Augustine Smith of Yorktown. The deed noted that Abraham Archer was the previous owner of this property.[1163]

[1162] Ibid., pp. 384-5, dated 15 July 1788 and recorded 21 July 1788. See Part I. Section 9—Part III. Lot 107, Lot 118, and Lot 119.
[1163] York County Deeds (7) 385, dated 21 September 1801 and recorded 21 December 1801.

Lot 76, Lot 77, and Lot 79—The Dudley Digges House

Lot 76

William Cole

The Trustees of Yorktown granted Lot 76 to the Honorable William Cole, a resident of Warwick County, in November 1691. The deed noted that the lot adjoined David Stoner, Ralph Wormeley Esquire, the Great Valley, and the York River.[1164] Cole developed the property and retained ownership of Lot 76. Perhaps he had several of his male slaves build a structure on his Yorktown lot.[1165] After Cole's 4 March 1693/4 death, it is likely that the title to Lot 76 passed to his grandson, Cole Digges, the son of Dudley Digges and Susannah née Cole Digges.

Cole Digges and Elizabeth Digges

It is likely that Cole Digges inherited Lot 76 from his grandfather, William Cole. Digges lived on his Yorkhampton Parish plantation and retained ownership of Lot 76 until his death in 1744 when the title to the tract passed to his widow, Elizabeth. After the 1750 death of Elizabeth Digges, this half-acre became the property of Dudley Digges, the son of Cole and Elizabeth Digges.

Dudley Digges

See Lot 77 below.

Lot 77

David Stoner

On 24 November 1691, David Stoner, a planter of York County, purchased Lot 77 from Yorktown's trustees.[1166] This lot adjoined the Honorable William Cole, John Myhill, and the Great Valley. Stoner did not build on this lot and forfeited title to the property.

Miles and Emanuel Wills

[1164] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 266, 24 November 1691.
[1165] Lorena S. Walsh notes that William Cole probably purchased slaves in the 1670s and the 1680s. See Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove*, pp. 27, 53-4.
[1166] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 281, dated 24 November 1691 and recorded 25 January 1691[/2].

Yorktown Lot 77 remained vacant until 1706 when Yorktown's trustees granted this property to Miles and Emanuel Wills of Mulberry Island Parish, Warwick County.[1167] Miles and Emanuel Wills built at least one structure on Lot 77. This building measured 36 feet by 18 feet. In 1960, excavations determined that this building stood in the area between Main Street and the structure known as the Dudley Digges House. The Wills house "was probably a timber framed dwelling [of a story and a half resting on a brick and mortar masonry foundation], provided with central chimney stack cellar and [outside] cellar entry, and was probably built about 1706-1707, having certain elements of design reminiscent of the late 17th century [as "casements equipped with leaded glass"]." It is possible that there was an outbuilding to the southeast of the dwelling.[1168] Miles and Emanuel Wills retained ownership of this half-acre parcel for fifteen years. In 1721, they sold it to a merchant named William Stark.[1169]

William Stark

In 1721, a merchant named William Stark purchased Yorktown Lot 77 from Miles and Emanuel Wills. Stark used the 36-foot by 18-foot structure by the Wills during the time that he owned Lot 77. It is likely that he and his wife Mary lived in this building.

It is possible that the Stark household also included several slaves. The August 1713 inventory of this merchant's mother, Rebecca Stark, listed five slaves: a girl named Betty (£ 10); Sambo, an old man (£ 12); a woman known as Frank (£ 28); and two boys, Tom (£ 17) and Mingo (£ 7).[1170] On 19 December 1720—a few months before he purchased Lot 77—Stark took four African children to the York County Courthouse to have the justices determined their ages. York's magistrates decided that three boys—Giles, Scipio, and Cesar—were eight years old and that a girl named Tittee was six years of age.[1171]

Perhaps Stark had his enslaved boys help carry small crates and boxes off of ships anchored in the York River and put them in his storehouse.[1172] It is also possible that Stark had several of his enslaved boys tend fields after December 1728 when he purchased a twenty-five acre plantation in Yorkhampton Parish known as Terrapin Point.[1173] Stark's wife, Mary, might have had Tittee help her with domestic chores.

[1167] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 178, dated 8 June 1706 and recorded 24 September 1706.
[1168] Charles E. Hatch, Jr., *Dependencies (Outbuildings) of the Dudley Digges House in Yorktown*, (Washington, D. C.: Division of History, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 1969), pp. 17-8.
[1169] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 368-70, dated 10 and 11 July 1721 and recorded 17 July 1721.
[1170] York County Orders and Wills (14) 280-1, dated 24 August 1713 and recorded 21 September 1713.
[1171] York County Orders and Wills (15) 678, 19 December 1720.
[1172] Stark had a storehouse by 20 March 1726/7, the date when Jones Irwin decided to allow his wife Ann to spend £ 5 at Mr. Stark's store. York County Orders and Wills (16) 446, 20 March 1726/7.
[1173] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 399, dated 6 December 1728 and recorded 16 December 1728.

In late 1730, Stark began to dispose of his property in and near Yorktown. First, he sold the Terrapin Point plantation to William Rogers. Next, in January 1730/1, William Stark conveyed Lot 77 and the storehouse on the common shore or waste land of Yorktown known as "Mr. Stark's storehouse" to Cole Digges.[1174]

Cole Digges and Elizabeth Digges

In January 1730/1, Cole Digges purchased Lot 77 and the storehouse on the common shore or waste land of Yorktown known as Mr. Stark's storehouse from William Stark. Digges did not move to Yorktown; instead, he lived in a dwelling on his Yorkhampton Parish plantation. Perhaps Digges leased the structure on Lot 77 to one or more tenants during his lifetime. It is also possible that Digges kept imported goods in the storehouse on this property before he sold these items to his customers.

Digges was the owner of Lot 76 when he died in 1744. His widow, Elizabeth, became the next owner of this property. Elizabeth Digges held Lot 76 during the rest of her life. Dudley Digges, the son of Cole and Elizabeth Digges, gained possession of this half-acre after his mother's 1750 death.

Dudley Digges

In 1750, Dudley Digges gained possession of Lot 76 and Lot 77 after the death of his mother, Elizabeth Digges. Initially, it is possible that Digges made his home in the structure built by Miles and Emanuel Wills. However, after Digges bought Lot 79 from James Pride in 1758, he decided to construct a dwelling and outbuildings that reflected his prominent position in Yorktown in the decade of the 1750s.[1175]

Extant documents indicate that Dudley and his wife, Mary née Hubbard Digges, owned at least three slaves. In January 1744/5, Dudley and Mary Digges acquired three slaves—Judy a girl valued at £ 29, Frank an old woman worth £ 20, and a boy named Sam who was assessed at £ 10—when the estate of her father, James Hubbard, was divided among his children.[1176] Although details in the York County Court records do not contain any additional information about slaves in the Digges household in Yorktown, it is likely that Dudley and Mary Digges had domestic slaves as well as enslaved men and boys who labored in their master's storehouse.

[1174] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 71-6, dated [torn] 1730 and recorded 18 January 1730/1; ibid., pp. 66-71, dated 16 January 1730/1 and recorded 18 January 1730/1; Hatch, Jr., *Yorktown's Main Street*, p. 97.

[1175] It is possible that timbers from the Wills building were used in the Dudley Digges House. Hatch, Jr., *Dependencies (Outbuildings) of the Dudley Digges House*, p. 18.

[1176] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 341-2, dated 11 January 1744/5 and recorded 21 January 1744/5. Matthew Hubbard, the York County clerk and the husband of Jane Ballard Hubbard, was the brother of Mary Digges.

Digges and his family lived in this dwelling house until they moved to Williamsburg in 1776. The Digges family and their enslaved men, women, and children settled in the house owned by Robert Carter of Nomini Hall. The 1783, 1784, and 1786 Williamsburg Personal Property Tax Lists included the slaves whom Digges had in his household on the Palace Green. It is possible that some of these slaves had labored on Digges's Yorktown lots before his 1776 move to Williamsburg. In 1783, 1784, and 1786, the Digges household included four adult men: Henry, Jemmy, Joe, and Lott. It is possible that Henry or the man known as Harry was the boy Harris whom Digges bought in 1751. Harry labored in the Digges household in 1783 and 1784.

Dudley Digges owned four adult women—Alice, Jenny, Joyce, and Lucy—who did the domestic chores under the supervision of Elizabeth Digges. These women helped to teach the enslaved girls—Jenny (also known as Little Jenny) and Ophelia—to work in a gentry household. Ophelia was part of the Digges household in 1783 and 1784. Alice also spent time caring for her daughter Julia who was baptized on 6 March 1785 at Bruton Parish Church.

An enslaved boy named Phil was one of the Digges slaves in 1784. By the time of the 1786 Williamsburg Personal Property Tax List, Phil was over sixteen years of age. Two boys known as Fayette and Norborne were in the Digges household in 1783, 1784, and 1786. The fact that both Little Jimmy and Randolph were only in this house in 1786 suggest that they were infants and not able to work.

By the mid-1780s, Digges decided to remain in Williamsburg. In April 1787, Digges conveyed his three Yorktown lots to his daughter, Elizabeth Nicholson of Yorktown.[1177] Elizabeth née Digges Nicholson was the wife of Doctor Robert Nicholson, the son of Robert and Mary Nicholson of Williamsburg.

Elizabeth née Digges Nicholson and Robert Nicholson

In April 1787, Digges conveyed his three Yorktown lots to his daughter, Elizabeth Nicholson of Yorktown. Elizabeth née Digges Nicholson was the wife of Doctor Robert Nicholson, the son of Robert and Mary Nicholson.

Dudley Digges gave his daughter an enslaved woman, Alice, who lived in his Williamsburg household as well as a girl named Ophelia. It is possible that these slaves were gifts when Elizabeth Digges married Robert Nicholson. In October 1793, Robert Nicholson the younger of Yorktown freed his slave Alice in recognition of her "faithful services." Nicholson noted that "for divers good causes me thereunto moving, but more especially in consideration of the faithful services heretofore performed and rendered by my mulatto Wench named Alice aged about forty three years Have and by these Presents Do liberate and emancipate the said Mulatto Wench Alice from all servitude and manner

[1177] York County Deeds (6) 353, dated 3 April 1787 and recorded 17 April 1787.

of service whatever and do by these Presents declare it to be by Intention to place the said slave in the most perfect state of freedom."[1178]

The 1796 Mutual Assurance Society Policy that Nicholson purchased noted the buildings that stood on Lot 76, Lot 77, and Lot 79. The plot noted that the wooden dwelling house was one story high and measured 50 feet by 30 feet. The smokehouse, the granary, and kitchen—each constructed of wood—stood 34 feet from the house. The 22-foot by 16-foot kitchen was six feet from the granary. The well was located between the dwelling and the kitchen. A wooden stable was 44 feet from the granary. This building measured 16 feet by 18 feet and had a shed at each end.[1179]

Robert and Elizabeth Nicholson depended on their slaves to work in all areas of their Yorktown property. Personal slaves would have tended to the needs of the Nicholson family. Domestic slaves cooked meals in the kitchen, smoked meat in the smokehouse, drew water from the well, and stored grain in the granary. Enslaved men and boys cared for the horses in the stable.

Robert Nicholson lived on Lots 76, 77, and 79 until the time of his death in 1799. The inventory of the estate of Doctor Robert Nicholson included seven slaves: Peter (£ 75), John (£ 75), Ophelia (£ 70), Peg (£ 50), Nancy (£ 65), Sally (£ 30), and Sylvia (£ 18).[1180] The widow Nicholson gained possession of Sylvia, the daughter of Phillis, a slave woman owned by Robert Nicholson Senior. Sylvia was baptized in Bruton Parish Church on 16 June 1782. Ophelia was part of the Digges household in 1783 and 1784. Elizabeth Nicholson remained on Lot 76, Lot 77, and Lot 79 until 1820.

[1178] York County Deeds (7) 84, dated and recorded 21 October 1793.
[1179] It is likely that Digges had these outbuildings constructed after he bought Lot 79 from James Pride in 1758. Hatch, Jr., *Dependencies (Outbuildings) of the Dudley Digges House*, pp. 22-3, 43.
[1180] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 562-4, dated 24 June 1799 and recorded 21 July 1800.

Lot 79

John Myhill

John Myhill paid 180 pounds of tobacco to the trustees of Yorktown for Lot 79 in November 1691. The deed noted that the lot adjoined David Stoner, Ralph Wormeley, and a valley.[1181] Myhill did not build on this parcel of land, and it reverted to the trustees.

William Gordon

On 24 June 1706, the Yorktown trustees granted Lot 79 to William Gordon.[1182] During the time that Gordon lived in Yorktown, he served first as the constable of Yorktown (15 February 1713/4 to 16 December 1717) and later as the Surveyor of Streets and Landings in the town (18 June 1722 to 21 November 1726). In addition, on 19 November 1722, Gordon took the oath of a receiver "for the further improving the staple of tobacco." In late 1727, Gordon became the Marshall of the Court of Vice Admiralty.[1183]

In addition to these official positions, Gordon helped to maintain order when he took up runaway slaves and indentured servants. In October 1710, Gordon informed the justices of the peace that he took up an escaped female slave who belonged to Gideon Macon of New Kent County and another enslaved woman who was the property of Thomas Read of Elizabeth City County.[1184] The following October, Gordon told York's magistrates that he took up an enslaved man who ran from Dr. Loftis of Warwick County.[1185] In April 1718, Gordon told the justices that he captured an enslaved man and a white servant named Florence Swelavant, both the property of Thomas Hosted of Nansemond County.[1186] Almost a year and a half later, in September 1720, Gordon found two slaves who ran from the Reverend James Blair.[1187] Gordon took up William Dunn, a servant who ran from Joseph Thomas, in the spring of 1723.[1188] Three years later, Gordon apprehended three indentured servants who escaped from Williamsburg—John Cranston who a servant in Henry Bowcock's household, Zephaniah Martin who was indentured to Elizabeth Marston, and Edward Trindall who belonged to John Brooks. Gordon told the

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[1181] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 252, dated 24 November 1691 and recorded 25 January 1691[/2].
[1182] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 207-8, dated 24 June 1706 and recorded 8 January 1706/7. Gordon also bought Lot 78 and assigned the half-acre to James Wallace of Elizabeth City County. In addition, Gordon held 150 acres in York County and two lots (with J. Sheldon) at Tindall's Point in Gloucester County. See Lot 78.
[1183] York County Orders and Wills (14) 303, 15 February 1713/4; York County Orders and Wills (15) 172, 16 December 1717; York County Orders and Wills (16) 133, 18 June 1722; ibid., p. 415, 21 November 1726; ibid., p. 164, 19 November 1722; ibid., p. 488, 20 November 1727.
[1184] York County Orders and Wills (14) 38, 5 October 1710.
[1185] Ibid., p. 115, 13 October 1711.
[1186] York County Orders and Wills (15) 224, 10 April 1718.
[1187] Ibid., p. 677, 24 September 1720.
[1188] York County Orders and Wills (16) 199, 6 May 1723.

justices that he found these servants at Pungoteague on the Eastern Shore. In addition, Gordon and James McKindo helped to transport Cranston, Martin, and Trindall back to Williamsburg.[1189]

Gordon was one of several merchants who had a storehouse in Yorktown. In January 1721/2, the justices of the peace decided that Lewis Davis should be tried in the General Court on the charge of stealing wine from Gordon's storehouse. York's magistrates decided that Gordon's indentured servant, George Blair, would provide testimony against Davis during his trial.[1190] Perhaps Blair decided to escape from Gordon because he did not want to testify against Davis in the General Court. If so, he did not succeed in avoiding this duty. In April 1722, Joseph Stacy told the justices of the peace that he had found Blair.[1191]

In addition to at least one indentured servant, Gordon had enslaved laborers. In July 1717, the justices of the peace determined that a boy named Pompey was twelve years old.[1192] Five years later, Gordon purchased a seven-year old boy known as Frank from William and Mary Biggs of Yorkhampton Parish.[1193] In August 1723, Gordon took two more enslaved boys to the courthouse where the magistrates decided that Caesar was fifteen years old and that London was three years younger.[1194]

William Gordon retained ownership of Lot 79 until the time of his death in 1730. He bequeathed his real and personal property in the will that he wrote on 19 September 1730. Gordon gave his wife Margaret "the use and possession of my Town Lott and Houses and Storehouses at the Riverside Lands in Warwick County together with my six Negro's (to wit) Jack, Eve, Quash, Tom, Pompey & great Betty . . . for her better support and maintenance during her natural life." In addition, Gordon requested "that all my labouring Slaves remain in the possession of my Executrix till all my debts are paid, and that the present Crop of Tobacco be sold to discharge my debt with Majr. Lightfoot."

Next, Gordon turned to his two daughters. He left his daughter, Mary Dowsing, "Moll, Cesar, little B[et]ty and London together with my Lott of land and S[to]rehouses in York and Lands in Warwick County and [at] the death of my said wife three other Negro's, to wit, Jack Eve and Quash." Barbara Bowis, another Gordon daughter, received "Alamabow, Old Sarah, Judy and Nanny together with my dividend of Land in the County of New Kent and at the death of my said wife three other Slaves, to wit, Pompey, Great Patty [sic] Tom." Gordon Dowsing, the son of Robert and Mary née Gordon

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[1189] Ibid., pp. 382, 384, 16 May 1726.
[1190] Ibid., p. 103, 29 January 1721/2.
[1191] Ibid., p. 125, 16 April 1722.
[1192] York County Orders and Wills (15) 172, 15 July 1717.
[1193] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 376-7, dated 9 January 1721/2 and recorded 15 January 1721/2. Perhaps Gordon bought Frank to try to help William and Mary Biggs through some financial difficulties. In November 1723, the York County clerk noted a payment of 1320 pounds of tobacco "To William Gordon for diet of William Biggs a poor prisoner." York County Orders and Wills (16) 237, 18 November 1723.
[1194] York County Orders and Wills (16) 221, 19 August 1723.

Dowsing, would inherit a boy named Jack and a girl known as Sarah, when he reached the age of twenty-one or married. William Gordon Bowis, the son of Robert and Barbara née Gordon Bowis, would gain possession of Aberdeen, a boy, and a girl named Jane at his twenty-first birthday or the day of his marriage.[1195]

Margaret Gordon

In late 1730, Margaret Gordon, the widow of William Gordon, gained possession of Lot 79 and six slaves—Jack, Eve, Quash, Tom, Pompey, and Great Betty—during the rest of her life. The widow Gordon no doubt relied on Eve and Great Betty to do the necessary domestic work, which included cooking, cleaning, and laundering the clothes. Perhaps she found work for Jack, Quash, Tom, and Pompey to do in Yorktown.

In late January 1736/7, Pompey was "committed to the Goal" of York County "on Suspicion of Felony." After hearing witnesses, the justices of the oyer and terminer court decided that Pompey was guilty. In addition, they ordered Pompey to be burned "in the left hand with the Letter T." After being burned in the courtroom, the York County sheriff led Pompey to the public whipping post where he received thirty-nine lashes on his back.[1196] Pompey returned to the Gordon household on Lot 79 after he received his punishment. It is known that Margaret Gordon lived on the lot that she inherited from her husband until February 1738/9 and possibly longer.

Mary née Gordon Dowsing Dailey, Robert Dowsing, and John Dailey

In 1730, Mary née Gordon Dowsing was the wife of Robert Dowsing, a bricklayer, when her father William Gordon died. Robert Dowsing held three Yorktown lots in his own name—Lot 33 which he received from his father, John Dowsing; Lot 59 which he purchased from Richard Cheshire, a merchant of Princess Anne County; and Lot 78 which he acquired from James Wallace of Elizabeth City County. In January 1736/7, Dowsing wrote his will and bequeathed Lots 59 and 78 to his son, William. The May 1737 inventory of Dowsing's estate did not list slaves, an indication that the only slaves who worked in the Dowsing household were—Moll, Cesar, little B[et]ty and London—the enslaved laborers whom Mary Dowsing inherited from her father, William Gordon. It is possible that a boy named Jack and a girl known as Sarah, the slaves whom Gordon Dowsing would inherit at age twenty-one, were also in this household.

The widow Dowsing was married to John Dailey by 23 February 1738/9, the date when Dailey was assessed for two lots—Lot 59 and Lot 78—to pay Gwyn Read for the five acres of land along the York River. Dailey no doubt attended the 16 June 1740 court session to hear the trial of Sarah, one of the slaves previously owned by William Gordon.

[1195] York County Orders and Wills (17) 130-2, dated 19 September 1730 and recorded 21 December 1730.
[1196] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 337-8, 31 January 1736/7.

Sarah had been in the county gaol on "Suspicion of felony by Warrant." When she was "brought to the Barr" and heard "the Indictment agt. her read plead not guilty & upon Examination of the witnesses in behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King agt. her It appears to the Ct that the sd. Negro Sarah is not guilty of the felony whereof she stands indicted & therefore ord. to be discharged."[1197]

By December 1740, James Dowsing, perhaps the brother of Robert Dowsing, became the guardian of William Dowsing (called Gordon Dowsing in the will of William Gordon). Virginia law required guardians to make annual reports about an orphan's property. The accounts that James Dowsing submitted to the York County Court provide details about the way in which he managed the two slaves whom William Dowsing inherited from his grandfather.

In August 1742, Dowsing's accounts noted that he received £ 1.10.0 for "hire of a Negro boy." This suggests that Jack, the boy whom Dowsing inherited from William Gordon, was still young and unable to do a lot of work. Perhaps the entry "By a Negros work" referred to Sarah, one of the other slaves whom Dowsing received from his grandfather, and the £ 1.17.6 that she earned. In Dowsing's next report to the York County justices, an 8 July 1743 note indicated that Jack's labor earned £ 1.15.0 for William Dowsing. In November 1744, James Dowsing reported income of £ 2.0.0 for the hire of Jack and another £ 2.5.0 from the work done by Sarah. During the following year, 1745, James Dowsing continued to hire Jack and Sarah to individuals who wanted to have work done by slaves. In that year, an unidentified person paid £ 2.15.0 for work that Jack did. Dowsing hired Sarah, whom he described as a wench, to Benjamin Pippit for one year and received a payment of £ 2.10.0.[1198]

In September 1745, Dowsing spent £ 0.1.10 ½ for "a quart of Rum and 1 lb Sugar," items used by the midwife hired to help Sarah through the birth of her child. In addition, Dowsing reported the income of £ 3.0.0 from the hire of a "boy" named Jack and an additional £ 1.18.0 from the work done by Sarah.[1199] Two years later, in September 1747, Dowsing reported that he spent £ 0.10.0 in April 1747 for a "Midwives Fee" and another £ 0.0.8 for "1 lb of Sugar." Also, the estate gained £ 4.0.0 from the 1746 hire of Jack and £ 1.10.0 from the hire of Sarah during the same year.[1200]

The year 1748 was a difficult year for Sarah. First, Dowsing noted a payment of £ 0.1.3 for "1 Quart of Rum for a Negro wench which Lay in." In addition to giving birth to a child, Sarah contracted smallpox, and Dowsing paid £ 4.10.0 for "Mr McKenzies account for Cureing the Negro wench of the Pox." Finally, he determined that £ 0.15.0 would cover "my Trouble a Nursing the said Negro 3 months." The £ 5.6.3 that Dowsing spent

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[1197] Ibid., p. 617, 16 June 1740.
[1198] York County Guardian Accounts (1), 42, recorded 17 August 1742; ibid., p. 52, recorded 15 August 1743; ibid., p. 63, recorded 19 November 1744; ibid., p. 68, [1745].
[1199] Ibid., p. 70, recorded 18 August 1746.
[1200] Ibid., p. 90, recorded 22 September 1747.

on Sarah's care exceeded the £ 1.15.0 that she earned. The £ 4.0.0 that the estate received for the hire of Jack helped to cover the expenses incurred to care for Sarah.[1201]

In 1749, Dowsing again found people who were willing to hire Jack for £ 5.5.0 and to spend the sum of £ 1.10.0 to hire Sarah. The person who hired Sarah did not receive a full year of work because she bore a child in October. Dowsing recorded the payment of £ 0.10.0 "To a Midwives Fee." Perhaps the £ 0.1.3 that he spent in 1750 for "a Quart of Rum for the Negro Wench" helped Sarah through childbirth the previous year.[1202]

Although John Dailey sold Lot 79 to Mordecai Booth, a Gloucester County merchant, on 10 December 1749, he and his family did not leave the Yorktown area. As a result, James Dowsing continued to hire out the slaves who belonged to his nephew. In 1750, it is possible that Sarah regained her strength and was able to work a full year because she earned £ 2.10.0 in that year. During the same time period, Jack's work added the sum of £ 5.10.0 to William Dowsing's estate.[1203] The following year, 1751, Dowsing noted that he spent £ 0.10.0 "To a midwives Fee." He was able to hire Sarah for £ 2.10.0 and Jack, described as a man, earned £ 6.0.0. In 1752, Dowsing purchased "3 yds of Baze for Negro Child" at £ 0.1.6 and "1 pr Plane Shoes for Jack" at £ 0.4.6. The money earned by Jack and Sarah covered these expenditures. Jack's labor added £ 6.0.0 to Dowsing's estate and Sarah "which had a Child & Biggs with another" was able to work for part of the year and make £ 1.10.0.[1204] In 1753, Dowsing hired for the sum of £ 7.0.0, and Sarah's labor added £ 2.5.0 to Dowsing's holdings. Dowsing did not rent either Jack or Sarah the following year, a sign that William Dowsing had reached his twenty-first birthday and took over the management of Jack, Sarah, and Sarah's young children.[1205]

Mordecai Booth

On 10 December 1749, Mordecai Booth, a merchant from Gloucester County, purchased Lot 79 from John Dailey. Booth transferred this half-acre to James Pride, a Yorktown resident, on the same day.

James Pride

On 10 December 1749, James Pride, a Yorktown merchant, purchased Lot 79 from Mordecai Booth of Gloucester County. This half-acre parcel included a dwelling, a

[1201] Ibid., p. 103, recorded 19 September 1748.
[1202] Ibid., p. 110, recorded 21 August 1749; ibid., p. 120, recorded 21 August 1750.
[1203] Ibid., p. 120, recorded 21 August 1750.
[1204] Ibid., p. 134, recorded 19 August 1751; ibid., p. 148, recorded 17 August 1752.
[1205] Ibid., p. 161, recorded 17 September 1753.

warehouse, a pump, a pump house, and a shop on the riverside.[1206] It is possible that Pride had one slave—a boy named Dorset—when he acquired Lot 79.[1207]

In August 1751 Pride added two enslaved laborers—Tom, a boy adjudged to be twelve years old, and Moll, a girl whose age was not noted in the York County record book. The following August, the justices of the peace decided that Pride's girl Betty was ten years of age.[1208] Pride no doubt assigned domestic chores to Moll and Betty while he had Dorset and Tom work in his warehouse.

Pride held Lot 79 until 1755 when he sold this half-acre and the well on the property to Dudley Digges.[1209] This naval officer retained possession of the house and pump house until June 1758 when he conveyed these structures to Edmund Tabb, a Yorktown merchant. In the June 1758 deed, Pride noted that Elizabeth Martin occupied the house and the pump house.[1210]

Elizabeth Martin

In June 1758, a woman named Elizabeth Martin occupied the house and pump house that stood on Lot 79. There is no additional information about Elizabeth Martin in the York County Court records.

Dudley Digges

See Lot 77 above.

[1206] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 314-20, dated 10 December 1749 and recorded 18 December 1749.
[1207] In November 1746, Pride took a boy named Dorset to the York County Courthouse where the justices of the peace determined that he was twelve years old. York County Wills and Inventories (19) 472, 17 November 1746.
[1208] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 455, 19 August 1751; York County Judgments and Orders (2) 86, 17 August 1752.
[1209] York County Deeds (6) 17-9, dated 21 April 1755 and recorded [torn].
[1210] Ibid., pp. 146-8, dated and recorded 19 June 1758.

Lot 78

William Gordon

A merchant named William Gordon purchased Lot 78 from Yorktown's trustees on 24 June 1706.[1211] Almost a year and a half later, on 24 November 1707, Gordon assigned this half-acre to James Wallace of Elizabeth City County.[1212]

James Wallace

On 24 November 1707, James Wallace of Elizabeth City County gained possession of Lot 78 from William Gordon. Wallace held Lot 78 until August 1726 when he sold the half-acre to Robert Dowsing.[1213] It is likely that Wallace leased this property to one or more tenants.

Robert Dowsing.

In August 1726, Robert Dowsing, a bricklayer, purchased Lot 78 from James Wallace of Elizabeth City County. Dowsing married Mary, the daughter of William Gordon, by 19 September 1726. Extant documents do not indicate where the Dowsing lived. It is possible they made their home on Lot 59, Lot 78, or Lot 79 where Mary's parents, William and Margaret Gordon, dwelled. Dowsing owned Lot 78 until his death in early 1736/7. The elder Dowsing left his Yorktown property—Lot 59 and Lot 78—to his son, William.[1214]

William Dowsing

In February 1736/7, William Dowsing inherited Lot 78 from Robert Dowsing, his father. The younger Dowsing lived in Yorktown with his mother, Mary née Gordon Dowsing Dailey, and her second husband, John Dailey, whom she married by 17 December 1739. The Daileys and William Dowsing might have lived on Lot 59, Lot 78, or Lot 79, the half-acre that Mary Dailey inherited after the death of her mother, Margaret Gordon.[1215] Dowsing reached adulthood and left Yorktown. In February 1758, Dowsing was a

[1211] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 206-7, dated 24 June 1706 and recorded 8 January 1706/7. Gordon lived on Lot 79. See Lot 76, Lot 77, and Lot 79.
[1212] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 251-2, dated 24 November 1707 and recorded 15 December 1707.
[1213] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 459-60, dated 14 and 15 August 1726 and recorded 15 August 1726.
[1214] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 347-8, dated 13 January 1736/7 and recorded 21 February 1736/7. See Lot 59.
[1215] See Lot 59, Lot 76, Lot 77, and Lot 79.

resident of Brunswick County when he sold Lot 78 and the house on this property to Richard Coventon, an inhabitant of Yorktown.[1216]

Richard Coventon

It is possible that Richard Coventon, a dancing master, rented a Yorktown lot in early 1750/1. In January of that year, he bought an enslaved boy named Elias from Mary Buckler, a spinster of Yorktown. Coventon paid £ 25 for Elias.[1217] Seven years later, the Reverend John Camm noted that Coventon had one tithe, an indication that Elias was still under the age of sixteen or that he had died.

In February 1758, Coventon and his wife, Mary, bought Lot 78 from William Dowsing of Brunswick County. The Coventons entered into a mortgage with Dowsing to secure the payment of the purchase price.[1218] This agreement was a sign of the dancing master's financial troubles. Another indication of problems occurred on 30 May 1758. Coventon owed £ 48.8.2 to David Jameson and on that day, he mortgaged an enslaved woman named Monimia to the Yorktown merchant. Coventon had until 10 July 1759[?] to repay his obligation to Jameson.[1219]

On 19 November 1759, the grand jury presented Coventon for failing to list two women—Monimia and Sarah—as tithes. A month later, the justices of the peace agreed to dismiss the presentment after Coventon paid the tithe on Sarah.[1220] Perhaps Coventon hired Monimia to another Yorktown resident in an attempt to add to his income. In September 1760, Jameson took the Coventons to court because they had not fulfilled the terms of their mortgage. York County's officials decided Jameson should have possession of this enslaved woman or the sum of £ 80.[1221]

In addition, the Coventons failed to repay all of their debt to Dowsing. In October 1759, William Moss paid the remainder of the Coventons' debt to Dowsing—£ 25.9.0—and assumed the mortgage.[1222] In September of the following year, Moss took Richard and Mary Coventon to court because they still owed him money. The justices of the peace decided that the Coventons had six months to pay Moss or lose possession of Lot 78. Coventon and his wife defaulted on their mortgage and, in September 1766, Moss gained possession of this half-acre.[1223] Extant documents indicate that the Coventons left York

[1216] York County Deeds (6) 150-2, dated 22 February 1758 and recorded 15 May 1758.
[1217] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 419-20, dated and recorded 21 January 1750/1.
[1218] York County Deeds (6) 136-8, dated 22 February 1758 and recorded 15 May 1758.
[1219] Ibid., pp. 173-4, dated 30 May 1758 and recorded 15 January 1759.
[1220] York County Judgments and Orders (3) 90, 19 November 1759; ibid., p. 102, 17 December 1759.
[1221] Ibid., p. 182, 15 September 1760.
[1222] York County Deeds (6) 221-3, dated 15 October 1759 and recorded 17 December 1759.
[1223] York County Judgments and Orders (3) 181, 15 September 1760; York County Order Book (1765-1768) 39, 21 October 1765; ibid., pp. 84-5, 21 July 1766.

County sometime between 21 January 1771 and 1774 when Richard Coventon's will was recorded in the Northampton County Court.

William Moss, Thomas Trotter, and Thomas Tomer

William Moss gained possession of Lot 78 after Richard Coventon defaulted on his mortgage. On 10 October 1766, Moss announced that on the following day he would sell "the lot and houses where Mr. Richard Coventon now lives."[1224] Moss conveyed Lot 78 to Thomas Trotter and Thomas Tomer. In March 1767, Trotter, Tomer, and Mary Tomer (wife of Thomas Tomer) sold this half-acre to Thomas Archer Senior.[1225]

Thomas Archer Senior

In March 1767, Thomas Archer Senior bought Lot 78 from Thomas Trotter and Thomas Tomer and his wife, Mary. Archer lived on Lot 70, and it is possible that he leased this property to one or more tenants during the time that he owned it. On 8 September 1773, Archer conveyed Lot 78 to James Dunsley of Yorktown.[1226]

James Dunsley

A resident of Yorktown, James Dunsley bought Lot 78 from Thomas Archer on 8 September 1773. Perhaps Dunsley leased this property from Archer who was a business partner. On 29 October 1767, Archer announced "The brig THOMAS and MARY, James Dunsley master, will sail for Madeira in three weeks. Any Gentlemen that please to order wines on freight back by her will lay an obligation on Their humble servant, THOMAS ARCHER."[1227]

Dunsley had at least one slave who labored in his house. On 21 November 1774, the justices of the peace noted that Dunsley's enslaved woman Betty should be added to the list of tithes taken by William Reynolds.[1228] It is possible that Dunsley also owned male slaves who helped to unload his brig when he anchored this vessel in the Yorktown harbor.

Less than a month after Lord Dunmore issued his proclamation, Dunsley captured a slave who might have been trying to reach Virginia's former governor. He placed the following notice in the 12 January 1776 issue of Purdie's *Virginia Gazette*:

[1224] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 10 October 1766.
[1225] York County Deeds (7) 263-7, recorded 16 March 1767.
[1226] York County Deeds (8) 352-3, dated 8 September 1773 and recorded 20 September 1773.
[1227] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 29 October 1767.
[1228] York County Order Book (4) 63, 21 November 1774.

> TAKEN up at sea on the 5th of December, about seven leagues from Cape Henry, a YAWL without either oar, mast or sail, and has a white bottom, with top sides painted green. There was a negro man in her who says his name is Dick, and that he belongs to mr. Ruffin on James river, whom I sent to the publick jail. The boat is now at York, and the owner may have it on proving his property and paying salvage.[1229]

It is not known how long Dick stayed in the Public Gaol in Williamsburg.

Dunsley died sometime between 9 February 1779 and 31 March 1785. On the last day of March 1785, William Cary, John Moss, and Robert Gibbons met on Lot 78 and allotted Elizabeth Dunsley her dower in her deceased husband's estate. Cary, Moss, and Gibbons decided that the widow Dunsley should have "one Room below Stairs called the Chamber with two Closets within the said Chamber, with free use of the front door to and from the said House." They also gave her "a third part of the Garden Ground and the Use of all outhouses that is or may be placed on the said lott or half acre of Ground during her life."[1230] Extant documents do not indicate how long Elizabeth Dunsley lived on her third of Lot 78.

John Hay Bryan, Elizabeth Bryan, and William Richards

By July 1792, John Hay Bryan had possession of Lot 78. On 28 July 1792, Bryan and his wife, Elizabeth, sold Lot 78 to William Richards, a resident of Yorktown. Richards lived on Lot 78 until 1800.[1231]

[1229] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie, ed., 12 January 1776.
[1230] York County Deeds (6) 266, dated 31 March 1785 and recorded 20 June 1785.
[1231] York County Deeds (7) 65-7, dated 28 July 1792 and recorded 18 February 1793; York County Land Tax List, 1800.

Lot 80, Lot 81, Lot 82, and Lot 83—The Victory Monument

Lot 80

Nathaniel Bacon, Lewis and Abigail Burwell, Carter Burwell, Nathaniel and Susannah Burwell, and William Goosley

In November 1691, the Trustees of Yorktown granted Lots 80 and 82 to Nathaniel Bacon. A member of the Council, Bacon died on 16 March 1691/2.[1232] Bacon left the plantation where he lived and all his other land in Hampton Parish and Bruton Parish to his niece Abigail Burwell, the wife of Lewis Burwell of Gloucester County, after his death.

The next known owner of Lot 80 and Lot 82 was Carter Burwell who held these parcels in February 1738/9.[1233] Carter Burwell no doubt leased his Yorktown property to tenants because he lived at Carter's Grove, his James City County plantation. Burwell died in 1756, and President William Nelson managed his estate until his oldest son, Nathaniel, turned twenty-one.[1234] During this time, it is likely that Nelson rented these lots to tenants. In January 1779, Nathaniel and Susannah Burwell of James City County sold the two parcels to William Goosley. The deed noted that the property adjoined the lots of Secretary Thomas Nelson on the southeast, the lots of Lawrence Smith on the southwest, a deep valley on the northwest, and the York River on the northeast. Goosley held Lots 80 and 82 until 1800 when he sold these lots and four other parcels in Yorktown to Corbin Griffin.[1235]

Lot 81

Joseph Shropshire

Joseph Shropshire bought Lot 81 from the Trustees of Yorktown in November 1691. The parcel adjoined Robert Read [Lot 83], Colonel Nathaniel Bacon [Lot 80], a valley, and Main Street.[1236] Shropshire failed to build on this half-acre of land and forfeited his title to Lot 81.

[1232] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 277, dated 24 November 1691 and recorded 25 January 1691/2; York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 116-7, dated 15 March 1691/2 and recorded 24 March 1691/2.
[1233] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 478-9, 23 February 1738/9.
[1234] Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove*, chapter IV.
[1235] York County Deeds (6) 35, dated 15 January 1779 and recorded 15 February 1779; York County Land Tax List, 1800.
[1236] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 317, dated 24 November 1691and recorded 26 September 1692.

William Tunley

Lot 81 remained vacant from the time that Joseph Shropshire forfeited the parcel until Yorktown's Trustees granted it to William Tunley in May of 1707. Tunley held Lot 81 for less than one year. He conveyed this parcel to Charles Cox in March 1708.[1237]

Charles Cox

In March 1708, Charles Cox purchased Lot 81 from William Tunley. Two years earlier, in 1706, Cox bought Lot 47 from Yorktown's trustees. He opened a public house on Lot 47 when he received a license to keep an ordinary "at his dwelling house in York Town" in May of the following year.[1238] Cox and John Wills operated the ferry between Yorktown and Tindall's Point in Gloucester County.[1239]

Cox had died by the March 1716/7 court session, the date when his wife Sarah petitioned the York County justices of the peace to become the administratrix of her deceased husband's estate. The 1717 inventory of Cox's personal possessions included household items as well as "1 boat, 2 oars & graplin." Cox did not own slaves at the time of his death.[1240] Sarah Cox might have lived on Lot 47 until her death. It is also possible that she made her home on Lot 81 and rented Lot 47 to an ordinary keeper. Lot 81 was in the possession of the Cox family in February 1738/9 when the York County justices of the peace included "Charles Cox estate" on the list of Yorktown lotholders.[1241]

Abraham Archer

The next known owner of Lot 81 was Abraham Archer who held this property in 1799.

See Lot 83 below.

[1237] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 238-9, dated and recorded 24 June 1707; ibid., pp. 281-2, dated 31 March 1708 and recorded 24 May 1708.
[1238] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (13) 65, 24 May 1707. See Lot 47.
[1239] Ibid., p. 106, 15 December 1707.
[1240] York County Orders and Wills (15) 96, 18 March 1716/7; ibid., pp. 120-1, recorded 20 May 1717.
[1241] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 478-9, 23 February 1738/9.

Lot 82

See Lot 80 above.

Lot 83

Robert Read

The Trustees of Yorktown granted Lot 83 to Robert Read in November of 1691.[1242] Although Read continued to live on his nearby plantation, he built a house on the half-acre and rented the property to John Seaborne, a house carpenter. Seaborne and his wife, Joan, might have leased the dwelling on this lot as early as 1692. Extant documents indicate that the Seabornes lived on Lot 83 in 1694.

Read no doubt rented Lot 83 to other tenants during his lifetime. He held Lot 83 until the time of his death, between 30 December 1712 and 16 March 1712/3. Read bequeathed Lot 83 as well as Lot 73, Lot 74, and a five-acre parcel that adjoined Yorktown to his son Thomas. If Thomas Read died without heirs, this legacy was to pass to Read's daughter, Mildred.[1243]

John Seaborne—tenant of Robert Read

It is possible that John Seaborne and his wife, Joan, lived in the dwelling on Lot 83 as early as 1692 because this house carpenter forfeited his title to Lot 42.[1244] Seaborne lived on this half-acre by August 1694 when he appeared in court to answer a charge brought against him by Thomas Pate. According to Pate, Seaborne sold drinks "at his now dwelling house in Yorke Towne in the sd County be Retaile without lycense who haveing obstinately & expressively persisted therein in contempt of Authority." The York County justices of the peace ordered Seaborne to enter into a bond "for his future good behavior."[1245]

Seaborne died between 24 August 1694 and 3 October 1694. On 12 November 1694, his widow appeared in York County court and presented a copy of her deceased husband's inventory. Joan Seaborne relinquished her claim to the small estate, and John Seaborne's creditors decided to release her from all but one of her debts. The widow Seaborne had to pay "the Rent due & owing to the sd Robert Read."[1246]

[1242] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 268, dated 24 November 1691 and recorded 21 December 1691. See Part I. Section 1—Africans in and Around the Yorktown Area During the Seventeenth Century.
[1243] York County Orders and Wills (14) 241-3, dated 30 December 1712 and recorded 16 March 1712/3. See Lot 73 and Lot 74.
[1244] See Lot 42.
[1245] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (10) 34, 24 August 1694.
[1246] Ibid., p. 52, 12 November 1694; ibid., p. 52, 12 November 1694. In January 1694/5, Read became the administrator of Seaborne's estate, an indication that his widow had not been able to pay the money she owed for rent. Ibid., p. 102, 24 January 1694/5.

Thomas Read

On 16 March 1712/3, Thomas Read inherited three half-acre parcels in Yorktown—Lot 73, Lot 74, and Lot 83—from his father, Robert Read.[1247] Although Read remained in the Yorktown area, there is no evidence that he lived on any of his town lots. It is likely that he continued to lease the buildings on these parcels to tenants as his father had done before him. Thomas Read died between 21 May 1718 and 15 June 1719.[1248] Because Read died without heirs, his three Yorktown lots became the property of his sister, Mildred.

Mildred née Read Goodwin Smith, Lucy née Smith Moore, and Augustine Moore

Mildred Read gained possession of Yorktown Lot 83 after the death of her brother, Thomas Read. It is likely that Mildred and both of her husbands—James Goodwin (whom she married by 21 May 1718) and Lawrence Smith (whom she married by 20 February 1720/1)—leased Lot 83 to tenants because they lived on plantations in Yorkhampton Parish.[1249]

Mildred née Read Goodwin Smith died between 10 December 1753 and 21 January 1754. In her will, the widow Smith left Yorktown Lot 83 to her daughter Lucy, the wife of Augustine Moore.[1250] The Moores probably leased Lot 83 to tenants during the nine years that they held this half-acre because they lived on a plantation in Charles Parish. In July 1763, Augustine Moore sold Lot 83 to Lawrence Smith, his nephew.[1251]

Lawrence Smith, son of Edmund Smith and Agnes née Sclater Smith

In January 1753, Lawrence Smith, son of Edmund Smith and Agnes née Sclater Smith, began a seven-year apprenticeship with David Jameson, a Yorktown merchant and the husband of his sister, Mildred. Jameson agreed to teach Smith merchandising and bookkeeping.[1252] During his apprenticeship, it is likely that Smith spent much of his time in Yorktown.

Following the conclusion of his apprenticeship in early 1760, Smith entered into a business partnership with David Jameson. In the summer of 1763, Smith purchased

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[1247] York County Orders and Wills (14) 241-3, dated 30 December 1712 and recorded 16 March 1712/3. See Lot 73 and Lot 74.
[1248] York County Orders and Wills (15) 452-3, dated 21 May 1718 and recorded 15 June 1719; ibid., pp. 478-9, dated 17 July 1719 and recorded 17 August 1719. See Lot 73 and 74.
[1249] See Lot 73 and 74 and Part I. Section 10. The Moore House and Adjoining Rural Land Owned by the Smith and Moore Families.
[1250] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 309, dated 10 December 1753 and recorded 21 January 1754.
[1251] York County Deeds (6) 535-7, dated 18 July 1763 and recorded 15 August 1763.
[1252] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 526, dated and recorded 15 January 1753.

Yorktown Lot 83 from Augustine Moore, the husband of Lucy née Smith Moore.[1253] It is likely that Smith and his family lived in a house on Lot 83. Smith's partner, Jameson, had a warehouse on Lot 120, and the partners no doubt used this structure to store goods.[1254] In 1771, the Smith family included the merchant, his wife Elizabeth, and at least one daughter. On 27 August 1771, Smith conveyed two enslaved girls, Betty and Beck who were the children of a mulatto woman named China, to his daughter, Mildred.[1255]

The partnership between Smith and Jameson expired on 1 April 1771, and Smith decided to operate his own store in Yorktown. He also requested that the patrons pay any debts that they owned to the store previously operated by Smith and Jameson.[1256] This request for payment was not the only time that Smith would have financial difficulties. In December 1771, Smith and his wife Elizabeth sold seventy-two acres of land to General Thomas Nelson.[1257] Six and a half years later, Smith again asked his customers to pay their debts.[1258] In January 1779, the Smiths sold a tract that contained 127 acres to General Nelson.[1259] On the same day, General Nelson and his wife Lucy sold a parcel of 169 acres to Smith. The deed noted that Smith was a resident of Yorktown.[1260]

Extant documents do not indicate where Smith and his family spent the Siege of Yorktown. It is clear, however, that his property was damaged. After the conclusion of the Siege of Yorktown, Lawrence Smith Junior filed a claim for losses from his urban lot and his rural plantation.[1261] The younger Smith noted that he lost nine slaves: two nineteen-year old boys, Will and Dick, both valued at £ 100; a fifty-year old man named Harry whom Smith valued at £ 60; Humphrey, a man of twenty-six years, valued at £ 100; two wenches—Phillis, a thirty-six year old worth £ 60, and twenty-year old Hannah who was valued at £ 90. Next, Smith listed Nelson a boy of close to twelve years. Smith valued Nelson at £ 50. Smith did not include the names of the last two slaves whom he lost: a two-year old child worth £ 10 and a one-year old child worth just £ 5.

Extant documents suggest that Smith decided not to rebuild on Lot 83. On 30 May 1784, Smith and his wife Elizabeth conveyed this half-acre to Abraham Archer.[1262] Smith lived the rest of his life on his Yorkhampton Parish plantation.[1263]

[1253] York County Deeds (6) 535-7, dated 18 July 1763 and recorded 15 August 1763.
[1254] See Part I. Section 9—Part III. Lot 120.
[1255] York County Deeds (8) 156, dated 27 August 1771 and recorded 16 September 1771.
[1256] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 14 February 1771; ibid., Rind, ed., 2 May 1771.
[1257] York County Deeds (8) 205-7, dated 28 December 1771 and recorded 16 March 1772.
[1258] *Virginia Gazette*, Dixon, ed., 10 July 1778.
[1259] York County Deeds (6) 29-30, dated 12 January 1779 and recorded 15 February 1779.
[1260] Ibid., pp. 41-2, dated 12 January 1779 and recorded 19 April 1779.
[1261] "Claims for Losses of York County Citizens in the British Invasion of 1781."
[1262] York County Deeds (6) 256-7, dated 30 May 1784 and recorded 18 January 1785.
[1263] See Part I. Section 10—The Moore House and Adjoining Rural Land Owned by the Smith and Moore Families.

Abraham Archer Junior

In early 1783, Abraham Archer Junior gained possession of property "under the Hill" and "One negro man Geo, one negro woman Jenny one negro girl Winny, one negro girl Rachel, & one negro boy George" when the will of his father, Thomas Archer Senior, was probated.[1264] Archer added to his holdings in May 1784, when he bought Lot 83 from Lawrence Smith and in September 1789, when he acquired a Yorktown lot from William Allen.[1265]

Like other Yorktown residents, Archer had financial problems. On 10 October 1792, he sold six slaves—a mulatto woman named Edy and her children five children, Mirnava, Sam, Elender, Fielding, and Cormiller, to Samuel Eddens, another inhabitant of Yorktown. Five years later, Eddens also had debts. In November 1797, Eddens sold Edy, Mirnava, Sam, Elender, Fielding, and Cormiller to Henry Digges, a resident of Matthews County.[1266]

Archer was forced to mortgage both real and personal property in late 1794. On 29 December 1794, Archer conveyed four slaves—Harry, Deptford, Fanny, and Hannah—to William Waller of Belle Field in Yorkhampton Parish in trust. Archer also mortgaged Lot 123 to Waller. The mortgage noted that Archer had leased this waterfront land to two tenants, Matthew Gibbs and William Morgan. The mortgage would be void if Archer repaid his debt of £ 217.6.9 plus interest to Waller by 15 April 1795.[1267]

Archer's financial problems continued. In July 1799, Archer conveyed Lot 68, Lot 81, and Lot 83 to William Cary in trust to secure the payment of a debt that he owed to William Arthurs of London. The mortgage mentioned "all houses and improvements thereon situate in the Town of York being the same whereon the said Abraham Archer now lives." The document did not specify the location of Archer's home.[1268] Archer failed to pay his obligation to Arthurs who gained possession of Lot 68, Lot 81, and Lot 83.

[1264] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 576-7, recorded 20 January 1783.
[1265] York County Deeds (6) 256-7, dated 30 May 1784 and recorded 18 January 1785; ibid., p. 449, dated 21 September 1789 and recorded 18 October 1790..
[1266] York County Deeds (7) 247-8, dated 29 November 1797 and recorded 15 January 1798.
[1267] York County Deeds (7) 144-5, dated 29 December 1794 and recorded 15 June 1795. See Lot 123.
[1268] Ibid., p. 294, dated 1 July 1799 and recorded 15 July 1799.

Table 3—Thomas Jefferson and the Yorktown Ferry

Year	Month	Day	Text	Pounds	Shillings	Pence
1768	April	7	Pd. a barber at York	0	0	3.75
1768	April	7	Pd. Mitchell at York ferriage & entertt.	0	19	6.00
1768	April	7	Pd. Do. for dinner	0	5	0.00
1768	April	7	Gave ferry men	0	5	0.00
1768	April	10	Paid ferriage and gave ferrymen at York	0	5	0.00
1768	June	5	Pd. at York ferriage	0	3	9.00
1768	June	5	Gave ferrymen	0	1	3.00
1768	June	8	Pd. ferriage at York	0	3	0.00
1768	June	11	Pd. at Mitchell's for ferriage, entertt. &c	0	9	7.50
1768	June	11	Gave ferrymen	0	2	6.00
1768	June	14	Pd. barber in York	0	1	3.00
1768	June	21	Pd. ferryage and ferrymen at York	0	5	0.00
1768	September	30	Pd. ferriage at York	0	3	9.00
1768	September	30	Gave ferrymen	0	1	3.00
1769	April	8	Pd. Jas. Mitchell at York for entertt.	0	7	6.00
1769	May	13	Pd. ferriage at York	0	3	9.00
1769	May	13	Gave ferrymen	0	1	3.00
1769	May	15	Pd. ferriage at York	0	3	9.00
1769	May	15	Gave ferrymen	0	1	3.00
1769	June	11	Pd. ferryiage at York	0	5	0.00
1769	June	11	Pd. at do. for do. June 8	0	3	1.50
1769	June	11	Pd. entertt. at Mitchell's	0	1	10.50
1769	November	4	Pd. ferriage at York	0	3	9.00
1769	November	4	Gave ferrymen	0	1	3.00
1769	November	7	Pd. ferriage at York	0	3	9.00
1769	November	7	Gave ferrymen	0	1	3.00
1769	November	13	Pd. Caesar in York for shaving	0	0	9.00
1769	December	2	Pd. ferriage at York	0	5	0.00
1769	December	4	Pd. ferriage at York	0	5	0.00
1769	December	22	Pd. ferriage at York	0	5	0.00
1769	December	24	Pd. ferriage at York	0	5	0.00
1770	April	7	Ferriage at York	0	3	9.00
1770	April	9	Ferriage at York	0	3	9.00
1774	June	5	Pd. entt. and ferrge. at York	0	5	7.50
1774	June	5	Gave ferrymen	0	1	3.00
1774	June	8	Pd. ferrge. at Gloster town	0	3	9.00
1774	June	8	Gave ferrymen	0	1	3.00

Section 9.
Part II. Lots in the Gwyn Read Addition to Yorktown

Introduction

In October 1737, Gwyn Read acquired one hundred acres of land that formed a U-shape along the eastern, western, and southern borders of Yorktown.[1] Having found an interest in his holdings on the town's waterfront, Read subdivided this second tract of land into lots soon after he gained possession of the property that his great-grandfather, Nicholas Martiau, patented in 1639. Read laid out his land on the southern side of Yorktown into half-acre parcels that he began to sell within six months of the date he that acquired the property.[2]

An examination of Robert Anderson's extracts of deeds recorded in the General Court and deeds entered into the York County Court records provides information about the individuals who purchased lots from Read. Gwyn Read's first conveyance was a deed for nineteen acres on the eastern side of Yorktown to Robert Read of Gloucester County on 29 November 1737.[3]

The remaining eighty-one acres (162 half-acre lots) of land held by Read were on the southern and western boundaries of Yorktown.[4] The extracts that Robert Anderson took from deeds recorded in the General Court records provide invaluable information about the pace of development in the Read Addition and the individuals responsible for its growth. Between January 1737[/8] and April 1751, Read sold ninety-six and three-quarters lots in his addition to Yorktown to twenty-three individuals.

The first lots that Read sold were located along the backside of Yorktown and on the road that connected the port town to Hampton in Elizabeth City County. After purchasers acquired titles to the lots adjoining the town, individuals took up lots that bordered on the

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[1] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 466-8, dated and recorded 17 October 1737; Edward M. Riley, "Suburban Development of Yorktown, Virginia, During the Colonial Period," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 60, No. 4 (October 1952):523 n. 6.

[2] Robert Anderson Papers, 1693-1877, (Williamsburg: Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation), Folders 309 and 319.

[3] Ibid. Although this fifteen-acre tract was part of the land held by Gwyn Read, it was not in the Read Addition to Yorktown and was not an official part of the town until 1889. Charles E. Hatch, Jr., *Yorktown's Main Street (From Secretary Nelson's to the Windmill) and Military Entrenchments Close In and Around the Town of York*, (Denver: Denver Service Center, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 1974), pp. 161-162. See Secretary Nelson's House.

[4] Robert Anderson Papers. The extracts of the deeds recorded in the General Court and the information about the original deeds included in subsequent deeds recorded in the York County Court provide a number of details about the appearance of the Read Addition and the whereabouts of specific lots. However, it is difficult to determine the boundaries of the addition and the location of several of the lots that Read sold. As was the case with Yorktown proper, geographical features—including the Yorktown Creek and ravines—influenced the boundaries of lots in the Gwyn Read Addition.

parcels that had been sold. Read granted a minimum of three lots each year between 1737[/8] and 1743.[5]

This urban developer did a brisk business because of the land shortage in Yorktown. In addition, the low price of the unimproved urban property—from £ 5 to £ 7 per half acre—attracted buyers.[6] The lots were taken up by individuals who wanted to add to their holdings in the town and a number of craftsmen who had not been able to acquire lots in Yorktown proper. Four merchants—Philip Lightfoot with four lots, John Ballard with six lots, President Williams Nelson with twelve lots, and Richard Ambler with twenty-one lots—created small urban plantations for themselves. Several craftsmen, including Reginald Orton and Thomas William Irwin, bought two lots so that they would have room for a dwelling house, the necessary outbuildings, and a separate structure that they used as their shop.

In November 1751, Gwyn Read decided to convey the remainder of his land adjoining Yorktown to President William Nelson. Read sold Nelson "all the residue of the said one hundred acres of lands not already sold and disposed of by the said Gwyn Reade by deeds executed & recorded in the General Court of this colony (a late sale of part of an acre to Edmund Tabb excepted) being about twenty acres be the same more or less and all houses &c" for £ 120.[7] Assuming that Read was correct in his statement that twenty of the original one hundred acres remained in his possession, he had sold eighty percent of the land that he recovered and almost three-quarters of the land on the southern and western borders of Yorktown by 1751. Unfortunately, Anderson did not extract information about the sales of the remaining lots.[8]

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[5] Read conveyed four lots in 1737, seven lots in 1738, eleven lots in 1739, sixteen lots in 1740, three lots in 1741, four lots in 1742, twenty-three lots in 1743, and twenty-one lots in 1745.

[6] Riley, "Suburban Development of Yorktown," pp. 523, 523 n. 7, 525, 525 n. 8.

[7] The copy of the deed from Read to President William Nelson contains the notation "Copied from the original by R. A. 20 feby 1848 lent him by Wm. Nelson." President William Nelson retained ownership of this parcel of land and it was known as "Nelson's Twenty Acre Lot" in the nineteenth century. Robert Anderson Papers.

[8] Hatch noted that over half of the Read Addition was developed. Hatch, Jr., *Yorktown's Main Street*, p. 161. There were less than twenty-five and one-quarter additional lots because the street behind Yorktown proper and the extension of the town's cross streets into Read's addition took up an unknown portion of the remaining land.

Lot 1B, Lot 3B, Lot 5B, and Lot 7B[9]

Philip Lightfoot and William Lightfoot Senior

On 21 April 1742, Philip Lightfoot bought a tract of land from Gwyn Read. The deed described the property as

> two acres of land Adjoining to parts of town land Begining thirty three feet from the corner of Maj John Buckners land on the Bank of York river, and to extend backwards towards the road the same distance from Maj. Buckners line the length of two acres parellel to the said line thence N.W. the width of one acre thence N E the length of two acres towards the river down and opposite to the begining place & [illeg] the street for the liberty and convenience of a passage to the river.[10]

Extant documents do not indicate the way in which Lightfoot used this property. If there was a structure on this land, it is likely that one or more of Lightfoot's enslaved laborers would have worked in this building or used tools stored in the building. If Lightfoot did not add an outbuilding to this parcel of land, it is likely that he had slaves tend gardens on the plot.

Philip Lightfoot died on 30 May 1748. According to the terms of his 31 July 1747 will, Lightfoot left his four lots in the Read Addition to his son, William.[11] Sometime between April 1749 and August 1751, William Lightfoot moved his family from his house on Yorktown Lot 36 to his Charles City County plantation. He decided to retain ownership of his property in the Read Addition. Unfortunately, it is not known if Lightfoot used this land or if he rented the parcel to a tenant.

William Lightfoot died in Charles City County sometime between 17 September 1764 and 20 May 1765. The details of Lightfoot's will are unknown because this document was recorded in the General Court. However, it is likely that Lightfoot left his lots in the Read Addition to his son Philip who is known to have inherited Lot 36 and ninety acres in Yorkhampton Parish.[12] In the late eighteenth century, William Lightfoot's estate paid the annual assessment on five lots in Yorktown. It is possible that this tax included payment for a portion of the parcel of land in the Read Addition that Lightfoot owned.

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[9] Lots in the western portion of the Read Addition to Yorktown had a number and a letter on the April 1889 plat drawn by A. F. Hudgens for W. W. Old and H. C. Cabel. This plat was the first time that any of the tracts in the Read Addition had a number and/or letter. Hudgens included thirty-two lots on the southern side of Yorktown and another sixteen lots between the western side of the port land and Yorktown Creek in his map of the town. Elizabeth Gryzmala Jordan and Julie Richter, "Yorktown Archaeological/Historical Assessment," 3 vols., (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Department of Archaeological Research submitted to the Colonial National Historical Park, National Park Service, 1998), Vol. 2. Historical Summary.

[10] Robert Anderson Papers.

[11] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 103-6, dated 31 July 1747 and recorded 20 June 1748.

[12] York County Deeds (7) 57, dated 27 February 1783 and recorded 20 April 1789. See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 36.

Lot 2B, Lot 4B, Lot 6B, Lot 8B, Lot 1C, Lot 3C, Lot 5C, and Lot 7C

Matthew Hubbard

Matthew Hubbard, the son of James and Elizabeth Hubbard, was born in Bruton Parish in December 1709. He relocated to Yorktown in September 1733 after he became the York County Clerk.[13] Hubbard married Jane, the widow of Robert Ballard, by 15 March 1735/6 and lived in the house that stood on Lot 13.[14] Five years later, on 18 October 1740, Matthew Hubbard purchased four acres near Yorktown from Gwyn Read. According to the description in the deed, Lot 2B, Lot 4B, Lot 6B, Lot 8B, Lot 1C, Lot 3C, Lot 5C, and Lot 7C adjoined

> the street between the Hon. Philip Lightfoot & the said Wind mill Begining on the river side upon the said street and running up the said street to the road leading over the town creek & so on the road unto a great bottom and along the bottom to the street between the Wind mill & the land lately sold and along the said street down to the river side and along the river side to the begining place.[15]

Perhaps Hubbard, a merchant, purchased this land so he could have a storehouse or warehouse near the town creek. If so, Hubbard's enslaved men would have spent time on the land near Windmill Point as they labored for their master.

Hubbard held his four-acre tract near Yorktown until the time of his death in 1745. He left the land near Windmill Point to his sons James, Matthew, and William.[16] On 18 May 1767, James Hubbard (a merchant), Matthew Hubbard (a mariner), and William Hubbard sold their father's four-acre parcel in the Read Addition to Robert Burwell for £ 80. The price indicates that there was at least one structure on the property.[17]

Robert Burwell, Corbin Griffin, Thomas Lilly, and Preeson Bowdoin

Robert Burwell made his home on Yorktown Lot 12 until he and his wife moved to Isle of Wight County. It is possible that Burwell leased the building on the parcel of land near the Windmill. In 1773, Burwell sold Lot 12 to Corbin Griffin, and it is possible that he also conveyed this four-acre parcel to Griffin at the same time.[18] It is known that Doctor

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[13] Bruton Parish Birth and Death Registers, 1662-1797, (Williamsburg, Virginia: Bruton Parish Church at the Special Collections Research Center, Swem Library, College of William and Mary); York County Wills and Inventories (18) 65-6, [15] September 1733.
[14] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 326, 15 November 1736. See Part I. Section 9—Lot 13.
[15] Robert Anderson Papers.
[16] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 7-8, dated 9 May 1744 and recorded 18 November 1745; ibid., pp. 60-2, recorded 16 March 1746[/7].
[17] York County Deeds (7) 341-3, dated 18 May 1767 and recorded 21 December 1767.
[18] In May 1773, Burwell sold Lot 12 and Lot 18 to Corbin Griffin of Yorktown. Perhaps Griffin bought the four acres near Yorktown in the early 1770s. See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 12.

Corbin Griffin had possession of eight lots in the Read Addition by the early 1777 death of Robert Burwell.

Griffin maintained his residence and business on lots on Yorktown's Main Street. He owned the four-acre parcel in the Read Addition until November 1784 when he conveyed the land to Thomas Lilly.[19] A mariner, Lilly lived in Yorktown on Lot 1, Lot 2, Lot 3, Lot 4, Lot 5, and Lot 6. It is possible that Lilly stored goods in a building on the tract in the Read Addition. Lilly was a mariner of Matthews County on 29 May 1793 when he transferred the title to the four acres to Preeson Bowdoin of Norfolk.[20]

[19] York County Deeds (6) 254-5, dated 26 November 1784 and recorded 20 December 1784.
[20] York County Deeds (7) 77-8, dated 29 May 1793 and recorded 17 June 1793.

Lot 2C, Lot 4C, Lot 6C, and Lot 8C

John Buckner and Griffin Stith

On 18 March 1739[/40], Gwyn Read conveyed a parcel of land near Yorktown to John Buckner. Read sold Buckner

> all his parts or parcel of land commonly called the Windmill point, where the Windmill now stands, containing by estimation two acres part of the Landed acres aforesaid lying and being on the creek commonly called Smiths creek and bounded as follows that is to say Begining at a Cedar stump five poles eleven [illeg] from the East door of the sd Wind mill to the said Cedar stump thence N40 E to the River thence along the River to the creek according to the meanders thereof thence Southerly up the creek to the road, thence along the main road Easterly to an opposite course with the Cedar stump, the begining place.[21]

This deed confirmed that Buckner was the owner of the one-acre tract on which the Windmill stood.[22] In addition, Buckner gained possession of an adjoining acre of land in the area known as Windmill Point.

John Buckner held this land until the time of his death in 1748. Perhaps he had an outbuilding on this property to store grain. If so, some of the slaves whom Buckner owned would have spent part of their working day on this parcel of land. Enslaved men and boys would have carried wheat and corn to the windmill to be ground, poured the wheat and corn flour into barrels, and transported the barrels to nearby storehouses or ships anchored in the York River.

Buckner, a resident of Stafford County at the time of his death, bequeathed his Yorktown lots, Yorkhampton Parish plantation, and the windmill to his nephew, Griffin Stith of Northampton County.[23] It is possible that Stith operated the windmill or that he found a tenant to grind wheat and corn.

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[21] Robert Anderson Papers.
[22] See Yorktown Windmill.
[23] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 479-80, dated 1 November 1751 and recorded 18 May 1752.

Richard Ambler's Ten and a Half Acre Tract

Richard Ambler, John Ambler, and Jaquelin Ambler

In April 1745, Richard Ambler purchased a ten and one-half acre tract from Gwyn Read. This property adjoined land that belonged to Robert Jackson, John Trotter, Ishmael Moody, and Reginald Orton. It also bordered on the Yorktown Creek.[24] Soon after he acquired the property, Ambler contracted with Henry Barradell to build a stable on this land. The November 1747 settlement of the estate of Henry Barradell noted that his administrators spent £ 7 for "Work done towards finishing the Stable of Rd. Ambler Esqr." After the completion of the stable, Ambler paid £ 30 to Barradell's estate.[25] Ambler's enslaved coachman would have tended to his master's horses as well as to the carriage in the stable. In addition, enslaved men and boys would have kept Lightfoot's carriage clean and in good repair.

Ambler used another portion of his property in the Read Addition for a garden and a smith's shop. Several of Ambler's enslaved men would have worked in the shop and slave women would have tended vegetables and herbs in the garden. Ambler also divided the tract into half-acre lots and rented property to tenants.

In September 1765, Ambler decided to give three acres and some marshland out of the Read tract to his sons Edward and Jaquelin.[26] Ambler transferred the remainder of his real property in his will that was probated on 21 July 1766 in the York County Court. He left "one acre of Land whereon is a Smith's Shop being part of Ten Acres which I bought of Captn Reade" to his son, John. Ambler bequeathed the rest of the tract to his son Jaquelin and "One Acre of Land which joines to York Town part of the Acre is a garden on the other part are houses in the occupation of John Davis."[27] John Ambler died by June 1766, and his portion of the Read parcel went to his brother, Jaquelin.[28]

Jaquelin Ambler and his family made their home in the brick house that stood on Lot 43.[29] In December 1774, Ambler decided to sell this property. The announcement that he placed in the *Virginia Gazette* provided information about his urban property and a tract of rural land within two and a half miles of Yorktown:

> FOR SALE THE HOUSES and LOTS in the Town of York, where the Subscriber now lives. The Dwelling-House is a very commodious One, with four Rooms

[24] Robert Anderson Papers.
[25] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 75, ordered 21 September 1747 and recorded 16 November 1747.
[26] York County Deeds (7) 144-6, dated and recorded 16 September 1765.
[27] York County Wills and Inventories (21) 278-82, dated [torn] and recorded [torn] 1766.
[28] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 27 June 1766.
[29] See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 43.

above and four below, a very large Brick Storehouse, a large and well cultivated Garden, Stables, Kitchen, Wash House, &c. in good Repair.[30]

It is possible that Ambler planned to sell his land in the Read Addition to the individual who bought his home.

Ambler had not sold the property by the time of the Revolution began and decided to move his family and enslaved laborers to Richmond. After the Siege of Yorktown, Ambler returned to Yorktown to assess the damage to his property. The claim that Ambler filed included structures on the Read tract. The "Large House built for a shop 32 feet square" valued at £ 50 stood on the property, and it is possible that the "Dweling House on another Lott 20 by 16 feet Dutch Roof" (worth £ 75) and the "good Garden well inclosed 70 pannels at 6/" (assessed at £ 21) were also on this tract.[31]

The 1782 York County Land Tax List included Ambler as the owner of two lots in Yorktown and ten acres of land. The fact that his land in the Read Addition appeared on the assessment list suggests that a building or buildings on the tract were still intact and that the property could still be used. When Ambler died in Richmond on 10 January 1798, he still held the ten acres that his father bought from Gwyn Read. Ambler's descendants retained possession of the tract until late 1818 or early 1819 when they sold the property.[32]

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[30] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 9 December 1773. Ambler also announced the sale of a plantation in Yorkhampton Parish. A week earlier, Ambler advertised the sale of his Yorktown lots. Perhaps he revised the notice and included the nearby rural land in order to make the property more attractive to potential purchasers. See Part I. Section 10—Ambler's Quarter.

[31] It is important to note that some of the claims filed by York County residents have been lost. The extant claims can be found in "Claims for Losses of York County Citizens in the British Invasion of 1781," (Williamsburg: Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation), Microfilm M-1.45.

[32] W. P. Palmer, et al., eds., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts ... Preserved in the Capitol at Richmond*, 11 vols., (Richmond, 1875-1893), VIII:459; York County Land Tax Lists, 1782, 1818, and 1819.

Archer-Sherrington Site: Lot O

The Archer Family

In July 1729, Abraham Archer purchased a storehouse on the bank of the York River from Mary Cook Lutwidge.[33] Like John Cook and Matthew Lutwidge before him, Archer used the dwelling house on the river's edge as an ordinary. He received his first ordinary keeper's license in December of 1729.[34] Initially, Archer depended on his wife, Amy, and their young children—Ann born on 3 February 1720/1 and John born on 29 April 1723—to assist him in the tavern.

Archer's business was profitable, and he was able to purchased additional property in Yorktown. In early 1732/3, he bought Lot 32 from Benjamin Clifton. The deed noted that Archer was both a tavern keeper and a shipwright. It is possible that Archer leased Lot 32 to an tenant and he continued to live and operate his ordinary in the building located "under the hill."[35]

At the end of the decade of the 1730s, Archer decided to take advantage of the opportunity to add to his real estate when Gwyn Read began to sell lots that adjoined Yorktown proper. Archer became one of the early owners of property in the Read Addition when he bought two lots from Read in 1739.[36] This acre of land was not far from Lot 32. It is possible that he bought lots in the Read Addition so that he would have urban property to leave to each of his three children. In addition, Archer could have grazed livestock and grown food on his addition lots.

This ordinary keeper made his final purchase of urban property in 1742. In October of that year, Archer bought Yorktown Lot 70 from William Watkins of St. Paul's Parish in Hanover County.[37] It is possible that Archer rented out a building on Lot 70 or on Lot 32. In January of 1742/3, a widow named Ann Bond received a license to keep "an ordinary at Abrm. Archers house at York Town." Archer's next license specified that he had permission "for keeping an ord[ina]ry at his House under the Hill at York Town."[38] Extant documents suggest that Archer kept his lots in the Read Addition for his own use.

Abraham Archer died on 14 February 1752 at the age of sixty. He bequeathed his entire estate to his wife, Amy, during her widowhood. When she either remarried or died, his real and personal estate was to go to their children. Archer left his lots in the Read Addition and a slave man named Jemmy to his daughter, Ann Adams. His son, Thomas, gained possession of the storehouse under the hill, Lot 70, land in Warwick County, and

[33] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 523, dated 4 and 5 July 1729 and recorded 21 July 1729.
[34] York County Orders and Wills (17) 20, 15 December 1729.
[35] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 152-3, dated 10 and 11 January 1732/3 and recorded 15 January 1732/3.
[36] Robert Anderson Papers.
[37] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 27, dated 22 October 1742 and recorded 15 November 1742.
[38] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 146, 17 January 1742/3; ibid., p. 255, 20 February 1743/4.

slaves called Caesar and Deptford. Sarah Archer became the owner of Lot 32 and two enslaved children, Hannah and Jack.[39] Amy Archer died sometime after 1758 when her name last appeared on Reverend John Camm's list of tithables in Lower Yorkhampton Parish.

It is known that Ann Archer married Joseph Adams by October 1740 when he was a mariner on his Majesty's sloop *Woolf*. By 1747, Ann Adams was a widow who possessed her deceased husband's entire estate.[40] It is likely that the mariner did not leave her any real property. It is probable that Archer built a dwelling house and a kitchen on his land in the Read Addition for his daughter and granddaughter.[41]

Ann Archer Adams lived on the lots that adjoined the main street behind Yorktown, John Baker, and John McClary until early 1780. The widow Adams died between January of that year and the Siege of Yorktown. Title to the lots in the Read Addition passed to her sister, Sarah Archer Lester, the widow of Benjamin Lester. After the Siege of Yorktown, the widow Lester entered a claim in the York County Court for £ 202 to cover loss of buildings and personal items in the structures:

A Dwelling House & Kitchen pulled down	£ 120..--
a Garden lately inclosed with Pales, puled down & destroyd 70 Pannells at 6/	21..--
1 Mahogany Desk	10..--
12 Leather bottom Chairs £ 9..-- & several flag Chairs 6/	9..6..--
1 Bed & furniture	12..--
1 large Looking Glass	4..10..--
a Book Case with abot. 100 Vollums of Books	24..--
1 large Iron Pots	1..4..--
	£ 202..--

The lack of domestic and housekeeping articles on this list suggests that either Ann Adams or Sarah Lester moved these items out of the dwelling house and the kitchen before they were destroyed. The person or persons who saved items from the Read Lot were not able to take the larger, heavier objects.[42]

Details in Sarah Lester's October 1783 will confirm that her claim for losses covered structures and personal property on her deceased sister's lots in the Read Addition. The widow Lester left "my Houses & Lots whereon I now dwell the two Lotts that lately

[39] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 256-7, dated 16 December 1748 and recorded 18 May 1752. See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 32 and Lot 70.
[40] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 65-6, dated 1 October 1740 and recorded 18 May 1747.
[41] In his January 1752 will, Reginald Orton left his son, William, "my House lately built opposite a Dwelling House belonging to Mr. A. Archer." Ibid., pp. 434-6, dated 10 January 1752 and recorded 16 May 1767 [sic 1757].
[42] "Claims for Losses of York County Citizens in the British Invasion of 1781."

belonged to my Sister Anne Adams dec[ease]d In this Town together with my Negroes, James, Hannah, Rachell, Debtford & Frankey with their future increase" to her three children, John Lester, Martha Lester Gibbons, and Frances Lester.[43] The widow Lester's slaves included Hannah whom she inherited from her father, Abraham Archer. It is possible that the enslaved man named James was Jemmy, the slave whom Ann Adams received from her father's estate. "Debtford" may have been Deptford, a slave whom Archer left to his son, Thomas.

[43] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 34, dated 9 October 1783 and recorded 17 November 1783.

Archer-Sherrington Site: Sherrington's Lot

William Sherrington

William Sherrington first appeared in the York County records in June 1735. His master, Benjamin Catton, told the justices of the peace that he would discharge his apprentice if he served "him faithfully & honestly til next March come 12 months." However, if the indentured man misbehaved, he would serve his full term while he learned the trades of a barber and a wigmaker.[44] It is likely that Sherrington's service ended early, because he appeared as a plaintiff in a civil suit in May of 1737.[45]

It is likely that Sherrington did not have many resources other than his skills when he ended his apprenticeship with Catton. He leased a shop in Yorktown in 1738 (£ 1.6.3), 1739 (£ 4), and 1740 (£ 4) from Robert Ballard's estate.[46] Sherrington decided to purchase his own lot when Gwyn Read began to sell half-acre sections. In March 1741, this barber bought a lot that adjoined John Morgan, Richard Smith, and Abraham Archer. Sherrington probably had a modest structure on his lot in the Read Addition because he did not pay rent to the Ballard family after 1740.[47]

Sherrington did not prosper in his work as a barber and a wigmaker.[48] In March 1743/4, this wigmaker and Benjamin Hanson, the free black butcher, reached an agreement over the money that Sherrington owed. At the same court session, Sherrington and his Mary mortgaged half of his lot to Nicholas May for £ 6 to guarantee the payment of a £ 12 obligation to May. They defaulted on the mortgage a year later.[49]

In December 1744, the Sherringtons sold the other half of his lot to Patrick Matthews for £ 5.10.0.[50] It is possible that the barber and his wife continued to live on the land that they sold to Matthews, because he owned several other parcels of land in Yorktown.[51] Sherrington's appearance before the York County justices of the peace was in May 1746. He confessed that he was unable to pay an obligation to William Dudley and took the oath of an insolvent debtor.[52]

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[44] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 203, 16 June 1735.
[45] Ibid., p. 363, 16 May 1737.
[46] York County Guardian Accounts (1) 12-3, recorded 19 August 1740.
[47] Robert Anderson Papers.
[48] The estate of William Rogers paid Sherrington for shaving his son, William Rogers Junior. York County Wills and Inventories (19) 226, dated 14 September 1743 and recorded 19 September 1743.
[49] Ibid., p. 270, 19 March 1743/4; York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 92-4, dated and recorded 19 March 1743/4. Nicholas May was in possession of half of Sherrington's lot by 1748.
[50] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 110-1, dated and recorded 17 December 1744.
[51] See below.
[52] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 427, 19 May 1746.

Nicholas May

Nicholas May worked as a carpenter when he gained possession of part of a lot in the Read Addition from William Sherrington. Like Sherrington before him, May had financial problems. In February 1748, this carpenter mortgaged the land where he lived to Richard Ambler to secure the payment of £ 25 plus interest by December of the same year.[53] May's shop was busy in 1748; he took William Gomer as an apprentice, and James Taylor finished his time of service with May.[54] However, the fact that this carpenter met the terms of his mortgage and retained his property was not enough to persuade him to stay in Yorktown. May and his wife, Ann, moved to Hanover County and in May 1752, they sold the half lot to Richard Hobday. The price of £ 92.01 suggests that there were several structures on the property.[55]

Richard Hobday

Richard Hobday, son of William Hobday, was a native of York County. He tended fields in Yorkhampton Parish in the 1740s and worked as a wheelwright and a chairmaker.[56] It is possible that he had a mulatto apprentice. In September 1751, Hobday advertised for the return of Cain, a sixteen-year old mulatto fellow who escaped from him.[57]

There is no evidence that Hobday ever lived on the lot that he bought from Nicholas May. It is possible that he acquired the urban land as an investment and rented it out to craftsmen who could not purchase their own property. In July 1759, Hobday was described as a chairmaker when he and his wife, Ann, sold their land in the Read Addition to John Hack for £ 40. The deed noted that Hack was already in possession of the lot that included a house, stable, and shop.[58]

John Hack

Perhaps the buildings on the property in the Gwyn Read Addition to Yorktown convinced John Hack to purchase the half lot from Hobday. Hack was a tailor who needed a place to set up his business and to have space to work with his one laborer.[59] As a tailor, it is

[53] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 241-2, dated 4 February 1747/8 and recorded 15 February 1747/8.
[54] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 128, 19 September 1748; ibid., p. 156, 19 December 1748. It should be noted that Taylor petitioned to be freed from service to May and the court ruled that the indenture between the two was illegal.
[55] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 480-1, dated 19 May 1752 and recorded 18 May 1752 [sic].
[56] Hobday's apprentice, Matthew Burt, went on to be a wheelwright in Yorktown. Burt made his home in the Gwyn Read Addition to Yorktown.
[57] *Virginia Gazette*, 26 September 1751.
[58] York County Deeds (6) 201-4, dated and recorded 16 July 1759.
[59] In 1758, the Reverend John Camm noted that Hack had two tithes. Unfortunately, Camm did not specify whether this worker was a white apprentice, a free black apprentice, or a slave.

possible that Hack mended suits of livery worn by Yorktown's personal slaves or made clothing from imported oznaberg that rural slaves wore when they labored in tobacco fields.

After only a few years in York County's port town, Hack decided to try his luck in Bruton Parish. In February 1762, Hack and his wife, Anna Catherine, sold the land in the Read Addition to William Pool for £ 50.15.0. Pool was in possession of the half lot before he purchased it from Hack.[60]

William Pool

Little is known about William Pool who lived on this part lot from 1762 until his death in early 1767. He served on one petit jury in November 1762, nine months after he became a landowner. Pool left all of his real and personal property to his wife, Ann, after his debts and funeral expenses had been paid. Appraisers valued his personal property at just £ 36.15.5. Items in his inventory suggest that he was a craftsman, possibly a blacksmith. He had a freemason glass, a pair of andirons, a pair of tongs, and a pair of bellows among his possessions at the time of his death.[61]

Patrick Matthews

Unlike William Sherrington and the subsequent owners of the other half of Sherrington's lot, Patrick Matthews was successful. In June 1743, Matthews bought his first two lots in the Read Addition from John Dixon. The land was on the eastern end of the addition, near Robert Read's land and it adjoined a street on the back of Yorktown proper. Three months later, this gardener purchased two more lots in the addition from Thomas and Frances Brewer. This acre of land was across the street that ran behind Yorktown and bordered the Read Addition lots owned by John Ballard and William Rogers. In December 1744, Matthews added Sherrington's half lot to his holdings.[62] It is likely that Matthews and his wife lived on the land he bought from Brewer and that he leased the parcel he acquired from Sherrington.

During the 1750s, Matthews prospered. In 1752, Matthews bought a warehouse on the beach in Yorktown from Griffin Stith.[63] Three years later, he acquired Lot 42 on

[60] York County Deeds (6) 391-3, dated and recorded 15 February 1762.
[61] York County Wills and Inventories (21) 299-300, dated 16 January 1767 and recorded 16 February 1767; ibid., pp. 319-21, dated 11 March 1767 and recorded 16 March 1767.
[62] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 56-8, dated and recorded 20 June 1743; ibid., pp. 72-3, dated and recorded 21 November 1743; ibid., p. 110-1, dated and recorded 17 December 1744. Matthews and his wife sold the land that he bought from Dixon to Edmund Tabb. See ibid., pp. 251-2, dated 6 June 1748 and recorded 20 June 1748; ibid., pp. 338-9, dated 14 March 1749/50 and recorded 19 March 1749/50.
[63] Ibid., p. 508, dated and recorded 20 November 1752. In 1754, Matthews agreed to lease the warehouse to Alexander Bruce, a Norfolk merchant, for ten years. See ibid., pp. 600-2, dated and recorded 19 March

Yorktown's Main Street from Dudley Digges. Matthews held Lot 42, a warehouse, and lots in the Read Addition when he died. According to the terms of his will (probated in February 1762), George Davenport gained possession of his father-in-law's lots and houses in Yorktown and his land in Warwick County.[64] The widow Matthews continued to live in the house on Lot 42 and it is likely that Davenport leased the remainder of Matthews' Yorktown property to tenants.

Ann Matthews outlived both her son-in-law who died in 1766 and her daughter who lived as a widow for five years before her 1771 death. The widow Matthews died between 20 January 1772 and 21 September 1772. In her June 1763 will, she left George and Katherine Davenport "my lot & houses in York Town whereon I now dwell & after the decease of the longest liver of them, I give the same to the heir of my sd daughter forever."[65]

Matthew Davenport inherited his brother George's lot in the Read Addition and possibly his other property in Yorktown—Lot 42 and a warehouse on the shore of the York River. In January 1780, Matthew Davenport's widow, Frances, sold a half-acre in the Read Addition to John Baker of Yorktown for £ 250. Baker was the son of Ann Matthews and her first husband, Richard Baker. The deed noted that the property adjoined the lots of Ann Adams, John McClary, and Baker's other half-acre of land.[66]

It is possible that John Baker, the son of Ann Matthews and her first husband, lived on his step-father's lot in the Read Addition before he purchased the lot. In 1778, Baker had four tithes to be added to the list for lower Yorkhampton Parish.[67] Extant documents suggest that Baker died before the Siege of Yorktown and that Harwood Burt was the administrator of his estate.

1754.

[64] York County Wills and Inventories (21) 87-8, dated 29 November 1761 and recorded 15 February 1762.

[65] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 122-3, dated 27 June 1763 and recorded 21 September 1772.

[66] York County Deeds (6) 72, dated and recorded 17 January 1780. In December 1777, John Baker purchased a lot in the Read Addition from William and Eleanor Mitchell for £ 125. This parcel adjoined the lots owned by Ann Adams. Ibid., pp. 2-3, dated 29 December 1777 and recorded 19 January 1778.

[67] York County Order Book (4) 240, 15 November 1779.

Lot Purchased by John Terry

John Terry

On 16 September 1744, John Terry bought a lot from Gwyn Read. This half-acre was behind the property held by William Sherrington.[68] Terry, a blacksmith, probably had a house and a shop on this half-acre of land. In 1745, Terry had two white apprentices, Robert Bond and James Provo.[69] The following year, the justices of the peace authorized a payment of £ 5.14.0 to Terry "for Smith Works at the Prison."[70]

In January 1746/7, Terry sold his property in the Read Addition to John Norton for the sum of £ 16.2.6. The deed noted that the lot was near Yorktown and that it adjoined a street [Read Street] on the east, the lot occupied by William Sherrington on the north, the half acre in the possession of Gwyn Read on the west, and on a lot held by Mordecai Booth on the south.[71]

John Norton

John Norton was the owner of Lot 56 in Yorktown in January 1746/7 when he acquired land in the Read Addition. A prosperous merchant, Norton and his family lived in a house on Lot 56 and it is possible that he used a building on his land in the Read Addition to store goods and tobacco.[72] If so, Norton's slaves would have carried crates and barrels from this parcel to their master's store. In 1764, Norton decided to return to England and he conveyed his land in the Read Addition to his tenant, John McClary.[73]

John McClary

John McClary was in Yorktown by September 1748 when he apprenticed himself to William Peake of Yorktown for three and a half years in order to learn the skills of a barber and a perukemaker.[74] He finished his apprenticeship and stayed in Yorktown to practice his trade. It is known that McClary was paid for making a wig for Lawrence Smith's orphan in 1755.[75] This barber and wigmaker probably rented a shop in the Read Addition from Norton during most of the decade of the 1750s.[76]

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[68] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 197-200, dated and recorded 19 January 1746/7.
[69] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 359, 18 March 1744/5; ibid., p. 366, 20 May 1745.
[70] Ibid., pp. 478-9, 21 November 1746.
[71] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 197-200, dated and recorded 19 January 1746/7.
[72] See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 56.
[73] York County Deeds (7) 50-2, dated and recorded 20 August 1764.
[74] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 263-4, dated and recorded 19 September 1748.
[75] York County Guardian Accounts (1) 189, recorded 17 November 1755.
[76] When Richard Hobday sold his lot in the Read Addition in 1759, the deed noted that McClary's lot adjoined this property. York County Deeds (6) 201-4, dated and recorded 16 July 1759.

In 1758, Camm noted that McClary had two tithes in his household. There is no information about the race and status of this individual. Extant documents suggest that McClary used the profits from his work to acquire enslaved laborers. In 1762, he bought two slaves from the estate of his father-in-law, William Palmer—a boy called Bob and an old woman by the name of Sue—for a total of £ 45.1.8.[77] In June of the same year, McClary took his slave boy Tony to the York County Court, and the justices of the peace determined that he was eight years old.[78]

By the late 1760s, McClary decided to end his work as a wigmaker. In December 1769, he placed the following announcement in Purdie and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*:

> To be SOLD before Mr. Anthony Hay's door, in Williamsburg, on Wednesday the 13th of December, A likely Virginia born SLAVE, about 18 years of age, by trade a barber, who can shave, cut hair, and dress very well. Six months credit will be allowed the purchaser, on giving bond and security to John McClary.[79]

Perhaps the slave trained as a barber was Bob whom he purchased at the sale of his father-in-law's estate. Next, McClary decided to open a tavern, and in August 1771, the grand jury prosecuted him for retailing liquor without a license. Perhaps he depended on his slave Tony to help serve food and drinks to his customers.[80]

By 1779, McClary managed to add to his urban property holding. In September of that year, he granted all of his real and personal estate to his son, William. The elder McClary conveyed the house where he lived with the outhouses and all the ground thereto belonging; another dwelling that stood on the ground of Dudley Digges; and three houses down at the waterside to his son. William McClary lived in one of the structures along the York River. In addition, John McClary transferred ownership of two enslaved fellows, Tony and Harry; a woman known as Rachel; an enslaved woman named Milley; a boy called Isaac; Peg, a girl; and Sarah, a child. The deed required William McClary to "maintain the sd. John McClary during his natural life, and if John McClary chooses to live separate and apart from his sd. son, that William McClary agrees to lend to John McClary the use of one dwelling house and one negro during his life." After the death of his father, William McClary would regain possession of the home and the slave.[81]

It is likely that John McClary lived on his lot in the Read Addition until the Siege of Yorktown. There is no evidence that he entered a claim to cover his losses from the final battle of the Revolutionary War. Perhaps he had decided to relocate to the lot where his son, William lived until 1788. In May of that year, the younger McClary returned a lot on

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[77] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 507-8, dated 20 November 1758 and recorded 18 December 1758; York County Wills and Inventories (21) 90-2, recorded 15 February 1762.
[78] York County Judgments and Orders (3) 383, 21 June 1762.
[79] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 7 December 1769.
[80] York County Judgments and Orders (2) 356, 19 August 1771. The following month, the justices of the peace noted that Tony was to be added to McClary's list of tithes. Ibid., p. 366, 16 September 1771.
[81] York County Deeds (6) 64-5, dated 28 September 1779 and recorded 15 November 1779.

the York River to his father as well as transferring an enslaved woman, Peg, and household furniture. In July 1788, the elder McClary purchased Lot 99 from Yorktown's trustees.[82]

John McClary lived in Yorktown until his death between 11 July 1800 and 15 September 1800. He left all of his personal estate to his wife, Diana. The July 1802 inventory of McClary's estate included six slaves: Peg (a woman valued at £ 75), Milly (a girl valued at £ 15), Rachel (a girl valued at £ 58.6.8), Lewis (a boy valued at £ 45), Sam (a boy valued at £ 40), and Claiborn (a boy valued at £ 30).[83]

[82] Ibid., pp. 376-7, dated 29 May 1788 and recorded 21 July 1788; ibid., p. 377, dated 29 May 1788 and recorded 21 July 1788; ibid., pp. 380-1, dated 18 July 1788 and recorded 21 July 1788. See Part I. Section 9—Part III. Lot 99.

[83] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 566, dated 11 July 1800 and recorded 15 September 1800; ibid., pp. 600-1, dated 12 July 1802 and recorded 19 July 1802.

Lot Adjoining John Terry's Property

Mordecai Booth

By early 1746/7, a merchant named Mordecai Booth leased a lot that adjoined the property John Terry conveyed to John Norton. Booth, the partner of William Lightfoot and the co-owner of the ship *Mermaid* with a London merchant named Richard Cary, no doubt would have made his home on a lot in the main part of Yorktown.[84] It is likely that Booth used a building on the lot in the Read Addition as a storehouse. Booth would have depended on enslaved men to carry crates and barrels to the structure on the lot. It is unclear how long Booth leased this property. By early 1752, Booth was the tenant of Reginald Orton's lot in the Read Addition.[85]

[84] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 138; ibid., p. 164, 16 January 1748/9. Booth received an appointment to serve as a justice of the peace for York County in November 1745. It is unlikely that a lease on a lot in the Read Addition to Yorktown would have given him enough status to be names as a magistrate. He probably was in possession of a lot in Yorktown proper by 1745.

[85] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 434, dated 10 January 1752 and recorded 16 May 1767 [sic 1757]. A 1758 deed from Thomas Orton to William Stevenson referred to Booth as a previous tenant. York County Deeds (6) 129-32, dated 12 April 1758 and recorded 15 May 1758.

Moody Site

Ishmael Moody and Mary Moody

In March 1732/3, Ishmael Moody inherited Lot 30 when his mother, Elizabeth Moody Powers, died.[86] Like his father, stepfather, and mother before him, Moody kept an ordinary on the lot adjoining the courthouse. He and his family lived in a dwelling house located behind the ordinary.[87]

Moody made his first purchase of land in the addition from Read himself in March of 1741. He bought an acre that adjoined the southwestern border of Reginald Orton's property. A valley and a spring from Yorktown Creek served as a boundary of Moody's parcel. This ordinary keeper added to his holdings in the Read Addition two years later when he acquired one acre, two rods, and twenty-eight poles from Gwyn Read. The 1743 deed conveyed a tract that adjoined the waters of the Yorktown Creek and his first purchase of property in the addition.[88]

This tavern keeper built several structures on the four lots that he owned in the Read Addition. The 1748/9 inventory of his estate listed the contents of "the New House," "the large Room in lower House," "the small Room in the lower House," the "First Room up Stairs in the lower House," the "Second Room up Stairs," "the old Dairy," "the Lower House Cellar," "the New Dairy," "the Kitchen," "the Wash House," and "the Meat House."[89] Moody used buildings on his lots in the Read Addition to help store some of the food that he served to his customers. His slaves would have worked in the two dairies, the kitchen, and the washhouse. It is also possible that he rented out rooms in "the New House" and in "the lower House." Tenants of these spaces might have traveled with personal slaves to tend to their daily needs and another slave to care for their horses and carriages.

Moody owned a lot in Yorktown proper and property in the Read Addition when he died in 1748. In his will, Moody bequeathed Lot 30 to his son, Edward. He gave his other four children "that Peice of Ground which I purchased of Gwin Reade and his wife by Indenture bearing date the twenty second Day of March 1741 equally to be divided between them and their Heirs forever." Moody empowered his executors to sell the parcel that he bought from Read on 11 April 1743 and to use the proceeds from the sale to pay his debts.[90]

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[86] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 35, dated 18 February 1732[/3] and recorded 19 March 1732[/3]. See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 30.

[87] The inventory of Moody's estate included a building described as "the back House." The next structure in the appraisal was the ordinary. York County Wills and Inventories (20) 134-8, recorded 16 January 1748[/9].

[88] Robert Anderson Papers.

[89] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 134-8, recorded 16 January 1748[/9].

[90] Ibid., pp. 122-3, dated [?] June 1748 and recorded 15 August 1748.

Mary Moody, the widow of Ishmael Moody, served as the administrator of his estate. The 1750 settlement of Moody's estate indicates that the widow Moody found a buyer or buyers for most of her husband's property in Yorktown proper and in Read's Addition to Yorktown by June of that year. The auditors noted that Mary Moody sold "Household Goods 4 Lotts & House 4 Negros Vizt. Damon Sawney, Nan, & Jonathan." She also hired out other slaves and collected debts due to her deceased husband's estate. Unfortunately, the audit of Ishmael Moody's estate did not include the name(s) of the person(s) who bought the two lots in the Read Addition from Mary Moody.[91] In August 1751, the widow Moody conveyed the remainder of her deceased husband's land in the addition to William Lightfoot of Charles City County.[92]

William Lightfoot and Robert Burwell

In August 1751, William Lightfoot bought one acre, two rods, and twenty-eight poles of land in the Read Addition from Mary Moody. Lightfoot, who did not inherit a stable from his father, Philip Lightfoot, had a stable on this property. A resident of Charles City County, William Lightfoot no doubt wanted to have a place for his horses to eat and rest after a journey to Yorktown. Lightfoot would have traveled in a coach driven by an enslaved coachman and it possible that several enslaved boys rode as postillions. All of these slaves would have worn livery as a sign of their master's status.

Lightfoot died between 17 September 1764 and 20 May 1765. It is possible that he sold this land in the Read Addition and the stable that stood on the property before his death. A September 1765 deed of gift from Richard Ambler to his sons, Edward and Jaquelin, noted that Robert Burwell was in possession of the stable on that property.[93] Extant documents do not indicate how long Burwell held this land. He left Yorktown for Isle of Wight County in the early 1770s. Perhaps Burwell conveyed this property to Corbin Griffin, the Yorktown doctor who purchased Lot 12 and four other parcels in the Read Addition—Lot 1B, Lot 3B, Lot 5B, and Lot 7B.

[91] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 179, dated and recorded 18 June 1750.
[92] York County Deeds (5) 447-9, dated and recorded 19 August 1751.
[93] York County Deeds (7) 144-6, dated and recorded 16 September 1765.

Lot G

Richard Smith

Documentary evidence indicates that a butcher named Richard Smith bought Lot F and Lot G from Gwyn Read in August 1740. Smith's land adjoined the one-acre parcel that Abraham Archer purchased from Read the previous year. In December 1740, Smith sold Lot F to John Morgan of Yorktown.[94] Almost three years later, in September 1743, Smith conveyed half of Lot G to Richard Bailey, trustee, as part of his marriage agreement with a spinster by the name of Elizabeth Bolton.[95]

Like other owners of property in the Read Addition, Smith experienced financial trouble. In August 1744, Richard Smith mortgaged the lot where he and his wife lived to Philip Lightfoot. According to the terms of the mortgage, Smith would forfeit his lot if he did not repay his debt to Lightfoot and to James Faison within two years.[96] Smith died intestate in 1750, and his property was sold at a public sale. Smith's lot was not mentioned in the account of the sale of his estate. It is possible that Smith defaulted on his mortgage to Lightfoot or that he sold the half-acre sometime between 1746 and his death in 1750.[97]

[94] Robert Anderson Papers; York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 622-4, dated and recorded 15 December 1740.
[95] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 83-5, dated 3 September 1743 and recorded 20 February 1743/4.
[96] Ibid., pp. 108-10, dated 2 August 1744 and recorded 17 December 1744.
[97] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 318, 21 May 1750; York County Wills and Inventories (20) 210, recorded 18 March 1750/1.

Yorktown Windmill

William Buckner Senior

On 16 July 1711, John Lewis and his wife Elizabeth mortgaged an acre to William Buckner Senior. This ground began at a point on the York River and was located just below the Yorktown Creek. According to the terms of the agreement, Buckner was to build a windmill, keep the windmill in good repair for at least seven years, and to grind twelve barrels of Indian corn per year for Lewis. The requirement to grind twelve barrels of Indian corn each year for Lewis suggests that the Gloucester County resident had slaves who tended fields on his York County plantation and that the ground corn was part of their food rations.[98] Buckner built the windmill, and it is likely that he had at least one of his enslaved men operate the windmill.

No doubt Buckner traveled from his Yorktown home to manage the work of his enslaved laborers at the windmill and on his plantation.[99] He also hired out several of his slaves to construct buildings and to laborer on the Public Works. In early 1710/1, the justices of the peace noted that the county owed Buckner 200 pounds of tobacco for "tarr and a Labourer to tarr the Court house." In addition, York's officials paid "his publick Levys 14 Tithables at 9 ¼ per Pole."[100] In October of the same year, Buckner's slaves labored on the "publick work's at Yorktown," and John Brooks provided room and board for his slaves. Another group of enslaved laborers worked on the "fortifications" and boarded at the tavern operated by Hester Powell.[101] The fact that Brooks and Powell housed Buckner's slaves in their ordinaries indicates that Buckner had enslaved men from his Potomac estate work on the public works and the fortifications. In November 1712, York County owed Buckner 972 pounds of tobacco for 6,000 shingles that were used to cover the roof of the York County courthouse.[102]

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[98] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 374-5, dated and recorded 16 July 1711. If Buckner's heirs neglected the windmill for seven years, the acre of land would revert to the Lewis family.

[99] William Buckner held a total of six lots in Yorktown during his lifetime. On 24 November 1691, William Buckner of Stafford County acquired a lot from the town's trustees. It is possible that this William Buckner was the father of the man who built and operated the Windmill. It is possible that this deed was for Lot 1 or Lot 4. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (1) 262, dated and recorded 24 November 1691. On 20 April 1695, the Yorktown Buckner bought a lot from Nicholas Sebrell Junior and Sarah Sebrell, the widow of Nicholas Sebrell Senior. The property adjoined the lots of Benjamin Read, the York River, and Thomas Hill. In September 1699, the Yorktown trustees granted Lot 3 (previously granted to John Underhill) to Buckner. By February 1700/1, Buckner purchased an unspecified lot from Thomas Charles of Warwick County. Buckner had a storehouse on his property, probably in front of Lot 1 or Lot 4 by October 1701. He acquired Lot 5 and Lot 6 by the time of his death. York County Deeds and Bonds (1) 16-7, dated 20 April 1695 and recorded 24 May 1695; ibid., pp. 219-20, dated 21 September 1699 and recorded 25 September 1699; ibid., pp. 267-9, dated [blank] and recorded 24 February 1700/1; York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (11) 523, 24 October 1701.

[100] York County Orders and Wills (14) 46-9, 16 January 1710/11.

[101] Ibid., pp. 113, 114, 13 October 1711.

[102] Ibid., p. 153, 5 November 1712.

Two months later, in January 1712/3, Buckner received an appointment to serve as one of the men who operated the ferry from Yorktown to Tindall's Point in Gloucester County. The York County justices of the peace ordered Buckner and the other ferry keeper, John Roberts, to "constantly keep a good & substantial horse boat & foot boat well manned to attend the sd ferry."[103] Buckner no doubt had several of his enslaved men help in the construction of the public storehouses and public wharf which he agreed to build in February 1713/4. After the completion of these structures, Buckner was often at the stores and wharf because, on 15 November 1714, Governor Alexander Spotswood appointed him to be the "agent of the Publick Storehouse at York Town."[104] Buckner would have had slaves accompany him to the public storehouse so they could move any barrel or crate that he wanted to inspect.

Perhaps Buckner's slave Sam worked at the Windmill, helped to transport people across the York River, or spend time at the Public Storehouse. If so, he had opportunities to talk to other enslaved men. Sam, a mulatto man named Harry (who was owned by Mary Read), and Guy, a "slave late belonging to Edward Powers ordinary keeper," found time to plan to steal money. On 10 September 1715, Sam, Harry, and Guy appeared in the York County Courthouse to hear the charges against them. These three men were indicted for breaking and entering the house of Richard Cary and taking "224 ounces of silver money of the value of 70 pound ten guineas of the value of 13 pounds & one pair of linen sheets of the value of 40 shills currt mony of the goods & chattles of the sd Richard Cary in the sd house." Harry, Sam, and Guy each pled guilty to the charges and the justices of the oyer and terminer court decided that "they are guilty of the sd facts & thereupon pronounced the following sentence that they the sd Harry Sam & Guy be conveyed to the place from whence they came and from thence to the place of Execution to be hanged by the necks untill they & every of them are dead." The justices of the peace valued Harry at £ 40.[105] Six days later, Governor Alexander Spotswood being "moved with compassion & hoping that the punishment of one the most notorious offender will be a sufficient example, & terror to the others, . . . do pardon remitt & release" Sam and Guy.[106]

Buckner died by 16 January 1715/6. In his will, Buckner left "all my houses & Land in York Town with my Tract or parcel of Land on the other side the Creek where my Plantation now is" to his son and namesake. He gave the executors of his estate permission to "Lett my house & Orchard in York Town until my Son William comes of Age." In order to make it easier for appraisers to value his possessions, Buckner decided "this Rule shall be observed, to wit, for Every Negro which at that time belonged to the Estate (besides sucking Children wch shall be reckoned with their mother) Reckon or Count so many Twenty Two pounds Sterl." The 1716 inventory of Buckner's personal estate included seventeen enslaved "Men, Women & Children at the home house."

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[103] Ibid., pp. 220, 224, 20 January 1712/3.
[104] Ibid., p. 302, 15 February 1713/4; ibid., p. 369, 15 November 1714.
[105] Ibid., p. 443, 10 September 1715.
[106] Ibid., p. 453, 19 September 1715.

Unfortunately, the appraisers did not note whether all of these slaves lived on Buckner's Yorktown property or if some of the laborers worked on his nearby plantations. In addition, Buckner had five enslaved men, an equal number of slave women, and eleven children on his estate "in Potomack."[107]

William Buckner Junior

In 1716, William Buckner Junior inherited his father's "houses & Land in York Town lots" and the "Tract or parcel of Land on the other side the Creek where my Plantation now is." The younger Buckner reached adulthood and served a short time as a York County justice of the peace. He died in 1722 and left his real and personal property, including enslaved laborers, to his younger brother, John Buckner.[108]

John Buckner

After the 1722 death of his brother, John Buckner gained possession of the Yorktown property previously owned by their father. Buckner also became the owner of slaves who labored in Yorktown as well as on plantations in Yorkhampton Parish and on the Potomac River in Stafford County. He continued his father's practice of involvement in construction projects in Yorktown. It is likely that Buckner had his enslaved men repair the bridge over Yorktown Creek that his father built. Buckner also had a warehouse and a wharf near the waterfront, and his slaves would have fixed these structures when necessary. Additional work for Buckner's enslaved laborers included operating the windmill.

Extant records contain information about three of Buckner's slaves. In 1726, Buckner preferred a claim to the York County Court "for his Negro man Dick taking up a runaway Negro man named Jack belonging to Baldwin Mathews of this County."[109] Fourteen years later, on 12 June 1740, Buckner petitioned Governor William Gooch for permission to free an enslaved man named John Jones. Gooch ruled "Upon Consideration of the Petition of John Buckner of York County Gent for the Reasons therein set forth leave is granted him to Munumit [sic] and set free a Mulatto named John Jones born a Slave."[110] Third, on 4 March 1742/3, Buckner's enslaved man Sam, appeared before the justices of

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[107] Ibid., pp. 513-4, recorded 21 May 1716; York County Orders and Wills (15) 29, dated 1716 and recorded 20 August 1716; ibid., p. 145, dated 13 December 1716 and recorded 15 July 1717. Perhaps one of Buckner's seventeen slaves "at the home house" included the enslaved child whom he purchased at the sale of the estate of John Hunt of Philadelphia. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (13) 135, dated 4 March 1707/8 and recorded 24 March 1707/8.

[108] York County Orders and Wills (16) 172-3, dated 8 7ber [September] [1722] and recorded 17 December 1722.

[109] Ibid., p. 384, 16 May 1726.

[110] H. R. McIlwaine et al., eds., *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, 6 vols., (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1927-66), V:18, 12 June 1740.

the oyer and terminer court. These men found Sam "guilty of Stealing 2 Gallons of Molasses of the value of 5 Shills. and 25 lbs. weight of Sugar of the value of 13 Shills. the property of one Filmer Wills of the County of Warwick." Sam pled benefit of clergy, and the justices ordered the sheriff to burn Sam on his left hand "at the Barr" and then to give him thirty lashes on his bare back at the public whipping post.[111]

Buckner entered into one deed during the time he lived in Yorktown. It appears that Gwyn Read believed he had a claim to the land on which the windmill stood. In March 1739/40, Read conveyed the following land to Buckner:

> all his parts or parcel of land commonly called the Windmill point, where the Windmill now stands, containing by estimation two acres part of the Landed acres aforesaid lying and being on the creek commonly called Smiths creek and bounded as follows that is to say Begining at a Cedar stump five poles eleven [illeg] from the East door of the sd Wind mill to the said Cedar stump thence N 40 E to the River thence along the River to the creek according to the meanders thereof thence Southerly up the creek to the road, thence along the main road Easterly to an opposite course with the Cedar stump, the begining place.[112]

It is likely that Buckner agreed to purchase the land to make sure that he had a clear title to this property near Yorktown.

Buckner continued to operate the windmill during the time he lived in Yorktown and after his move to Stafford County. Buckner died between 14 February 1746/7 and his 1748 death. He bequeathed his Yorktown lots, a warehouse along the waterfront, a Yorkhampton Parish plantation, and the windmill to his nephew, Griffin Stith of Northampton County.[113]

Griffin Stith

In 1748, Griffin Stith acquired six Yorktown lots, a warehouse on the York River, a plantation in Yorkhampton Parish, and the windmill after the death of his uncle, John Buckner. Between 1752 and 1772, Stith sold all of this property except the windmill.[114] Stith made several trips to Yorktown from his home in Northampton County during the

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[111] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 171, 4 March 1742/3.

[112] Robert Anderson Papers.

[113] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 479-80, dated 1 November 1751 and recorded 18 May 1752.

[114] In November 1752, Stith sold the warehouse "on the Sands" to Yorktown butcher Patrick Matthews. Fifteen years later, Stith and his wife Mary transferred six lots in Yorktown (Lot 1, Lot 2, Lot 3, Lot 4, Lot 5, and Lot 6) to Nathaniel Littleton Savage of Yorktown. In the deed, Stith noted that the conveyance did not include a twelve- or fifteen-foot square parcel that was partially enclosed with a brick wall and in the possession of President William Nelson. Ibid., p. 508, dated and recorded 20 November 1752; York County Deeds (7) 391-96, dated 27 November 1767 and recorded 16 May 1768. See Part I. Section 10—Buckner-Powell Plantation for Stith's 1772 sale of 330 acres in Yorkhampton Parish to Seymour Powell.

time that he operated the windmill. It appears that one of Stith's slaves decided that a journey to Yorktown provided him with an opportunity to claim his freedom. On 19 September 1751, Stith offered a reward for the return of Tom, a fellow, who "Ran away from the Subscriber, about the 5th of this Instant, from York Town." Stith noted that Tom was "near 6 Feet high; his Cloaths were dyed Cotton, it is supposed he is gone towards Warwick. Whoever apprehends him, and brings him to Mr. John Gibbons, in York, shall have a Pistole Reward, besides what the Law allows."[115]

This announcement failed to help Stith regain possession of Tom. Stith decided that additional details about Tom might help someone identify him and capture him. In late October 1751, Stith placed a second notice about Tom. He stated that Tom

> is about 28 Years of Age, near 6 Feet high, and has had the Small-pox; It is suppos'd that he took with him a black Mare, near York Town, and is gone either to Goochland County, after his Wife, who was lately purchased and carried to the said County by John Carlisle Merchant, residing there, or towards North-Carolina.

Next, Stith turned to a description of the clothing he believed that Tom took with him. According to Stith, Tom

> took with him a Pair of blue Cloth Breeches, a black Cloth Vest, two close-bodied Cloth Coats, one of them an Orange Colour, a dark colour'd great Coat with Brass Buttons, Worsted Stockings, and English Shoes, pretty much worn, a fine Castor Hat Rat-eaten at the Brim, and other Cloaths; also several fine and coarse Shirts.

Again, Stith offered a reward to the person who captured Tom and took him to John Gibbons.[116] Extant documents do not indicate if Stith regained possession of this enslaved man or if Tom was able to remain free. It is not clear how long Stith held the land where the windmill stood or how long he operated the windmill. Stith would have depended on enslaved men and boys to cart wheat and corn to the windmill to be ground, transfer the wheat and corn flour into barrels, and move the barrels to nearby storehouses or ships anchored in the York River.

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[115] *Virginia Gazette*, 19 September 1751.
[116] Ibid., 31 October 1751.

Secretary Nelson's House

Gwyn Read and Robert Read

The location where Secretary Thomas Nelson built his house was outside the original boundaries of Yorktown. This land was part of the property that Gwyn Read recovered in October 1737. Gwyn Read's first conveyance was a deed for nineteen acres on the eastern side of Yorktown to Robert Read of Gloucester County on 29 November 1737.[117] Almost a year later, on 18 November 1738, Robert and Margaret Read of Gloucester County transferred two parcels of land near Yorktown to Doctor John Dixon. The tracts totaled fifteen acres and adjoined the York River on the north, Yorktown on the west, the road between Yorktown and Hampton on the south, and the property of John Read, infant, on the east.[118]

John Dixon

Extant records contain little information about the way in which Dixon used this property. Dixon, a doctor and a merchant, had business interests in both Yorktown and Williamsburg. It is possible that he had a storehouse and a dwelling on this land. Dixon held the fifteen acres adjoining Yorktown until 27 September 1744 when he conveyed this land to Thomas Nelson the Immigrant.

Thomas Nelson the Immigrant

On 27 September 1744, Thomas Nelson the Immigrant purchased a fifteen-acre tract adjoining Yorktown from Doctor John Dixon. It appears that the elder Nelson gave this tract of land to his son and namesake in 1745 when Secretary Thomas Nelson wed Lucy Armistead of Caroline County. The 6 August 1745 will of Nelson the Immigrant confirmed the property transfer. He gave his son £ 4,000 and noted "this is all I intend my said son Thomas, having already given him the estate in King William county, which I purchased of Colo Thomas Jones; and the houses, Lots, and plantations bought for him of Doctor John Dixon."[119]

Secretary Thomas Nelson

In late 1744, it is likely that Secretary Thomas Nelson and his wife, Lucy, moved into the dwelling that John Dixon added to the land on the eastern side of Yorktown. The

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[117] Robert Anderson Papers.
[118] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 524-8, dated 18 November 1738 and recorded 20 November 1738.
[119] "Copy of a Copy of the Will of Thomas Nelson, of York" in "Berkeley Manuscripts," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1st ser., Vol. VI, No. 3 (January 1898):143-5.

Nelsons would also have used the outbuildings on this fifteen-acre tract of land. Extant documents suggest that Nelson spent the late 1740s and early 1750s consolidating his power. Nelson followed in his father's footsteps and served as one of the trustees of Yorktown. In addition, he was a justice of the peace for York County as well as one of the county's representatives in the House of Burgesses until 20 April 1749 when he took the oath as a member of the Governor's Council.[120]

Nelson also spent time designing his new home. He wanted the structure to reflect his position at the top of Virginia's social and economic order. The Nelsons' dwelling was completed by 1755 when John Gauntlett's *A View of the Town of York, Virginia from the River* included Nelson's house and property. Nelson's home "was a striking seven-bay brick Georgian edifice with four internal chimneys, an English basement adorned with a cliquish vaulted cellar, and was capped by a fashionably distinctive M-shaped roof." The Secretary's house measured 56.9 feet (east-west) by 40.6 feet (north-south), approximately the same size as his father's house on Lot 52. He placed this dwelling on the highest ground in Yorktown, a place that attracted the attention of travelers.[121]

It appears that Secretary Nelson designed the floor plan of his house "to control access." The "abbreviated center hall of the Secretary's house" served to limit the movement of visitors in the dwelling "by restricting their access to other portions of the house until invited. The doorways and obstructed hall vantages of the floor plan also contributed to confine visitors" within the public areas of the structure.[122] Typically, Virginia men of Nelson's wealth and prominence would have had male slaves, dressed in livery, stationed by the front door to the home and by each of the doorways inside the building. It is likely that Nelson did the same. Visitors invited into Nelson's dining room would have had their glasses filled by a steward who stood in this space as they ate food carried to the room by slaves.

Enslaved laborers also worked in the land that surrounded the Secretary's home. Male slaves—both men and boys—tended planting beds between the house and the bluff of the York River. In addition, it is likely that Nelson had a manicured lawn and a formal garden with walkways and a garden house or a summerhouse. After meals, Nelson and his guests would have walked through the garden that may have been as large as two acres. It is possible that they sat in a garden house or a summerhouse as they enjoyed the view across the York River to Gloucester or looked toward the Chesapeake Bay as they waited for the arrival of a ship from Great Britain.[123]

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[120] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 125, dated 15 August 1748; ibid., pp. 208-9, 19 June 1749; Emory G. Evans, "The Nelsons: A Biographical Study of a Virginia Family in the Eighteenth Century," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1957), pp. 50-1.

[121] Hank D. Lutton, "'After me cometh a builder': The Symbolic Landscape of Secretary Nelson's Yorktown Estate and Its Transformation," (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 2004), pp. 22, 24.

[122] Ibid., pp. 24-5.

[123] Ibid., pp. 31, 32. According to Lutton, it is possible that Secretary Thomas Nelson had a small building near the bluff of the York River because "at least two siege maps indicate structures, possibly summer or garden houses, located in this vicinity." Ibid., pp. 32, 51.

By 1770, Nelson's guests would also have seen recently constructed outbuildings on the property. The Secretary tore down the three or four wooden structures built by John Dixon and replaced them with a greater number of buildings. Not all of Yorktown's residents approved of these changes. Martha Goosley commented on the outbuildings in a 1770 letter to John Norton. The widow Goosley wrote that "the Secretary has quite stoped us up in front we have no view but his Back s[i]d[e] & I was going to say all his out Houses are Placed Just before our windows have a great mind to set up a Coffee House before his front Door."[124]

The 24 October 1789 claim for Nelson's losses during the Siege of Yorktown provide details about his dwelling and the outbuildings that blocked Martha Goosley's view. Secretary Nelson destroyed property included "One large brick dwelling House[,] A Kitchen[,] Two Dairys[,] A granary[,] A large Quarter[,] Two lumber Houses[,] A Hen house[,] Two Stables[,] one containing eight Stalls and handsomely finished, with a Coach House under the same Roof, the other with 12 Stalls[,] A Store House, and Cow ditto" on his fifteen acres on the eastern side of Yorktown.[125]

The names of these outbuildings provide additional information about the work that Nelson had his Yorktown slaves perform. An enslaved laborer prepared food in the kitchen. Young children helped the cook by gathering firewood, plucking chickens, scaling fish, and shelling beans. Enslaved females milked cows in the cow house and carried the milk to the dairy where they strained the milk, skimmed cream of the top of milk, and churned butter. Women and young children also tended to the poultry in the hen house.

Enslaved men no doubt carried crates and barrels off of ships anchored in the Yorktown harbor and then moved these containers to one of the two lumber houses (a structure often used for storage) or the store house. Adult men carried for the horses in the Secretary's two stables and made sure that the coach was ready to transport their master to Williamsburg or his plantation in King William County. One of the enslaved men would have been the coachman, and several younger male slaves rode as postillions and accompanied the Secretary's coach. It is likely that there were also several carts in the coach house. Nelson's slaves would have used carts to carry goods from the Yorktown household to his nearby plantations. In addition, the Secretary sent several of his slaves to Williamsburg. On 11 July 1769, Nelson's slave received two shillings and six pence from William Marshman "for present of shells" carried to Virginia's governor, Lord Botetourt. The payment of £ 3 to Secretary Nelson's slaves on 10 July 1769 and 12 July 1770 suggests that one of his enslaved laborers worked for a short period of time under the direction of Marshman at the Governor's Palace.[126]

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[124] Frances Norton Mason, ed., *John Norton & Sons Merchants of London and Virginia: Being the Papers from their Counting House for the Years 1750 to 1795*, (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1937), p. 145.
[125] "An Account of sundry Property belonging to Thomas Nelson senior, taken and destroyed at York Town, by the British Army," (Richmond: Library of Virginia), Executive Papers, Box 62, 1789.
[126] William Marshman, "Palace Accounts," (Personal Collection of His Grace the Duke of Beaufort, Badminton, Gloucestershire, England; transcription, Williamsburg: Special Collections, John D.

At the end of each day, the enslaved men, women, and children who worked in the outbuildings would have gathered near the large quarter to eat and to visit. The presence of cowrie shells on Secretary Nelson's property suggests that some of his slaves told stories about life in Africa to those gathered near the quarter.[127] Perhaps the slaves who served as personal slaves to Thomas and Lucy Nelson listened to these stories before they returned to the large brick dwelling house where they slept each night.

Secretary Thomas Nelson and the Acquisition of Slaves

Secretary Thomas Nelson depended on slaves to work in his Yorktown household and on his plantations. It is not clear, however, how many slaves lived and labored on the Secretary's property. It is likely that Lucy Nelson received slaves from her father, Henry Armistead of Caroline County, at the time of her marriage. These enslaved laborers would have included her personal slave and other females trained to work in the home of a gentry family.

In addition to slaves whom Lucy Nelson brought to their marriage, Nelson no doubt received slaves from his father, Thomas Nelson the Immigrant. The younger Nelson took just two slaves to the York County Court to have their ages adjudged. On 20 August 1744, the justices of the peace determined that Jack was a boy of ten years. Two years later, on 18 August 1746, the local magistrates decided that Grace was twelve years old.[128] Nelson added Jack and Grace to his labor force in York County. Twelve years later, in 1758, the Reverend John Camm noted that Secretary Nelson had twenty-two tithes in Yorkhampton Parish. Camm did not specify how many slaves labored at the Secretary's home and how many enslaved laborers tended fields on their owner's Yorkhampton Parish plantation.

Three years later, in July 1761, Nelson purchased slaves transported to the York River District on the *Eadith*, one of the last slave ships to enter the river.[129] On 16 July 1761, Secretary Nelson paid £ 245 for five male slaves and two enslaved women. Near the end of the sale, Secretary Nelson decided to spend £ 35 for an enslaved woman. The fact that Nelson did not take any of these eight slaves to the York County Court to have their ages adjudged indicates that either he purchased the enslaved men and women to labor on one of his plantations in another county or he bought the Africans in order to sell them to white men and women who wanted to add to their labor forces.

On at least one occasion, Secretary Thomas Nelson profited from the overseas slave trade. Extant documents indicated that Nelson and his older brother, President William

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Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

[127] The artifact inventory of the excavation at Secretary Nelson's property includes three cowrie shells. Lutton, "'After me cometh a builder,'" pp. 123, 124.

[128] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 300, 20 August 1744; ibid., p. 452, 18 August 1746.

[129] See Part I. Section 3—Yorktown and the Slave Trade.

Nelson, served as the local agents for at least one slave ship, the *Boyne*, after it entered the York River on 22 June 1752. Three days after the vessel's arrival, the Nelsons announced

> Just arriv'd in York River, from Africa,
> The Ship Boyne, William Wilkinson Commander, with a Cargoe of fine healthy Slaves, the Sale of which will begin at York Town, To-morrow, and at West-Point, on Wednesday next; and continue there 'til all are sold.[130]

The Nelsons began the sale of slaves on 26 June 1752, four days after the *Boyne* sailed into the York River. The plan to transport any unsold slaves to West Point for a sale that would begin the following week indicates that the Nelsons did not expect to sell all of the enslaved men, women, and children to men gathered in Yorktown. There is no evidence that Secretary Nelson was one of the individuals who purchased slaves transported to Virginia on the *Boyne*.

Thomas Nelson and the Great Dismal Swamp Company

On 1 November 1763, Secretary Thomas Nelson and his brother, President William Nelson, were among a group of men who petitioned the Council for a grant of land in the Great Dismal Swamp. A total of 151 men each received 1,000 acres in the Great Dismal Swamp. The Nelson brothers and George Washington were among the group's trustees. Each member of the Great Dismal Swamp Company was to send five enslaved laborers to help drain the swamp.[131] On 4 July 1764, Washington recorded an "Appraisment of slaves sent to the Dismal Swamp." This list included the five slaves whom Secretary Thomas Nelson sent: George (£ 75), Phill (£ 65), Joe (£ 60), Humphrey (£ 75), and Rachel (£ 60). Washington also noted that President William Nelson dispatched Harry (£ 60), Jupiter (£ 60), George (£ 50), Jolly (£ 60), and Bella (£ 45) to labor in the Great Dismal Swamp.[132] It is unknown how long the Nelson slaves labored in the Great Dismal Swamp.

Secretary Nelson and the Siege of Yorktown

Secretary Thomas Nelson remained in Yorktown throughout the American Revolution. Nelson and at least two slaves stayed in his house until 10 October 1781.[133] On that day, three of his sons—Captain John Nelson (commander of the Sixth Troop of Horse), Major

[130] *Virginia Gazette*, 25 June 1752.
[131] Evans, "The Nelsons," pp. 105-6.
[132] George Washington, "Apprais[e]ment of slaves sent to the Dismal Swamp July the 4th. 1764," (San Marino, California: Henry E. Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens), HM 5495.
[133] It is believed that General Charles Cornwallis used the house of Secretary Thomas Nelson as his headquarters during the Siege of Yorktown. In addition, British soldiers destroyed much of Nelson's property as they build their defenses on the eastern edge of Yorktown.

William Nelson, and Captain Thomas Nelson (both artillery officers in the Seventh Virginia Regiment)—waited for him when he left his dwelling. Nelson's brick home and many of his outbuildings were destroyed during the siege. The Secretary also lost "A Valuable negro Man, about 45 years old" and "A Young Negro Fello aged 20 Years" when the British and American forces fought.

After the destruction of his elegant home on the eastern side of Yorktown, Secretary Thomas Nelson moved to his Horn Quarter Plantation in King William County. It appears that Nelson did not attempt to rebuild his Yorktown home. Secretary Thomas Nelson died in late 1787 or early 1788. It is likely that he died at his King William County plantation. The lack of a will and inventory make it difficult to determine what happened to Nelson's enslaved laborers after his death. It is known that his three sons—Thomas, William, and John—divided his King William County property.[134]

John Nelson

John Nelson, one of "Secretary" Nelson's three sons, gained possession of the property on the eastern edge of Yorktown after the death of his father.[135] Nelson and his brothers hoped to sell this fifteen-acre tract of land. In March 1788, the Nelson placed the following advertisement in the newspaper:

> For Sale
> In the town of York, on the third Monday in May, being court day, the property in the said town, belonging to Thomas Nelson (late of King William) CONSISTING of several LOTS, some of which are agreeably situated.—On one are the remains of a large BRICK HOUSE, which with some repair, may be made habitable.—A STORE HOUSE at the water side, with a cellar and two floors—One hundred and ten acres of LAND, within a mile of the town—Also a FARM, at the distance of two miles, containing two hundred acres, part of it very valuable meadow; it having yielded in one year, from sixty to seventy tons of excellent hay.—Within three miles of the Farm, are one hundred acres of WOOD LAND which will ever furnish a sufficiency of timber for enclosures and other purposes.[136]

The advertisement failed to generate interest in the property.[137] John Nelson held the fifteen acres on the eastern side of Yorktown until 19 February 1813, the date he conveyed the land to Peyton R. Nelson.

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[134] Evans, "The Nelsons," pp. 365, 370.
[135] King William County Land Tax Lists, 1787 and 1788, (Richmond: Library of Virginia).
[136] Advertisement quoted in Lutton, "'After me cometh a builder,'" p. 35.
[137] See Part I. Section 10—Nelson Land in Yorkhampton Parish.

Section 9.
Part III. Waterfront Lots

Lot 86

It is likely that a tobacco warehouse stood on this property by the time of the Siege of Yorktown. However, the documentary record does not indicate who owned this structure or who acquired the title to this lot.[1] Slaves no doubt spent time on this parcel because of the presence of a building to store tobacco on the lot.

[1] Paul Moyer, "Appendix B. Waterfront Lots," in Lily Richards, Hank Lutton, and Paul Moyer, "Archaeological Assessment of the Yorktown Waterfront, Yorktown, Virginia (44Yo766)," (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Department of Archaeological Research, 2001; revised, 2002), p. 69.

Lot 87

John Moss Senior and John Moss Junior

On 15 July 1788, the trustees of Yorktown sold Lot 87 to John Moss, a Yorktown resident. Although the deed noted the sale of this portion of the common to "John Moss Junior," it is possible that the trustees transferred the parcel to John Moss Senior.[2] The younger John Moss was a tailor who occupied a shop on Lot 42 by March 1784.[3] Three years later, on 26 March 1787, this tailor received a license to keep a store from the Yorktown Hustings Court.[4]

It is possible that John Moss Junior operated his tailor shop on Lot 42 until August 1791 when he received possession of Lot 87 from the elder John Moss.[5] The tailor held Lot 87 until the time of his death in late 1795. Moss left his real estate and the majority of his personal estate to his wife, Mary, whom he married on 21 February 1786.[6] Mary Moss held Lot 87 until 1803.[7]

[2] York County Deeds (6) 384, dated 15 July 1788 and recorded 21 July 1788.
[3] Ibid., pp. 223-5, dated 27 March 1784 and recorded 16 August 1784. See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 42.
[4] Yorktown Hustings Court Records (1787-1793) 4, 26 March 1787.
[5] Moyer, "Appendix B. Waterfront Lots," in Richards, Lutton, and Moyer, "Archaeological Assessment of the Yorktown Waterfront," p. 69.
[6] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 458, dated 13 January 1791 and recorded 21 December 1795; York County Marriage Bonds and Consents (1772-1849) 250, 21 February 1786.
[7] York County Land Tax Lists, 1803 and 1804, (Richmond: Library of Virginia).

Lot 88

John McClary and William McClary

By 1779, a Yorktown wigmaker named John McClary owned three houses along the York River.[8] In September of that year, McClary granted the building that stood on the land that became Lot 88 to his son, William. A woman named Sarah Figg lived in a dwelling on the parcel and this home adjoined a shop used by Thomas Gibbs.[9]

Sarah Figg

Sarah Figg, the widow of James Figg, lived in a structure on Lot 88 by September 1779. It is likely that Figg used money she received as the widow of "a Soldier who died in the Continental Service" to pay rent to the McClary family. In December 1778, the York County justices of the peace gave Figg £ 10 for her support. Seven months later, the local magistrates decided to give her an additional £ 12.[10]

It is likely that the widow Figg remained in Yorktown after William McClary gave the use of the house on Lot 88 to Ann May in September 1779. In August of the following year, Sarah Figg received £ 400 "towards the support of herself and four Children for one year."[11] It is known that the widow Figg was alive in January 1783. It is possible that she died by October 1785 when the churchwardens of Yorkhampton Parish Church apprenticed her son, John, to Matthew Moody to learn the trade of a carpenter.[12] There is no evidence that Sarah Figg or a member of her family had an enslaved laborer on Lot 88.

Ann May

On 28 September 1779, William McClary gave Ann May "the use of the house at the Waterside wherein Mrs. Sarah Figg now lives" and an enslaved woman named Milly during her life. Any children born to Milly would become McClary's slaves. McClary placed several conditions on this gift. First, he prohibited Ann May "by license or other means" from keeping "the house lent to her as a Publick house of entertainment by selling or vending spirituous [sic] liquors in any manner whatsoever." Next, McClary declared that the Mays could not sell the house or Milly. In addition, Ann May could not

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[8] John McClary lived on a lot in the Read Addition to Yorktown. See Part I. Section 9—Part II. Lots in the Read Addition to Yorktown.

[9] The deed required William McClary to "maintain the sd. John McClary during his natural life, and if John McClary chooses to live separate and apart from his sd. son, that William McClary agrees to lend to John McClary the use of one dwelling house and one negro during his life." After the death of his father, William McClary would regain possession of the home and the slave. York County Deeds (6) 64-5, dated 28 September 1779 and recorded 15 November 1779.

[10] York County Order Book (4) 191, 21 December 1778; ibid., p. 222, 19 July 1779.

[11] Ibid., p. 280, 21 August 1780.

[12] Ibid., p. 314, 21 January 1783; York County Deeds (6) 285, recorded 17 October 1785.

"remove Milly more than 50 miles from Yorktown." Finally, McClary noted that "the said house shall be always kept as a private dwelling (as it is intended with the Negro) for the sole use and convenience of the said Anne May." After Ann May's death, the house and slave would become the property of William McClary.[13]

The Mays received an allowance from York County because John May was a soldier in the Continental Army. The first payment was in February 1778 when Ann May gained £ 10. A year later, in February 1779, May received £ 12 for her support until June when the York County justices of the peace gave her an additional £ 30.[14]

Details in the York County Court records suggest that there were points of contention between the Mays and William McClary. In March 1780, John May initiated a suit against McClary; six months later, May decided to drop the case. Next, in March 1783, McClary took Ann May to court in an ejectment case. This suggests that May and her family violated the terms specified in the 1779 deed from McClary. The last mention of this case was in May 1783 when the York County clerk noted that the parties agreed to continue the suit until the next meeting of the court. Perhaps McClary and May settled their disagreement out of court.

William Reynolds

At some point between September 1779 and his death in late 1802, Yorktown merchant William Reynolds gained possession of Lot 88.[15]

See Lot 31.

[13] York County Deeds (6) 65-6, dated 28 September 1779 and recorded 15 November 1779.
[14] York County Order Book (4) 163, 16 February 1778; ibid., p. 200, 15 February 1779; ibid., p. 218, 21 June 1779.
[15] Moyer, "Appendix B. Waterfront Lots," in Richards, Lutton, and Moyer, "Archaeological Assessment of the Yorktown Waterfront," p. 69. See Lot 31.

Lot 89

Thomas Gibbs

The September 1779 deed between John McClary and his son, William McClary, included a reference to a store that belonged to Thomas Gibbs.[16] By 1758, there were two Yorktown residents named Thomas Gibbs and it is difficult to determine which man used the storehouse on Lot 89.[17] In addition, details in the extant documents do not make it possible to identify a family relationship between these men. It is known that on 12 November 1792, a Thomas Gibbs of Yorktown conveyed "my Lott and houses whereon I now live" and two enslaved laborers—James and Grace—to Ann Nisbett, also of Yorktown.[18]

[16] York County Deeds (6) 64-5, dated 28 September 1779 and recorded 15 November 1779.
[17] See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 33.
[18] York County Deeds (7) 73-4, dated 12 November 1792 and recorded 20 May 1793.

Lot 90 and Lot 91

David Jameson

On 6 December 1787, the trustees of Yorktown granted Lot 90 and Lot 91 to David Jameson.[19] A Yorktown merchant who lived on Lot 53, Jameson held Lot 90 and Lot 91 until 10 March 1788 when he sold the two lots to Sarah Cook.[20]

Sarah Cook

On 10 March 1788, Sarah Cook bought Lot 90 and Lot 91 from David Jameson. Sarah Cook was the daughter of Robert Moore and had lived in Yorktown for at least twenty years before she gained possession of the two waterfront lots. On 19 December 1768, Sarah Moore, the orphan of Robert Moore, chose Yorktown's Thomas Archer as her guardian.[21] By October 1785, Sarah Moore was the wife of Edward Cook, a Yorktown mariner.[22] She was a widow by 10 March 1788, the date that she purchased Lot 90 and Lot 91.[23] Sarah Cook held Yorktown Lot 90 and Lot 91 in 1814. The improvement on these lots burned during the 1814 Yorktown fire.

It is known that Sarah Cook hired three slaves from the estate of Captain John Goodwin. In 1785, she paid £ 4.10.0 for Frankey and her child. The following year, 1786, the widow Cook spent £ 4 for these two slaves. She decided to pay £ 3 for the work that Old Hannah did in 1788, and two years later, Cook spent just £1.5 for Old Hannah.[24]

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[19] York County Deeds (6) 381-2, dated 6 December 1787 and recorded 21 July 1788.
[20] Yorktown Hustings Court Records (1787-1793) 9, 10 March 1788. See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 53.
[21] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 150, 19 December 1768.
[22] York County Deeds (6) 306, dated 26 October 1785 and recorded 18 April 1786.
[23] In 1770, Edward Cook, a mariner, advertised that his boat had been stolen from the landing of Mr. John Goodwin that was about five miles below Yorktown. Three years later, in November 1773, the York County grand jury presented Cook for not listing his enslaved woman, Isbell, as a tithe. Cook faced financial problems and in December 1773, an announcement in the paper noted that Cook's one-third ownership of a schooner named the Francis would be sold. *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 6 September 1770; York County Judgments and Orders (3) 435-8, 15 November 1773; *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 23 December 1773.
[24] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 212-7, recorded 21 June 1790.

Lot 92, Lot 93, and Lot 105

Ishmael Giddens

In February 1783, Ishmael Giddens received a license to keep an ordinary in Yorktown.[25] It is possible that he operated his business in a structure on Lot 105 before he owned this land. In March 1787, Giddens purchased Yorktown Lot 105 (as well as Lot 92 and Lot 93) from the town's trustees. Eight months later, in November 1787, Giddens renewed his ordinary license.[26] Giddens operated his tavern with the assistance of a small number of enslaved laborers. Between 1784 and 1800, he had two adult slaves on his property.[27] On 29 January 1803, Giddens conveyed his Yorktown property—Lot 92, Lot 93, and Lot 105—to William Inge who held the lots in trust for Diana Burcher, the intended wife of Giddens.

[25] York County Order Book (4) 315, 17 February 1783.
[26] Paul B. Moyer, "The Yorktown Waterfront, 1691-1814," (report for the Colonial National Historical Park, 1998).
[27] York County Personal Property Tax Lists, 1784 to 1800, (Richmond: Library of Virginia).

Lot 94, Lot 95, Lot 101, and Lot 102

William Cary

On 10 November 1787, Yorktown merchant William Cary purchased a town lot from John and Lucy Thompson of King and Queen County. Thompson was the son of former Yorktown resident and merchant, John Thompson. It is possible that the deed from the Thompsons to Cary also transferred ownership of a parcel on the Yorktown waterfront.[28]

If Cary acquired a lot along the York River from Thompson, it is possible Cary gained possession of this property because it was a good location for a warehouse. By the end of the eighteenth century, Cary held five tracts on the Yorktown waterfront—Lot 94, Lot 95, Lot 96, Lot 101, and Lot 102. Archaeological excavations indicate that this merchant had at least three storehouses along Yorktown's waterfront.[29] Cary would have had enslaved men help unload imported goods from the ships anchored in the Yorktown harbor and carry crates and barrels to his nearby storehouses.

Cary held lots along the York River for the rest of his life. He died by 15 July 1805, the date his will was probated in the York County Court. Cary left his wife "during her life the use of all my houses and Lands in York Town and adjoining thereto either to use herself or to rent out." After his wife's death, Cary noted "my Will and desire is that all my Estate real and personal may be equally divided between the Children of my Sister Martha Goosley, my Sister Judith Eggleston and my Sister Elizabeth Eggleston."[30]

[28] York County Deeds (6) 362-4, dated 10 November 1787 and recorded 1 January 1788. Cary lived on Lot 54 at the time he purchased waterfront property. See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 54.
[29] Moyer, "Appendix B. Waterfront Lots," in Richards, Lutton, and Moyer, "Archaeological Assessment of the Yorktown Waterfront," pp. 70-1.
[30] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 675, dated 2 January 1802, codicil dated 1 May 1805, and recorded 15 July 1805.

Lot 96

Peter Amadon

On 8 March 1786, Peter Amadon sold a structure—possibly a house or a store—on the Yorktown waterfront to Claudius Piat. The deed noted that Francis Jannot occupied this building.[31] It is possible that Amadon used this building as a tavern in November 1779 when the York County justices of the peace charged him with operating a disorderly house.[32]

Francis Jannot

A man named Francis Jannot lived in the structure on Lot 96 in March 1786 when Peter Amadon conveyed this building to Claudius Piat.

Claudius Piat

It is possible that Claudius Piat purchased the building that stood on Lot 96 in March 1786 because he wanted to operate a store on Yorktown's waterfront. Piat received a license to operate a store on 26 March 1787.[33] Five years later, on 18 July 1792, Piat and his wife Mary purchased Lot 96 from the trustees of Yorktown. On 1 October of the same year, the Piats sold Lot 96 to William Cary.[34]

William Cary

See Lot 94.

[31] York County Deeds (6) 303, dated 8 March 1786 and recorded 17 April 1786.
[32] York County Order Book (4) 242, 15 November 1779.
[33] Yorktown Hustings Court Records (1787-1793) 4, 26 March 1787.
[34] Moyer, "Appendix B. Waterfront Lots," in Richards, Lutton, and Moyer, "Archaeological Assessment of the Yorktown Waterfront," p. 71.

Lot 97

Allen Chapman

In 1788, Allen Chapman gained possession of Lot 97.[35] Four years earlier, in 1784, Chapman had five slaves over the age of sixteen and seven enslaved individuals under sixteen years of age. It is not clear if Chapman moved any of his enslaved laborers to Yorktown Lot 97.

[35] Moyer, "The Yorktown Waterfront, 1691-1814."

Lot 98

Martha Christina Ginter

Martha Christina Ginter, the widow of John Conrad Ginter, held Lot 98 by 17 October 1796, the date she sold this property to Thomas Mason of Gloucester County. The deed conveyed "one house and lott on the Water side in the said Town of York."[36]

Thomas Mason, Elizabeth Mason, and John Hay Bryan

Thomas Mason was a resident of Gloucester County on 17 October 1796 when he purchased Lot 98 in Yorktown from Martha Christina Ginter. Mason held this property until 1800 when he and his wife Elizabeth conveyed the property to John Hay Bryan.[37]

[36] York County Deeds (7) 211, dated and recorded 17 October 1796.
[37] York County Land Tax List, 1800.

Lot 99

John McClary, William McClary, and Diana McClary

By 1779, a Yorktown wigmaker named John McClary owned three houses on Yorktown's waterfront.[38] In September of that year, Mc Clary granted the building that stood on the land that became Lot 99 to his son, William. It is possible that the younger McClary lived in the dwelling that adjoined a storehouse owned by William Cary.[39]

In May 1788, William McClary was a resident of Hanover County when he conveyed the house on Lot 99 back to his father. The younger McClary also gave John McClary an enslaved woman named Peg as well as all of the household furniture in his possession.[40] Two months later, on 18 July 1788, McClary bought Lot 99 from the town's trustees.[41]

John McClary lived in Yorktown until his death between 11 July 1800 and 15 September 1800. He left all of his personal estate to his wife, Diana. The July 1802 inventory of McClary's estate included six slaves: Peg (a woman valued at £ 75), Milly (a girl valued at £ 15), Rachel (a girl valued at £ 58.6.8), Lewis (a boy valued at £ 45), Sam (a boy valued at £ 40), and Claiborn (a boy valued at £ 30).[42]

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[38] John McClary lived on a lot in the Read Addition to Yorktown. See Part I. Section 9—Part II. Lots in the Gwyn Read Addition to Yorktown.

[39] York County Deeds (6) 64-5, dated 28 September 1779 and recorded 15 November 1779.
Cary's storehouse might have stood on Lot 100, another parcel owned by the McClary family, or on Lot 101, a waterfront property that Cary held. See Lot 100 and Lot 101.

[40] Ibid., pp. 376-7, dated 29 May 1788 and recorded 21 July 1788; ibid., p. 377, dated 29 May 1788 and recorded 21 July 1788.

[41] Ibid., pp. 380-1, dated 18 July 1788 and recorded 21 July 1788.

[42] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 566, dated 11 July 1800 and recorded 15 September 1800; ibid., pp. 600-1, dated 12 July 1802 and recorded 19 July 1802.

Lot 100

John McClary and William McClary

By 1779, a Yorktown wigmaker named John McClary owned three houses that stood near the southern shore of the York River.[43] In September of that year, McClary granted the building that stood on the land that became Lot 100 to his son, William. Benjamin Moss made his home in the building on this property. Moss's dwelling adjoined a granary owned by Secretary Thomas Nelson.[44]

On 18 July 1788, William McClary acquired Lot 100 from the trustees of Yorktown. A resident of Hanover County, it is possible that McClary bought the property so he would have a clear title to the structure that stood on the lot.

Benjamin Moss and Jane Moss

In September 1779, Benjamin Moss lived in a house on the Yorktown Waterfront. He leased the structure first from John McClary and later, from William McClary. After the Siege of Yorktown, Moss submitted a claim for furniture, livestock, and a kitchen that he lost during the fighting.[45]

Benjamin Moss was the brother of John Moss, a Yorktown tailor, who operated his business on Lot 42 and, during the 1790s, on Lot 87.[46] It is possible that Benjamin Moss was also a craftsman and that he ran a business in a building on Lot 100 and that he had skilled slaves who assisted him. In 1788, 1789, and 1790, Benjamin Moss had two slaves over the age of twelve in his house. The following year, he increased the number of enslaved laborers to three. Moss lived in Yorktown until the time of his death between 10 October 1791 and 20 February 1792. He left "unto my loving wife Jane Moss the whole of my estate both real and person[al] to do as she pleases and at her death my desire is that it shall be equally divided between my brother John Moss my son in law James Moss Burcher and Grand daughter Fanny Tyrie." In 1792, Jane Moss had just one enslaved laborer over the age of twelve in her household, an indication that she either sold or hired out the slaves whom she inherited from her husband. [47]

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[43] John McClary lived on a lot in the Read Addition to Yorktown. See Part I. Section 9—Part II. Lots in the Gwyn Read Addition to Yorktown.

[44] York County Deeds (6) 64-5, dated 28 September 1779 and recorded 15 November 1779.

[45] It is important to note that some of the claims filed by York County residents have been lost. The extant claims can be found in "Claims for Losses of York County Citizens in the British Invasion of 1781," (Williamsburg: Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation), Microfilm M-1.45.

[46] See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 42 and Lot 87.

[47] York County Personal Property Tax Lists, 1788-1792; York County Wills and Inventories (23) 252, dated 10 October 1791 and recorded 20 February 1792.

Lot 103 and Lot 104[48]

John Burcher

John Burcher gained possession of Lot 103 and Lot 104 in Yorktown by 7 August 1792, the date he sold this property to John Hay Bryan.[49] Burcher was the son of John Burcher, a Yorktown resident who died in 1782. The elder John Burcher left his estate "to be equally divided between my two sons namely John Burcher & William Burcher." In addition, Burcher Senior stated "my negroes shall not be set up at public hire but that they may have the liberty of chusing their masters." The elder Burcher also left a legacy of "five dollars towards a meeting house." Because Burcher's slaves selected their new masters before appraisers listed his personal possessions, they were not included in the inventory of his personal property. The settlement of Burcher's estate noted the payment of £ 1.10.0 to "The Baptist Church."[50]

John Hay Bryan

On 7 August 1792, John Hay Bryan bought Lot 103 and Lot 104 from John and Elizabeth Burcher. It is unknown if Bryan owned or rented slaves. Bryan was in possession of these two waterfront lots in 1814.

[48] Lot 104 is the location of Cornwallis's Cave.
[49] York County Deeds (7) 63-5, dated 7 August 1792 and recorded 18 February 1793
[50] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 510, dated 1 June 1782 and recorded 17 June 1782; York County Wills and Inventories (23) 6, recorded 17 February 1783.

Lot 107, Lot 118, and Lot 119

John Wills, John Cook, Mary Cook Lutwidge, and Matthew Lutwidge

By June 1714, a storehouse stood on the land that became Lot 107, Lot 118, and Lot 119. It is possible that John Wills, a ferry keeper and tavern keeper, used this building to store food that he served to his customers. Perhaps Wills had slaves carry crates and barrels from ships anchored in Yorktown's harbor to his waterfront storehouse.

In June 1714, Wills conveyed his building on the bank of the York River to John Cook of Yorktown.[51] Cook kept an ordinary on this property where he had the assistance of his wife, Mary, and an enslaved girl named Moll. In August 1720, the justices of the peace decided that Moll was ten years old.[52] Cook received his last tavern license on 16 August 1725. This tavern keeper died by 21 November 1726, the date his will was probated in the York County Court. Cook left his entire estate, including his waterfront tavern, to his wife, Mary. If Moll was still alive, she became the property of the widow Cook.[53]

Mary Cook remarried a man named Matthew Lutwidge, and together they continued to operate a tavern on the waterfront. Matthew Lutwidge died intestate in the second half of 1727, and the December 1727 inventory of his estate included alcohol, weights, household goods, "A Negro girl called Dinah" valued at £18 and "One old boat" valued at ten shillings. The absence of Moll's name in Lutwidge's inventory indicates that either the tavern keeper sold this female slave or that she had died.[54] In July 1729, the widow Lutwidge sold the storehouse on the shore of the York River to Abraham Archer.[55]

Abraham Archer Senior

In July 1729, Abraham Archer purchased a storehouse on the bank of the York River from Mary Cook Lutwidge. Like John Cook and Matthew Lutwidge before him, Archer used the dwelling house on the river's edge as an ordinary. He received his first ordinary keeper's license in December of 1729.[56] Initially, Archer depended on his wife, Amy, and their young children—Ann born on 3 February 1720/1 and John born on 29 April 1723—to assist him in the tavern.

Archer's business was profitable, and he was able to purchased additional property in Yorktown. He acquired Lot 32, Lot 70, and two lots in the Read Addition to Yorktown.[57]

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[51] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 24-6, dated 18 and 19 June 1714 and recorded 19 July 1714. The deed also conveyed Lot 30. See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 30.
[52] York County Orders and Wills (15) 665, 15 August 1720.
[53] York County Orders and Wills (16) 352; ibid., p. 417, dated 16 July 1718 and recorded 21 November 1726.
[54] Ibid., p. 507, dated 29 December 1727 and recorded 15 January 1727/8.
[55] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 523-5, dated 4 and 5 July 1729 and recorded 21 July 1729.
[56] York County Orders and Wills (17) 20, 15 December 1729
[57] See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 32 and Lot 70 and Part I. Section 9—Part II. Lots in the Gwyn Read Addition to Yorktown.

This tavern keeper and shipwright decided to continue to operate his tavern in the building located "under the hill." It is possible that Archer rented out a building on Lot 70 or on Lot 32. In January of 1742/3, a widow named Ann Bond received a license to keep "an ordinary at Abrm. Archers house at York Town." Archer's next license specified that he had permission "for keeping an ord[ina]ry at his House under the Hill at York Town," an indication that he continued to operate his business on the waterfront.[58]

Abraham Archer died on 14 February 1752 at the age of sixty. He bequeathed his entire estate to his wife, Amy, during her widowhood. When she either remarried or died, his real and personal estate was to go to their children. Archer left his lots in the Read Addition and a slave man named Jemmy to his daughter, Ann Adams. His son, Thomas, gained possession of the storehouse under the hill, Lot 70, land in Warwick County, and slaves called Caesar and Deptford. The decision to leave Caesar and Deptford to Thomas, an ordinary keeper, indicates that Archer knew that these enslaved men would help his son operate his business. Sarah Archer became the owner of Lot 32 and two enslaved children, Hannah and Jack.[59]

Thomas Archer Senior

It is possible that Thomas Archer leased one of the Yorktown lots that his father, Abraham Archer, owned by 1749. In May of that year, Thomas Archer received a license to keep an ordinary "at his house in Yorktown," a sign that he did not manage a business on the same waterfront property as his father.[60] The younger Archer might have used a building on Lot 70 for his tavern.

When his father, Abraham Archer Senior, died on 14 February 1752, the younger Archer gained possession of property along the waterfront and two enslaved men, Caesar and Deptford, after the death of his mother. It is possible that Archer moved his business to his father's tavern on the Yorktown waterfront by the late 1750s.[61] Archer might have depended on either Caesar or Deptford to drive his riding chair and transport customers in and around the Yorktown area.[62] Caesar and Deptford also could have helped convey men and horses across the York River between 1763 and 1768, the years that their master served as a ferry keeper.[63]

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[58] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 146, 17 January 1742/3; ibid., p. 255, 20 February 1743/4.
[59] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 256-7, dated 16 December 1748 and recorded 18 May 1752.
[60] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 193, 15 May 1749.
[61] The last extant reference to Amy Archer was when her name appeared on the Reverend John Camm's 1758 list of Yorkhampton Parish tithes.
[62] The grand jury presented Archer in May 1760 and November 1772 for not listing his chairs. York County Judgments and Orders (3) 133-4, 19 May 1760; York County Judgments and Orders (3) 151-2, 16 November 1772.
On 17 November 1760, Archer received a presentment for failing to list Deptford as a tithe. York County Judgments and Orders (3) 186, 17 November 1760.
[63] On 19 September 1763, Archer became the keeper of the public ferry from Yorktown to the Eastern Shore. York County Judgments and Orders (4) 71, 19 September 1763.

These two men were not the only slaves who labored for Archer in his waterfront tavern. Archer decided to increase the size of his labor force and in March 1761, he took two slaves to the York County Courthouse. The justices of the peace determined that Jack was twelve years of age and that Lucy was fourteen years old.[64]

The location of Archer's tavern—"near the Town wharf"—no doubt helped him to have a steady business. In 1766, Archer had a white apprentice, a man named Richard Brown, a sign that he needed assistance providing for his customers.[65] This tavern keeper purchased a slave named George from the estate of John Hunt of Charles Parish.[66] Archer added to his labor force in March 1774 when he received two slaves—Mann and Sawney—in trust from John Harvey of York County. Archer had the use of Mann and Sawney during his lifetime.[67]

Archer also transferred a several of his enslaved laborers to different owners. On 12 August 1773, Archer sold a slave boy named Ben to General Thomas Nelson for £ 50. In March of the following year, this tavern keeper conveyed two enslaved girls—[name torn] and Silvia—to John Baptist, a York County planter, for £ 25.[68] In either late 1774 or early 1775, Archer decided to transfer Sawney to his son, Abraham Archer Junior.[69]

It is likely that Thomas Archer wrote his will before the Siege of Yorktown and many of the structures on Yorktown's waterfront were damaged or destroyed. When he wrote his will, Thomas Archer decided to leave

> all my houses in York under the Hill except those I shall hereafter mention, One negro man Geo, one negro woman Jenny one negro girl Winny, one negro girl Rachel, & one negro boy George. I also give him one lott near my own house where I live & all my land in Warwick County & one half my plate & also a negro wench Sue

to his son, Abraham. Archer's namesake gained possession of

> the houses & lotts in York Town where I live which I purchased of William Reynolds, one negro man Jack, one negro woman Cloe, one negro boy Lewis, one negro girl Silvia, one negro boy Frank, & one negro boy Hazard, & half my store house & warehouses at Water Side & the other half of my plate with all my household furniture now ling in King & Queen.

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[64] York County Judgments and Orders (3) 226, 16 March 1761.
[65] *Virginia Gazette*, Rind, ed., 27 October 1768; York County Order Book (1) 161-2, 17 November 1766.
[66] York County Wills and Inventories (21) 346-7, recorded 15 June 1767.
[67] York County Deeds (8) 446-7, dated 21 March 1774 and recorded 21 November 1774.
[68] Ibid., p. 351, dated 12 August 1773 and recorded 20 September 1773; ibid., pp. 390-1, dated 6 March 1774 and recorded 21 March 1774.
[69] In early 1775, a man named Julius Kirk murdered Sawney. At his 4 February 1775, trial, Kirk pled not guilty. The York County justices heard the evidence and decided that Kirk was guilty of manslaughter, not murder, and that he should have a trial in the General Court in Williamsburg. York County Order Book (4) 79, 4 February 1775.

Next, Archer left "half my storehouse & warehouse at Water Side" to his son, Abraham. Finally, this tavern keeper bequeathed "one negro girl Nanny" to his granddaughter, Sarah Archer.[70]

Abraham Archer Junior

According to the terms of his father's will, Abraham Archer Junior gained possession of waterfront property "under the Hill," half of a storehouse, and five slaves—a man named George; Jenny, a woman; a girl known as Winny; a second girl called Rachel; and George, a boy—after his father's will was probated. However, Archer was one of the town residents who filed a claim for his losses. Archer claimed £ 30 for damages to "Houses under the Hill. Next, he noted that he lost a man named George who was about forty years old and a good waterman. Archer valued George at £ 175 pounds. This Yorktown resident also filed a claim for another slave known as George. This George, a boy of sixteen years, was a good house servant who was worth £ 75.[71]

Perhaps the damage to his waterfront structure prompted Archer to buy Lot 83 from Lawrence Smith in May 1784. In September 1789, he acquired a Yorktown lot from William Allen.[72] In addition, Archer and his brother, Thomas, received a July 1788 deed from the trustees of Yorktown for Lot 107, Lot 118, and Lot 119.[73] This conveyance confirmed their ownership of the waterfront land their grandfather first held in July of 1729. The younger Archer acquired Lot 123 on 15 July 1788 when he received a deed for this property from Yorktown's trustees.[74]

It is possible that Archer repaired the building on the waterfront by March 1787 when he received a license to operate a tavern. Archer no doubt depended on his enslaved men, women, and children to do a much of the work needed to operate an ordinary. He needed laborers to cook, clean, serve food, care for his customers horses, and anything else required to make his business successful.

Unfortunately, like other Yorktown residents, Archer had financial problems. On 10 October 1792, he sold "a mulatto woman named Edy and her children Mirnava, Sam, Elender, Fielding, and Cormiller" to Samuel Eddens, another inhabitant of Yorktown. Five years later, Eddens also had debts. In November 1797, Eddens sold Edy, Mirnava, Sam, Elender, Fielding, and Cormiller to Henry Digges, a resident of Matthews County.[75]

In addition, Archer was forced to mortgage both real and personal property in late 1794. On 29 December 1794, Archer conveyed four slaves—Harry, Deptford, Fanny, and Hannah—and Lot 123 in the possession of Matthew Gibbs and William Morgan to

[70] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 576-7, dated [not given] and recorded 20 January 1783.
[71] "Claims for Losses of York County Citizens in the British Invasion of 1781."
[72] York County Deeds (6) 256-7, dated 30 May 1784 and recorded 18 January 1785; ibid., p. 449, dated 21 September 1789 and recorded 18 October 1790. It is possible that Archer purchased Lot 81 from Allen.
[73] Ibid., pp. 384-5, dated 15 July 1788 and recorded 21 July 1788.
[74] Ibid., pp. 385-6, dated 15 July 1788 and recorded 21 July 1788.
[75] York County Deeds (7) 247-8, dated 29 November 1797 and recorded 15 January 1798.

mortgaged both real and personal property to William Waller of Belle Field in Yorkhampton Parish. The mortgage would be void if Archer repaid £ 217.6.9 plus interest to Waller by 15 April 1795.[76]

It is possible that Archer default on his mortgage to Waller by 1799. In July of that year, Archer, who made his home on Lot 81 and Lot 83, conveyed Lots 68, 81, and 83 to William Cary in trust to secure the payment of a debt that he owed to William Arthurs of London. The deed mentioned "all houses and improvements thereon situate in the Town of York being the same whereon the said Abraham Archer now lives." The document did not note whether the dwelling was on Lot 81 or Lot 83.[77] Archer failed to pay his obligation to Arthurs.

[76] Ibid., pp. 144-5, dated 29 December 1794 and recorded 15 June 1795.
[77] Ibid., p. 294, dated 1 July 1799 and recorded 15 July 1799.

Lot 108

John Purdie

In 1792, John Purdie bought Lot 108 from the Trustees of Yorktown. Two years later, a man named John Hyndman Purdie of York County married Ann Moore, a spinster of Charles Parish.[78] There is no evidence that Purdie owned or hired slaves during the time he held Lot 108.

[78] Moyer, "Appendix B. Waterfront Lots," in Richards, Lutton, and Moyer, "Archaeological Assessment of the Yorktown Waterfront," p. 69; York County Marriage Bonds and Consents, p. 289.

Lot 109

John Thompson

John Thompson was a mariner and a merchant who was in the Yorktown area by the late 1730s. It is possible that he used the area that became Lot 109 soon after he began to sail vessels into the York River. In late July 1738, Thompson sailed the *Molly*, a sloop owned by Francis Willis of Gloucester County, into the York River. The 4 August 1738 issue of the newspaper noted the 27 July arrival of the "Sloop *Molly*, of Virginia, John Thompson, Master, from Barbados, with 45 Hogsheads, 8 Tierces, and 9 Barrels of Rum, 69 Barrels of Sugar, 1 Bag of Cotton, and 3 Negroes."[79] Seven years later, on 24 August 1745, Thompson was the owner of a vessel, the *Ranger*, that arrived in the York River with 185 slaves from Africa.

In addition to transporting enslaved Africans to Virginia, Thompson was a slave owner. He no doubt counted on male slaves to unload his vessel once it arrived in the Yorktown harbor and to carry goods onboard the ship before he set sail. In early 1746/7, Will, a slave who belonged to Thompson, and Cambridge, a man owned by George Russell, stood trial on the charge of taking

> 2 Pieces of Linnen of the Value of £ 15 Current Money of Virginia the proper Goods and Chattels of Thomas Hornsby of the City of Williamsburgh Merchant 12 pair of Cotton Stockings of the Value of £ 12 24 Silk Purses of the Value of £ 5 of like Money the proper Goods and Chattels of Armistead Burwell of the City aforesd. Merchant and 9 pair of Shoes of the Value of £ 5 of like Money the proper Goods and Chattels of the Honble William Gooch Esqr.

The justices of the oyer and terminer court determined that Will and Cambridge were guilty and sentenced them to die. Both slaves "pray'd the benefit of the Act to them to be allow'd." Next, each man was burnt in his left hand and taken to the Public Whipping Post to receive thirty-nine lashes on his back.[80] Once Will returned to Thompson's property, it is possible that he received additional punishment.
During the 1750s, Thompson continued to sail ships into the York River District. When the ship *Brotherhood*, sailing from Philadelphia, entered the York River on 21 February 1750/1, the *Virginia Gazette* described Thompson as its master. The next year, 1751, Thompson was the master of the *Fanny*, departing the York River between March 10 and April 10 for Barbados. Thompson guided the *Fanny* back into the York in October 1751 and the ship's cargo included a slave.[81] In April 1755, the *Fanny* departed Yorktown carrying bread, flour, shingles, ale, tar, and turpentine. Three months later, on 29 July 1755, Thompson's vessel, the *Fanny*, had eleven slaves from Barbados when it arrived in the York River.[82]

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[79] *Virginia Gazette*, 4 August 1738.
[80] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 489-90, 14 February 1746/7.
[81] *Virginia Gazette*, 14 March 1750/1; ibid., 11 April 1751; Walter E. Minchinton, Celia King, and Peter Waite, eds., *Virginia Slave Trade Statistics, 1698-1775*, (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1984), p. 147.
[82] *Virginia Gazette*, 25 April 1755.

In May 1761, John Thompson purchased Yorktown Lot 54 and two lots in the Read Addition from Robert Ballard.[83] By the late 1760s, Thompson decided that he was not able to carry on his business. In the 18 August 1768 issue of Rind's *Virginia Gazette*, he announced

> As I find myself very infirm, and not able to carry on business, I intend to move as soon as I can settle my affairs, and have for sale the following articles; one lot with a very good dwelling-house, kitchen, and all convenient out houses, in York town, adjoining Mr. David Jamesons's two lots, with a large stable and chair house on them; one new convenient store-house, near the town wharf; and one warehouse at the water side; two lots and houses in Gloucester, on one of them a large warehouse, 40 by 20, and shedded with a good sail loft; one sloop of about 1800 bushels burthen, well fitted, and ready to take in a cargo; with a nine hhd. Flat, and several valuable water Negroes, one of them an extraordinary good sailmaker. I have also about three hundred pounds worth of dry goods, lately imported, which I would sell with or without the above store, situated near the town wharf. Any person or persons inclinable to purchase, may know the terms by applying to the subscriber in York town.[84]

Two months later, Thompson decided to sell his real property at a sale "before Mr. Archer's door, near the town wharf. Again, he offered to sell "one dwelling house and lot, with all convenient outhouses, adjoining Mr. David Jameson's; one lot, with a large stable on it, near Dr. Riddell's; one warehouse at the water side, and a new storehouse, completely fitted, near the town wharf."[85]

Thompson failed to sell his real and personal property. He no doubt worried because he needed to raise money to settle debts. First, Thompson mortgaged Lot 54 and three slaves—Dublin, Lucy, and Hager—to William Nelson Senior to secure the payment of his debt of £ 250.11.11 plus interest by 14 April 1770. Thompson had the right to use this property during the time of the mortgage.[86] Next, Thompson decided to hold a lottery to raise money "to pay off his debts, and reserve some part of his estate for his wife and family. On 11 May 1769, Thompson published the "SCHEME of a LOTTERY" to be drawn on 20 June 1769. The lots include information about five of Thompson's slaves. He had four enslaved men whom he described as watermen. The directors of Thompson's lottery valued Jack at £ 80, Frank at £ 71, Will at £ 65, and Caesar at £ 55. A woman named Hagar, "a good washer and ironer," was worth £ 45.15. On the same day, Thompson also noted "As the sum proposed to be raised by my lottery will not be sufficient to satisfy all my creditors, I intend selling privately the following articles, viz. A Negro man who is a good seaman and sailmaker, several other Negroes."

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[83] York County Deeds (6) 350-3, dated 28 May 1761and recorded 20 July 1761. See Lot 54.
[84] *Virginia Gazette*, Rind, ed., 18 August 1768.
[85] Ibid., Purdie and Dixon, eds., 20 October 1768.
[86] York County Deeds (7) 462-4, dated 14 April 1769 and recorded 19 June 1769. In 1778, six years after President William Nelson's death, his son and heir, General Thomas Nelson, released William Cary from Thompson's 1769 mortgage. If Dublin, Lucy, and or Hager were alive, they became Cary's property. York County Deeds (6) 21-2, dated 10 June 1778 and recorded 15 February 1779.

He informed potential purchasers "If the above articles are not sold before the drawing of the lottery, they will be set up at publick auction." [87]

The directors cancelled the lottery because tickets remained on 20 June 1769. Six months later, Thompson again tried to sell some of his slaves. On 18 January 1770, he announced that he still wanted to raise funds to satisfy his debts and to return "up the country in the spring." Thompson advertised that he would sell "several valuable Negroes, who understand going by water, and good pilots to any part of the bay, one of whom is an extraordinary good sailmaker, some house servants, one of them a very good washer, ironer, and sempstress" as well as his property in Yorktown.[88]

In September of the same year, Thompson hoped to sell "A new store, near the town wharf" at an auction to be held at the Swan Tavern on 17 September 1770.[89] It is possible that Thompson's new store stood on the land that became Lot 109. When this property still did not sell, Thompson mortgaged his "Storehouse on Yorktown beach, just below the town wharf" as well as two female slaves, Hagar (possibly the "good washer, ironer, and sempstress") and Judy, to Doctor George Riddell to secure payment of his debt of £ 95.13.1 by 19 March 1771.[90] Thompson defaulted on the mortgage to Riddell and transferred Lot 109 to this doctor.

George Riddell and Susannah Riddell

A resident of Yorktown by the early 1750s, Doctor George Riddell prospered and extant documents indicate that he loaned money to a mariner and merchant named John Thompson.[91] By March 1770, Thompson did not have enough money to pay his debt of £ 95.13.1 to Riddell and he decided to mortgage his "Storehouse on Yorktown beach, just below the town wharf" as well as two female slaves, Hagar (possibly the "good washer, ironer, and sempstress") and Judy, to Riddell to secure payment of his debt.[92] Thompson defaulted on the mortgage to Riddell and transferred Lot 109 to him. On 11 August 1774, Riddell advertised the availability for sale or lease of "A COMMODIOUS STOREHOUSE on the Beach, adjoining to Mr. Richard Brown's Store, with a Compting Room, a Loft above for Grain or sailmaking, and a good Stone Cellar."[93]

Riddell was a Loyalist and by the fall of 1775, the increasing tensions between Virginia and Great Britain led to his decision to sell his own home and to leave the colony. In October 1775, Riddell informed readers of the Virginia Gazette that "WHEREAS I intend for Great Britain early in the ensuing Spring, I propose selling the DWELLING-

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[87] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 11 May 1769. The directors included Dudley Digges, General Thomas Nelson, Jaquelin Ambler, William Stevenson, George Riddell, and David Jameson.
[88] Ibid., 18 January 1770.
[89] Ibid., 13 September 1770.
[90] York County Deeds (8) 53-4, dated 19 March 1770 and recorded 16 July 1770.
[91] George Riddell lived on Lot 12 from the early 1750s until 1754. Then, he purchased the home where Dr. John Payras had lived in the Read Addition. See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 12.
[92] York County Deeds (8) 53-4, dated 19 March 1770 and recorded 16 July 1770.
[93] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 11 August 1774.

HOUSE I now live in, either with or without Furniture, or on Annuity for life, as may best suit a Purchaser."[94] Riddell did not find a purchaser for his dwelling and he remained in Yorktown until the time of his 1779 death. In his will, Riddell left "the rest & residue of my estate both real & personal of what nature or kind soever" to his wife.[95]

During the Siege of Yorktown, Susannah Riddell fled Yorktown because her home in the Read Addition was destroyed. After the end of the American Revolution, the widow Riddell filed a Loyalist Claim to receive compensation from the British government for her losses. In the claim, Riddell stated she was in possession of "the only remains of her late Husbands Estate, being a large House with stables, Coachhouse & c" when Cornwallis had the house pulled down in 1781. The house was estimated to be worth two thousand pounds "exclusive of the loss of many valuable Negro Servants who took the advantage of the confusion by their leaving her." Susannah Riddell was eventually allotted £1000 for the damages.[96] The widow Riddell did not include a claim for the storehouse on Lot 109. Perhaps this structure was damaged before the Siege of Yorktown and she could not submit a claim for its value.

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[94] Ibid., Dixon, ed., 14 October 1775.

[95] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 452-4, dated [blank] January 1779 and recorded 19 July 1779. It is possible that Susannah Riddell gained possession of ten slaves. Two years earlier, in 1777, the York County Court ordered that George Riddell's eleven tithes were to be added to his list. York County Order Book (4) 137, 17 March 1777.
Soon after her husband's death, Susannah Riddell petitioned the General Assembly for permission to free a slave named John Hope (also known as Barber Caesar). See Part I. Section 8—Yorktown and African Americans at the End of the Eighteenth Century.

[96] Loyalist Claim of Susannah Riddell, (Kew, Surrey, England: The National Archives (formerly the Public Record Office), PRO/AO 13/80 and PRO/AO 12/71.

Lot 110

Nicholas Dixon

Nicholas Dixon, a Gloucester County merchant, moved his business to Yorktown by May 1751. Dixon married Charlotte, the daughter of Robert and Jane Ballard. Dixon and his wife probably lived in the dwelling house on Lot 13 with her sisters and rented out the smaller house on Lot 14 that she inherited from her father. Charlotte Dixon also received two slaves from her father's estate—Whitehall (valued at £ 30) and Poll's youngest child (valued at £ 7)—and, if they were alive in 1751, they would also have lived on Lot 13.[97]

Dixon, as a merchant, wanted to have a section of the waterfront area where he could store goods before he sold them to his customers. It is likely that he also had a male slave—perhaps Whitehall—to help carry crates off of the ships anchored in the Yorktown harbor. Dixon did have an enslaved female, Belinda, who was to be added to the 1753 tithe list taken by John Norton.[98] Belinda would have worked in the house on Lot 13 under the direction of Charlotte Dixon. Five years later, Dixon had four tithes who worked in his household and on the waterfront.

In September 1767, Dixon announced that he planned to leave the colony. He also advertised the sale or "lease for a term of years the house wherein I now live, situated on the main street in this town, with two lots adjoining, on which are all necessary houses, with a large garden; the whole paled in." He concluded his announcement by stating "The goods I have in the store, several house servants, horses, and household furniture, will be sold privately."[99] Dixon conveyed the ground that became Lot 110 to James Pride, a Yorktown merchant, before he left Virginia.[100]

James Pride

Yorktown merchant James Pride acquired the building on the land that became Lot 110 from Nicholas Dixon. In March 1770, a mortgage from John Thompson to George Riddell noted that Pride recently purchased the storehouse on Lot 110 from Dixon and that Pride leased this structure to Richard Brown.[101] Pride later sold the land that became Lot 110 to Brown.

Richard Brown

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[97] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 36-7, dated 16 March 1740/1 and recorded 15 June 1741. See Lot 13 and Lot 14.
[98] York County Judgments and Orders (2) 303, 17 September 1753.
[99] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 3 September 1767.
[100] Nicholas Dixon died in Bristol, England between 19 June 1769 and 18 November 1769. Charlotte Dixon and her son, Beverley, returned to Virginia, and she opened a store on Duke of Gloucester Street in Williamsburg. See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 13.
[101] York County Deeds (8) 53-4, dated 19 March 1770 and recorded 16 July 1770.

Richard Brown was in Yorktown by November 1766 when the grand jury presented Thomas Archer for not listing Brown as one of his tithes.[102] Next, Brown worked for Yorktown merchant James Pride, and by March 1770, he leased the structure on Lot 110 from Pride.[103] Brown likely lived in the house on Lot 64 and used the storehouse on the beach to store imported goods that he hoped to sell to his customers. In 1772, the guardian of William Sheldon Sclater paid Brown £ 0.15.6 "for plains and ozenbs" for a slave named Peg.[104] At some point in time, Brown purchased the land that became Lot 110 from Pride.

On 17 March 1772, Brown married Mary Tompkins, the daughter of Bennett and Ann Tompkins of Charles Parish. Four years later, Brown announced that he had "for SALE, a LIKELY NEGRO WENCH, little more than 30 years of age, who is a very good house servant, and can, upon occasion, be very serviceable in the field."[105] It is possible that Brown decided to sell this enslaved woman because he had access to slaves owned by Bennett Tompkins.

Brown no doubt depended on enslaved laborers to take as many items out of his storehouse as possible before the Siege of Yorktown. After the end of the war, Brown witnessed the claim that Ann Tompkins submitted for losses. She reported that she lost four enslaved men—Ned, a twenty-three year old fellow; a twenty-two year old fellow known as Sam; a twenty-year old called Peter; and Billy, who was nineteen years old. The widow Tompkins valued these men at £ 400.[106] Ned, Sam, Peter, and Billy likely worked on Yorktown's waterfront under Brown's direction.

Brown remained in Yorktown after the end of the American Revolution. He held the building on Lot 110 until June 1786 when he sold it to Alexander Macaulay.[107] Brown continued to manage his business, and in 1787 he hired a slave named Mingo from the estate of John Goodwin for the sum of £ 6.13.[108] In addition, Brown applied for a license to operate a tavern. It is known if Brown received permission to open a tavern.

Extant documents indicate that Brown lived in Yorktown for the rest of his life. When he died in 1795, Brown left his property to his family. One of his sons was named James Pride Brown, a sign of his connection to his former employer.[109]

Alexander Macaulay

In June 1786, Alexander Macaulay, a merchant, acquired the storehouse on Lot 110 from Richard Brown. He operated his business on this section of the Yorktown waterfront.

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[102] York County Order Book (1) 160-1, 17 November 1766.
[103] York County Deeds (8) 53-4, dated 19 March 1770 and recorded 16 July 1770.
[104] York County Guardian Accounts (1) 469-71, recorded 21 September 1772.
[105] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie, ed., 22 March 1776.
[106] See Part I. Section 7—African Americans, Freedom, and the Siege of Yorktown.
[107] York County Deeds (6) 320, dated 9 June 1786 and recorded 16 October 1786.
[108] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 212-7, recorded 21 June 1790.
[109] Ibid., p. 435, dated 15 August 1792 and recorded 20 April 1795.

Two years later, in July 1788, Macaulay acquired the ground on which this structure stood when he bought Lot 110 from the Trustees of Yorktown.[110] It is likely that Macaulay purchased this lot and Lot 120 because he wanted to expand his mercantile business.[111] This merchant also acquired two additional slaves by June 1790 when he owed the estate of Mary Philips the sum of £ 110 for the purchase of two slaves, Dick and Oliver.[112] It is possible that Macaulay decided to buy Dick and Oliver so he could increase the number of enslaved laborers whom he could have load and unload ships anchored in the Yorktown harbor.

Alexander Macaulay failed in his attempt to establish a successful business in Yorktown. On 15 November 1797, Macaulay mortgaged a wide range of real and personal property including slaves, lots in Yorktown, land in Warwick County, lots in Norfolk, lots in Hanover Town, livestock, furniture in his Yorktown house, and all the goods in his store to Thomas Griffin and Thomas Nelson in order to secure his payment of three debts that totaled £ 10,000 current money. The mortgaged slaves were Sukey and her two children, Hannah and Will; Betty and her four children Charles, Mary, Vine, and Pat; Sall and her child Hannah; Rachel and her four children Amos, Nancy, Phoebe, and Beck; Aggy; Cate; Annie; Lucy; Sam Hostler; Jack Daniel; Bob; Jebun; George; Jack the elder; Jack the younger; Dick, and Jupiter. Griffin and Nelson agreed to sell Macaualay's real and personal estate to raise money to pay his debts.[113] The deed of mortgage, however, did not specify the names of the slaves who lived in Yorktown nor the identities of those enslaved men, women, and children who worked on other property owned by Macaulay.

Alexander Macaulay was dead by August 1799 when Thomas Griffin and Thomas Nelson, trustees for his estate, sold Lot 120 to William Morgan.[114] Macaulay's widow, Elizabeth, gained possession of Lot 110. It is not clear if Elizabeth Macaulay retained ownership of any of the male slaves who might have worked in the waterfront store.

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[110] York County Deeds (6) 320, dated 9 June 1786 and recorded 16 October 1786; ibid., p. 383, dated 18 July 1788 and recorded 21 July 1788.

[111] On 27 November 1794, Alexander Macaulay purchased Lot 120 and the improvements on this half-acre from David Jameson's executors. York County Deeds (7) 136-7, dated 27 November 1794 and recorded 20 April 1795. See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 120.

[112] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 201-2, dated 21 June 1790 and recorded 21 June 1790. The inventory of Mary Philips included only Dick valued at £ 80 and Oliver appraised at £ 60. It is possible that Dick was the one of the slaves whom Philips inherited (along with his mother Moll and brothers Frank and Harry) from her mother, Ann née Moss Mennis Philips Gibbons, in September 1768. The 1768 inventory of Ann Gibbons' estate included six slaves: man Dick valued at £ 100, Frank valued at £ 70, Harry valued at £ 80, Sue valued at £ 60, Jack valued at £ 50, and Oliver valued at £ 35. York County Wills and Inventories (23) 161, recorded 16 July 1788; York County Wills and Inventories (21) 430-1, dated 14 February 1745/6 and recorded 19 September 1768; ibid., pp. 432-4, dated [torn] 1768 and recorded 21 November 1768.

[113] York County Deeds (7) 249-54, dated 15 November 1797 and recorded 19 February 1798.

[114] Ibid., pp. 295-6, dated 2 August 1799 and recorded 16 September 1799.

Lot 111

Robert Robertson

Robert Robertson might have been in possession of the land that became Lot 111 as early as 1772. In September of that year, the justices of the peace noted that Robertson's three tithes and riding chair were to be added to this list of taxable property in the lower precinct of Yorkhampton Parish. Robertson used the building on his waterfront property as a place where he could sell goods. On 26 November 1772, he announced "THE Subscriber in York, has a Quantity of low priced IRISH LINENS, CHECK LINEN, HALFTHICKS, and COARSE CLOTHS, which he will sell by Wholesale at a very low Advance for ready Money, or on Credit till April next." Illegal activities also took place on Robertson's property. On 19 May 1777, the York County grand jury presented Robertson "for selling mixed Liquors without Licence."[115]

Robertson lived in Yorktown until his death in early 1783. He left his real and personal property to his wife and daughter and wanted this property to be equally divided when his daughter, Polly, reached adulthood or married. Three years later, John Gibbons, the vendue master, sold Robertson's real and personal estate at an auction. "The dwelling and ther out houses" sold for the sum of £ 100. The York County clerk failed to record the names of the purchasers who paid £ 71 for an enslaved man named Jemmy; the sum of £ 60 for Filles, a woman; and £ 65 for a woman known as Sally and her child, Betsy.[116]

Richard C. Walters

In 1786, Richard C. Walters gained possession of what became Lot 111 in Yorktown. Walters gained a formal title to Lot 111 in July 1788 when he purchased the lot from the trustees of Yorktown. The deed noted that this lot was a part of the common and measured 112 feet on the north side, ninety feet on the south side, 164 feet on the east side, and 141 feet and ten inches on the west side.[117]

On 26 January 1789, Walters received a license "to keep a tavern at his House on the water side." It is likely that Walters used the building that Berthier included on his 1781 billeting plan in addition to increasing the number of structures on this parcel. In an 11 February 1789 announcement in *The Virginia Independent Chronicle*, Walters noted "The subscriber has just opened a new Tavern on the waterside formerly occupied by Capt. Robert Robertson, as he has been at considerable expense in building a grainary, stable, sinking a well in his yard, and every other convenience for the entertainment of

[115] York County Judgments and Orders (3) 108, 21 September 1772; *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 26 November 1772; York County Order Book (4) 143, 19 May 1777.
[116] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 12, dated 6 January 1783 and recorded 18 March 1783; ibid., pp. 123-4, recorded 18 September 1786.
[117] York County Deeds (6) 320, dated 9 June 1786 and recorded 16 October 1786; ibid., p. 391, dated 15 July 1788 and recorded 15 September 1788.

man and horse, he flatters himself the public will encourage him according to his merit, and particularly when his employments are of so much utility to a growing country."[118]

Walters held Lot 111 until his death in 1803. He left all of his real and personal estate to his wife, Mary. The following year the name of Mary Smith Walters appeared on the land tax list as the owner of the lot that had been in the possession of Richard C. Walters. Mary Smith Walters was the owner of Lot 111 until 1813.[119]

[118] Charles E. Hatch, Jr., *'York Under the Hill': Yorktown's Waterfront*, (Denver: Historic Preservation Team, Denver Service Center, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 1973), pp. 70-1, 203.
[119] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 630, dated 31 August 1803 and recorded 19 September 1803; York County Land Tax Lists, 1788-1814.

Lot 117

Richard Brown

Richard Brown gained possession of Lot 117 from the trustees of Yorktown. It is possible that Brown and his family lived in the structure on this lot and he based his business activities in the storehouse on Lot 110.[120] In 1787, Brown hired a slave named Mingo from the estate of John Goodwin for the sum of £ 6.13.[121] Perhaps he had Mingo unload barrels and crates from ships anchored in the Yorktown harbor. Brown held Lot 117 until 5 September 1790, the date he sold this property to Seymour Powell, the son of Seymour Powell, a Yorktown tavern keeper, and his wife, Jane.[122]

Seymour Powell

On 5 September 1790, Seymour Powell purchased Yorktown Lot 117 from Richard Brown. Extant documents do not indicate how long Powell held this property. It is known that Samuel Shields gained possession of the lot and transferred it to Nathaniel Taylor before 1810, the year in which Taylor appeared on the York County Land Tax List as the owner of this lot.

[120] See Lot 110.
[121] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 212-7, recorded 21 June 1790.
[122] Paul B. Moyer, "The Yorktown Waterfront, 1691-1814," (report for the Colonial National Historical Park, 1998).

Lot 120

Thomas Archer

In February 1754, Thomas Archer conveyed a twenty-eight foot by twenty-foot store or warehouse that he built on the Yorktown waterfront to David Jameson, a Yorktown merchant. The deed noted that a man named Francis Riddlehurst lived in the warehouse. Jameson agreed that Archer could have the warehouse at any time on paying back the sum of £ 60.[123]

Francis Riddlehurst—Tenant of Thomas Archer

If Francis Riddlehurst leased the warehouse from Archer in 1752, he would have used this space for an ordinary. On 18 May 1752, Riddlehurst received a license to keep an ordinary "at his house in York Town."[124] In January of the following year, Riddlehurst received an appointment as the "overseer or director of the delivery & bringing on shore from on board any ship in York River in the room of Benjamin Cranston, decd."[125] Perhaps Riddlehurst decided to live in the waterfront area so he was near the harbor, prepared to inspect items unloaded from ships, and made sure that ballast was delivered on time.

In 1754, Riddlehurst had three tithes to assist him as he carried out his duties. One of the tithes was an indentured servant, John Chapman, whom he purchased for £6.10.0 at the sale of the estate of blacksmith Ephraim Goosley in 1752. Two years later, Chapman sued for his freedom.[126] Perhaps Riddlehurst's two other tithes were enslaved men.

Riddlehurst was a resident of Elizabeth City County by 16 October 1756, the date he wrote his will. At the time of his death, Riddlehurst owned at least nine slaves whom he bequeathed to his family members. It is possible that he had one or more of the males assist him in his work along Yorktown's waterfront.[127]

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[123] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 618-9, dated 24 February 1754 and recorded 15 July 1754.
[124] York County Judgments and Orders (2) 19, 18 May 1752.
[125] Ibid., pp. 172-3, 15 January 1753.
[126] Ibid., p. 482, 19 August 1754; York County Wills and Inventories (20) 357-62, recorded 21 July 1755; York County Judgments and Orders (2) 392, 18 February 1754.
[127] Joan Charles, ed., *Elizabeth City County, Virginia Wills 1733-1799*, (Bowie, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 1995), pp. 29-30.

David Jameson

In February 1754, David Jameson bought a twenty-eight foot by twenty-foot store or warehouse on the Yorktown waterfront from Thomas Archer.[128] A Yorktown merchant, Jameson no doubt counted on enslaved men to carry goods from ships anchored in the York River to this warehouse on land that became Lot 120 as well as his storehouse and his home on Lot 53.

Jameson owned Lot 120 until his death on 10 July 1793. Jameson bequeathed his nephew

> John Jameson one moiety of both real and personal of which I may die possessed of to him the said John and his Heirs forever. I give the other moiety of my Estate that I may die possessed of both real and personal to be equally divided between my nephews, David Jameson of Culpeper & David Jameson of Caroline county, to them & their Heirs forever.[129]

On 21 August 1793, John Jameson, David Jameson, and David Jameson Junior announced the sale of their uncle's real estate:

> For Sale, on Thursday the 24th day of October next, at the late dwelling house of David Jameson, deceased, in York Town to the highest Bidder, The lot and Houses where the decedent dwelt, and sundry other lots in the said Town, some of which are improved and some others unimproved; the lot under the bank on which the tobacco warehouses stand, with its apendages; a very valuable tract of land about three miles from Town, containing, by estimation, 871 acres, with a large and well improved plantation, and a small mill on it.[130]

Perhaps Jameson's executors included the description of "the lot under the bank on which the tobacco warehouses stand, with its apendages" in order to interest a merchant in acquiring this waterfront property. On 27 November 1794, Yorktown merchant Alexander Macaulay purchased Lot 120 and the improvements on this half-acre from Jameson's executors.[131]

Alexander Macaulay

On 27 November 1794, Alexander Macaulay purchased Lot 120 and the improvements on this tract from David Jameson's executors.[132] Macaulay was a merchant, and it is

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[128] See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 42; see also Lot 90, and Lot 91.
[129] Yorktown Hustings Court Records, pp. 39-40, dated 14 October 1792, codicil dated 21 May 1793, and recorded 23 July 1793 (from a 12 April 1892 copy of the original).
[130] *Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser*, 21 August 1793.
[131] York County Deeds (7) 136-7, dated 27 November 1794 and recorded 20 April 1795.
[132] Macaulay also owned Lot 43, Lot 44, part of Lot 45, and Lot 110. See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 43, Lot 44, Lot 45; see also Lot 110.

likely that he purchased this lot because he wanted to expand his business. He would have had enslaved men load and unload the ships that anchored in the York River.

Within three years, Macaulay owed £ 10,000 to three creditors. On 15 November 1797, Macaulay mortgaged a wide range of real and personal property including slaves, lots in Yorktown, land in Warwick County, lots in Norfolk, lots in Hanover Town, livestock, furniture in his Yorktown house, and all the goods in his store to Thomas Griffin and Thomas Nelson in order to secure his payment of three debts that totaled £ 10,000 current money. The mortgaged slaves were Sukey and her two children, Hannah and Will; Betty and her four children Charles, Mary, Vine, and Pat; Sall and her child Hannah; Rachel and her four children Amos, Nancy, Phoebe, and Beck; Aggy; Cate; Annie; Lucy; Sam Hostler; Jack Daniel; Bob; Jebun; George; Jack the elder; Jack the younger; Dick, and Jupiter. Griffin and Nelson agreed to sell Macaualay's real and personal estate to raise money to pay his debts.[133] The deed of mortgage, however, did not specify the names of the slaves who lived in Yorktown nor the identities of those enslaved men, women, and children who worked on other property owned by Macaulay.

Alexander Macaulay was dead by August 1799 when Thomas Griffin and Thomas Nelson, trustees for his estate, sold Lot 120 to William Morgan. The deed described the property as "a certain Tenement with a building thereon being a warehouse or store-house situate lying and being in the Town of York aforesaid at the water side bounded by and adjoining to the Tenements of Abraham Archer on the north western and north eastern sides of the said Tenement."[134]

William Morgan

On 2 August 1799, William Morgan bought Lot 120 from Thomas Griffin and Thomas Nelson, trustees of the estate of Alexander Macaulay. This parcel included a house and a waterfront storehouse.[135] Morgan mortgaged the property to Richard Taylor on 6 August 1803, repaid his debt, and retained ownership of the lot. Morgan held Lot 120 until his death between 1803 and 1810. It is not known if Morgan owned or hired slaves.

[133] York County Deeds (7) 249-54, dated 15 November 1797 and recorded 19 February 1798.
[134] Ibid., pp. 295-6, dated 2 August 1799 and recorded 16 September 1799.
[135] Previously, Morgan occupied Lot 123.

Lot 121

Thomas Nelson the Immigrant

Thomas Nelson the Immigrant had storehouse on what became Lot 121 as early as 1714. In June of that year, the storehouse that John Wills sold to John Cook adjoined "East upon the Storehouse of Mr. Thomas Nelson."[136] Nelson the Immigrant held the land that became Lot 121 until the time of his death in 1745. He left "All my Lands, tenements, slaves, and real estate whatsoever I give and Devise to my son, William Nelson, and his heirs forever."[137]

President William Nelson

President William Nelson, the eldest son of Thomas Nelson the Immigrant and Mary née Read Nelson, gained possession of Lot 121 after his father's death. Like his father before him, William Nelson was a merchant and his slaves spent time unloading imported goods from ships anchored in the Yorktown harbor. Nelson's slaves also carried crates and barrels to his storehouse on Lot 121.

Nelson held Lot 121 (and other property in and near Yorktown) until his death in late 1772. The elder William Nelson decided that his "store houses in York Town & at the water side" would become the property of his sons Hugh Nelson and Thomas Nelson "as tenants in common & not as joint tenants."[138]

Hugh Nelson Senior and General Thomas Nelson

In 1772, General Thomas Nelson and Hugh Nelson Senior became "tenants in common" of their father's "store house in York Town & at the water side." Like their father before them, the brothers depended on enslaved men to unload crates and barrels containing imported goods from the ships anchored in the Yorktown harbor. Male slaves carried some items to the storehouse on Lot 121 while others remained in the warehouse near the river.

The Nelsons were "tenants in common" of the warehouse on Lot 121 until sometime after the Siege of Yorktown when General Thomas Nelson and the elder Hugh Nelson divided their father's waterfront property between them. In October 1796, William Nelson Junior, son of General Thomas Nelson, was the owner of Lot 121 and he transferred the title to this property to his uncle, Hugh Nelson Senior. The deed conveyed

[136] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 24-5, dated 16 and 18 July 1714 and recorded 19 July 1714.
[137] "Copy of a Copy of the Will of Thomas Nelson, of York" in "Berkeley Manuscripts," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1st ser., Vol. VI, No. 3 (January 1898):143-5.
[138] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 132-6, dated 6 October 1772 and recorded 21 December 1772.

> a certain Storehouse or warehouse lying and being situate in the Town of York at the water side built wholly of Brick and covered with wood standing on a Part of a Lot of Ground marked in the Plot of the said Town No 121 . . . the said Lot measuring as follows to wit the North side eighty two feet six Inches south forty nine feet six Inches east seventy five feet ten Inches west seventy five feet ten Inches.[139]

Hugh Nelson's name did not appear on the York County Land Tax List as the owner of Yorktown lots after 1788. This suggests that he rented out Lot 121 and his other urban property until the time of his death between 15 May 1799 and 20 January 1800. He wanted his "just debts to be paid" and "the Remainder of my estate may be kept together for the benefit of my family during the Life of my wife." After the death of his wife, Judith, Nelson directed his executors to divide his estate among their children.[140]

[139] York County Deeds (7) 229-31, dated 17 October 1796 and recorded 19 June 1797.
[140] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 545, dated 16 September 1790 and recorded 20 January 1800.

Lot 122, Lot 125, and Lot 129

Thomas Nelson the Immigrant

By the late 1720s, Thomas Nelson the Immigrant wanted to have a wharf on the town's waterfront to make it easier for his slaves to board ships and unload barrels and crates of imported items. Nelson, John Ballard, Richard Ambler, and Cole Digges each set "forth that between the land appropriated for the said Town & the River there lies a beach of sand which at high tides is overflowed, but nevertheless may with some expence & labour be made convenient for building warehouses for the securing merchandizes of great bulk and weight." The petitioners continued, "praying that eighty foot square of the Beach may be granted him by patent for the purpose aforesaid, with power to enlarge the same by making a wharf into the river w[hi]ch may be of great benefit to the trade of that Town." The Council ruled in favor of Ballard, Ambler, Nelson, and Digges, provided that their wharves and warehouses did not "encroach upon the publick landings or the Streets leading through the said Town to the River side."[141] Perhaps Nelson planned to build a wharf on this ground or on the property that was between Lots 84 and 85 and the York River. This section of the waterfront area became known as Lots 122, 125, and 129.

Nelson held Lot 122, Lot 125, and Lot 129 until the time of his death in 1745. He left "All my Lands, tenements, slaves, and real estate whatsoever I give and Devise to my son, William Nelson, and his heirs forever."[142] William Nelson, the oldest son, used his father's wharf as he continued the family mercantile business.

President William Nelson

President William Nelson, the eldest son of Thomas Nelson the Immigrant and Mary née Read Nelson, gained possession of Lot 122, Lot Lot 125, and Lot 129 after his father's 1745 death. Like his father before him, President William Nelson was a merchant and his slaves spent time on Nelson wharf as they unloaded imported goods from ships anchored in the Yorktown harbor.

Nelson held Lot 122, Lot 125, and Lot 129 as well as other property in and near Yorktown until his death in late 1772. The elder William Nelson decided that his "store houses in York Town & at the water side" would become the property of his sons Hugh Nelson and Thomas Nelson "as tenants in common & not as joint tenants."[143] It is likely that this bequest included the wharf on Lot 122, Lot 125, and Lot 129.

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[141] Ambler and Nelson submitted their requests to the Council on 15 August 1728; Digges and Ballard made their requests on 12 June 1729. H. R. McIlwaine et al., eds., *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, 6 vols., (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1927-66), IV:183-4 (Ambler and Nelson), 207-8 (Digges and Ballard).

[142] "Copy of a Copy of the Will of Thomas Nelson, of York," p. 144.

[143] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 132-6, dated 6 October 1772 and recorded 21 December 1772.

General Thomas Nelson and Hugh Nelson Senior

When President William Nelson Senior left his "store houses in York Town & at the water side" to his sons, Thomas Nelson and Hugh Nelson, "as tenants in common & not as joint tenants."[144] It is likely that this bequest included the wharf on Lot 122, Lot 125, and Lot 129. Like their father before them, the Nelson brothers depended on enslaved men to unload crates and barrels containing imported goods from the ships anchored in the Yorktown harbor. Male slaves carried some items to the storehouse on Lot 47 while others remained in the warehouse near the river.

The Nelsons remained tenants in common of the waterfront storehouses until the late 1780s. Extant documents suggest that General Thomas Nelson and Hugh Nelson Senior divided their father's waterfront property between them. In July 1788, the elder Hugh Nelson bought Lot 122, Lot 125, and Lot 129 from the trustees of Yorktown.[145] Hugh Nelson appeared on the 1788 Land Tax List as the proprietor of a total of five lots. His name did not appear on the York County Land Tax List as the owner of Yorktown lots after 1788. This suggests that he rented out Lot 122, Lot 125, and Lot 129 as well as his other urban property until the time of his death between 15 May 1799 and 20 January 1800. He wanted his "just debts to be paid" and "the Remainder of my estate may be kept together for the benefit of my family during the Life of my wife." After the death of his wife, Judith, Nelson directed his executors to divide his estate among their children.[146]

[144] Ibid.
[145] Yorktown Hustings Court Records (1787-1793) 10-11, 18 July 1788.
[146] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 545, dated 16 September 1790 and recorded 20 January 1800.

Lot 126 and Lot 128

James McLeod

On 15 July 1788, James McLeod purchased Lot 128 from the Trustees of Yorktown. This parcel had one structure that Berthier included in his billeting plan. Three days later, McLeod acquired Lot 126 from the town's trustees. Both of these parcels were "part of the common."[147]

It is possible that McLeod operated a store on his Yorktown property. Miss Mary Philips had an account with Mr. McLeod and the administrator of her estate, Robert Gibbons, paid McLeod "his store accot" the amount of £ 2.18.6. In 1790, the settlement of Captain John Goodwin's estate included two references to a Mr. McLeod. Goodwin owed £ 0.9.0 to McLeod "for Shoes for Peter" and the same sum "for 1 yd. Lutestring."[148] It is likely that McLeod was dead by 18 June 1796 when Mary McLeod gave her daughter, Mary, permission to marry Mr. Thomas Green.[149]

[147] York County Deeds (6) 388-9, dated 15 July 1788 and recorded 21 July 1788; ibid., p. 388, dated 18 July 1788 and recorded 21 July 1788.
[148] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 201-2, dated and recorded 21 June 1790; ibid., pp. 203-11, dated and recorded 21 June 1790.
[149] York County Marriage Bonds and Consents (1772-1849) 141, 400, 18 June 1796.

Lot 127

Hannah Mills

On 27 April 1789, Hannah Mills, the widow of Yorktown tailor James Mills, purchased Lot 127 from Yorktown's trustees. There is no evidence that the widow Mills had slaves on this property. After the death of 1796 Mills, Lot 127 became the property of her niece, Martha Christina Ginter.[150]

Martha Christina Ginter

Martha Christina Ginter inherited Lot 127 from her aunt, Hannah Mills. Ginter, the widow of Yorktown tailor, John Conrad Ginter, lived on Lot 31. There is no evidence that the widow Ginter had slaves on Lot 127 before 21 June 1796, the date she sold this property and a house to John Grant, a Yorktown resident.[151]

John Grant

On 21 June 1796, John Grant purchased Yorktown Lot 127 from Martha Christina Ginter. It is possible that Grant arrived in the Yorktown area by the late 1780s when he served as a witness on deeds for known residents of the town. There is no evidence that Grant owned or hired enslaved laborers.

[150] York County Deeds (7) 403, dated 21 June 1796 and recorded 17 January 1803.
[151] Ibid. See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 31.

Lot 139

John Ballard

It is possible that Yorktown merchant John Ballard used a portion of the land that became Lot 139 for his wharf. By the late 1720s, Ballard wanted to have a wharf on the town's waterfront so there was a place to store imported goods that Armistead and Edinburgh would have carried off of vessels. In the late 1720s, Ballard was one of four Yorktown merchants who petitioned the Council for permission to use the land along the York River. Ballard, Richard Ambler, Thomas Nelson, and Cole Digges each set "forth that between the land appropriated for the said Town & the River there lies a beach of sand which at high tides is overflowed, but nevertheless may with some expence & labour be made convenient for building warehouses for the securing merchandizes of great bulk and weight." The petitioners continued, "praying that eighty foot square of the Beach may be granted him by patent for the purpose aforesaid, with power to enlarge the same by making a wharf into the river w[hi]ch may be of great benefit to the trade of that Town." The Council ruled in favor of Ballard, Ambler, Nelson, and Digges, provided that their wharves and warehouses did not "encroach upon the publick landings or the Streets leading through the said Town to the River side."[152]

Ballard worked as a merchant until the time of his death between 20 August 1745 and 16 September 1745.[153] He decided to leave Lot 54 to his son Thomas as well as an acre of land in the Read Addition to Yorktown, his plantation near Yorktown, his warehouse at the waterside, and two young enslaved men, Giles and Jerry.[154]

Thomas Ballard

Thomas Ballard, son of John and Elizabeth Ballard, gained possession of a warehouse at the waterside after the 31 August 1745 death of his father. According to a note in the Ballard Family Bible, Thomas left Yorktown for the Eastern Shore in September 1747 "and was never after heard after."[155] Perhaps Robert Ballard, the brother of Thomas, conveyed the waterfront warehouse to Seymour Powell.

Seymour Powell and Jane Powell

It is possible that Seymour Powell, a Yorktown merchant and tavern keeper, had a wharf on the land that became Lot 139 by the 1760s. By 1767, Powell joined his brother,

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[152] Ambler and Nelson submitted their requests to the Council on 15 August 1728; Digges and Ballard made their requests on 12 June 1729. H. R. McIlwaine et al., eds., *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, 6 vols., (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1927-66), IV:183-4 (Ambler and Nelson), 207-8 (Digges and Ballard).

[153] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 3-6, dated 24 December 1744 and recorded 16 September 1745.

[154] See Part I. Section 9—Part I. Lot 54.

[155] Ballard Family Bible, (Yorktown: Transcription at Colonial National Historical Park, used with the permission of the Ballard Family).

Hudson Powell, in trade. On 20 August 1767, Seymour Powell and his brother, Hudson Powell, announced that they had a sloop that could be chartered for the West Indies. The sloop would carry upwards of 3,000 bushels of grain.[156] The Powell brothers, no doubt, had enslaved men load their sloop with barrels full of grain.

Seymour Powell held the ground that became Lot 139 when he died in the spring of 1782. He gave his wife Jane "the use of my house at the water side in York Town until she can build a house & prepaire proper conveniences on the land lent to her which houses are then to be sold for the most they will yield." Powell also gave his wife a life right to ten slaves. The October 1782 inventory of Powell's estate included thirteen enslaved laborers: Jack (£ 70), Frank (£ 100), Emanuel (£ 60), Sharper (£ 40), Jack (£ 30), Dinah (£ 20), Hannah (£ 40), Nanny (£ 25), Celia (£ 40), Sall (£ 60), Kitty (£ 60), Pegg (£ 50), and Fanny (£ 40).[157] It is likely that some of the male slaves had labored on the waterfront.

The widow Powell purchased Lot 139 from the trustees of Yorktown for £ 10. It is likely that she bought the lot in order to have a legal title to the property that her deceased husband used during his lifetime. The names of the ten slaves whom Jane Powell held during her widowhood are not known. Jane Powell lived on her deceased husband's property until her death in the 1796, 1797, or 1798.[158]

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[156] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 20 August 1767.

[157] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 534-5, dated 6 January 1776 and recorded 20 May 1782; ibid., pp. 546-8, dated October 1782 and recorded 21 October 1782.

[158] Robert Anderson Papers, 1693-1877, (Williamsburg: Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation), Folders 309 and 319.

Section 10.
Rural Land

Allen Plantation

William Allen Senior

Members of the Allen family settled in York (later Yorkhampton) Parish in the first half of the seventeenth century. In May 1664, William Allen Senior was one of the witnesses to the deed of gift from Mary Ludlow to her children—George, Mary, and Elizabeth Ludlow—before her marriage to Peter Temple. Allen also witnessed April 1669 deed of gift from Mary Ludlow Temple to her three children.[159]

Allen gained possession of thirty-seven acres of land in December 1675 when he and Basil Wagstaff divided the seventy-five acre tract that they purchased from Jeffrey Bew.[160] The elder William Allen died by 12 November 1677 when his widow's new husband, Abraham Ratcliffe, became the administrator of his estate. William Allen Junior gained possession of two-thirds of his father's personal property, including a "Man Servant" valued at £ 9.[161]

William Allen Junior

By early 1678/9, it was clear that Abraham Ratcliffe was not taking care of the property left to his step-son, William Allen Junior. In February of that year, the justices of the peace noted that the "small estate belonging to orphan of Mr William Allen deced is much wasted & is still wasting for want of being looked after & carefully manadged." They ordered Ralph Flowers to "outcry the orphs part for the greater improvemt & advance thereof." Flowers managed the Allen property until August 1692 when the younger William Allen turned twenty-one and petitioned the justices of the peace for possession of his tract of land.[162]

Four years later, in November 1696, Allen returned to the York County Court and again asked to have the land bequeathed to him by his father. Allen informed the justices of the peace that his mother and her third husband, William Bayley, held his father's plantation. Two years later, on 23 November 1698, William and Judith Bayley assigned "over all their right and title in a parcell of land left to Judith as relict of William Allen."[163]

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[159] See Part I. Section 1—Africans in and Around the Yorktown Area During the Seventeenth Century.
[160] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (5) 136-7, dated 10 December 1675 and recorded 10 February 1675/6.
[161] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (6) 19, 12 November 1677; ibid., p. 147, dated December 1678 and recorded [blank].
[162] Ibid., p. 77, 24 February 1678/9; York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 154, 24 August 1692.
[163] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (10) 338, 24 November 1696; York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (11) 126, dated 23 November 1698 and recorded 24 November 1698.

William Allen, a carpenter, lived on his father's plantation with his wife and their children. In the early eighteenth century, Allen gained possession of three additional tracts of land. First, on 24 May 1703, Allen purchased eighty acres of land from Robert and Mary Read. This parcel was part of the land that Read inherited from his father, George Read. Next, in February 1704/5, Allen acquired 100 acres from Thomas Flowers. This land adjoined land previously owned by the Ludlow family and was in York Old Fields. Details in the deed noted that Ralph Flowers had possession of six acres of this tract. Third, Allen gained possession of thirty-five acres in York Old Fields when he purchased the property on 24 January 1709/10 from Hugh Allen, a planter of Gloucester County.[164] In addition, on 24 June 1708, Allen bought Lot 69 from the trustees of Yorktown. He built a house on the property and retained ownership.[165]

William Allen lived in Yorkhampton Parish until his death in the summer of 1713. In his 15 June 1713 will, Allen left his land in St. Stephen's Parish in King & Queen County to his son, Hudson. However, if Hudson Allen "should not recover" the King & Queen County land, then he was to inherit the eighty-acre parcel previously owned by Robert Read and "the Plantation that I now live on." If Hudson Allen died without heirs, this property would descend to William Allen, his brother. The elder William Allen left the tract that he purchased from Thomas Flowers, the parcel of land that he bought from Hugh Allen, and Lot 69 in Yorktown to his son, William Allen. The testator left his four slaves—Mingo, Ned, Moll, and Morea—to his wife during her widowhood. If Ann Allen remarried, William Allen wanted his slaves to be divided between his widow and their four daughters. After the death of the widow Allen, the enslaved laborers were to be equally divided among their four daughters. The 1713 inventory of Allen's estate included two enslaved men, an equal number of slave women, and a mulatto boy. The widow Allen did not note their names in the list of her deceased husband's personal estate.[166]

Ann Allen

The widow Allen remained in Yorkhampton Parish after the death of her husband, William Allen. She held a life right to four slaves—Mingo, Ned, Moll, and Morea. Ann Allen acquired four additional slaves. On 19 February 1721/2, she took Dick to the York County Courthouse, and the justices determined that he was nine years old. On the same day, these men decided that an unnamed girl was twelve years of age. In September 1723, York's magistrates stated that Allen's enslaved girl Mareah was twelve. Eleven and a half years later, in March 1734/5, the widow Allen took Troy to the courthouse, and the local magistrates decided that he was thirteen-years old.[167]

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[164] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 63-5, dated and recorded 24 May 1703; ibid., pp. 120-4, dated and recorded 24 February 1704/5; ibid., pp. 336-7, dated and recorded 24 January 1709/10.
[165] Ibid., pp. 292-3, dated and recorded 24 June 1708.
[166] York County Orders and Wills (14) 279, dated 15 June 1713 and recorded 21 September 1713; ibid., pp. 291-2, recorded 16 November 1713.
[167] York County Orders and Wills (16) 108, 19 February 1721/2; ibid., p. 229, 16 September 1723; York County Wills and Inventories (18) 180, 17 March 1734/5.

Ann Allen lived in Yorkhampton Parish until her death sometime between 19 November 1750 and 18 March 1750/1. Allen bequeathed enslaved laborers to each of her living children. Her son Hudson Allen inherited a man called Bob; a man known as Quash; three boys—Sawney, Lewey, and Jimmy; and Grace, an enslaved girl. William Allen gained ownership of Young Ned, a man; an enslaved man named Sam; a boy known as Dick; Anthony, an adult male; and two females—Sary, a woman, and a girl called Little Sary. Allen's daughter, Mary Brown, became the owner of two slaves in her possession—Peter, a man, and a boy called Phil. Mary Brown also inherited two boys, Frank and Jack; a woman named Young Judy; and Moll, a girl. Ann Chapman, another one of Ann Allen's daughters, received a man called Tony; three boys—Jeffery, Tom, and Ben; Lucy, a woman; and a girl named Lucy. The widow Allen wanted her two old slaves—Old Jemmy and Old Judy—to "live with which they please of my four children." Hudson Allen and William Allen included the names of these twenty-six enslaved men, women, and children in the inventory of their mother's personal estate, but did not value these laborers.[168]

William Allen, son of William Allen Junior and Ann Allen

After the 21 September 1713 probate of his father's will, William Allen gained possession of two tracts of land in Yorkhampton Parish and Lot 69 in Yorktown. There is no evidence that Allen held slaves until October 1736 when he acquired an enslaved boy and girl from John Tildsley of King William County. Tildsley bought these slaves from Moore and Lyde. Perhaps the individuals were two slaves, Hector and Juno, whom Allen took to the York County Courthouse to have their ages adjudged. On 21 March 1736/7, the justices of the peace determined that each of these laborers was twelve years old.[169] Allen added to his labor force in 1750 and, in August of that year, took Bristol to the courthouse and York's magistrates decided that this enslaved boy was eleven years old. If he was alive two years later, in August 1752, Bristol would not have been old enough to be one of Allen's twelve tithes.[170]

In addition to acquiring a larger labor force, the younger William Allen added to his landholding. On 19 March 1743/4, Allen was described as a planter of Yorkhampton Parish when he purchased one hundred acres that adjoined his thirty-seven acre parcel from Henry Wythe. Eight years later, in July 1752, Allen acquired ninety acres in Yorkhampton Parish from John Chapman.[171] In addition, Allen tried to gain possession of a portion of the land owned by Lawrence Smith, the father of his wife, Margaret. In February 1748/9, the justices of the peace ordered Samuel Read, Thomas Reynolds, and Robert Shield Junior to determine the boundaries of the land that Margaret Smith Allen

[168] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 213-4, dated 26 October 1750 and recorded 18 March 1750/1; ibid., pp. 246-9, recorded 20 January 1752.
[169] York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 448, dated 29 October 1736 and recorded 20 June 1737; York County Wills and Inventories (18) 349b, 21 March 1736/7.
[170] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 344, 20 August 1750; York County Judgments and Orders (2) 86, 17 August 1752.
[171] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 95-7, dated and recorded 19 March 1743/4; ibid., pp. 499-502, dated 20 July 1752 and recorded 17 August 1752.

inherited from her father. These men had not surveyed the land by July 1749, and the justices of the peace discontinued the order.[172] Almost five years later, on 18 March 1754, Allen became the administrator of the estate of Margaret née Smith Allen.[173] In June of that year, Allen initiated a chancery case against Robert Smith, Samuel Read, Augustine Moore and his wife Lucy, and Lawrence Smith. The justices of the peace allowed the defendants time to answer the Allen's bill. It is likely that the parties settled this dispute out of court because the extant court records do not include the resolution of this case.[174]

In 1758, the Reverend John Camm noted that Allen had fourteen tithes in Yorkhampton Parish. Five years later, in August 1763, the justices of the peace requested that the county clerk add Allen's twelve tithes to the list of tithable laborers in the lower portion of Yorkhampton Parish. These men also wanted his 440 acres to be included in the annual list.[175] The fact that Allen held 440 acres suggests that he gained possession of the all of his father's Yorkhampton Parish property, but not any of the plantation previously owned by Lawrence Smith. Allen added to his landholding in August 1765 when he and John Elliott bought 200 acres of land in Charles Parish. Two years later, Elliott sold his portion of this property to Allen.[176]

At some point in the mid-1760s, Allen decided to move to his plantation in James City County. The 1768 Williamsburg-James City County Tax List included Allen as the owner of 200 acres in James City County. He also paid the assessment on nine tithes on this property. On 19 December 1768, Allen and his wife Martha were residents of James City County when he sold a ninety-acre parcel of Yorkhampton Parish land to Benjamin Moss Junior.[177] In 1769, Allen paid taxes on 200 acres in James City County and nine laborers over the age of sixteen.

Allen retained ownership of 350 acres of land in Yorkhampton Parish and kept enslaved laborers on this property. On 15 October 1769, one of Allen's slaves ran from his Yorkhampton plantation, and eleven days later he wrote a notice that appeared in the 2 November 1769 edition of Purdie and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*. He informed readers of the newspaper that

> RUN away from the subscriber, the 15th of last month, a Negro man named SAM, about 45 or 46 years old, of a tawney complexion, well made for strength, and had on a cotton waistcoat, osnabrug shirt, and short trousers of brown rolls. Whoever takes up the said fellow, and conveys him to me near York town, shall have 20s reward, besides what the law allows.[178]

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[172] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 169, 21 February 1748/9; ibid., p. 223, 17 July 1749.
[173] York County Judgments and Orders (2) 394, 18 March 1754.
[174] Ibid., p. 449, 17 June 1754.
[175] York County Judgments and Orders (4) 49, 15 August 1763.
[176] York County Deeds (7) 149-51, dated 19 August 1765 and recorded 16 September 1765; ibid., pp. 336-8, dated 19 March 1767 and recorded 16 November 1767.
[177] Ibid., pp. 435-6, dated and recorded 19 December 1768.
[178] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 2 November 1769.

There is no additional information about Sam.

William Allen was probably a resident of James City County when he died between 15 July 1776 and 16 July 1780. Hudson Allen inherited Allen's property in Yorkhampton Parish.[179]

Hudson Allen

Hudson Allen gained possession of land in Yorkhampton Parish after the death of William Allen between 15 July 1776 and 16 July 1780. Allen filed a claim for losses after the Siege of Yorktown. His claim included a "Dwelling House 24 by 16 with Brick Chimney" valued at £ 60; thirty-six head of cattle; fifteen head of sheep; eighteen hogs; two mares; 90,000 corn hills; fence rails, sixty bushels of wheat; 5,000 cotton hills; 2,000 potato hills; twenty bushels of Irish potatoes; thirty bushels of oats; and 200 pounds of bacon.[180] The 1784 York County Personal Property Tax List noted that Hudson Allen had twenty-six enslaved laborers on his plantation. Fifteen of the slaves were over the age of sixteen, and the remaining eleven were boys and girls. Allen would have made sure that each of his workers—including the children—had work to do each day.

Hudson Allen died by 19 December 1784, the date his will was probated in the York County Court. Allen's son, Edward Tabb Allen, became the owner of the Yorkhampton Parish land as well as a quarter of the enslaved laborers after his mother's death.[181] Three years later, in February 1787, Allen's widow, Mary, and her second husband, Lewis Charles, sold 150 acres near Yorktown to Edward Harwood.[182] In 1793, Harwood was a resident of Warwick County, transferred his title to this land to John Moss of Yorktown. The deed described the land as "part or parcel of Land which Hudson Allen lately died seized of and known by the name of York old Fields; which parcel was allotted for the Dower of Mary Charles, widow of the said Hudson Allen, deceased, being the same land which was purchased by the said Edward Harwood of Lewis Charles."[183]

[179] It is not clear if Hudson Allen was the brother or the son of William Allen.
[180] It is important to note that some of the claims filed by York County residents have been lost. The extant claims can be found in "Claims for Losses of York County Citizens in the British Invasion of 1781," (Williamsburg: Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation), Microfilm M-1.45.
[181] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 65, dated 25 September 1783 and recorded 19 December 1784.
[182] York County Deeds (6) 353-4, dated 9 February 1787 and recorded 17 September 1787.
[183] York County Deeds (7) 60, dated 16 January 1793 and recorded 21 January 1793.

Ambler's Quarter

Richard Ambler and Jaquelin Ambler

By 1739, Richard Ambler had a quarter on land near Yorktown. In April of that year, Ambler placed an advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette* concerning a slave man named Kingsale who "Ran away from a Plantation of the Subscriber's near York Town." He noted that this enslaved man was

> about Twenty Four Years of Age; is very likely, except only a Blemish on one Eye. Had on, when he went away, an Oznabrig Shirt almost new, a Cotton Jacket, and Breeches of the same, or of white Plains. It is suppos'd he will shape his Course over James River, and so to North Carolina, having been lately sent from thence. Whoever secures and conveys the said Slave to York Town aforesaid, if found on the South Side of James River, shall receive Two Pistoles Reward, besides what is allowed by Law, and reasonable Charges[.][184]

Details in the runaway slave notice suggest that Ambler had Kingsale run errands and in doing so, to travel between his Yorkhampton Parish plantation and North Carolina. Extant documents do not indicate whether Ambler regained possession of Kingsale.

It is likely that Ambler had the rest of his rural slaves tend fields on his Yorkhampton Parish plantation and watch livestock as they grazed in the meadow. Ambler no doubt had a poorly built structure on this land that served as the living and sleeping space for his enslaved laborers.

Jacquelin Ambler gained possession of this property after the 1766 death of his father and he no doubt continued to have enslaved laborers produce food for his urban household on this plantation. Seven years later, in 1773, Ambler decided to sell some land in Yorkhampton Parish. He announced the sale in December of that year of

> about one Hundred Acres of cleared high Land, and about sixteen Acres of exceeding good Meadow, making together a very square compact Parcel of Land, and will make a convenient little Farm for any Gentleman residing here, as it does not exceed two Miles and a Half from Town.[185]

The notation of "Ambler's Quarter" on several Revolutionary Era maps suggests that Ambler did not sell this plantation before the war started. However, it is likely that he found a purchaser for this land soon after the Siege of Yorktown. Ambler did not appear as the owner of 116 acres of land on the 1784 York County Land Tax List.

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[184] *Virginia Gazette*, 6 April 1739.
[185] Ibid., Purdie and Dixon, eds., 9 December 1773

Buckner-Powell Plantation

William Buckner Senior

In 1704, William Buckner Senior, a Yorktown merchant, held 302 ½ acres of land near the town. Three years later, in 1707, Buckner added to his landholding when he purchased an unspecified number of acres in Yorkhampton Parish from William Davis, a planter of Yorkhampton Parish.[186] In early 1708/9, Buckner purchased twenty-nine acres that adjoined Yorktown from John Smith of Gloucester County. The deed also included 2/3 of two lots in Yorktown. The property that Buckner acquired was part of the land that Mildred Warner, mother-in-law of John Lewis, received from her brother, Thomas Read.[187] Buckner entered into another deed with a resident of Gloucester County. On 16 July 1711, John Lewis and his wife Elizabeth sold Buckner one acre of land that was located just below the Yorktown Creek. According to the terms of the deed, Buckner was to build a windmill, keep the windmill in good repair for at least seven years, and to grind twelve barrels of Indian corn per year for Lewis.[188]

William Buckner lived on his Yorktown property until his death by early January 1715/6. In his will, Buckner left "all my houses & Land in York Town with my Tract or parcel of Land on the other side the Creek where my Plantation now is" to his son and namesake. He gave the executors of his estate permission to "Lett my house & Orchard in York Town until my Son William comes of Age." In order to make it easier for appraisers to value his possessions, Buckner decided "this Rule shall be observed, to wit, for Every Negro which at that time belonged to the Estate (besides sucking Children wch shall be reckoned with their mother) Reckon or Count so many Twenty Two pounds Sterl." The 1716 inventory of Buckner's personal estate included seventeen enslaved "Men, Women & Children at the home house." Unfortunately, the appraisers did not note whether all of these slaves lived on Buckner's Yorktown property or if some of the laborers worked on his nearby plantations in Yorkhampton Parish. In addition, Buckner had five enslaved men, an equal number of slave women, and eleven children on his estate "in Potomack."[189]

William Buckner Junior

William Buckner Junior reached adulthood and served a short time as a York County justice of

[186] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 274-5, dated 6 November 1707 and recorded 24 March 1707/8.
[187] Ibid., pp. 314-5, dated and recorded 24 February 1708/9. Madam Mildred Warner, daughter of George and Elizabeth Read, bought land from her brother, Thomas Read. The next owner of this property was Warner's son, Robert. After Robert Warner's death, his real estate was divided among three heirs—John Lewis, John Washington, and John Smith.
[188] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 374-5, dated and recorded 16 July 1711. See Yorktown Windmill.
[189] York County Orders and Wills (14) 513-4, recorded 21 May 1716; York County Orders and Wills (15) 29, dated 1716 and recorded 20 August 1716; ibid., p. 145, dated 13 December 1716 and recorded 15 July 1717.

the peace. He died in 1722 and left his Yorktown lots and land in Yorkhampton Parish to John Buckner, his younger brother.[190] In addition, John Buckner gained possession of the Yorktown property previously owned by their father.

John Buckner

In 1722, John Buckner inherited a plantation near Yorktown, the site of the Yorktown Windmill, and lots in Yorktown after the death of his brother. In addition, he became the owner of slaves who labored in Yorktown as well as on plantations in Yorkhampton Parish and on the Potomac River in Stafford County. Buckner no doubt continued to have enslaved men, women, and children work on his Yorkhampton Parish property and land in Stafford County.

John Buckner moved to Stafford County between 14 February 1746/7 and his 1748 death. Both Buckner's will and the inventory of his estate were recorded in the Stafford County Court. It is known that Buckner bequeathed his Yorktown lots, York County plantation, and the windmill to his nephew, Griffin Stith of Northampton County.[191]

Griffin Stith

In 1748, Griffin Stith was a resident of Northampton County when he inherited a Yorkhampton Parish plantation, the Yorktown Windmill, and lots in Yorktown from his uncle, John Buckner. Three years later, in late 1751, Stith decided to lease the Yorkhampton plantation to Seymour Powell, a Yorktown ordinary keeper.[192] Powell agreed to rent the land that Stith inherited from John Buckner for the term of five years. The annual payment was £ 10.[193] It is possible that Powell renewed his lease after its expiration date. In late 1772, Stith sold the 330-acre Buckner plantation to Powell.[194]

Seymour Powell and Jane Powell

In late 1751, tavern keeper Seymour Powell agreed to lease a plantation near Yorktown from Griffin Stith for five years. Powell paid the sum of £ 10 to Stith each year. Perhaps Powell wanted to have a place where livestock could graze and where he could have slaves grow the vegetables, herbs, and grains that could be used in the meals served to his guests at his tavern on Lot 37.[195]

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[190] York County Orders and Wills (16) 172-3, dated 8 7ber [September] [1722] and recorded 17 December 1722. See Yorktown Windmill.
[191] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 479-80, dated 1 November 1751 and recorded 18 May 1752.
[192] See Part I.—Section 9. Lot 37.
[193] Powell did not have access to the houses that were in the possession of Benjamin Moss. York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 479-80, dated 1 November 1751 and recorded 18 May 1752.
[194] York County Deeds (8) 286-8, dated 18 December 1772 and recorded [torn] 1773.
[195] See Part I.—Section 9. Lot 37.

It is possible that Powell renewed his lease after its expiration date. In late 1772, Powell purchased the 330-acre Buckner plantation from Stith. He added this property to the 230 acres that he already owned.[196] Powell was an inhabitant of Yorktown when he died in the spring of 1782. He gave his wife a life right to his land in Yorkhampton Parish, ten slaves, and livestock. In addition, Powell let Jane have "the use of my house at the water side in York Town until she can build a house & prepaire proper conveniences on the land lent to her which houses are then to e sold for the most they will yield." Powell also wanted the rest of his slaves to be sold. The October 1782 inventory of Powell's estate included thirteen enslaved laborers: Jack (£ 70), Frank (£ 100), Emanuel (£ 60), Sharper (£ 40), Jack (£ 30), Dinah (£ 20), Hannah (£ 40), Nanny (£ 25), Celia (£ 40), Sall (£ 60), Kitty (£ 60), Pegg (£ 50), and Fanny (£ 40).[197] The widow Powell held the land adjoining Yorktown until 4 October 1790, when she sold 443 acres on the south side of the main road to Williamsburg to William Goosley. The parcel included land that Powell purchased from Griffin Stith and Armistead Lightfoot.[198]

William Goosley

In early October 1790, William Goosley bought 443 acres in Yorkhampton Parish from Jane Powell.

See Fusiliers' Redoubt and the French Position West of Fusiliers' Redoubt.

[196] York County Deeds (8) 64-7, dated 11 July 1770 and recorded 20 August 1770. In 1764, Armistead and Ann Lightfoot sold Powell part of a 300-acre tract that he acquired from John Norton. This land adjoined William Harris deceased, John Baptist deceased, Edward Baptist, Edward Potter deceased, Matthew Ballard deceased, William Lightfoot Esquire, and Griffin Stith. Norton bought part of the land from William Vines, another portion from Robert Ballard, and a small bit of swamp land from Griffin Stith. York County Deeds (7) 52-4, dated and recorded 20 August 1764.
It is possible that there was a slave quarter on this parcel because the grand jury presented Armistead Lightfoot for not keeping an overseer on his plantation in 1768. Planters were required to have an overseer if they had slaves on their property. York County Judgments and Orders (1) 1, 16 May 1768.
[197] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 534-5, dated 6 January 1776 and recorded 20 May 1782; ibid., pp. 546-8, dated October 1782 and recorded 21 October 1782.
[198] York County Deeds (6) 446-7, dated 4 October 1790 and recorded 18 October 1790. This deed noted that Powell purchased land from Stith in 1779 and from Lightfoot in 1776—these dates are incorrect.

Fusiliers' Redoubt and the French Position West of Fusiliers' Redoubt

John Lewis Senior and John Lewis Junior of Gloucester County

In 1704, John Lewis of Gloucester County held 300 acres of land that adjoined the York River, Ballard's Creek, and William Buckner's plantation. Lewis was the husband of Elizabeth, the daughter of Augustine and Mildred Warner and the granddaughter of George and Elizabeth Read. It is possible that Lewis received this tract of land from one of his brothers-in-law.

Lewis retained ownership of 299 acres of the 300-acre tract on the south side of the York River until his 1725 death.[199] This plantation passed to his son and namesake. The younger John Lewis might have continued his father's practice of using the land to provide food for his enslaved laborers. On 9 April 1746, he decided to sell 114 acres of this tract to William Lightfoot Senior, son of Philip Lightfoot.[200]

William Lightfoot Senior and William Lightfoot Junior

In April 1746, William Lightfoot Senior purchased 114 acres near Yorktown from John Lewis Junior of Gloucester County. Sometime between April 1749 and August 1751, the elder William Lightfoot moved his family from Yorktown to his Charles City County plantation. Lightfoot retained ownership of his rural land in Yorkhampton Parish. On a 1753 visit to York's port, Lightfoot purchased two recently imported Aficans. In July of that year, the justices of the peace decided that William Lightfoot's slaves, Robinson Cruso and Fryday, were both eleven years old.[201] It is possible that Lightfoot had these two boys stay in the Yorktown area and work on his plantation.

William Lightfoot Senior died in 1765, and his will was recorded in the General Court. His son, William, became the next owner of the 114-acre plantation near the York River. In March 1786, the younger William Lightfoot, an inhabitant of Charles City County, sold this tract to William Goosley of Yorktown.[202]

William Goosley

In March 1786, William Goosley bought 114 acres near Yorktown from William Lightfoot Junior. Goosley, the son of Ephraim and Martha Goosley, was a mariner and a merchant who lived in Yorktown. During the latter part of the 1780s, Goosley had

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[199] On 16 July 1711, John Lewis and his wife Elizabeth sold William Buckner one acre of land that was located just below the Yorktown Creek. According to the terms of the deed, Buckner was to build a windmill, keep the windmill in good repair for at least seven years, and to grind twelve barrels of Indian corn per year for Lewis. York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 374-5, dated and recorded 16 July 1711.

[200] The deed from John Lewis Junior to William Lightfoot Senior is mentioned in York County Deeds (6) 341-2, dated 13 March 1786 and recorded 15 May 1786.

[201] York County Judgments and Orders (2) 261, 16 July 1753.

[202] York County Deeds (6) 341-2, dated 13 March 1786 and recorded 15 May 1786.

financial problems, and on 16 November 1789, he mortgaged the 114-acre tract previously held by William Lightfoot as well as his Yorktown lots, 114 acres purchased from Raleigh Colston, and 110-acre parcel bought from the executors of Thomas Nelson to George Wilson.[203] Goosley met the terms of the mortgage and retained ownership of the property. In October 1790, Goosley gained possession of the 443-acre Yorkhampton Parish plantation previously owned by Seymour Powell and his widow, Jane Powell.[204]

Goosley owned enslaved laborers as early as August 1779 when his six tithes were to be added to the list of taxable workers in Yorkhampton Parish.[205] It is possible that this merchant gained possession of a slave man named Tom after the 1780 death of his mother, Martha Goosley. The February 1780 inventory of Martha Goosley's estate included a "Negro fellow Tom."[206] In 1787, Goosley hired two slaves—Frank and Ausey—from the estate of John Goodwin for the sum of £ 33.10.0. Two years later, Goosley paid Goodwin's estate £ 10.10 for another year of Ausey's labor.[207]

It is likely that Goosley held this property at the time of his death in 1810. In his will, Goosley left all of his real and personal estate to his wife, Ludwell, during her lifetime. The July 1810 inventory of Goosley's estate indicates that he held slaves who could have worked on the plantation. It is clear that the enslaved man designated as "Quarter Will" ($ 150) labored on Goosley's rural land and that "House Will" ($ 150) was a domestic slave. The appraisers did not include details about the location where this merchant's other fifteen slaves—George ($ 160), Ned ($ 20), David ($ 300), Jammy ($ 334), Moses ($ 334), Toney ($ 340), Cole ($ 334), Harry ($ 270), Mary ($ 250), Hercules ($ 260), Tom ($ 20), Sall and child ($ 334), Ceasar ($ 300), and Betty ($ 100)—worked. Appraisers listed oxen, cattle, horses, scythes and cradles, ploughs, hoes, axes, carpenters tools, cotton, corn, bacon, and barley.[208]

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[203] York County Deeds (6) 418-9, dated 16 November 1789 and recorded 21 December 1789.
[204] Ibid., pp. 446-7, dated 4 October 1790 and recorded 18 October 1790. See Buckner-Powell Plantation.
[205] York County Order Book (4) 230, 16 August 1779.
[206] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 465, dated 7 June 1779 and recorded 17 January 1780; ibid., pp. 493-4, dated 5 February 1780 and recorded 17 July 1780.
[207] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 212-7, recorded 21 June 1790.
[208] Ibid., p. 768, dated 12 February 1803, codicil dated 16 July 1803, and recorded 18 June 1810; ibid., pp. 819-20, dated 3 July 1810 and recorded 15 July 1811.

The Moore House and Adjoining Rural Land Owned by the Smith and Moore Families

Lawrence Smith, son of Lawrence Smith Senior of Gloucester County

In 1703, Lawrence Smith inherited 1,700 acres on the south side of the York River from his father, Lawrence Smith Senior of Gloucester County.[209] Smith made his home on this plantation for the remainder of his life. During the seventeenth century, Smith's land was known first as Ludlow's Land and then as Temple Farm.[210]

Although he never lived in Yorktown, the younger Smith supported the town. He acquired two lots from the Yorktown trustees—Lot 53 on 10 February 1706/7 and Lot 72 in November 1708.[211] It is likely that Smith rented Lots 53 and 72 to tenants during the time that he owned these parcels. In addition, Smith held Lots 73, 74, and 83—the half-acre tracts that his second wife, Mildred nee Read Goodwin, inherited after the death of her brother, Thomas.[212] Smith also served as a trustee of Yorktown after the 1711 death of Thomas Ballard. In the fall of the same year, 1711, Smith submitted a claim to the York County justices of the peace for palisades used to construct the fortifications of Yorktown.[213]

Smith managed the work of the slaves who labored on his plantation. It is likely that he inherited enslaved men, women, and children from his father. In addition, Smith's first wife, Mildred (daughter of Thomas Chisman Senior and his wife, Elizabeth née Read Chisman), probably owned slaves at the time of their marriage. Mildred Smith gained possession of a slave in January 1686/7 after the death of her grandmother. Elizabeth Read bequeathed an enslaved girl named Murriah to Mildred.[214] When the elder Thomas Chisman wrote his will in January 1710/1, he left a slave boy known as Will to his daughter, Mildred Smith. Although it is unknown if Mildred Smith survived her father, it is possible that Smith gained possession of a slave boy known as Will in July 1715 when his father-in-law's will was probated.[215]

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[209] The elder Lawrence Smith wrote his will on 8 August 1700. It was probated in Gloucester County in 1703. On 16 June 1703, John Smith (son of Lawrence Smith Senior of Gloucester County and brother of Lawrence Smith) relinquished his claim to the York County land in the possession of his brother, Lawrence. York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 70-3, dated 16 June 1703 and recorded 24 June 1703.
[210] See Part I. Section 1—Africans in and Around the Yorktown Area During the Seventeenth Century.
[211] York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 227-8, dated 10 February 1706/7 and recorded 24 February 1706/7; York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (2) 309-10, dated and recorded 24 November 1708. See Part I. Section 9—Lot 53 and Lot 72.
[212] See Part I. Section 9—Lot 73, Lot 74, and Lot 83. In February 1738/9, Smith had possession of four Yorktown lots. York County Wills and Inventories (18) 478-9, 23 February 1738/9.
[213] York County Orders and Wills (14) 113, 13 October 1711.
[214] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (7) 257-9, dated 10 February 1685/6 and recorded 24 January 1686/7.
[215] York County Orders and Wills (14) 435, dated 21 January 1710/1 and recorded 18 July 1715.

Lawrence Smith's second wife, Mildred née Read Goodwin, held both slaves and an indentured free black boy when they married.[216] In early 1712/3, Mildred Read inherited a man named Peter; a "servant boy named James Hanson bound by ye Churchwardens to serve" until he was thirty-one years old; a woman named Bridget and any children she might bear from her father, Robert Read.[217] In June 1718, Mildred Read's first husband, James Goodwin, took a slave boy named Tom to the York County Court. The justices of the peace determined that Tom was twelve years old.[218]

James Goodwin died by 16 November 1719. The inventory of Goodwin's estate included woman named Sarah (£ 25), a man called Will (£ 26), a girl known as Mary (£ 5), a man known as Quando (£ 32), a boy named Tom (£ 29), and a "mulatto boy named James Hancell" whom the appraisers valued at £ 18.[219] When Goodwin's estate was divided, Mildred Goodwin Smith gained possession of one-third of the five slaves who were valued at a total of £ 117.[220] The inventory did not include Peter, the enslaved man whom Mildred inherited from her father. Sometime before his death, Goodwin sold Peter to Robert Philipson. After Goodwin's death, Mildred Goodwin failed in her attempt to recover this slave.[221]

As the owner of slaves, Lawrence Smith helped to support the institution of slavery. In October 1710, Smith captured an enslaved man who escaped from David Bray's James City County plantation.[222] Smith also served as a justice for two oyer and terminer trials. In September 1715, Smith helped to convict Henry (the property of Mary Read), Sam (the slave of William Buckner), and Guy (held by Edward Powers) of breaking into the Yorktown house of Richard Cary and stealing money and goods. In January of the following year, Smith was one of the magistrates who determined that Harry, a slave owned by John Hawkins, was not guilty of murdering Harry, an enslaved man held by William Trotter.[223]

Almost fourteen years later, in May 1730, Smith took up another runaway slave. Smith told the justices of the peace that he found Tom, a slave who belonged to Starkey Moore of Charles Parish, more than ten miles from his owner's plantation.[224] In December of the same year, Smith helped to determine that Martin, a slave belonging to Thomas Bray, should receive thirty-nine lashes in Yorktown and the same number in Williamsburg as

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[216] Mildred Read married James Goodwin by 21 May 1718 and Lawrence Smith Junior by 20 February 1720/1. See also Part I. Section 9—Lot 53 and Lot 72.
[217] York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (14) 241-3, dated 30 December 1712 and recorded 16 March 1712/3. See Part I. Section 1—Africans in and Around the Yorktown Area During the Seventeenth Century.
[218] York County Orders and Wills (15) 276, 16 June 1718.
[219] Ibid., pp. 554-5, ordered 16 November 1719 and recorded 15 February 1719[/20]. James Hanson became the property of John Goodwin for the remainder of his indenture. See Part I. Section 5—Free Blacks in Yorktown and the Yorktown Area, 1680s to 1783.
[220] York County Orders and Wills (16) 34, 20 March 1720/1.
[221] York County Orders and Wills (15) 567, 21 March 1719/20.
[222] York County Orders and Wills (14) 37, 5 October 1710.
[223] Ibid., pp. 453, 19 September 1715; ibid., p. 474, 24 January 1715/6.
[224] York County Orders and Wills (17) 74, 18 May 1730.

punishment for stealing.[225] In his final service as a justice of the oyer and terminer court, Smith helped to convict Pompey, a slave owned by Margaret Gordon of Yorktown, of theft and to decide that Pompey would have the letter "T" burned on his left hand and receive thirty-nine lashes on his bare back as punishment.[226]

Smith also had some problems managing his own enslaved laborers. In January 1727/8, a man named John Medeson informed members of the York County Court that he took up two runaway slaves "who would not or could not declare their Masters name or abode and therefore were sent to the publick Goal at Williamsburgh." It was determined that the escaped men belonged to Lawrence Smith.[227] Two years later, in September 1730, two of Smith's slaves clashed on his plantation. Evidence indicated that Will, with "malice aforethought," did assault Peg, another slave owned by Smith. Will "with a piece of Iron and then and there the sd Pegg did strike giving to the sd Pegg one mortal wound on the back part of the head, whereby the skull of the sd Pegg was broken of which wound she instantly died." The justices decided that Will was guilty and that he "ought to suffer death, and thereupon do award that he be remanded to prison and from thence conveyed on the 17th instant [17 October] to the place of Execution there to be hanged." York County's officials valued Will at £ 5, a sum that indicates he was either old or incapable of performing a full day of work.[228]

Lawrence Smith Junior made his home on his plantation on the York River until his death on 24 February 1738/9.[229] He left his wife Mildred the

> neck of Land whereon I now live from the mouth of Wormeleys Creek up the River to my Pasture fence which now is along the said fence to the Pasture Gate that now is and from thence South two degrees West to the Mill Swamp during her natural Life and then to my son Robert Smith and his Heirs for Ever.

Smith gave his namesake, Lawrence, one parcel or moiety of land lying on the other side of the creek where the mill now stands and up the southernmost branch of the Mill Pond commonly called Flower's Branch. This parcel was known as Miller's Hill, and it contained about one hundred acres. The younger Lawrence Smith also gained possession of Lot 72 in Yorktown and another parcel within the same patent that adjoined the Wormley plantation and ran down the Brook Swamp to Chisman's land. This tract was 300 acres in size. His third son, Edmund, received "all the remaining tract of the Land within the same patent formerly known by the name of Ludlows patent." Smith decided to leave his mill to his three sons and his wife during her widowhood. If Mildred Smith remarried, Lawrence Smith wanted his son to have equal shares in the mill with his "old Negro Jimmy." Edmund Smith also gained possession of all the slaves "that I have formerly possessed."[230]

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[225] Ibid., p. 134, 22 December 1730.
[226] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 337-8, 31 January 1736/7.
[227] York County Orders and Wills (16) 501, 22 January 1727/8.
[228] York County Orders and Wills (17) 112, 14 October 1730.
[229] *Virginia Gazette*, 2 March 1738/9.
[230] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 487-8, dated 17 March 1736/7 and recorded 19 March 1738/9.

On 18 June 1739, Mildred Smith returned an inventory of her deceased husband's personal estate to the York County Court. Smith owned fourteen enslaved men—Mingo, Frank, Dick, Sam, Sammy, Jack, Jimmy, George, Quando, Robin, Ned, Frank, Harry, and Charles. Four women worked on Smith's property—Bridget, Hannah, Sue, and Sarah. There were fifteen enslaved children on the Smith plantation. The nine boys included Davy, Phil, Travan, Paul, Frank, Joe, Tom, Johnny, and Robin. Cate, Amy, Grace, Betty, Pegg, and Beck were the six girls. The notation of "50 Ells ozn" and "1 doz. Negro rugs" indicates that Smith ordered material to make clothes for his slaves and rugs for their quarters before his death.

Smith's slaves grew tobacco on his land. The estate inventory listed fifteen hogsheads of tobacco shipped to England in 1738 and eleven hogsheads sent across the Atlantic in 1739. Enslaved men and boys tended the livestock—111 cattle, 147 hogs, thirty-five sheep, eight horses, five mares, and four colts. At least one male slave used the cooper's tools to make barrels and another man drove the carriage. The female slaves cooked, tended the kitchen garden, and spun.[231]

Mildred née Read Goodwin Smith

The widow Smith gained a life right to her husband's Yorkhampton Parish plantation and to an unspecified number of slaves. It is likely that she continued to have the labor of Bridget, a female slave whom she inherited from her father, Robert Read. It is known that the widow Smith added one slave to her household. On 19 November 1753, the justices of the peace determined that her slave Chloe was a fourteen-year old girl.[232]

Mildred née Read Goodwin Smith died between 10 December 1753 (the date she wrote her will) and 21 January 1754 (the date her will was probated in the York County Court). The widow Smith left Lot 74, adjoining the property of Thomas Reynolds, to her son Robert; Lot 83 on Main Street to her daughter, Lucy Moore; and Lot 73 to her son, Lawrence. She also bequeathed five slaves—Frank, Paul, Harry, Grace, and Chloe—to the younger Lawrence Smith. The inventory of Mildred Smith's estate included the appraised values of her five slaves: Frank £ 40, Paul £ 45, Harry £ 40, Grace, £ 40, and Chloe £ 35.[233]

Part of Lawrence Smith's estate was settled after his wife's death. Based on details in the account of Captain William Allen with the estate of Lawrence Smith, the children whom Mildred née Read Goodwin Smith bore—Margaret, Catherine, Robert, Lucy, and Lawrence—gained possession of some enslaved laborers after her husband's death. Smith's estate owed Allen money for the tobacco and corn produced "the Year the Negros were Workt together after his Marriage" to Margaret Smith. In addition, Allen owed Smith's estate £ 3 "the amount of Negros more than his part" and £ 4 to the estate

[231] Ibid., pp. 504-5, recorded 18 June 1739.
[232] York County Judgments and Orders (2) 330, 19 November 1753.
[233] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 309, dated 10 December 1753 and recorded 21 January 1754; ibid., pp. 336-7, recorded 19 August 1754.

of Mildred Smith "for Rent of her Land the Year the Negros were Workt together after his Marriage and for hire of Negro Quando." Allen also paid £ 5.8.3 ½ for "his 1/6 part of the Charges expended in a Law Suit about Negros the whole £ 32.9.9."[234]

Edmund Smith and Agnes née Sclater Smith

Edmund Smith, the son of Lawrence Smith and Mildred née Chisman Smith, married Agnes Sclater by 1730. Agnes was the daughter of Richard and Mary Sclater, residents of Charles Parish. It is likely that Agnes Sclater owned slaves when she and Edmund Smith married. In November 1718, Richard Sclater bequeathed a slave woman named Phillis and her youngest child to his daughter Agnes.[235] Almost nine years later, in May 1727, Agnes inherited an enslaved woman known as Esther and any children that she might bear, from her uncle, William Sheldon.[236] It is possible that the Smiths did not have possession of the legacy from Richard Sclater until March 1730/1 when Edmund Smith petitioned for his wife's share of her father's estate.[237] In addition to the slaves whom Agnes Smith inherited, Edmund Smith managed the labor of slaves bequeathed to two of his children. In February 1734/5, Lawrence Smith inherited a girl named Nanny from Jane Moore, and Mildred Smith gained possession of an enslaved girl known as Sue from Moore who described herself as "kin" to the Smiths.[238]

It is likely that Edmund Smith and his family lived on a portion of Temple Farm before he inherited this property from his father, Lawrence Smith in March 1738/9. Edmund Smith also gained possession of all the slaves that his father "formerly possessed."[239] He added one laborer—an enslaved boy named Frank—to his labor force. In December 1742, the York County justices of the peace determined that Frank was twelve years old.[240] Smith remained on his Yorkhampton Parish plantation until the time of his death between 13 December 1750 and 18 March 1750/1. Smith bequeathed his rural land to his son, Lawrence. He left Yorktown Lot 53 and a slave girl named Grace to his daughter, Mildred. Another daughter, Mary, gained possession of a slave girl known as Peg.[241]

The 1751 inventory of Edmund Smith's estate included twenty-two slaves—a man named Harry (£ 40), a man known as Jack (£ 45), a man called Frank (£ 35), a man Tom (£ 35), a woman named Esther (£ 30), a female known as Old Esther (£ 2), a boy called Charles (£ 35), a boy known as Paul (£ 35), an adult female called Hannah (£ 40), a

[234] Ibid., p. 354, dated 18 January 1755 and recorded 17 March 1755. See also Allen Plantation.
[235] York County Orders and Wills (15) 350-2, dated 7 November 1718 and recorded 17 November 1718.
[236] York County Orders and Wills (16) 456-7, dated 7 April 1727 and recorded 15 May 1727.
[237] York County Orders and Wills (17) 159, 15 March 1730/1.
[238] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 178, dated 19 April 1733 and recorded 17 February 1734[/5].
[239] After assigning sections of the land to his sons Lawrence and Robert, the elder Smith left "all the remaining tract of the Land within the same patent formerly known by the name of Ludlows patent" to his son, Edmund. York County Wills and Inventories (18) 487-8, dated 17 March 1736/7 and recorded 19 March 1738/9. There is no evidence that Smith made his home on Lot 53 in Yorktown. See Part I.—Section 9. Lot 53.
[240] York County Wills and Inventories (19) 137, 20 December 1742.
[241] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 212-3, dated 13 December 1750 and recorded 18 March 1750/1.

woman known as little Hannah (£ 40), a girl named Grace (£ 25), a girl known as Jenny (£ 12), a boy named Aaron (£ 25), a girl called Peg (£ 20), a boy known as Ben (£ 15), a boy called Phill (£ 12), a girl named Pleasant (£ 8), a man called Will (£ 28), a man named Pompey (£ 40), an adult male called Ben (£ 40), an old woman named Peg (£ 5), and a boy known as Matt (£ 25). Like his father, Edmund Smith had his male slaves tend his livestock—cows, calves, draft steers, bulls, horses, sheep, sows, pigs, and shoats. Perhaps one of the men tanned the leather listed among Smith's possessions. Female slaves spun, cooked, churned butter, and made cider.[242]

Agnes Smith continued to live on a portion of Temple Farm after her husband's death. In October 1754, the justices of the peace added her thirteen tithes to the list of taxable laborers in lower Yorkhampton Parish.[243] Four years later, the widow Smith's labor force numbered fifteen when the Reverend John Camm recorded his list of tithables in Yorkhampton Parish. This is the last reference in extant documents to Agnes Smith.

Lawrence Smith, son of Edmund Smith and Agnes née Sclater Smith

In early 1734/5, Lawrence Smith, son of Edmund Smith and Agnes née Sclater Smith, inherited an enslaved girl named Nanny from Jane Moore of Yorkhampton Parish. It is likely that Nanny joined the labor force on the plantation owned by Smith's father, Edmund Smith.[244] When Edmund Smith's will was probated on 18 March 1750/1, Lawrence Smith inherited a portion of the property known as Ludlow's Land and enslaved laborers.[245]

In January 1753, Lawrence Smith began a seven-year apprenticeship with David Jameson, a Yorktown merchant and the husband of his sister, Mildred. Jameson agreed to teach Smith merchandising and bookkeeping.[246] During his apprenticeship, it is likely that Smith spent much of his time in Yorktown. Smith retained possession of his Yorkhampton Parish land and no doubt had enslaved laborers continue to tend fields of tobacco and corn and areas where livestock grazed. After his mother's death, Smith inherited half of his father's enslaved men, women, and children.

Following the conclusion of his apprenticeship in early 1760, Smith entered into a business partnership with David Jameson. In the summer of 1763, Smith purchased Yorktown Lot 83 from Augustine Moore, the husband of Lucy née Smith Moore.[247] It is likely that Smith and his family lived in a house on Lot 83. Smith's partner, Jameson, had a warehouse on Lot 120 and the partners no doubt used this structure to store goods.[248] In 1771, the Smith family included the merchant, his wife Elizabeth, and at

[242] Ibid., pp. 232-4, recorded 16 September 1751.
[243] York County Judgments and Orders (2) 498, 21 October 1754.
[244] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 178, dated 19 April 1733 and recorded 17 February 1734[/5].
[245] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 212-3, dated 13 December 1750 and recorded 18 March 1750/1.
[246] York County Deeds and Bonds (5) 526, dated and recorded 15 January 1753.
[247] York County Deeds (6) 535-7, dated 18 July 1763 and recorded 15 August 1763. See Part I.—Section 9. Lot 83.
[248] See Part I. Section 9—Lot 120.

least one daughter. On 27 August 1771, Smith conveyed two enslaved girls, Betty and Beck who were the children of a mulatto woman named China, to his daughter, Mildred.[249]

The partnership between Smith and Jameson expired on 1 April 1771, and Smith decided to operate his own store in Yorktown. He also requested that the patrons pay any debts that they owed to the store previously operated by Smith and Jameson.[250] This request for payment was not the only time that Smith would have financial difficulties. In December 1771, Smith and his wife Elizabeth sold seventy-two acres of land to General Thomas Nelson.[251] Six and a half years later, Smith again asked his customers to pay their debts.[252] In January 1779, the Smiths sold a tract that contained 127 acres to General Nelson.[253] On the same day, General Nelson and his wife Lucy sold a parcel of 169 acres to Smith. The deed noted that Smith was a resident of Yorktown.[254]

Extant documents do not indicate where Smith and his family spent the Siege of Yorktown. It is clear, however, that his property was damaged. After the Siege of Yorktown, Lawrence Smith Junior filed a claim for losses from his urban lot and his rural plantation.[255] The younger Smith noted that he lost nine slaves: two nineteen-year old boys, Will and Dick, both valued at £ 100; a fifty-year old man named Harry whom Smith valued at £ 60; Humphrey, a man of twenty-six years, valued at £ 100; two wenches—Phillis a thirty-six year old worth £ 60 and twenty-year old Hannah who was valued at £ 90. Next, Smith listed Nelson a boy of close to twelve years. Smith valued Nelson at £ 50. Smith did not include the names of the last two slaves whom he lost: a two-year old child worth £ 10 and a one-year old child worth just £ 5.

In May 1784, Lawrence and Elizabeth Smith sold Yorktown Lot 83 to Abraham Archer.[256] Perhaps Smith transferred the lot to Archer in order to raise some money. On 19 October 1787, Smith mortgaged 500 acres of land and nineteen slaves—Mary, Frankey, Jack, Betty, Moll, Sally, Polly, Robin, Nanny, Charles, Lewis, James, Spencer, Peter, Kate, Carpenter Phil, Crager, Rose, and Phillis—to David Jameson. Smith entered into the mortgage to secure payment of debts due to Smith and Jameson's former company as well as to Lawrence Smith and Company.[257]

Lawrence Smith Junior lived on his Yorkhampton Parish plantation at the time of his death. In his will dated 7 July 1787 and recorded 15 December 1788, Smith wrote "I direct that all my Lands be sold toward the discharge of my Debts after all my just Debts are paid I Lend whatever may be Left of my Estate to my beloved wife Elizabeth so long as she continues my widow in order to build a House to live in and toward the

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[249] York County Deeds (8) 156, dated 27 August 1771 and recorded 16 September 1771.
[250] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 14 February 1771; ibid., Rind, ed., 2 May 1771.
[251] York County Deeds (8) 205-7, dated 28 December 1771 and recorded 16 March 1772.
[252] *Virginia Gazette*, Dixon, ed., 10 July 1778.
[253] York County Deeds (6) 29-30, dated 12 January 1779 and recorded 15 February 1779.
[254] Ibid., pp. 41-2, dated 12 January 1779 and recorded 19 April 1779.
[255] "Claims for Losses of York County Citizens in the British Invasion of 1781."
[256] York County Deeds (6) 256-7, dated 30 May 1784 and recorded 18 January 1785.
[257] Ibid., pp. 366-7, dated 19 October 1787 and recorded 21 April 1788.

maintenance of my three youngest children." After the death of his wife, Smith asked to have his estate divided among his living children and the descendants of any child who died before his mother.[258] Elizabeth Smith renounced her deceased husband's will and refused to accept the legacy that he left her.[259] The inventory of Smith's estate included Bob a man valued at £ 60; Hannah a woman worth £ 5; Crager (£ 40); Frankey (£ 50); Easter (£ 30); Peter (£ 50); Dick (£ 60); David (£ 60); Phill (£ 50); Frank (£ 30); Rose and two children—Polly and Fanny (£ 75); Chloe and her three children—Grace, Jenny, and Milly (£ 85); Betty (£ 45), Cate (£ 10), Nanny (£ 15), Charles (£ 50), and Suckey (£ 40). The appraisers determined that "Mollator Hannah" was worth "Nothing."[260]

Extant documents indicate that Smith's executor, Thomas Smith, sold some of his land. On 18 April 1789, Thomas Smith conveyed two tracts of land to David Jameson. One parcel contained 169 acres that Lawrence Smith purchased from General Thomas Nelson. The size of the second tract was not specified.[261]

Lawrence Smith, son of Lawrence Smith and Mildred née Read Goodwin Smith

When his father Lawrence Smith died on 24 February 1738/9, Lawrence Smith gained possession of 400 acres of land in Yorkhampton Parish. The first parcel, Miller's Hill, contained one hundred acres. This tract of land began on the other side of the creek where the mill stood and went up the southernmost branch of the Mill Pond commonly called Flower's Branch. The younger Lawrence Smith also gained possession of Lot 72 in Yorktown and a second 300-acre parcel that adjoined the Wormley plantation and ran down the Brook Swamp to Chisman's land.[262]

Lawrence Smith inherited additional property after the death of his mother, Mildred née Read Goodwin Smith between 10 December 1753 (the date she wrote her will) and 21 January 1754 (the date her will was probated in the York County Court). The widow Smith left Lot 73 to her son Lawrence. She also bequeathed five slaves—Frank, Paul, Harry, Grace, and Chloe—to the younger Lawrence Smith. The inventory of Mildred Smith's estate included the appraised values of her five slaves: Frank £ 40, Paul £ 45, Harry £ 40, Grace, £ 40, and Chloe £ 35.[263] Frank, Paul, Harry, and Grace were among the slaves listed in the 1739 inventory of Lawrence Smith's estate. Chloe was the enslaved girl whom his mother acquired in November 1753.

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[258] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 167, dated 7 July 1787 and recorded 15 December 1788.
[259] York County Deeds (6) 406, 15 December 1788.
[260] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 189-91, ordered 15 December 1788 and recorded 20 July 1789.
[261] York County Deeds (6) 407-8, dated 18 April 1789 and recorded 15 June 1789; ibid., pp. 408-9, dated 18 April 1789 and recorded 15 June 1789. On 10 December 1789, Elizabeth Smith sold her third of the 169 parcel of land to David Jameson. Ibid., pp. 435-6, dated 10 December 1789 and recorded 19 April 1790.
[262] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 487-8, dated 17 March 1736/7 and recorded 19 March 1738/9. See Part I.—Section 9. Lot 72.
[263] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 309, dated 10 December 1753 and recorded 21 January 1754; ibid., pp. 336-7, recorded 19 August 1754. See Part I.—Section 9. Lot 73.

On 21 January 1754, soon after his mother's death, Lawrence Smith chose his uncle, Samuel Read, to be his guardian.[264] Samuel Read managed the estate of his nephew until 17 November 1755 when he submitted an account of expenditures and income. Read noted that he spent thirty-six shillings on nine pairs of shoes for slaves, eight shillings for a midwife, and nine shillings on "making Negroes Cloaths." Perhaps a local tailor used the sixty ells of osnaburg and the thirty-five ells of rolls, purchased for £ 4.8.4 to make clothing for Smith's enslaved laborers. Funds to cover these purchases came from the wheat, wood, and pork that Read sold. In addition, Smith's guardian sold a yoke of oxen and a horse from his nephew's estate.[265]

Smith reached his twenty-first birthday by 1758. In that year, the Reverend John Camm noted that Smith had ten tithes on his property in Yorkhampton Parish. Eleven years later, in June 1769, Smith decided to sell 262 acres of land that was within three miles of Yorktown. The following month, Smith and his wife, Damaris, transferred twenty-two acres of another parcel to David Jameson.[266] In February 1770, the Smiths again announced the sale of 262 acres of land near Yorktown. In addition, they announced their intention to sell two lots in Yorktown. Lawrence and Damaris Smith were residents of Yorktown in June 1772 when they transferred Lot 72 and Lot 73 to John Hatley Norton, another Yorktown inhabitant.[267]
Smith lived on his land in Yorkhampton Parish until his death in late 1778 or early 1779. In his will Smith wrote

> after all my just debts are paid which it is my desire may done [sic] in the first place with the money I have by me together with the value of my land lying in the county afsd which I desire may be sold for that purpose except that part of it which lies on the east side of the road & whereon the shop at present known by the name of Strouds shop stands & of that piece of land together with the money which I have by me should not be sufficient for the purpose of paying my debts afsd then it is my will & desire that so many of my slaves may be sold as will be sufficient for that purpose.

Next, he gave his wife, Damaris, "the land whereon I now live together with all the slaves that are left & all my household goods & stocks of every kind for her support & that of my children." When any of his children—a son and three daughters—reached legal age or married, Smith wanted an equal division of property to be made between that child and his wife. He reserved the land where "Strouds shop" stood for his son.[268]

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[264] York County Judgments and Orders (2) 368, 21 January 1754.
[265] York County Guardian Accounts (1) 190, recorded 17 November 1755.
[266] *Virginia Gazette*, Rind, ed., 15 June 1769; York County Deeds (8) 8-12, dated 4 July 1769 and recorded 21 August 1769.
Damaris Smith was the daughter of John and Mary Gibbons and the granddaughter of John and Damaris Butterworth. After the November 1744 probate of John Butterworth's will, Damaris Gibbons became the owner of Violet, a slave girl. York County Wills and Inventories (19) 323, dated 15 May 1742 and recorded 19 November 1744. See Part I.—Section 9. Lot 30.
[267] *Virginia Gazette*, Rind, ed., 22 February 1770; York County Deeds (8) 247-9, dated 14 June 1772 and recorded 21 July 1772.
[268] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 410-1, dated 2 November 1778 and recorded 15 February 1779.

The 1779 inventory of Smith's estate included four men—Paul (£ 90), Bob (£ 125), Toney (£ 150), and Gaby (£ 90). There were three women on Smith's property—Chloe (£ 70), Alice (£ 100), and Nanny (£ 80). Cain (£ 80) was the only enslaved boy on the plantation. Three girls—Celia (£ 60), Moll (£ 45), and Sue (£ 30)—learned how to do domestic chores from the women as did a child named Violet (£ 10).[269] After the Siege of Yorktown, the executor of Lawrence Smith's estate filed a claim for losses from this estate. He asked for £ 12 to cover the loss of a four-year old enslaved child who belonged to the estate of Lawrence Smith Senior.[270]

Robert Smith, son of Lawrence Smith and Mildred née Read Goodwin Smith

According to the terms of his father's will, Robert Smith would gain possession of the land where his father lived after his mother died. After the January 1754 probate of Mildred née Read Goodwin Smith's will, Robert Smith became the owner of a neck of land on Wormeley's Creek where he and his family made their home.[271] In 1758, the Reverend John Camm noted that Smith had fifteen tithes on his property.

By the mid-1760s Smith had financial problems and decided to sell the land. On 17 October 1766 he informed readers of the *Virginia Gazette* that he would sell

> five hundred acres of land, in York county, about a mile below the town, on the river, and almost surrounded by Wormeley's creek, so that less than a mile of fencing will enclose the whole. The land is very good for tobacco, and all sorts of grain, and as pretty a situation as any in the country. For terms apply to the subscriber, living on said land.[272]

He did not find a purchaser for the land and decided to mortgage a portion of his real and personal property. In 1767, Smith entered into three mortgages to secure the payment of debts he owed to the Honorable William Nelson and David Jameson. One of the mortgages included ten slaves: Phill, Lee, Travan, Dan, Moll, Fanny, Hannah, Judith, Rachell, and Charles.[273] Smith's fortunes took a turn for the worse in March of 1768:

Between February 1779 and February 1786, Damaris Smith married William Mitchell. See Part I.—Section 9. Lot 39.

[269] Ibid., pp. 426-9, dated 9 April 1779 and recorded 19 April 1779.

[270] "Claims for Losses of York County Citizens in the British Invasion of 1781."

[271] York County Wills and Inventories (18) 487-8, dated 17 March 1736/7 and recorded 19 March 1738/9.

[272] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 17 October 1766.

[273] York County Deeds (7) 312-4, dated 13 April 1767 and recorded 17 August 1767; ibid., pp. 357-9, dated 7 July 1767 and recorded 15 February 1768; ibid., pp. 359-61, dated 28 July 1767 and recorded 15 February 1768.

On 18 December 1769, President William Nelson assigned the mortgage he received from Robert Smith to Augustine Moore, Smith's brother-in-law. On the same day, David Jameson also transferred the mortgage he received from Smith to Moore. If Smith defaulted on the payment of his debts, his land and slaves would become the property of Moore and stay with his family. York County Deeds (8) 29-30, dated and recorded 18 December 1769; ibid., p. 30, dated and recorded 18 December 1769.

> Last Tuesday Se'nnight, about three o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Robert Smith's house, near Yorktown, was burnt to the ground, and all his furniture. It is supposed to have been occasioned by a spark lodging in the shingles, as the roof was all in a blaze before it was discovered.[274]

On 15 August 1768, Smith mortgaged eight slaves to Yorktown's David Jameson: George, Tom, Will, Jack, Dorcas, Jamie, Lewis, and Lucy.[275] Five days later, Smith sold his 500-acre plantation to Augustine Moore, the husband of his sister Lucy.[276] Smith was a resident of Charles Parish on 23 November 1768, the day he mortgaged land and slaves to Henry Hayward, also of Charles Parish.[277]

Robert Smith died in 1774, and the inventory of his estate did not include any enslaved laborers.[278] The absence of the names of slaves suggests that Smith defaulted on his mortgages. If so, Augustine Moore gained possession of his brother-in-law's enslaved men, women, and children. It is possible that Moore sold these laborers to other residents of the Yorktown area.

Augustine Moore

Augustine Moore, the son of Daniel and Elizabeth (née Sclater) Moore, was born in Charles Parish on 7 March 1731/2. Moore decided to become an apprentice to President William Nelson, and on 16 March 1746/7, he appeared in the York County Court and declared himself "willing to serve" Nelson.[279] Moore was married to Lucy, daughter of Lawrence Smith and Mildred née Read Goodwin Smith by 10 December 1753, an indication that he had completed his apprenticeship.

The Moores lived in Charles Parish even though Lucy née Smith Moore inherited Yorktown Lot 83 after the 21 January 1754 probate of the will of her mother, Mildred née Read Goodwin Smith.[280] In addition, details in the settlement of her father's estate indicate that Lucy Moore gained possession of an unspecified number of slaves.[281] In 1758, the Reverend John Camm noted that Moore had five tithes in Yorkhampton Parish. It is possible that these enslaved laborers were the individuals whom Lucy Moore inherited from her father, Lawrence Smith.

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[274] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 31 March 1768.
[275] York County Deeds (7) 439-40, dated 15 August 1768 and recorded 20 February 1769.
[276] Ibid., pp. 440-4, dated 20 August 1768 and recorded 20 February 1769.
[277] Ibid., pp. 447-9, dated 23 November 1768 and recorded 20 February 1769.
[278] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 303, dated 16 January 1775 and recorded 18 September 1775.
[279] York County Judgments and Orders (1) 1, 16 March 1746/7.
[280] On 18 July 1763, Augustine Moore, merchant, and his wife Lucy of Charles Parish sold Lot 83 on the north side of Main Street to Lawrence Smith, merchant of Yorktown. This Lawrence Smith was the son of Edmund Smith, Lucy Moore's half-brother. York County Deeds (6) 535-7, dated 18 July 1763 and recorded 15 August 1763.
[281] York County Wills and Inventories (20) 309, dated 10 December 1753 and recorded 21 January 1754; ibid., p. 354, dated 18 January 1755 and recorded 17 March 1755.

In addition to maintaining a connection to the Nelsons' mercantile business, Augustine Moore operated an ordinary at the Halfway House between Yorktown and Hampton. On 15 February 1762, Moore received his first license to operate an ordinary. He renewed his license on 21 February 1763 and again on 21 October 1765. The location of the Halfway House on the main road between Yorktown and Hampton placed Moore in a good location to watch for escaped slaves. On 20 October 1766, this ordinary keeper was one of the York County residents who produced a certificate for taking up runaway slaves. Moore was still at the Halfway House in July 1768 when he advertised that this ordinary could be rented. Augustine and Lucy Moore lived near Yorktown by October 1769 when Moore tried again to find a tenant for this structure.[282]

Sometime in late 1768 or early 1769, the Moores decided to move to the land that Augustine Moore purchased from his brother-in-law, Robert Smith on 20 August 1768.[283] The Moores moved to a new house because the previous dwelling burned five months before they acquired the Yorkhampton Parish plantation. This move enabled Moore to live near the fields that their slaves tended and to be closer to the store he helped General Thomas Nelson to operate.

It is possible that Moore depended on one or more of his enslaved laborers to carry goods from ships anchored in the York River to one of the Nelsons's storehouses. He also had some slave men who worked in the fields on his plantation. In June 1775, two of Moore's enslaved men ran from Yorkhampton Parish. Moore placed the following announcement in the 23 June 1775 issue of Purdie's *Virginia Gazette*:

> RUN away from the subscriber, near *York* town, on *Tuesday* last, two negro men, *viz.* JEMMY, a tall stout black fellow, about 45 years old, has a large head and face, and one of his fore teeth, which are large, broke near the middle. CHARLES, a stout young tawney fellow under 20 years old, has a remarkable large mouth and feet, and has lost part of the third finger of his right hand. As they left their work in the field, they went off with only their shirt and trousers. *Charles* had a new pair of coarse rolls, and *Jemmy*'s was his last year's, which were of very good rolls, much wore; but he went to Capt. *John Chisman*'s, where he had a wife, and from thence took with him other clothes, together with his wife, and a boy of 12 or 14 years old, with all the luggage. I will give 20s. to any person who will bring either of the fellows to me, or that will confine them in prison, so that I get them again.[284]

There is no additional information about Charles. It is possible, however, that Moore's advertisement helped him to recapture Jemmy for a brief time. If so, Jemmy decided to seize his freedom soon after he was returned to Moore's plantation. The 30 June 1775

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[282] York County Judgments and Orders (3) 321, 15 February 1762; ibid., p. 370, 21 February 1763; York County Order Book (1765-1768) 25, 21 October 1765; *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, eds., 28 July 1768; ibid., 2 November 1769.
For Moore's certificate for taking up runaway slaves, see York County Order Book (1765-1768) 160, 20 October 1766.

[283] York County Deeds (7) 440-4, dated 20 August 1768 and recorded 20 February 1769.

[284] *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie, ed., 23 June 1775.

issue of Purdie's *Virginia Gazette* contained another notice about an escaped slave. This time, Moore announced

> Forty shillings reward,
> FOR JAMIE, a tall black fellow, with large head and face, has lost part of one of his fore teeth, who ran away from the subscriber last night, and is supposed to have got on board some vessel. All masters are forbid to carry him out; his clothing a light coloured fearnought waistcoat, and such other as is common for plantation slaves.[285]

Based on the physical descriptions in the two newspaper notices, Jemmy and Jamie were one person who ran from Moore on two occasions. It is possible that Jemmy was successful in his second attempt to leave Yorkhampton Parish. There is no additional information about Jemmy.

Augustine Moore, his family, and his enslaved laborers remained in Yorkhampton Parish after the beginning of the American Revolution. Financial difficulties led to the end of the mercantile firm known as Thomas Nelson, Jun. and Company. As a member of the partnership, Moore worked to settle the firm's debts. On 11 April 1777, he announced

> THE Partnership of *Thomas Nelson*, Jun. and Company, of *York*, being at an end, all Persons indebted to them are requested to settle their Accounts as soon as possible, and those who cannot conveniently discharge their Balances it is expected will give Bond for the same. If any have Demands against the Partnership, they are desired to bring them in, and they shall be paid.[286]

The following June, Moore tried to persuade others to settle their accounts. On 12 June 1778, he informed readers of the *Virginia Gazette* that

> ALL persons indebted to the partnership of *Thomas Nelson*, jun. Esq; & company, are once more desired to settle their accounts. Those who fail to comply with this reasonable request before the 20th of *July* will find their accounts in the hands of an attorney. The impossibility of the subscriber's personable application to every one of the debtors renders this step necessary.[287]

It is likely that several people had outstanding debts in 1781 when Lord Cornwallis entered Yorktown. It is possible that the Moore family remained in their house during the Siege of Yorktown. Their dwelling survived the Siege of Yorktown, and members of the Allied Troops and the British Army negotiated the terms of surrender in this structure on 18 October 1781.

Augustine Moore died in the summer of 1788. In his will he wrote

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[285] Ibid., 30 June 1775.
[286] Ibid., Dixon and Hunter, eds., 11 April 1777.
[287] Ibid., Purdie, ed., 12 June 1778.

> I Lend to my said wife [Lucy Moore] during her natural Life all my Estate of whatsoever kind, of which it is my desire that she may have the free and unlimited use after the Death of my wife I give the plantation whereon I now live and which I bought of Mr Robert Smith to my worthy Friend General Thomas Nelson of the Town of York and his Heirs

He wanted "the residue of my Estate except my Negro man Sam" to go to his sister, Mary Tabb and her three children. Moore noted "my Negro man Sam being an honest and faithful servant shall after the Death of his mistress be a free man." In addition, Moore bequeathed "one negro woman named Sarah, one Negro woman named Phillis with their future increase also the two children of Sarah named John and George" to his wife, Lucy. He left "one negro woman named Crager together with the present and future increase of the said Negro Crager" to his sister, Martha Mallory.[288]

Lucy née Smith Moore

Lucy Moore lived on the 500-acre plantation until her death between 27 April 1797 and 16 October 1797. This parcel of land passed to Hugh Nelson, son of General Thomas Nelson.
According to the terms of his will, General Nelson gave his son Hugh "the Reversion which I have in a Tract of Land near York, now occupied by Mrs Lucy Moore."[289] In addition, Moore's enslaved man Sam, if still alive, became a free man.

[288] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 164, dated 20 July 1788 and recorded 15 September 1788.
[289] Ibid., p. 492, dated 27 April 1797 and recorded 16 October 1797; ibid., p. 171, dated 26 December 1788 and recorded 16 February 1789.

Nelson Land in Yorkhampton Parish

Thomas Nelson the Immigrant

In 1716, Thomas Nelson the Immigrant acquired 215 acres of land in Yorkhampton Parish from Benjamin Read, the son and heir of Francis Read. Twenty-four years later, in 1740, Nelson bought another 206 acres in Yorkhampton Parish.[290] He purchased land in nearby Yorkhampton Parish so slaves could produce foodstuffs and raise livestock that would be used to feed the members of his urban household. The acquisition of rural land in York and in other counties made it possible for Nelson to produce tobacco that he shipped to Great Britain and food items that he loaded on vessels that sailed along the Atlantic Coast and to the Caribbean.[291]

President William Nelson, Elizabeth Nelson, and Hugh Nelson

In 1745, President William Nelson inherited his father's land in Yorkhampton Parish. Like his father before him, it is likely that Nelson had enslaved laborers grow food and tend livestock on the property near Yorktown. According to a 1758 list kept by the Reverend John Camm, Nelson had thirty-eight tithes in Yorkhampton Parish in that year. Unfortunately, it is not known how many of this group labored in Yorktown and how many labored on the nearby rural land.[292]

In February 1761, Nelson sold a total of seventy-two and a half acres in Yorkhampton Parish to Charles Miles. Three months later, in May 1761, he purchased twenty-five acres of land known as Terrapin Point from a group that included John Norton.[293] By the late 1760s, Nelson transferred a York County plantation to his son Thomas who decided to use the property as a farm "to produce Wheat Corn etc." for the use of his family.[294]

When President William Nelson died in November 1772, he made sure that his wife had access to his land near Yorktown because slaves on this property grew much of the food consumed in his urban household. Nelson left his wife Elizabeth the use of "my plantation near York Town called Pennys & Tarrapin Point including my meadows with the slaves horses carts & stocks of every kind thereto belonging with liberty of cutting her fire wood off the sd lands & also off a tract called Dowsings." He also wanted his widow to be supplied with "such beef, pork, wheat, & corn as she shall require annually."[295]

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[290] York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 102-4, dated 16 and 17 March 1715/6 and recorded 19 March 1715/6; York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 587-90, dated 15 February 1739/40 and recorded 18 February 1739/40; ibid., pp. 596-9, dated 15 May [1740] and recorded 19 May 1740.
[291] See Part I.—Section 9. Lot 52.
[292] See Part I.—Section 9. Lot 47.
[293] York County Deeds (6) 336-8, dated [blank] February 1761 and recorded 18 May 1761; ibid., pp. 338-42, dated and recorded 18 May 1761.
[294] Emory G. Evans, "The Nelsons: A Biographical Study of a Virginia Family in the Eighteenth Century," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1957), p. 132.
[295] York County Wills and Inventories (22) 132-6, dated 6 October 1772 and recorded 21 December 1772.

Hugh Nelson Senior managed the labor of the slaves who belonged to his father's estate. In 1784, the York County Personal Property Tax List noted that Nelson had a total of twenty-eight slaves on family land in Yorkhampton Parish. Twenty of the enslaved laborers were adults, and eight were enslaved boys and girls.

The elder Hugh Nelson was a resident of Yorktown when he died between 15 May 1799 and 20 January 1800. He wanted his "just debts to be paid" and "the Remainder of my estate may be kept together for the benefit of my family during the Life of my wife." After the death of his wife, Nelson directed his executors to divide his estate among their children.[296] The January 1800 inventory of Hugh Nelson's estate included the names of ten "Slaves at the Quarter" in nearby Yorkhampton Parish. This group included Old Jack (no value), old Sary (£ 5), Peter (£ 70), Phil (£ 80), Daniel (£ 80), Harry (£ 90), Bristow (£ 85), Stephen (£ 75), Alice (£ 45), and Milly (£ 30).[297] These slaves probably labored and lived on Nelson's 112 acres in Yorkhampton Parish.[298]

General Thomas Nelson and William Nelson

By the late 1760s, President William Nelson transferred a York County plantation to his son, General Thomas Nelson, who decided to use the property as a farm "to produce Wheat Corn etc." for the use of his family. It is likely that the younger Nelson had several slaves who labored on his land in Yorkhampton Parish. In the early 1770s, Nelson decided to acquire additional land near Yorktown. On 12 August 1773, Thomas Archer of Yorktown sold Nelson a tract of 120 acres that adjoined the land he held in Yorkhampton Parish.[299]

When General Thomas Nelson wrote his will in late 1788, he decided to leave his wife Lucy "my Farm near York together with the Slaves, Stocks and Plantation Utensils thereon and the Choice of Ten of my House servants . . . likewise my Houses and Lots in York Town (except such of them as I shall herein after bequeath otherwise) my Household and Kitchen furniture and my Plate of every kind." His son, Hugh Nelson, became the owner of "one hundred acres of Land in the County of York which I purchased of my brother Hugh and fifty acres in the same County on the large swamp in Charles Parish; also the Reversion which I have in a Tract of Land near York, now occupied by Mrs. Lucy Moore."[300] The younger Hugh Nelson also received "the Interest which I have or may have in a Water Grist Mill on the said Lands." After the death of his

[296] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 545, dated 16 September 1790 and recorded 20 January 1800.
[297] Ibid., pp. 549-52, dated 28 January 1800 and recorded 17 February 1800. The inventory also included twenty-nine "Slaves in Town": Barber Jack (£ 150), Page (£ 50), Ralph (£ 80), John (£ 90), Sally (£ 20), Dean (£ 60), Dick (£ 45), Hannah and Agga (twins valued at £ 46), Smith Will (£ 120), Agga (£ 60), Billy (£ 60), Rose (£ 40), John (£ 15), Cook Nan (£ 60), Sarah (£ 60), Roger (£ 80), Bella (£ 40), Molly (£ 10), Milly (£ 70), Bob (£ 40), Peg (£ 25), Jenny (£ 15), Lucy (£ 15), Sam (£ 90), Dick (£ 75), Cook Will (£ 75), Lucy Baker (£ 70), and Daphne (£ 12).
[298] York County Deeds (6) 307-8, dated 18 August 1785 and recorded 18 August 1786; ibid., pp. 325-7, dated 11 September 1786 and recorded 16 October 1786.
[299] York County Deeds (8) 350-1, dated 12 August 1773 and recorded 20 September 1773.
[300] See The Moore House and Adjoining Rural Land Owned by the Smith and Moore Families.

mother, Nelson's son William would become the owner of "all my Lotts, Lands and other Property in and about York which I have herein before lent to my Wife during her Life, and not herein otherwise disposed of."[301]

The 2 June 1789 inventory of Nelson's personal property in York County included fifty-two enslaved men, women, and children. The list included Cook Cain (£ 80), old Tryall (£ 10), Sukey (£ 15), Wagoner Cain (£ 70), Peter (£ 40), Penny (£ 40), Heffy (£ 30), Grace (£ 40), Krender and her infant (£ 45), Rose (£ 35), Sue (£ 25), Beck (£ 15), Betty (£ 50), Lucy Mountfort (£ 40), Bob (£ 17.10), Sally (£ 15), Sukey (£ 10), Edy (£ 17.10), Louisa (£ 5), Jany (£ 10), Aggy (£ 40), Betty (£ 12), Dinah (£ 5), Betsy (£ 20), Cooper (£ 25), Phil (£ 65), Roger (£ 45), a child named George (£ 30), Jerry (£ 17.10), Aggy (£ 20), Massey (£ 45), Letty and her child Grace (£ 45), Betty (£ 20), Tenah (£ 15), Pegg (£ 40), Judy (£ 30), Dinah (£ 20), Jammey (£ 25), old Hannah (£ 15), Phillis (£ 5), Nancy and her child known as Tom (£ 55), Joan (£ 17.10), Rachael (£ 15), Else (£ 12), Charles (£ 5), Charles (£ 40), John (£ 40), George (£ 40), and York (£ 40).[302]
Unfortunately, the appraisers of Nelson's estate did not separate the slaves who worked on Lot 52 and other urban properties from those enslaved individuals who labored on plantations in Yorkhampton Parish. The few details that these men included indicate that Nelson had an enslaved cook—a man named Cain. A second man called Cain served as the wagoner. In this role, Cain traveled between Nelson's Yorktown household and his plantations. Cain had the opportunity to visit with enslaved men, women, and children in York, James City, Hanover, Prince William, and Loudon counties and to pass on news from one plantation to another. The appraisers noted both a first and a last name for Lucy Mountfort, a sign that she had ties to a slave owned by the Mountfort family.

On 4 June 1789, two days after the appraisal of her deceased husband's estate, Lucy Nelson appeared in the York County Court. She informed the justices of the peace "I do hereby declare that I will not take or accept the provision made for me in the said will [of her deceased husband] or any part thereof but so hereby renounce all benefit which I might claim by virtue of the said will." Instead, she said she would "claim that portion of the Estate of the aforesaid Thomas Nelson deceased to which by law I am entitled."[303]
The widow Nelson's decision to renounce her husband's will meant that the executors of his estate could sell portions of his estate if they needed to raise money to pay his debts.[304]

Evidence suggests that William Nelson, son of General Thomas and Lucy Nelson, gained possession of the Yorkhampton Parish land known as "The Whim" after his father's death. During the Siege of Yorktown, General Rochambeau had his headquarters at "The

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[301] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 171-5, dated 26 December 1788 and recorded 16 February 1789.
[302] Ibid., pp. 181-3, dated 2 June 1789 and recorded 20 July 1789. Edy was one of the slaves who labored for Lucy Nelson after the death of her husband. In his will, William Nelson Junior noted that Edy, a mulatto girl in service to his mother, was to be freed after his death. See Part I.—Section 9. Lot 47.
[303] York County Deeds (6) 414, dated 4 July 1789 and recorded 20 July 1790.
[304] According to Emory Evans, Nelson's executors sold a large number of the slaves whom he owned at his death as well as land in York, Hanover, and Frederick counties. Evans, "The Nelsons," p. 374 n. 33. See York County Wills and Inventories (23) 661-3, recorded 21 March 1791.

Whim." This site had two main structures; the larger one was located near the road and the smaller one stood directly behind the first. Both buildings stood on a rectangular plot enclosed by a hedge or a fence. An orchard or a wooded grove was on the east side of the enclosed ground.[305] Perhaps these structures served as quarters for the slaves who would have tended fields on this plantation.

William Nelson held "The Whim" and additional land in Yorkhampton Parish until his death between 22 October 1800 and 19 December 1803.[306] The inventory of Nelson's estate listed thirty-six slaves. As was the case with the inventory of his father's personal property, the appraisers did not note which slaves labored in Yorktown and which enslaved laborers tended fields in Yorkhampton Parish. Nelson held the following slaves at the time of his death: Adam (£ 75), Jenny (£ 60), George the youngest (£ 100), Zachariah (£ 75), Adam (£ 65), Ned (£ 10), Polly (£ 45), Hannah (£ 30), Eve (£ 40), old Venus (£ 30), Iris (£ 2), Tom (£ 100), Venus (£ 65), Franky (£ 60), Phil (£ 75), George the eldest (£ 75), Massey (£ 30), York (£ 135), George the younger (£ 100), Jerry (£ 100), Aggy and her infant child (£ 90), Betty (£ 30), Cain (£ 25), Zeny (£ 5), Stephen (£ 120), Sue (£ 5), Priscilla (£ 75), Jacob (£ 30), Mary (£ 75), Kate (£ 60), Judy (£ 60), Harry (£ 60), Nancy (£ 30), John (£ 36), and Nat (£ 20).[307] The connections of one enslaved family appeared in the inventory. The appraisers described Polly, Hannah, and Eve as the "youngest children of Jenny and Adam." The first two slaves in Nelson's inventory were Adam and Jenny. Three names—George the youngest, Adam, and Ned—appeared between the enslaved couple and their three youngest children. Perhaps George, Adam, and Ned were also the children of Adam and Jenny.

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[305] Charles E. Hatch, Jr. and Jerome A. Greene, *Historic Structure Report, Combined Study: Developed Sites and Colonial Rural Fences, Yorktown Battlefield, Colonial National Historical Park, Virginia.* Denver: National Park Service, 1975), pp. 16-7.

[306] York County Wills and Inventories (23) 638, dated 27 April 1799, codicils dated 20 October 1799 and 22 October 1800, and recorded 19 December 1803.
On 6 April 1812, Judith Nelson, widow of Hugh Nelson Senior, sold a tract of land known as "the Secretarys farm" to William Wynne. The deed noted that the estate of General William Nelson (the son of General Thomas Nelson and Lucy Nelson) held land that adjoined "the Secretarys farm." York County Deeds (8) 158-9, dated 6 April 1812 and recorded 20 April 1812.

[307] Ibid., pp. 639-41, recorded 16 January 1804. Nelson's estate also included thirty-two slaves in Hanover County. See ibid., pp. 650-1, dated 5 January 1804 and recorded 16 April 1804.