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Northern Virginia slavery : a statistical and demographic investigation

Donald M. Sweig
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**NORTHERN VIRGINIA SLAVERY: A STATISTICAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC
INVESTIGATION**

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

PH.D. 1982

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Northern Virginia Slavery:
A Statistical and Demographic Investigation.

A Dissertation
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of History
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Donald M. Sweig
1982

APPROVAL SHEET

This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

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To the memory of Professor Richard W. Griffin,
my first teacher of history, mentor, sternest
critic, and close personal friend, this dissertation
is respectfully and lovingly dedicated.

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the slave family in the northern Virginia counties of Fairfax and Loudoun from the middle of the eighteenth century until the Civil War. It accepts the assumptions set forth by Allan Kulikoff, Herbert Gutman, and others regarding the probability for the development of slave families if certain demographic conditions were present. It also assumes that the family was the social group within which slave culture developed, and that this culture was passed on to the young within the family setting. The investigation concludes that favorable conditions existed and most slaves lived in families during the eighteenth century.

The eighteenth-century slave-family structure and an accompanying inter-plantation kinship network carried over into the nineteenth century, where its existence was substantiated by both demographic analysis and family reconstruction from estate inventories. Evidence of slave culture was detected by the given and surnames patterns found in the inventories. The inventories were also used to assess the extent of slave family breakup occasioned by bequests and estate sales. Breakup was determined to be substantial but not sufficient to destroy the slave-family structure in the area.

The final chapter assesses the effect of the interstate slave trade on local slave families, and the number and proportion of northern Virginia slaves in the inter-regional trade. An assessment is also made of the proportion of all slaves leaving the area attributable to migration with planters and sale into the trade. The conclusion is that local slaves were a small part of the overall trade, but that a sizeable number were sold to the traders. Most of the area's loss of slave population was found to be due to the interstate trade.

The general conclusion reached was that northern Virginia was a comparatively favorable place for the formation and maintenance of slave family and cultural life.

NORTHERN VIRGINIA SLAVERY

INTRODUCTION:
ASSUMPTIONS, SOURCES, AND METHODS

Slavery has been a central theme in American life since the earliest days of European settlement. By 1619, the year before the Pilgrims settled in Massachusetts, there were "negors" in Virginia; it is possible that other blacks were here earlier. Although the status of these first blacks in Virginia is unclear, by 1660 the legal bonds of chattel slavery were firmly fixed on subsequent arrivals.¹

The institution of slavery soon became the major economic and social feature of all the southern colonies. As Sidney Mintz has pointed out, slavery "defined in large measure the context within which transferred European traditions would grow and change." Thus, while it is possible to make a distinction between slave societies and societies where there are slaves, "the southern states were already a slave society in the first half of the eighteenth century." By the late eighteenth century, as M. I. Finley has observed, "the whole subject of slavery . . . was soon abandoned by those who could still legitimately be called philosophers, and left to sermonizers and moralizers." It was easier, for speaker and audience alike, to condemn or defend slavery than to understand it.²

Much subsequent historical scholarship has followed the pattern of polemicizing for or against slavery.

At a National Archives lecture in 1977, Herbert G. Gutman noted that slave historiography has gone through three major stages: what we have done for the slaves (civilize, Christianize, or improve in various ways); what was done to the slaves (physical and psychological repression); and, most recently, what the slaves did for themselves because or in spite of the white man.³ The problem with attempts to describe slave culture in terms of what whites did "to" or "for" them, is that in either case the blacks are seen as passive components in the process; i.e. they were acted upon for good or evil. This would credit the slaves, at best, with only an imitative culture, either controlled by or learned from their masters. As Gutman has also observed, to view a culture in terms of "treatment" is a totally different perspective from seeing it in terms of adaptive response and "cumulative experience."⁴

For the purpose of the investigation that follows, the term culture may be defined as "historically derived values, behavior patterns, and practices that made up the repertory of socially learned and inculcated resources of the enslaved." These included not only religious rituals, expressive and craft skills, but (especially important for our purposes) the adaptive "social norms for mating and socializing . . . and [learned] value systems."⁵ Community and society are the social context where culture developed

and in which it operated.

The enslaved blacks developed a distinctive Afro-American culture that "differed significantly from white culture" and from that of African society. Slave culture was a "long process of learning, accommodation, and creation" by Africans and their American descendants. The slaves organized this information and knowledge into "social institutions, cultural beliefs, and values." They "created their culture through a series of encounters and learned from each other to modify their values, adapt to a very difficult situation, and form social institutions that cushioned their burdens."⁶

The details of how that adaptation took place and the final features of the resulting slave culture are not the subject of this investigation. That such a process did take place throughout the southern American colonies and later states has been both argued and demonstrated by a number of historians.⁷ The purpose here is to investigate whether the same demographic conditions existed in northern Virginia that in other instances gave rise to a distinctive Afro-American culture. The basic assumption is that the central agency of the adaptive Afro-American culture and society was the family, both in its function as an enculturating unit for the young and, through the kinship and naming system which it fostered as a major feature of that culture. It was through the family that "slaves created, transmitted, and recreated their culture."⁸

The determination of the extent of slave family life in northern Virginia, therefore, can be taken as a qualitative measure of slave culture and society. Because the family was the major determinant of slave culture, the problem is how to discover the number and proportion of slaves at any given time who were living within a family structure. Few slaves in northern Virginia left any written records, and even if such literary materials were extant, they would probably elucidate primarily the experiences of that particular slave and his immediate circle.⁹ It seems preferable to attempt to understand the basic life experience of the majority of slaves. This is, therefore, an institutional study, not an elucidation of daily life experiences of only one or a few slaves. The goal here is to make certain quantitative determinations regarding slaves in northern Virginia (number; sex ratios; age ratios; holding size; population density) and to apply certain specific assumptions to those data in order to estimate the degree of family life and thus cultural development. For example, in the simplest of terms, if the local slave population at a given time is found to be 65 percent male and only 35 percent female, this would suggest that nearly half the men could not find wives or form families. If there were also few children, the prior assumption regarding the effect of a badly biased sex ratio on family formation would seem to be confirmed. Such a high

percentage of males would also suggest (for reasons that will be discussed) a high inward migration rate and a high proportion of Africans in the overall slave population -- both retardants on the growth to an adaptive slave culture.

Conversely, if the sex ratio was nearly balanced, perhaps even 51 percent female, and children constituted 30 to 50 percent of all slaves, the assumption could be made that slave family life was extensive, which, in turn, allowed the process of adaptive culture to occur and to be passed on to the young.

This sort of demographic information is readily available from a number of sources of varying value and completeness. For the colonial period there are tithing or tax lists, some of which differentiate between whites and slaves, which allow an analysis of the slave population to be made. In a few of the lists there are also enumerations by age as well as race, and at least two (for northern Virginia) provide racial data by household, allowing determinations to be made not only of individual holding sizes but of overall slave density. There is also sketchy but very useful information from British naval and customs records regarding the rate and origin of slaves imported into the area.

After the formation of the national government in 1789 there are federal census returns that differentiate each holding by race, sex, and age. Those for 1820 and 1850 are the best for northern Virginia and were used here. The effect of the interstate slave trade, potentially very

disruptive of slave family life, can be estimated from the data available in U. S. Customs records for the coastwise domestic trade. This information can, and has, been refined by utilizing the slave sale records in the Deep South to extract the proportion of the coastwise trade that came from northern Virginia. The statistical data from the census returns can also be analyzed to suggest the overall extent of the trade and its effect on northern Virginia slave families.

Other information, more literary in nature, but still not a description or narrative of slave life by the participants, white or black, is also available. Evidence of the existence of slave surnames (long denied or ignored by whites) and of the relationship of those names to the surnames of the slave's masters will give a more qualitative picture of the local slave culture. Names appear, or fail to appear (both of which are significant), in wills, estate accounts, court depositions, slave sale documents, shipping manifests, and in at least one instance in the personal records of the area's largest slaveholder -- George Washington. The language used to describe slaves and the terms for their dispersal (by sale, bequest, or manumission) in last wills and testaments provide important information on the fate of slaves and their family structure.

It is necessary to combine data from the various sources to obtain an overall picture of the quantitative and qualitative dimensions of the local slave culture and to

attempt to determine changes in the life experiences, such as initial family formation or subsequent dismemberment by sale or dispersal, over time. The relevant questions to be asked about the slave community also change over time.

For 1760, the extent of the African trade to northern Virginia and the number of newly imported, unacculturated blacks in the area is crucial; by 1820 the question no longer needs to be asked. Similarly, the effect of an interstate domestic slave trade on established slave families is irrelevant to the slave population of 1760, both because at that time families were still forming and because the interstate trade did not develop as a significant demographic factor until after 1800 or 1810. The specific evidence used for a given period will depend on the questions asked and the answers sought.

While narrative information on slavery in northern Virginia is generally not available, statistical and written evidence from public records is accessible, and generally more reliable. The history of large groups of people who do not write about themselves (if indeed, they are able to write at all) poses special problems for historians. Contemporary accounts, such as those of a slave owner, provide observation "from a perspective that is bound to conceal many of the realities of social life." Large groups of slaves, living in the midst of the free who enslave them only compound the "ethnocentric perspective" of the observations.¹⁰

Anything written by a white slaveowner about his slaves was likely to be self-serving and was certainly biased by the way the slaveowner saw himself and his slaves. If he saw his relationship to the slaves primarily as a business, anything he wrote in ledgers, journals, or personal letters is likely to be in business terms. A paternalistic master, however kind or sincere, will tend to have seen his slaves as some sort of extended family and to have written about them in those terms. For the slave's point of view, not only is original, slave generated literary material very scarce but it is frequently unreliable. The contemporary accounts of slave life, frequently published by abolitionists, were often polemical and none has been found that specifically applies to northern Virginia.

Public records, on the contrary, are evidence in spite of themselves. Although the reliability of such evidence may be questioned on grounds of completeness or representativeness, there is no reason to assume that the records were deliberately biased in regard to slavery. A census report is primarily a statistical document; the compiler of a census had little reason to change the actual number of slave men, women, or children. Shipping records are also primarily business documents. Very few captains of African or domestic slave ships or American customs officials would have had any reason to even think that a historian would someday analyze their records, let alone to alter those records to bias a

subsequent historical judgment. Likewise, probate estate inventories were primarily compiled to comply with legal business arrangements. Slaves may or may not be listed in estate inventories by family or surname. The importance of the lists is that the executors had no reason to create slave families nor fabricate slave surnames.

The statistical approach to examining slave culture via the slave family in northern Virginia has the benefit of available data, statistical and legal evidence, and application to a large number of slaves over a long time period. The results of such an examination may not be emotionally satisfying -- numbers rarely are -- especially to literarily trained historians or general readers. The results should not be taken as conclusive; the data are often incomplete and biased. Further, the assumptions regarding the slave families or slave culture that were applied to the results of the statistical analysis may be proved wrong by subsequent research. The methods used for the analysis, or the competence of the author to utilize those methods, may change or improve.

Even so, the attempt to understand slave life in northern Virginia in these terms and based on these sources should, perhaps must, be attempted. The anthropologist Mintz observes that the historian realizes the fallibility of his evidence and that even official public records are subject to both error and bias, but that "in the absence of contrary [or

better] evidence, he quite defensibly proceeds in the assumption that he must use what he has while allowing for the widest possible error."¹¹ This investigation is based on a large body of available material, and utilizes accepted methods and assumptions for analysis and interpretation. At least reasonably reliable conclusions can therefore be drawn. That revisions can, doubtless will, be made of the methods used or conclusions set forth is accepted and perhaps inevitable. Each generation must write its own history. The results here, however, will suggest a level of understanding for our time.

NOTES

¹ For the question of when the first blacks arrived in Virginia and their status see Alden T. Vaughn, "Blacks in Virginia: A Note on the First Decade," William and Mary Quarterly, 3^d Ser., XXIX (1972), 467-478; for the change from servant to slave, Winthrop D. Jordan, White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1968), ch. II; Warren M. Billings "The Cases of Fernando and Elizabeth Key: A Note on the Status of Blacks in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," WMQ, 3^d Ser., XXX (1973), 467-474.

² Sidney W. Mintz, "History and Anthropology: A Brief Reprise," in Stanley L. Engerman and Eugene D. Genovese, eds., Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies (Princeton, N.J., 1975), 483; M.I. Finley, Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology (New York, 1980), 79, 83.

³ Herbert G. Gutman, "The Slave Family: What Sustained it?" -- a lecture given 2 May 1977, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; he makes some of the same points in The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925 (New York, 1976), 31-32; also in Allan Kulikoff, "Tobacco and Slaves: Population, Economy and Society in Eighteenth-Century Prince George's County, Maryland" (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1976), 175. Ulrich B. Phillips is often cited as the foremost historian asserting the "what we did for them" perspective. (Life and Labor in the Old South [Boston, 1929],). Examples of the "what we did to them" view were expressed by Kenneth M. Stampp, The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South (New York, 1956), passim; and, in an extreme and unconvincing case, Stanley M. Elkins, Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life (Chicago, 1959), passim, where the psychological effects of slavery were compared with a Nazi concentration camp. The foremost exponent of seeing slave culture as under control of the slaves is Gutman, Black Family, passim; others have written shorter or less convincing studies.

⁴ Gutman, Black Family, 33-34.

⁵ The definition of culture is from Mintz, "History and

Anthropology," 484-485; it is accepted as a working definition by Kulikoff in "Tobacco and Slaves," 174 and 175, and by Gutman, Black Family, 32; an alternative definition, set forth by ethnohistorian James Axtell, is that culture is "an idealized pattern of meanings, values, and ideas differentially shared by members of a society, which can be inferred from the non-instinctive behavior of the group and from the products of their actions, including artifacts, language, and social institutions." WMQ, 3^d Ser., XXXV (1978), 114.

⁶Kulikoff, "Tobacco and Slaves," 173.

⁷The major work to present such evidence is Gutman, Black Family, passim; see also Kulikoff, "Tobacco and Slaves," chpts. 6-8; Kulikoff, "The Origins of Afro-American Society in Tidewater Maryland and Virginia, 1700 to 1790," WMQ, 3^d Ser., XXXV (1978), 226-259; Ira Berlin, "Time, Space, and the Evolution of Afro-American Society in British Mainland North America," American Historical Review (1980), 44-79; Cheryl Ann Cody, "Naming, Kinship, and Estate Disperal: Notes on Slave Family Life on a South Carolina Plantation, 1786 to 1833," WMQ, 3^d Ser., XXXIX (1982), 192-211; Michael P. Johnson, "Runaway Slaves and Slave Communities in South Carolina, 1799 to 1830," WMQ, 3^d Ser., XXXVIII (1981), 418-441; also well written and useful is Eugene D. Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made (New York, 1974). These are only a few of the many articles and books by historians and anthropologists dealing with slave culture.

⁸Johnson, "Runaway Slaves," WMQ, 3^d Ser., XXXVIII (1981), 434.

⁹My research has uncovered no slave-generated literary material for northern Virginia.

¹⁰Mintz, "History and Anthropology," 484.

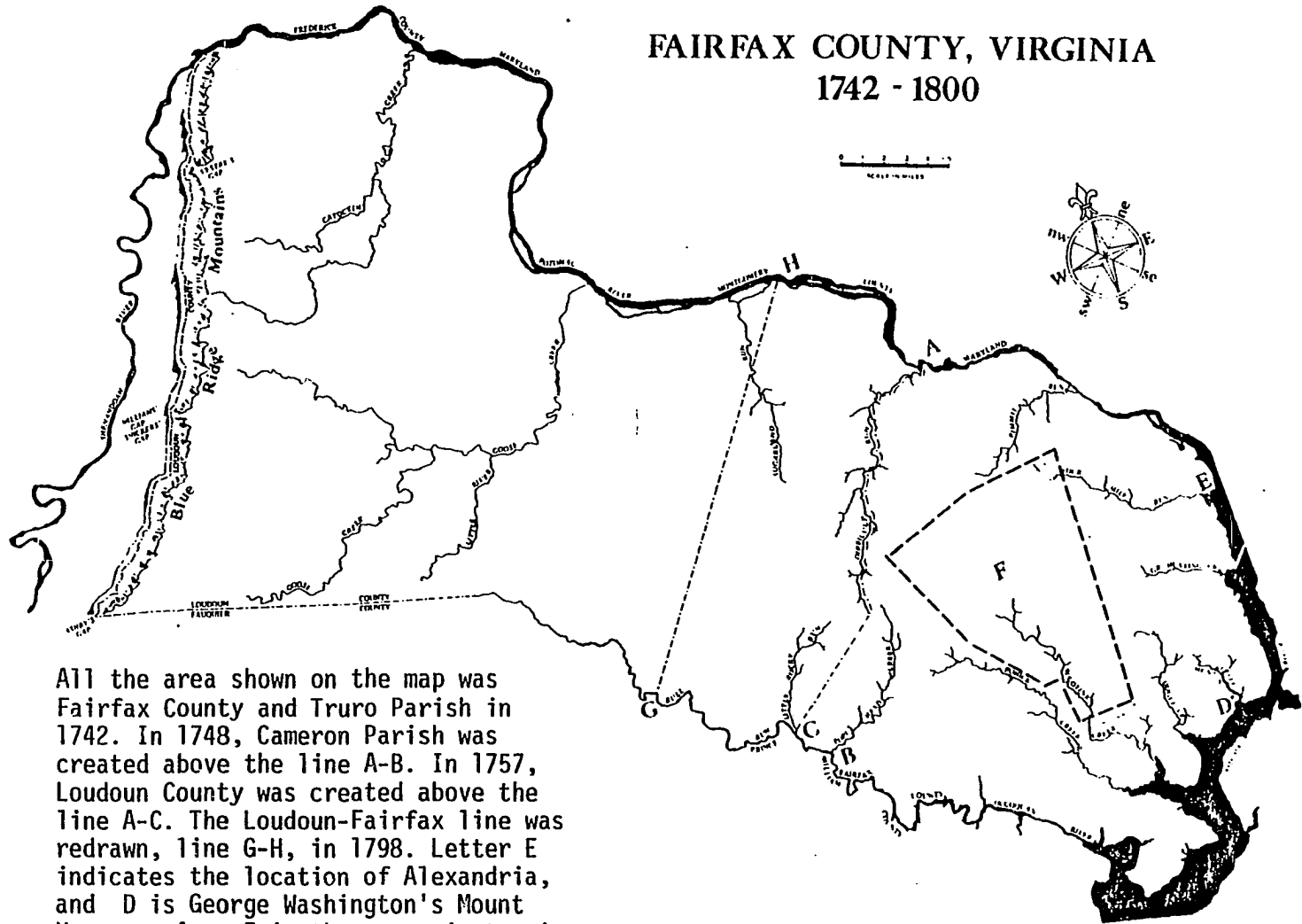
¹¹Ibid., 487.

CHAPTER I

The Development and Character of a Slave Society, and an Afro-American Slave Culture in Eighteenth-Century Northern Virginia

By the middle of the eighteenth century, northern Virginia had been settled by both whites and Negro slaves, and organized into counties.¹ Whatever may have been unique about the society that grew and flourished in the area, it was more similar to than different from the culture of the surrounding counties in both Virginia and Maryland. Fairfax was part of a Chesapeake society founded on growing tobacco as a staple export crop, primarily with slave labor. Only seven years after its founding, in 1742, the population of Fairfax was nearly 30 percent black slaves; by the end of the century the proportion of slaves had climbed to over 40 percent. The fortunes of the local gentry, indeed the wealth and regal bearing of George Washington, the most important man in eighteenth-century America, were based on slave labor. The large proportion of the population that was slave, therefore, played a major role in shaping the overall northern Virginia society. At the same time, the slaves

FAIRFAX COUNTY, VIRGINIA 1742 - 1800



All the area shown on the map was Fairfax County and Truro Parish in 1742. In 1748, Cameron Parish was created above the line A-B. In 1757, Loudoun County was created above the line A-C. The Loudoun-Fairfax line was redrawn, line G-H, in 1798. Letter E indicates the location of Alexandria, and D is George Washington's Mount Vernon. Area F is the approximate size and location of the 22,000 acre Ravensworth plantation. Adapted from, Netherton, Sweig, et al., Fairfax County, Virginia: A History, (Fairfax, Va., 1978), 38.

created an adaptive Afro-American culture that was both isolated from and integrated into the white society. The development of slave society in Fairfax took place at an important time for the history of the Chesapeake slave culture as a whole. Throughout the colonial era the process of "cultural change in native Africans and their American born descendants" created an indigenous Afro-American culture.² But it was the late eighteenth century, "the generation half way between the establishment of race slavery and the antebellum era [that] occupies a particularly crucial place in the evolution of Afro-American history."³ It was at this "crucial place" in time that a slave culture and society developed in northern Virginia. In Fairfax this development drew on and perhaps recapitulated the earlier acculturation of Africans elsewhere in the Chesapeake.

Two major factors influenced the pace and quality of Afro-American community development in the Chesapeake. The first of these was the degree of interaction or acculturation of blacks with whites and other blacks; the second was the opportunity to mate or marry, have children, and raise them in a family setting. These two factors were in large measure shaped by five others: the rate of slave immigration, the origin of those immigrants [Africa, West Indies, or America], the density of the local slave population, the size of the slave holdings, and the adult sex ratio.⁴

Slave interaction and acculturation with whites and other blacks was primarily influenced by the size of the holdings and the overall slave density. In small holdings intimate interaction among slaves and whites occurred on a daily basis. Working alongside their white masters in the fields, slaves held on small farms rather quickly assimilated the white's values and learned their skills; if the density of the slave population was low, such slaves had little opportunity to relate to or learn from other blacks. Thus in the small holdings, acculturation was on a bi-racial, individual, and face-to-face basis.

On larger holdings, the major part of the slave's daily interaction was with other blacks. Here an adaptive Afro-American community could begin to develop, and acculturation between the white and black segments of society was less frequent and more impersonal. On both the large and small plantations, however, the necessary topping, worming, suckering, and curing of tobacco impelled masters to close supervision. Such "paternalism at close quarters . . . had a far more potent influence on black life than the distant paternalism that developed in the Carolina lowcountry." The Afro-American culture of the Chesapeake evolved parallel to, and was highly influenced by, the white Anglo-American culture of the area. Blacks in Virginia and Maryland preserved far less African context in their culture than did West Indian slaves, for example.⁵

The other major influence on slave community development was the opportunity for slave family life, which was highly dependent on the four other factors. On smaller farms and plantations the opportunity for slave mating and childrearing was small. A slave in a larger holding had a much greater probability of finding a mate and raising a family within the context of the immediate slave community. Rather than an either/or dichotomy, the relationship between holding size and slave family development is best seen as a continuum with opportunity for mating improving as the holding size increased. About ten slaves seems to have been the minimum holding size for frequent family development.⁶ The number of slaves per square mile (density) also affected the opportunity for slave family formation, especially on the smaller holdings. A slave with no mating opportunity at home might slip away at night to a neighboring farm or plantation if the distance were not too great. But a slave in a force of only two or three (and small holdings were predominantly male), in a sparsely populated region had little chance to have a family or to participate in development of a slave culture.

The other and perhaps most crucial influences on opportunity for slave family and community formation were the sex ratio and the proportion of newly imported Africans among the slaves. If there were many more male

than female slaves, as often happened, some men would not be able to find wives. A high proportion of African immigrants undermined the opportunity for family life and even divided the developing society of slaves. African imports were also predominantly male, which resulted in severely unbalanced sex ratios; African slave women, recovering from the physical and emotional stress of enslavement and Atlantic transportation, were remarkably infertile. Language differences, reflecting varied African tribal origins, inhibited normal social relations with both other African slaves and native-born American blacks. Native-born slave women were reluctant to take African husbands, perhaps because recent imports often ran away or tried to revolt.⁷

Additionally, planters often exhibited a less favorable attitude toward newly imported Africans than toward American-born blacks. Acculturated creole slaves grew up with a common language, a knowledge of the white man's tools, skills, and demands, and a sophistication born of experience and survival in the white man's world. With this understanding came at least enough optimism to try to live a better life. Creole slaves were also often given skilled training and assigned preferable tasks as craftsmen or domestics on the home plantation. The more alien and difficult-to-manage Africans were frequently sent to clear the land and perform the monotonous drudgery

of tobacco culture, often away from the master's home.

The slaves on such "quarters" were frequently predominantly male. Despondent, disoriented, and culturally disadvantaged African slaves on an upcountry holding were slower to create or integrate into the indigenous Afro-American slave culture. As long as the proportion of Africans in the slave population was high, slave culture was slow to develop.⁸

For all of Chesapeake society the proportion of Africans in the slave population gradually diminished, and a more stable Afro-American slave culture began to develop. The crucial question is when and to what degree this happened in any given area. Had the period of high African importation and acculturation already passed by the time Fairfax filled up with slaves? Were most of the northern Virginia blacks of creole or African origin? Did the area's slaves develop an adaptive culture from African beginnings or was the area settled by a more acculturated creole slave population? Before any meaningful assessment of slave community development in northern Virginia can be attempted, even before the questions of sex ratio, size of holdings, and slave population density can be addressed, the crucial question of the origin of local slave immigration must be discussed.

The forced immigration of blacks to the developing farms and plantations of northern Virginia cannot be

isolated from the overall character of the slave trade to Virginia, nor from that of the great trans-Atlantic diaspora. To begin with, barely one African slave in twenty was imported to mainland North America.⁹

Slightly more than five-hundred-thousand slaves, out of the over ten million transported, were landed here.¹⁰

The North American slave trade was "relatively minor," compared to that of the West Indies and Brazil. Within continental British North America, Virginia was the second most important market for slaves, after South Carolina, prior to the Revolution. At its height as a receiver of African slaves, 1735 to 1740, Virginia probably imported a third to one-half of all the slaves coming to the continent. Even so, Virginia's largest annual importation was only 3,116 slaves in 1736.

The Virginia water-borne trade was, in actuality, three different trades: an African route, which brought slaves directly from Africa to Virginia; a Caribbean route, which brought Africans not sold in the Indies and some West Indian blacks; and a coastwise route, which imported almost entirely American creole blacks. Eighty-one percent of Virginia slave imports during the eighteenth century came from Africa, 12 percent from the West Indies, and a mere 4 percent from other American ports. Even though, by 1730, the majority of slaves imported to Virginia were Africans, "a basic pattern that

continued throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century," most of the voyages were of ships carrying only a few slaves from the West Indies to Virginia.¹¹

The Chesapeake and especially the two great tidal rivers defining Virginia's Northern Neck offered direct access to Atlantic vessels. As a result Chesapeake slavers peddled their human cargoes directly to planters at tobacco wharves, and the thousands of Africans brought to Virginia during the eighteenth century were landed at small ports and riverfront docks rather than in a single important harbor.¹²

The sale of African slaves in Virginia was carried out by the local agents of English merchants. Such prominent Virginians as Robert "King" Carter, John Tayloe, and George Braxton were agents in the slave trade. Because creole slaves sold at a premium, and because after 1740 most of the large planters had self-sustaining or growing slave forces from natural reproduction, most Africans imported in the second half of the century were sold to small farmers, with the larger planters acting as agents. Unlike South Carolina planters, Virginians cared little about the African tribal origins of the immigrants; "in their eyes newly arrived Africans," were simply "new Negroes."¹³ Thus, the major decision for the slavers was the choice of a river to sail up to find customers for their cargo. Most of the Northern Neck agents had

plantations that bordered on the Rappahannock; there is no evidence that any of the great Potomac planters -- Washington, Mason, or Fairfax -- ever acted as an agent for this sort of commercial transaction. Yet, it does seem difficult to believe that the thousands of slaves imported into northern Virginia's Potomac River plantations were marched fifty miles or more through the Virginia wilderness from a landing on the Rappahannock, when the broad navigable Potomac was so much closer. The lack of identifiable agents on the Potomac may explain why the majority of slavers preferred to land their cargoes on the Rappahannock. By the second half of the eighteenth century, however, the overland transfer of slaves within Virginia was quite prevalent and may have accounted for a significant proportion of the slave immigration into the northern Virginia counties, whatever the initial origin of the migrating blacks.

The task of tracing the origin of northern Virginia slave imports is complex and as the data are scarce and probably incomplete, any conclusions reached are tentative at best. Of over six-thousand slaves imported to both rivers between 1727 and 1769, 83 percent (a little over five thousand) were landed on the Rappahannock, and nearly 4,500 of these had come directly from Africa. Africans were 90 percent (949 of 1,060) of all slaves clearing the

TABLE-I
 IMPORTS OF SLAVES TO RAPPAHANNOCK AND POTOMAC
 RIVERS, 1727 -- 1769 BY AREA OF SLAVE ORIGIN¹

	From So. Ports	% of all Slave Import	From Brit. West Ind.	% of all Slave Import	From Africa	% of all Slave Import	Tot. Imp.	% of all Imports by River
Rappahannock River	2	.03%	791	15%	4,431	85%	5,224	83%
Potomac River	25 ²	2%	86	8%	949	90%	1,060	17%
Total to Northern Neck	27	.4%	887	14%	5,380	86%	6,284	

¹Source: (raw data only; all calculations are mine.), Herbert S. Klein, "Slaves and Shipping in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, III (1975), 398. It is unclear why Klein's total of African slaves to Potomac is nearly 100 more than mine (949/852), which is taken from the same source cited by Klein. See Table-II.

²These slaves were most likely from Barbadoes. See Table-II, n. 5.

TABLE-II

SHIPS ENTERING POTOMAC RIVER WITH SLAVE CARGOE,

1727 -- 1769 ¹

Date of Landing	Ship	Ship Owner	Number Negroes	Port of Origin
Aug. 20 1734	<u>Liverpool Merchant</u>	Foster Cunliffe ²	156	Coast of Africa
May 19 1736	<u>Liverpool Merchant</u>	Foster Cunliffe	193	Africa
June 30 1737	<u>Liverpool Merchant</u>	Foster Cunliffe	190	Coast of Africa
Aug. 16 1739	<u>Liverpool Merchant</u>	Foster Cunliffe	130	Africa
May 2 1740	<u>Bridgett</u>	Henry Pepper and Co.	53	Africa
July 10 1741	<u>Cape Coast</u>	Foster Cunliffe	130	Africa
June 7 1750	<u>Olive</u>	Rich. Jackson ³ and Co.	50	Barbadoes
Aug. 2 1750	<u>Success</u>	John Dalton ⁴ and Co.	25	York ⁵
July 30 1751	<u>Hopewell</u>	Will. Ramsey ⁶ and Co.	36	Barbadoes

¹Source: Elizabeth Donnan, Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America, IV, "The Border Colonies and the Southern colonies", (Washington, D.C., 1935), 193, 196, 199, 204, 205, 107, 220, 221.

²Nearly all of the African slaves coming to Potomac River were imported on ships belonging to Foster Cunliffe. Cunliffe was Bristol merchant who bought tobacco, and presumably sold slaves, through a Maryland agent, Henry Calister. Cunliffe later became a member of the Liverpool Merchants Trading to Africa. In Feb. 1748/49 Henry Laurens of South Carolina secured a letter of introduction to Cunliffe, seeking to interest the trader in the South Carolina market for slaves. As early as 1726 he was mentioned in the will of John Walker, a merchant in the Rappahannock River town of Urbanna. If Cunliffe sold slaves in northern Virginia he probably had a local agent, although no one can be associated with this role. See, Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, I (1893-1894), 470-471; Donnan, Slave Trade Documents, IV, 303-304; W.E. Minchinton, ed., The Trade of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century (Bristol, Eng., 1957), does not mention Cunliffe.

³The Olive was built and registered in Maryland in 1749. Richard Jackson was not a northern Virginia merchant. These slaves may well have gone to Maryland.

⁴Dalton was a prominent Alexandria merchant. The Success was registered in Virginia in 1749.

⁵York River may have simply been a stop enroute to Potomac from the original port of embarkation. In that case the slaves were probably from Barbadoes as a forty-ton ship was small for the Africa trade.

⁶Ramsey was also an Alexandria merchant. The Hopewell, a ship of thirty-six tons, was built and registered in Virginia in 1750.

South Potomac customs house (see tables I and II). This information may suggest more questions than answers. For example, only nine ships are recorded as entering South Potomac with slaves from 1727 to 1769, and no ship entered carrying any significant number of slaves between 1742 and 1770 -- the very period of most rapid growth in the slave population of Fairfax and later Loudoun counties.

Virginia imports were generally low in the 1740s, high from 1749 until 1752, low in the remainder of the 1750s, and high again in the early 1760s.¹⁴ A recent study of colonial Prince George's County, Maryland suggests that "after 1755 nearly every African found his new home in a piedmont county."¹⁵ Yet, there are no imports recorded for the Potomac River after 1751, and no Africans after 1741. Were the majority of this 1760s migration landed on the Rappahannock and marched overland to the new Loudoun County plantations? With no importations to Potomac recorded, with no known northern Virginia or Potomac agents, and with regular recorded arrivals from Africa on the Rappahannock, this may indeed have been the case.¹⁶ The answer is inconclusive at best. Although the overwhelming proportion of slave imports to the overall Northern Neck by sea came from Africa, and there was a surge in both African importation and in northern Virginia's piedmont plantation slave labor force in the early 1760s, there is no clear proof that the Africans

came to northern Virginia or that the growth of the area's slave population came from this source. Other evidence, however, suggests that most of the newly imported northern Virginia slaves were of West Indian or creole origin.

The only two shipments of slaves known to have come to northern Virginia, the twenty-five imported by John Dalton in August 1750 and the thirty-six by William Ramsay in July 1751, were of West Indian or creole origin (see table II). Additionally, Gedney Clarke, an absentee owner of twenty-eight Fairfax slaves in 1749, was both a native of Barbadoes and the brother-in-law of William Fairfax, the most important man in northern Virginia at the time. Fairfax was the cousin of Thomas, sixth Lord Fairfax, the proprietor of the entire Northern Neck; he served as the influential land agent for Lord Fairfax and was also Collector of Customs for South Potomac; finally he had been Chief Justice of the Bahamas and in 1749 he owned thirty slaves. Because of the West Indian connections of these two men, their slaves were probably of island origin. Fairfax could even have acted as an agent for West Indian slave imports into northern Virginia. It seems more than coincidental that shipments of African slaves directly to the Potomac River ceased in 1741, the year that Fairfax with his West Indian connections moved to Belvoir Plantation in Fairfax County.¹⁷

The Slave Population of Fairfax in 1749

In 1749 the Reverend Charles Green made a detailed list of the black and white tithables for the two parishes of what was then Fairfax County. This unusual census lists every householder with the number of white and black tithables in each, along with notations that make it possible to determine whether the slaves were held in the lower tidewater region that would remain Fairfax County, or in the upper piedmont area that became Loudoun County in 1757. The list also indicates which slaves were held on "quarters" and which by absentee owners; this makes possible the construction of an accurate profile of the northern Virginia slaveholdings in 1749. For the purposes of comparison with Fairfax County at a later date, with other Virginia and Maryland counties, and with data drawn from other sources, the number of tithables on Green's list has been converted to total population estimates. This also allows the proportions of slaves and whites in the total population to be determined.

Conversion of eighteenth-century Virginia tithing (tax) enumerations, often expressed as aggregate figures, into numbers representing the whole population is a difficult procedure that must be undertaken with caution and the knowledge and understanding that there is a high

TABLE-III
 SLAVEHOLDINGS, BY HOLDING SIZE AND PARISH
 FOR FAIRFAX COUNTY, VIRGINIA, 1749

PARISH	Total Slaves	Parish Slaves As % all Slaves	Total House- holds	Number House- hold w/ Slaves	% House- hold w/ Slaves	Number House- hld w/o Slaves	% House- hld w/o Slaves
TRURO ¹	1674	92%	527	173	33%	354	67%
CAMERON ¹	138	8%	129	16	12%	113	88%
TOTAL	1812		656	189	29%	467	71%

¹Truro Parish was all of Fairfax County east of Difficult Run (see Map-I); Cameron Parish, 1748, was that part of Fairfax west of Difficult Run, which became Loudoun Co. in 1757.

margin for error. Only white males over age sixteen, and black males and females over the same age were counted for tax purposes.¹⁹ The number of recorded tithables must be multiplied by some average family size to obtain the number of people in the whole population. Although it gives only an average figure and a closer analysis would probably show both regional and temporal variations, Virginia governor Robert Dinwiddie's 1755 estimate that the number of white tithables should be multiplied by four and of black tithables by two has been adopted here.²⁰

There were 656 households in Fairfax County in 1749. About 30 percent or 189 households included slaves. There were 906 tithable and 1812 total slaves (see table-III). Slaves were 45 percent of all tithables and 28 percent of the total population. In the upper parish that would become Loudoun County in 1757 there were 129 (20 percent) of all county households, and sixteen (12 percent) of these held slaves. Nearly three-quarters of the upper parish households were Quakers, which may explain why there were so few slaves. Elisha Hall, a Quaker with twenty slaves, was the largest single upper parish holder; he was also noted as attending Anglican service, which suggests that he was more serious about slaveholding than about Quakerism. The 138 slaves included in these sixteen households were only 9 percent of upper parish tithables and 4 percent of the total population. The upper parish

was thus an area where few families owned slaves, and where slaveholdings were small. Small holdings and low slave density would have increased the daily interaction between whites and blacks, and offered the slaves little opportunity to establish families or develop an Afro-American culture.

In the lower tidewater parish of Truro the patterns found in Cameron Parish are nearly reversed. Ninety-two percent of the total county slaves were held in Truro Parish. The 1,674 slaves were 35 percent of the parish population.

No upper parish slaveowner held over twenty slaves, and only three held over fifteen. Nearly 70 percent of the owners held 43 percent of the slaves in groups of ten or less. In the lower parish twenty-one men held 750 slaves (45 percent) in groups of twenty or more. Although the proportion of owners with less than ten slaves was even higher than in Cameron, a smaller proportion of slaves were held in these small groups. The lower parish with nearly half of its slave population in groups of twenty or more provided an excellent opportunity for development of complete slave families on the individual plantations, an opportunity not available to upper-parish blacks. Absentee ownership and geographical concentration (density) also combined in the lower parish to decrease

TABLE IV
SLAVEHOLDINGS, BY HOLDING SIZE, BY PARISH, FOR FAIRFAX COUNTY, 1749

Parish	Total Slaves	Total Owners	Slaves Held in Groups of One to Five				...in Groups of Six to Ten				...in Groups of Eleven to Fifteen			
			Number Owners	% Parish Owners	Number Slaves	% Parish Slaves	Number Owners	% Parish Owners	Number Slaves	% Parish Slaves	Number Owners	% Parish Owners	Number Slaves	% Parish Slaves
Truro	1674	173	94	54%	320	19%	38	22%	304	18%	9	5%	110	6.5%
Cameron	138	16	6	37.5%	24	17%	5	31%	36	26%	2	12.5%	26	19%
County Total	1812	189	100	53%	344	19%	43	23%	340	19%	11	6%	136	7.5%

Parish	Number Owners	Slaves Held in Groups of Sixteen to Twenty		...in Groups of Twenty-one to Thirty				...in Groups of Thirty-one to Forty					
		Number Owners	% Parish Slaves	Number Owners	% Parish Slaves	Number Owners	% Parish Slaves	Number Owners	% Parish Slaves	Number Owners	% Parish Slaves		
Truro	6.5%	11	6%	190	11%	14	8%	350	21%	3	2%	112	7%
Cameron	19%	3	19%	52	38%								
County Total	7.5%	14	7%	242	13%	14	7%	350	19%	3	1.5%	112	6%

Parish	...in Groups Over Forty			
	Number Owners	% Parish Owners	Number Slaves	% Parish Slaves
Truro	4	2%	288	17%
Cameron				
County Total	4	2%	288	16%

black/white interaction and acculturation, and to increase the opportunity for a larger Afro-American slave culture to develop.

Absentee ownership of land and slaves by men whose home plantations were elsewhere in Virginia was a significant factor in mid-eighteenth-century Fairfax. The largest landholding in the county was the nearly 22,000-acre Ravensworth grant owned by the Fitzhughs of Westmoreland and Stafford counties.²¹ Others with homes elsewhere also held both land and slaves in Fairfax County in 1749 (see table-V). Twenty-five men and two widows held slaves on Fairfax quarters in 1749; all but one of these holdings were in the lower parish of Truro. A mid-eighteenth-century slave quarter -- one or more buildings in which the blacks made their homes -- was described by a visitor to Maryland as "a number of huts or hovels . . . where the Negroes reside with their wives and families."²² Green noted that only absentee owners kept their slaves on quarters in Fairfax.

Twenty-six of the 173 lower parish slaveholders were absentee owners. The 526 slaves kept on these quarters were 32 percent of lower parish slaves. Nine of the holdings were of over twenty slaves each. Five of the county's seven largest slaveowners (288 slaves) were absentees. Because absentee holdings on quarters were generally supervised by only a white overseer and perhaps

TABLE-V
 ABSENTEE HOLDERS OF SLAVES ON QUARTERS
 IN FAIRFAX COUNTY, 1749

Name of Location of Fairfax Owner	Total ¹ Slaves	Residence	County of Quarter, if known ²
Henry Ashton	4	Wstmorelnd	Inland
Philip Alexander	16	Stafford	On river near Alex.
John Alexander	12	Stafford	Ditto
Robert Carter	20	Wstmorelnd	Owned 4 tracts land
Charles Carter	10	Wstmorelnd	Unknown
Baldwin Dade	16	Stafford	On river, near Alex.
John Elliot	6	Wstmorelnd	Unknown
Widow Eskridge	4	Wstmorelnd	Inland
William Fitzhugh	36	Wstmorelnd	River, Pohick Crk.
William Fitzhugh	38	Stafford	Ravensworth ³
Henry Fitzhugh	38	Stafford	Ravensworth
Fitzhugh Heirs	54	Stafford	Probably Ravensworth
Benjamin Grayson	6	Pr. Wm.	Unknown
Widow Harrison	4	Stafford	Unknown
James Keith	8	Pr. Wm.	Unknown
Thomas Lee	122	Wstmorelnd	River at 1st falls
Richard Lee	10	Wstmorelnd	Unknown
John Mercer	18	Stafford	Inland
William Minor	8	Wstmorelnd	River, above Alex.
..... Monroe	6	Wstmorelnd	Unknown
Willoughby Newton	22	Wstmorelnd	Inland
Benjamin Rust	2	Richmond	Unknown
James Scott	10	Pr. Wm.	River, above falls
James Steptoe	24	Wstmorelnd	River, Pohick Bay
John Tayloe	16	Unknown	Upper Parish ⁴
William Watts	10	Wstmorelnd	Unknown
John Woodbridge	22	Richmond	Rvr. So. of Alex. ⁵

¹Calculated for 1749 tithing list, using Dinwiddie formula.

²Location of landholdings were determined with assistance of Beth Mitchell and her invaluable study, Beginning at a White Oak: Patents and Northern Neck Grants of Fairfax County, Virginia (Fairfax, Va., 1977), passim.

³Ravenworth was the largest land grant in Fairfax; its nearly 22,000 acres were so located that part of the land, and its constituent slaves, were fairly close to the river.

⁴Overseer was Ferd. O'Neil.

⁵Woodbridge is not specified on the tithing list as having a quarter. He is however noted as having lived in Richmond, and since there was only one tithable white recorded with the 11 blacks, it seems reasonable to assume that this was a quarter with an overseer.

his wife, the interaction between the overseer and his charges was probably less than if the slaves were under the direct supervision of the owner and his family. It is unlikely that many overseers managed the slaves in the paternalistic fashion of some slaveholders. When absentee ownership coincided with large holdings, as it did in Fairfax, the opportunity for intra-plantation family life and an adaptive slave culture little affected by white acculturation was increased. The location of the home plantations of the absentee owners may also suggest something about the origins of the northern Virginia slaves.

Thirteen of the twenty-seven absentees lived in Westmoreland County on the Rappahannock River; an additional eight resided in Stafford on the lower Potomac. It seems very likely that most of the slaves on the northern Virginia quarters of these men were marched up from the home plantation further down the Northern Neck. Whether the Westmoreland planters sent "new Negroes," fresh off the boat from Africa, to Fairfax is not known, but as most of the home plantations were not on the Rappahannock and thus did not have direct access to African importations, it may be that many of the Fairfax slaves on the large, absentee quarters were creoles who imported an adaptive Afro-American slave culture to develop further in Fairfax.

The geographical dispersion of the absentee quarters and resident holders within Fairfax casts further light on the opportunity afforded the local slaves to form families and develop culture. About one-third of the absentees can be located on or close to the Potomac River (see table-V). This was about 16 percent of all county slaves. When resident owners with large holdings are added to this 27 percent of the slaves can be seen to have lived near the river. The numerous smaller holdings along the river probably increased the total proportion of slaves in the area to one-third or even 40 percent.

As the lower end of the Fitzhugh's sprawling Ravensworth plantation was within three miles of the river, the more than 150 slaves quartered there under the supervision of overseers probably spread the cultural values of the slaves on the dense, absentee holdings on the river far up into the county. A pattern of slaveholding, with its concomitant effects on slave culture is evident. A significant proportion of the slaves were living in large groups along the river, many in absentee holdings. The proportion of slaves in the population may have reached 50 percent in this area. Any adaptive slave culture that developed in these large dense holdings was probably spread to the Ravensworth slaves and to all the smaller holdings in an area encompassing perhaps half of Fairfax as well.

Inter-plantation or inter-holding visitation of slaves, sanctioned or secretive, may be assumed to have taken place. Many male slaves may have had wives or families on other holdings. Social contact among slaves from different holdings would have been almost impossible to stop, even if the whites had desired to do so. This would have been especially true in the areas of high slave density, such as along the river or at Ravensworth. The existence of an extensive inter-plantation slave society among the more than three-hundred slaves owned by George Washington will become apparent.

Wide geographical dispersion of large and/or absentee holdings and inter-plantation slave visitation should have allowed a developing Afro-American slave culture to affect a sizeable majority of all Fairfax slaves, perhaps every slave in the lower parish. Because slaves on the smaller holdings experienced more black/white interaction and acculturation than the more isolated slaves in the large and/or absentee holdings, the interaction of these more acculturated slaves with the stronger Afro-American community developing on the great plantations probably integrated the black and white culture among all the Fairfax slaves. It is also probable that in Fairfax as elsewhere "European institutions and lifestyles were as much affected by the presence of slavery and the slaves as were the institutions and life-style of the enslaved

Africans." In Fairfax this black/white cultural exchange probably occurred on the small holdings.²⁴ If so, mid-eighteenth-century Fairfax became a "slave society" in a broader sense than simply a society of whites who held black slaves.

Loudoun County Slave Population in 1760

The slave society and experience of Fairfax County in 1749 was essentially confined to the lower tidewater parish of Truro because that is where most of the slaves were at that time. Eleven years later, in 1760, three years after the upper parish had become Loudoun County, the slave population of that area was markedly different from what it had been in 1749, and also different than the slave society that developed in Fairfax (see table-VI)

In 1760, the 992 slaves in Loudoun were 29 percent of the total population -- the same proportion as in Fairfax in 1749. Thirty-five men held 52 percent of all slaves on quarters. Five of these quarters, with a total of more than fifty slaves, had only black overseers; these included the quarters of Landon Carter, Robert Carter, Jr., and Carter Burwell, all old established Virginia slaveholders who could have imported a trusted black overseer from their home plantations.

Most of the resident holders (94 percent) held 84

TABLE VI
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF 1760 LOUDOUN COUNTY SLAVES AND HOLDERS,
BY HOLDING SIZE, BY RESIDENCE STATUS OF OWNER

Supervision	Total Slaves	Total Holdings	Slaves Held in Groups of One to Five				...in Groups of Six to Ten				...in Groups of Eleven to Fifteen			
			Number Owners	% of Group	Number Slaves	% of Group	Number Owners	%	Number Slaves	%	Number Owners	%	Number Slaves	%
Resident Owner	474	97	66	68%	200	42%	25	26%	200	42%	6	6%	74	16%
On Quarter With Overseer	518	35	7	20%	24	5%	10	29%	86	17%	3	8.5%	38	7%
Loudoun Totals	992	132	73	55%	224	22.5%	35	26.5%	286	29%	9	7%	112	11%

	%	In Groups of Sixteen to Twenty			...in Groups of Twenty-one to Thirty				...in Groups of Thirty-one to Forty				
		Number Owners	%	Number Slaves	Number Owners	%	Number Slaves	%	Number Owners	%	Number Slaves	%	
Resident Owner	16%												
On Quarter With Overseer	7%	8	23%	134	26%	3	8.5%	84	16%	3	8.5%	100	
Loudoun Totals	11%	8	6%	134	13.5%	3	2%	84	8%	3	2%	100	

	%	...in Groups Over Forty			
		Number Owners	%	Number Slaves	%
Resident Owner					
On Quarters with Overseer		1	3%	52	10%
Loudoun Totals		1	.75%	52	5%

TABLE-VII
 COMPARISON OF FAIRFAX/LOUDOUN SLAVEHOLDINGS, 1769/1760, BY
 RESIDENT/ABSENTEE STATUS, AND SLAVES BY HOLDING SIZE OF
 MORE OR LESS THAN TWENTY SLAVES.

	Total Hldgs	Total Absentee Owners	% Tot. Hldgs	Resident Owners	% Tot. Hldgs	Total Slvs ⁵	% on Qrts.	% Tot. Slvs	W/ Res. Owners	% Tot. Slvs	In Grps. 20+	In Grps. 20-	% Tot. Slvs	% Tot. Slvs
Fairfax ¹ 1749	189	27	14%	162	86%	1812 ²	54 ²	30%	1270	70%	750 ⁶	1062	41%	59%
Loudoun ³ 1760	132	35	27%	97	73%	992	51%	52%	474	48%	216 ⁶	756	24%	76%

¹ Includes all of what was Loudoun County in 1760.

² Nearly all of these slaves were in the lower parish, which would remain Fairfax after Loudoun Separation in 1757.

³ About a third of what is now Fairfax was part of Loudoun between 1757 and 1798.

⁴ All Loudoun slaves in groups of over 20 were on quarters.

⁵ Calculated using Dinwiddie formula.

⁶ All 750 Fairfax slaves in groups of 20+ were owned by 21 men in lower parish. Nine of these men, with 21% of all slaves (376), were also absentee owners.

percent of their slaves in groups of less than ten. No resident owner held over fifteen slaves. Over 70 percent of slaves held by absentee owners were in groups larger than that held by any resident owner. With over one-third of Loudoun slaves living in large groups on absentee quarters, an intra-plantation family network and inter-plantation slave society could have grown and developed. As inter-plantation visitation probably occurred in Loudoun, as in Fairfax, a similar exchange of cultural values between the slaves in the large and small holdings probably occurred as well. The pattern of increased absentee ownership of slaves (52 percent) that developed in Loudoun between 1749 and 1760, may have had a significant effect on slave cultural development. Nearly a third of Fairfax and over half of Loudoun slaves around mid-century did not have resident owners who could have worked alongside of them to modify their cultural and social adaptation.²⁶

The slaves of Fairfax and Loudoun appear to have shared a similar experience in terms of the size of the holdings in which they were kept (see table-VIII). The actual number of slaves held in various groups and the number of holders of these groups are largely irrelevant because the total number of slaves and of slaveowners was widely different in the two counties during the years of comparison. The significance of the comparison lies in

TABLE VIII
COMPARISON OF NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF HOLDERS AND SLAVES
FOR FAIRFAX COUNTY, 1749, AND LOUDOUN COUNTY, 1760 BY HOLDING SIZE

County	Total Slaves	Total Holdings	Slaves Held in Groups of One to Five				...in Groups of Six to Ten				...in Groups of Eleven to Fifteen			
			Number Holders	%	Number Slaves	%	Number Holders	%	Number Slaves	%	Number Holders	Number Holders	Number Slaves	%
Fairfax, 1749	1812	189	100	53%	344	19%	43	23%	340	19%	11	6%	136	7.5%
Loudoun, 1760	992	132	73	55%	244	22.5%	35	26.5%	286	29%	9	7%	112	11%

Parish	Number Holders	%	Slaves Held in Groups of Fifteen to Twenty		...in Groups of Twenty to Thirty		...in Groups of Thirty to Forty	
			Number Slaves	%	Number Holders	%	Number Slaves	%
Fairfax, 1749	14	7%	242	13%	14	7%	350	19%
Loudoun, 1760	8	6%	134	13.5%	3	2%	84	8%

Parish	...in Groups Over Forty			
	No Owners	% Parish Owners	No Slaves	% Parish Slaves
Fairfax, 1749	4	2%	288	16%
Loudoun, 1760	1	.75%	52	10%

relative percentages. The proportion of slaves in groups of one to twenty slaves each was about the same for the two counties.²⁷

There was a trend in both Fairfax and Loudoun for a significant proportion of all slaves to be held in groups of over twenty slaves, which should have reinforced the opportunity for slave family formation and cultural development afforded by the absentee ownership. In Loudoun, over half of all slaves lived on quarters with overseers, and over half of these, a quarter of all Loudoun slaves, on quarters of more than twenty fellow Africans in virtual isolation from daily intimate contact with whites. Little white/black interaction or acculturation is likely to have occurred, especially among this 25 percent of Loudoun slaves on the large absentee holdings. This left the Afro-American slave community free to develop its own values, a process even more undiluted on the five Loudoun plantations that had black overseers.

It thus seems that in both Fairfax and Loudoun a majority of slaves were living in circumstances that minimized Afro/Anglo-American interaction and acculturation, and encouraged the formation of indigenous slave values. The substantial proportion of slaves held in large groups, by absentee owners, or both, the geographical concentration of Fairfax slaves along the

river, and the probability that many, perhaps most, of the slaves were native born, all suggest that at mid-century the northern Virginia slave community was largely free to develop its own culture.

The adult sex ratio is another key indicator for determining the number of slaves imported into a region and the social and mating opportunities available to the slaves. In general, planters preferred to purchase men rather than women, a preference understood by the African slavers who also preferred to transport males.²⁸ Thus a heavy preponderance of males in a slave population suggests significant importation of African blacks. Russell Menard, investigating seventeenth-century slave society in Maryland found a "preponderance of males" with "the greatest imbalance occurring . . . when substantial numbers of slaves began to arrive in the Chesapeake colonies directly from Africa."²⁹ A study of seventeenth-century Virginia reported that the number of males among slave imports was over twice the number of females.³⁰ In a study closer to northern Virginia, both in time of settlement and physical distance, Allan Kulikoff, investigating eighteenth-century Prince George's County, Maryland, postulated a "relationship between sex ratios and slave imports" that can be traced on a decade by decade basis. His general conclusion is that "when larger numbers of slaves came in . . . the sex ratio [of

men to women] increased . . . then declined as soon as heavy African immigration ceased."³¹

It is obvious that any human population increasing primarily by natural reproduction will have a roughly equal sex ratio, and that in such a population most men will have an opportunity to find wives and establish a family. Likewise a high adult male-to-female ratio indicates many unmarried men, and in all likelihood a strong pressure on the available females to marry at a younger age. As the northern Virginia slave population increased throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, analysis of slave sex ratios will suggest whether most of the increase came from African importation or was of creole slaves either born in the area or marched up from home plantations in Westmoreland or Stafford counties.

As no population can increase rapidly by natural means unless the proportion of children is at least equal to the number of adults, sex and child/adult ratios are closely related. This is so for two reasons: first more children must be born and eventually reproduce or a net increase in the population cannot occur; second because mortality is higher among children than among adults and (since infants are included in the child/adult ratios) the proportion of children in the overall population must be significantly greater than the proportion of adults to allow for an increase. This will allow for infant mortality and still

allow more children to mature and reproduce than adults die.

An analysis of the sex and child/adult ratios among George Washington's 316 slaves in 1799, by farm of residence, is presented in table-IX. As the variations among the farms do not seem statistically significant (for example, the low proportion of children at the mansion house is clearly a result of the children being quartered with their mothers on the farms, and most of the servants needed at the house [coachmen, bricklayers, carpenter] were men), these data are summarized in table-X, which is a comparison of these ratios for six different groups of eighteenth-century northern Virginia slaves.

The ratios can first be calculated from the slaves listed in the probate inventories for Fairfax county beginning in 1742. Because the child/adult ratios calculated from this data have proven to be inaccurate in indicating the degree or even direction of change in the slave population as a whole, the data was grouped into two major periods, 1742 to 1770 and 1771 to 1800, each group being treated as representative of the slave population during that period. The proportions varied over time within these groups (perhaps even decade by decade in response to immigration), but data do not exist that will permit a closer or more accurate analysis to be made. The

TABLE IX
 GEORGE WASHINGTON'S SLAVES² IN 1799,
 BY SEX¹, AGE³, AND FARM

	HANSION HOUSE				Age Total		RIVER FARM				Age Total	
	Males	%	Females	%	Age Total by Farm	as % of Farm Total	Males	%	Females	%	Age Total by Farm	as % of Farm Total
Adults	45	65%	24	35%	69	71%	12	37.5%	20	62.5%	32	56%
Children	11	39%	17	61%	28	29%	17	68%	8	32%	25	44%
Total	56	58%	41	42%	97		29	51%	28	49%	57	

	HUDDY HOLE				Age Total		DOGUE RUN				Age Total	
	Males	%	Females	%	Age Total by Farm	as % of Farm Total	Males	%	Females	%	Age Total by Farm	as % of Farm Total
Adults	6	27%	16	73%	22	54%	7	30.5%	16	69.5%	23	51%
Children	9	47%	10	53%	19	46%	6	27%	16	73%	22	49%
Total	15	37%	26	63%	41		13	29%	32	71%	45	

	UNION FARM				Age Total		FRENCH'S SLAVES				Age Total	
	Males	%	Females	%	Age Total by Farm	as % of Farm Total	Males	%	Females	%	Age Total by Farm	as % of Farm Total
Adults	6	35%	11	65%	17	47%	11	55%	9	45%	20	50%
Children	11	55%	8	42%	19	53%	6	30%	14	70%	20	50%
Total	17	47%	19	53%	36		17	42.5%	23	57.5%	40	

NOTES FOR TABLE IX

¹Adults were all slaves over age thirteen; children, all under fourteen.

²Total of 316.

³Source: "Negroes Belonging to George Washington in his own Right and by Marriage." Manuscript compiled by Washington in 1799, now in Library, Mount Vernon, courtesy, Ellen McCallister, Librarian.

TABLE X
SIX EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NORTHERN VIRGINIA
SLAVE HOLDINGS, BY SEX, BY AGE

1 LOUDBON COUNTY 1760 ¹						2 FAIRFAX COUNTY 1742-1770					Age Total as % of Group Total	
	Males	%	Females	%	Total # Slaves		Males	%	Females	%	Totals	
Without Thompson Hason	123	56%	96	44%	219	Adults	223	50%	222	50%	445	
With ² Thompson Hason	23	88%	3	12%	26	Children	143	54%	121	46%	264	
Group Totals	146	60%	99	40%	245		366	52%	343	48%	709	

3 FAIRFAX COUNTY 1770-1800						4 JOHN TURBERVILLE 1799					Age Total as % of Group Total	
	Males	%	Females	%	Total # Slaves		Males	%	Females	%	Totals	
Adults	500	49%	521	51%	1021		31	62%	19	38%	50	71.5%
Children	194	57%	149	43%	343		3	18%	14	82%	17/20	28.5%
Group Totals	694	51%	670	49%	1364		34	51%	33	49%	67/70 ⁵	

	⁶ GEORGE WASHINGTON 1786						⁷ GEORGE WASHINGTON 1799					
	Males	%	Females	%	Total # Slaves	Age Total as % of Group Total	Males	%	Females	%	Totals	Age Total as % of Group Total
Adults	63	51%	61	49%	124	58%	87	47.5%	96	52.5%	183	58%
Children	47	52%	44	48%	91	42%	60	45%	73	55%	133	42%
Group Totals	110	51%	105	49%	215		147	46.5%	169	53.5%	316	

NOTES FOR TABLE X

¹Data from Loudoun County Tithables, 1758-1760, Loudoun County Courthouse, Leesburg, Va., microfilm, Fairfax County Public Library. Child/adult ratio not available as tithing lists included adult slaves only. The sex ratio was only calculated for slaves held on quarters as the holdings of the resident owners were in groups too small to allow intrplantation family life to develop, and, thus, to be affected by adult sex ratios.

²The very high proportion of males among the holdings of Thompson Mason, the largest slaveholder in Loudoun County, distorts or skews the county total by four percentage points if not segregated out.

³Data from Fairfax County probate inventories, 1742-1800. Initial calculations were done on a computer; final tabulation and calculations did not utilize computer analysis. The child/adult ratio extracted from this same source has proven unreliable. Total number of estates was 252.

⁴Data from "Mr. Turberville's Negroes," photocopy of original list owned by the late James M. Ball, Jr., of Richmond, Virginia. This list was brought to my attention by Mr. John Gott of Arlington, Virginia.

⁵The sex of three children was unknown. Age totals were calculated using 70 total slaves.

⁶Data from, Donald Jackson, et al., eds., The Diaries of George Washington, IV, 1784-1786 (Charlottesville, Va., 1976), 277-283.

⁷Data from table IX.

aggregate analysis, confined to three decades in each group, will at least indicate any drastic amount of African immigration, which should distort the sex ratio. The overall sex ratio will also suggest mating opportunity within the slave society.

For the 445 adult slaves recorded in the inventories from 1742 to 1770 the sex ratio was an even "one," that is one man for each woman, which suggests little African immigration and equal mating opportunity for most slaves. During the last thirty years of the century the sex ratio skewed slightly in the direction of more women than men (.96), suggesting very little African immigration, which is consistent with the general trend of economic and social change in northern Virginia during this period.

By 1770 nearly all the land in Fairfax and much of it in Loudoun had been settled. Moreover, the local planters were switching to wheat, a much less labor intensive crop than tobacco. Less new land and less need for labor on the existing farms and plantations decreased the need for slave immigration of any origin. Thus the higher proportion of adult females in a self-reproducing slave population may reflect a lower life expectancy for black males.

This assumption is born out by comparative analysis of the slave holdings of George Washington for the two years

in which he took an accurate listing of his slaves - 1786 and 1799 -- dates that are significant for other reasons as well. It has not been determined how Washington acquired most of his slaves or how he maintained his holdings prior to 1786. In that year, however, he specifically expressed his intention to cease any sort of commerce in slaves. In a letter to John Francis Mercer, 9 September 1786, Washington wrote "I never mean (unless some particular circumstance should compel me to it) to possess another slaves by purchase." Late that year, 6 November, he again assured Mercer of his "great repugnance to increasing my slaves by purchase."³²

This position was reiterated in his later writings as well as assurances that he was "principled against selling negroes."³³ In 1799, Washington died. So any changes in the proportions of men or women in his holdings in the intervening thirteen years may be assumed to have occurred by natural means.

In 1786 Washington's 124 adult slaves were almost evenly divided into men and women (the sex ratio was 1.03). By 1799, there was a clear preponderance of women among his slave holdings (the sex ratio had declined to .90). But by the latter date Washington had included in his holdings some forty slaves (twenty adults and twenty children) hired on a long-term contract from the widow of his neighbor, Daniel French. When French's twenty adult

slaves (eleven men and nine women) are subtracted from the 1799 totals, Washington's own slaveholdings appear even more sexually imbalanced with seventy-six men, and eighty-seven women (a sex ratio of .87). As Washington did not buy or sell slaves during this period, the change in the proportion of men indicates a lower life expectancy for males. Interestingly the child/adult ratio was the same in both years, at 42 percent children. The increase in the number of Washington's slaves (sixty-one in thirteen years, not counting those he hired from French) in spite of the low proportion of children, may perhaps be explained by assuming that before 1786, when he was still purchasing new slaves, he acquired predominantly young slaves who had not by 1799 reached the ages where deaths would significantly lower the total number still alive. In other words, Washington's 1786 holdings may have been mainly of young adults. If this was the case, then even the low proportion of children in his holdings would result in an overall increase because adults were not dying at a normal rate.

A comparison may be made between the relatively even sex ratios of slaves listed in the probate inventories and in Washington's holdings, and the 245 adult tithable slaves on Loudoun County Quarters in 1760, and a 1799 list of 70 slaves living at Woodberry, the Fairfax County plantation of John Turberville. The Loudoun slaves were

predominantly male (1.46), with three men for every two women; Turberville's slaves were likewise mostly male, even more so than in Loudoun (1.63). The Loudoun holdings were in themselves biased because Thomson Mason, the county's largest slaveholder, held nearly eight times as many men (23) as women (3). Without the Mason slaves, the Loudoun sex ratio was less biased (1.28) with about four women for every five men. Even so, there were clearly more males than females in the Loudoun slave population; the preponderance of males among Mason's slaves seems but an extreme example of the county trend. Reflecting the rapid growth of the new county, (1757) Loudoun in 1760 needed to import slave labor.

If the findings for seventeenth-century Virginia and Maryland regarding a preponderance of males in African imports holds for the mid- eighteenth century, and if Kulikoff's assertion that "after 1755 almost all of Virginia's black immigrants went to piedmont counties," of which Loudoun was one, then African importation may explain the bias toward male slaves in Loudoun County.³⁵ Although far from conclusive, the preponderance of male slaves in the Loudoun population at a time when the county was importing slaves, and when the majority of Virginia's predominantly African imports supposedly went to piedmont counties suggest that in 1760 many Loudoun County slaves were newly imported Africans.

On Loudoun quarters, where large holding size and absentee ownership should have encouraged intra-plantation family development, the high proportion of males would have severely limited it. On a quarter such as Thomson Mason's where there were nearly eight males for every female, family life was virtually impossible. If the male sex bias was due to African immigration then the favorable circumstance for family formation -- large holdings and absentee ownership -- may well have been neutralized. The language and other social handicaps of newly imported Negroes may have combined with the shortage of women to retard slave family and community development. The higher the proportion of Africans, the slower the adaptive culture should have developed.

The preponderance of both males and adults among Turberville's slaves clearly indicates that slave family life was also stunted at Woodberry. No population in which adults comprise 71 percent, and 62 percent of the adults are male, can exhibit a normal social relationship between the constituent men and women. Equally anomalous and totally inexplicable is the 82 percent of Woodberry slave children who were young girls.

Despite the Woodberry data, the overall data suggest that Fairfax imported few Africans, that most of the slaves could have lived in normal family groups, and that most of the population increase was brought about by

either natural increase or by immigration of creole slaves from elsewhere in Virginia. Loudoun, however, could have experienced a heavy immigration of males -- perhaps of African origin -- and, at least in 1760, this may have lessened the social opportunity for black men.

A Post-Revolutionary Slave Society

In the thirty-four years between 1749 and 1782, Fairfax became increasingly both a slave society and a society of slaves. Although changes in the number of slaves is not a meaningful indicator of overall change, variations in the proportions of the whole population as slaves and slaveholders indicates economic trends in the white society and social changes in both the black and white communities.

By 1782 the proportion of slaves in the Fairfax population had increased to 41 percent (from 28 percent in 1749), and the number nearly doubled from 1,812 slaves in 1749 to 2,605 in 1782 (see tables VII and VIII).³⁶ The number of households owning slaves also more than doubled from 189 to 420. By 1782, Fairfax had twice as many slaves, more than twice as many slaveholders (nearly a half of all households now owned slaves) and a population that had increased to over 40 percent black.

The growth of Fairfax as a slave society showed some regional variation (within the county), but nothing that can be tied to a trend to more slave density in any particular area. For example, district number six, which included George Washington (the county's largest slaveholder), was 65 percent slave (54 percent without Washington's 188 slaves). Yet district seven, directly south of Mount Vernon on the river, and district five, a little inland from that, were only 22 and 28 percent slaves respectively. The proportion of slaves in the whole population throughout the county was perhaps 35 to 45 percent.³⁷

In five districts (61 percent of all households), half or more of the households owned slaves (50 to 57 percent); the only district with less than 40 percent of its households owning slaves were five and seven. If these two districts are removed from the calculations, the percentage of slaves in the population of Fairfax increases to 44 percent and the proportion of households with slaves to 51 percent.

TABLE XI
ANALYSIS OF FAIRFAX COUNTY SLAVEHOLDERS IN 1783,
BY CENSUS DISTRICT

Table IV District	Total Pop.	Total White Population	Total Slaves	Percent of Population as Slaves	Number of Households	Percent of all House hold in County	Number House-holds with Slaves	Percent House-holds this District	Number House-holds Without Slaves	Percent House holds this District	District Slaves as percent of all Slaves
I	1745	1100	645	37%	205	23%	112	55%	93	45%	18%
II	822	460	362	44%	81	9%	46	57%	35	43%	10%
III	735	461	274	37%	70	8%	38	54%	32	46%	8%
IV	808	417	391	48%	67	8%	27	40%	40	60%	11%
V	619	481	138	22%	81	9%	21	26%	60	74%	4%
VI	853	302	551	65% ³	58	7%	31	53%	27	47%	15% ⁴
VII	554	399	155	28%	64	7%	24	37.5%	40	62.5%	4%
VIII	765	497	259	34%	77	9%	31	40%	46	60%	7%
IX	1236	716	520	42%	121	14%	61	50%	60	50%	14%
X	631	321	310	49%	60	7%	29	48%	31	52%	8.5%
Total	8763 ²	5154	3605	41%	884	100%	420	47.5%	464	52.5%	100%

¹This district included Fairfax County's only free black household at this date. These four free Negroes were not counted as slaves.

²Includes the free black household.

³This district included Fairfax County's largest slaveholder, George Washington with 188 slaves, a full 34 percent of all slaves in this district. Without Washington, but with two other large holdings comprising 29 percent of district total, the district percentage of slaves decreases to 54 percent.

⁴Without Washington's slaves, this is 10.59 percent.

TABLE XII
FAIRFAX COUNTY SLAVES AND HOLDERS, BY HOLDING SIZE, BY CENSUS DISTRICT IN 1783

District	Total Slaves as % of all This District	Dist. Slaves of all	Slaves Held in Groups of One				Slaves Held in Groups of Two to Five				Slaves Held in Groups of Six to Ten			
			Percent		Percent		Percent		Percent		Percent		Percent	
			Number of Owners	Number of Slaves	Number of Owners	Number of Slaves	Number of Owners	Number of Slaves	Number of Owners	Number of Slaves	Number of Owners	Number of Slaves	Number of Owners	Number of Slaves
I	645 ¹	18%	33	29%	32	5%	39	15%	110	17%	26	23%	187	29%
II	362	10%	12	26%	12	3%	14	10%	38	10%	10	22%	85	23%
III	274	8%	5	13%	5	2%	15	39%	47	17%	10	26%	83	30%
IV	391	11%	3	11%	3	.76%	10	37%	30	8%	8	30%	62	16%
V	138	4%	6	29%	6	4%	7	3%	21	15%	5	24%	40	29%
VI	551	15%	3	10%	3	.54%	6	19%	16	3%	7	23%	56	10%
VII	155	4%	7	29%	7	4.5%	7	29%	17	11%	4	17%	31	20%
VIII	259	7%	4	13%	4	1%	13	42%	46	18%	9	29%	58	22%
IX	520	14%	12	20%	12	2%	18	29%	47	9%	15	25%	121	23%
X	310	8.5%	7	24%	7	2%	9	31%	28	9%	3	10%	22	7%
TOTAL	3605		91	22%	91	2.5%	138	33%	402	11%	97	23%	745	21%
				of all owners		of all slaves		of all slaves		of all slaves		of all owners		of all slaves

¹ Does not include four free blacks in family of Charles Bell.

TABLE XII

District	Slaves Held in Groups of Eleven to Fifteen				Slaves Held in Groups of Sixteen to Twenty				Slaves Held in Groups of Twenty-one to Thirty			
	Number of Owners	Percent of District Owners	Number of Slaves	Percent of District Slaves	Number of Owners	Percent of District Owners	Number of Slaves	Percent of District Slaves	Number of Owners	Percent of District Owners	Number of Slaves	Percent of District Slaves
I	9	8%	123	19%	1	.9%	16	2%	3	3%	63	10%
II	5	11%	59	16%	3	7%	55	15%				
III	4	10%	52	19%	2	5%	37	14%	2	5%	50	18%
IV	2	7%	26	7%	1	4%	16	4%	1	4%	30	8%
V					1	5%	16	12%	1	5%	23	17%
VI	5	16%	65	12%	5	16%	90	16%	1	3%	27	5%
VII	5	21%	62	40%								
VIII	3	10%	42	16%	1	3%	18	7%				
IX	5	8%	70	13%	4	6%	71	14%	6	10%	160	31%
X	3	10%	40	13%	4	14%	77	25%	2	7%	46	15%
TOTAL	41	10% of all owners	539	15% of all slaves	22	5% of all owners	396	11% of all slaves	16	4% of all owners	399	11% of all slaves

TABLE XII

District	Slaves Held in Groups of Thirty to Forty				Number of Owners	Slaves Held in Groups of Over Forty				Names of Largest Slave Holders by District	Number Held by Largest Holders
	Number of Owners	Percent of District Owners	Number of Slaves	Percent of District Slaves		Number of Owners	Percent of District Owners	Number of Slaves	Percent of District Slaves		
I					2	2%	114	18%	John Carlyle-Alex. merchant Eleanor Custis	49 65	
II	1	2%	31	9%	1	2%	82	23%	John Lee, Estate	82	
III											
IV					2	7%	224	57%	Penelope French-Daniel Dulany William Fitzhugh Richard Chichester	102 122 32	
V	1	5%	32	23%					George Washington	188	
VI	3	10%	106	1.7%	1	3%	188	34%	Daniel McCarty	38	
VII	1	4%	38	24.5%					Thomas Fitzhugh	91	
VIII					1	3%	91	35%	Hoses Simpson	37	
IX	1	2%	37	7%					George Mason	90	
X					1	3%	90	29%			
TOTAL	7	1.6% of 244 all owners	7% of all slaves		8	1.9% of all owners	789	22% of all slaves			

TABLE XIII
COMPARISON OF FAIRFAX COUNTY SLAVEHOLDINGS, BY HOLDING SIZE, 1749-1782

Year	Total ¹ Popu- lation	Slave Pop- ulation	Slaves as % of Total Popu- lation	Number Slave Holders	% of all House- holds	% of White Popu- lation	Number House- holds not Owning Slaves	Percent of House holds not Owning Slaves	Slaves Held in Groups of 1 to 5			
									Number Owners	% of all Slave Owners	Number Slaves	% of All Slaves
1749	6304	1812	29%	189	29% ²	8%	467	71%	100	53%	344	19%
1782	8763 ³	3605	41%	420	47% ⁴	8%	464	52.5%	229	54%	493	14%
Change			+12%		+18%	No Change		-18.5%		+1%		-5%

	Slaves Held in Groups of 6 to 10				Slaves Held in Groups of 11 to 15				Slaves Held in Groups of 16-20			
	Number Owners	% of all Owners	Number Slaves	% of All Slaves	Number Owners	% of All Owners	Number Slaves	% of all Slaves	Number Owners	% of all Owners	Number Slaves	% of all Slaves
1749	43	23%	340	19%	11	6%	136	7.5%	14	7%	242	13%
1782	97	23%	745	21%	41	10%	529	15%	22	5%	396	11%
Change		No Change		+2%		+4%		+7.5%		-2%		-2%

	Slaves Held in Groups of 21 to 30				Slaves Held in Groups of 31 to 40				Slaves Held in Groups Larger Than 40			
	Number Owners	% of All Owners	Number Slaves	% of All Slaves	Number Owners	% of All Owners	Number Slaves	% of All Slaves	Number Owners	% of All Owners	Number Slaves	% of All Slaves
1749	14	7%	350	19%	3	1.5%	112	6%	4	2%	288	16%
1782	16	4%	399	11%	7	1.6%	81	7%	8	1.9%	789	22%
Change		-3%		-8%		+ .1%		+ .1%		- .1%		+6%

¹Population data for 1782 were taken from the census of that year. Total population figures for 1749 calculated using Dinwiddie formula.

²Of 656 enumerated households.

³Includes 4 free blacks.

⁴Of 884 enumerated households.

The size of Fairfax slaveholdings also changed; both the number and the proportion of slaves held in groups of forty or more significantly increased. The number of slaves held in these largest holdings increased nearly three times from 288 to 789; the proportion of slaves held in the same groups increased by about one-third (from 16 to 22 percent). At the same time the proportion of all slaves living in groups of less than six decreased from 19 to 14 percent of all slaves. The only way that the number of slaveholders with small holdings could increase at the same time that the actual number of slaves held by these men decreased was for the average size of the holdings to decrease. That is, more of these men now owned one or two slaves than in 1749 and fewer owned four or five. The average slaveholding among small owners was 3.4 in 1749 and 2.15 in 1782 -- a dramatic decrease.³⁷

There was also a sizeable increase in the number of owners who had eleven to fifteen slaves and of slaves held in groups of this size. The number of owners with such holdings increased almost four times from eleven in 1749 to forty-one in 1782. The actual number of slaves in such groups also increased nearly fourfold, while the proportion of all slaves doubled from 7.5 to 15 percent.

Not only was the Fairfax slave population increasing at almost double the rate of the white, but much of the increase, in both number of slaves and proportion of the

slave population occurred in the large holdings, which could have further encouraged the formation and continuation of slave family life on the plantations. Thus, most of the increase in the Fairfax slave population appears to be due to natural reproduction, rather than immigration from outside the county; this should have been especially true on the large plantations.³⁹ Ira Berlin has observed that as the eighteenth century wore on, Africans were more rapidly assimilated into Chesapeake Afro-American society, "eliminating the differences within black society that African importation had created." This most likely also applies to Fairfax.⁴⁰ The disproportionate increase in slaves on large plantations at a time when most African imports were purchased by small holders, along with even sex ratios among the county slaves generally, supports the conclusion that natural reproduction and a growing black family structure was primarily responsible for the increase in the number of slaves.

Although there was some regional variation within Fairfax relative to the size of the slave holdings, the variations appear to be random rather than indicative of any sort of general trend. District number six, on the river around Mount Vernon, for example, had the highest overall proportion of slaves and a high proportion of these in large holdings. The bias toward high slave

density and large holding in this geographical area is not surprising as some of the very earliest land grants in Fairfax had been taken along the river near Dogue Creek.⁴¹ Small parcels of land in the area for new inhabitants were scarce. High slave density and large slave holdings combined with absentee ownership should have made district six the most favorable area in Fairfax for the resident slaves to form families and work out their culture.

Comparison of the proportion of slaves in holdings of various sizes between Fairfax County and Prince George's County, Maryland (directly across the Potomac River from Fairfax) will help to determine whether northern Virginia was anomalous in the opportunity it afforded for development of an indigenous slave culture or whether it was actually part of a larger regional pattern (see table-XIII).⁴² The comparisons made here leave a high margin for error. The 1749 Fairfax data are taken from Green's tithing list -- an accurate enumeration of individuals for one year, but from which total numbers of slaves and holdings were calculated. The comparative Prince George's data were compiled from estate inventories for the entire decade 1741-1750. Both the representativeness of the Prince George's inventories and the conversion of Green's tithables to total blacks are open to question. Even so, the proportions of slaves by

holding size for these two counties at mid-century is close enough to suggest that the actual error is not statistically significant, and that there was a similarity of experience among the slaves on both sides of the river.

Table -XIV

Comparison of Proportions of Slaves,
by Holding Size,
for Prince George's County, Maryland, and
Fairfax County, Virginia,
1749-1750 and 1782-1790

	1-5 slaves	6-10 slaves	11-20 slaves	over 20 slaves
Fairfax 1749	19%	19%	20%	41%
Prince George's, 1741-1750	14%	18%	22%	48%
	1-5 slaves	6-10 slaves	11-20 slaves	over 20 slaves
Fairfax 1782	14%	21%	26%	41%
Prince George's, 1790 ¹	11%	13%	23%	52%

¹Prince George's data from Kulikoff, "Origins of Afro-American Society," *WMQ*, 3^d Ser., XXV (1978), 248; and "Tobacco and Slaves" (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1976), 185.

The main source of difference in both counties was in the under ten and over twenty slave categories. This is most likely explainable in one of three ways. First, there is an apparent statistical error in the Prince George's data as the percentages add up to 102; second, probate inventories are generally considered to be biased toward larger holdings, both because more older men who had time to accumulate wealth (slaves) die than younger men with less wealth (slaves), and because the larger the estate the more likely the decedent was to have left a will. Finally, the possibility that Prince George's simply had a larger proportion of slaves in groups of over twenty should not be dismissed; that this was actually the case is strongly suggested by the 52 percent of Prince George's slaves in holdings of over twenty slaves in 1790. This is a higher proportion than at mid-century, and higher still than Fairfax in 1782 (see table-XIV).

In spite of the eight-year hiatus in the data used for the 1782/1790 comparison, they are probably more accurate because both are based on individual enumerations taken in a single year for which no data needed to be "constructed" in order to effect a comparison. As the eighteenth century neared its end, a decreasing proportion of slaves in both counties were living in groups of less than six, with a corresponding increase in the proportion of slaves

in the larger holdings, especially in Prince George's. As the general trend for slaveholding in the Chesapeake was toward larger holdings as time progressed, some of the difference between the two counties in proportion of slaves held in the largest holdings may be due to the Maryland data being assembled eight years after that in Fairfax. A significant difference, however, would probably still exist. Yet the proportions of slaves in every holding size for both counties, at both mid- and late-century, indicate that Prince George's and Fairfax were part of a regional pattern affording a hospitable environment for the development of an Afro-American slave culture, with a majority of slaves living in groups of over ten each -- which Kulikoff maintains fostered family life and extended kinship.⁴³

Kulikoff's findings that after 1740 both slave density and family life increased in Prince George's, and that by 1775 between 40 and 50 percent of the people of Virginia's Northern Neck were black, seems to hold true for Fairfax.⁴⁴ But it appears that there was a greater concentration of slaves along the Virginia shore of the Potomac than across the river in Prince George's. The 20 to 40 percent of Prince George's population along the river who were slaves was below the 41 percent average for all of Fairfax, and far below the 65 percent around Mount Vernon. The "only one-third of the slaves [in Prince

George's] along the Potomac [who] lived on farms with over twenty of their fellows," is below the proportion in such holdings for Fairfax at the same time.⁴⁵

It appears that "Fairfax plantations were large, black population density high, few whites were present," and the slaves "could create a rudimentary cross-plantation society."⁴⁶ It also seems probable that "the confidence of the whites in their own hegemony allowed blacks a good measure of autonomy."⁴⁷ The trend toward larger large holdings in both counties may be explicable by lowered opportunity for economic mobility and slave acquisition for whites as the availability of land decreased and the price of slaves rose. But while this process may have decreased the number of whites for whom economic advancement was possible, it greatly expanded the number of blacks for whom increased social and cultural integration and advancement (taken as a measure of social and cultural quality to the individual slave, not increased status within the slave or white community) were available. At the same time it probably also effected a qualitative enrichment in the inter-plantation Afro-American slave community.

Fairfax Slave Families and Culture

Positive and specific evidence of slave family formation and even of an inter-plantation familial and cultural structure in eighteenth-century Fairfax is available from at least two sources. The estate inventories include numerous examples of holdings with only a slave woman, or women, and children with no male in the holding, which strongly suggests inter-plantation familial arrangements, or inter-plantation slave visitation. A few examples will illustrate the point.

The estate of Thomas Elzey in April 1744 included a "negro woman Phillis," and "negro boy James."⁴⁸ Robert Osborn's inventory listed three women (Sarah, Kate, and Aijah), and four children (Sam, Pegg, Prince, and Jack).⁴⁹ John Heryford's estate was two slave women, Phillis and Bess, and "one negro child."⁵⁰ Jeremiah Bronaugh's inventory included a slave woman, "Judy," and three Negro girls (Moll, Peg, and Winney).⁵¹ Over thirty years later, in 1776, the same pattern emerges. The estate of Henry Wisheart included a slave woman and one slave girl.⁵² In April 1779, Samuel Talbutt's inventory listed four Negro "Wenches" and four children, two boys and two girls.⁵³ Thomas Baylis' estate in 1780 enumerated a black woman "Amey," a "Negro girl named Sarah," and a "Negro child named Isaac."⁵⁴

Evidence of intra-plantation slave familial arrangements is also available but is difficult to substantiate as most inventories, rather than recording slaves by family group, list them separately as men, women, and children. Even so, it is occasionally possible to "reconstruct" slave families from other information found in the inventories.

An example may be found in the estate inventory of Thomas Colvill in 1772.⁵⁵ The Colvills were a long established Fairfax family. John Colvill, one of the original justices in Fairfax, had owned land in what was to become Fairfax as far back as the 1720s. It is not unlikely that Thomas inherited his slaves from John. Colvill's inventory includes three generations of at least one slave family: "old Tom, Tom's daughter Suke, and her child Charles." Also listed are "Nancy, Tom's daughter, . . . Jenny, her child, Molly, [and] Young Tom." The subheading for this portion of the inventory is "Tom's Quarter." Does this mean they were all living together as a family? Or perhaps Tom, as well as slave family patriarch, was acting as an overseer for a piece of land detached from Colvill's main plantation. Elsewhere among Colvill's slaves are "peg and her child Jerry, . . . young Fan and her children Allen and Billy, [and] Luke/Pegs daughter and her daughter Sib." If we assume that Luke was a man, this is clearly a slave family group.

The estate of a female decedent, Jane Herriford, included a "negro man, negro boy, . . . [and] negro woman and child," which may suggest a family group.⁵⁶ The inventory of John Manley in 1750 included a Negro woman called Jenny and three boys and one girl, all "Jenny's children."⁵⁷ In the same inventory are "a Negro woman called Bess . . . a boy called Harry . . . a girl, Sue [both] Bess's children." The inventory lists one man, Jack, in addition to the two women, Bess and Jenny, and a total of nine children. Perhaps Jack was the father of one woman's children and the other woman had a husband on another farm or plantation. If so, and it surely was in some Fairfax holdings, then all these children were exposed to the cultural values of both intra-plantation slave families and an expanded inter-plantation Afro-American culture. As successive generations of slave children grew up exposed to both familial and wider Afro-American cultural values, and as slave immigration declined, those slave values probably became indigenous to the northern Virginia slave community.

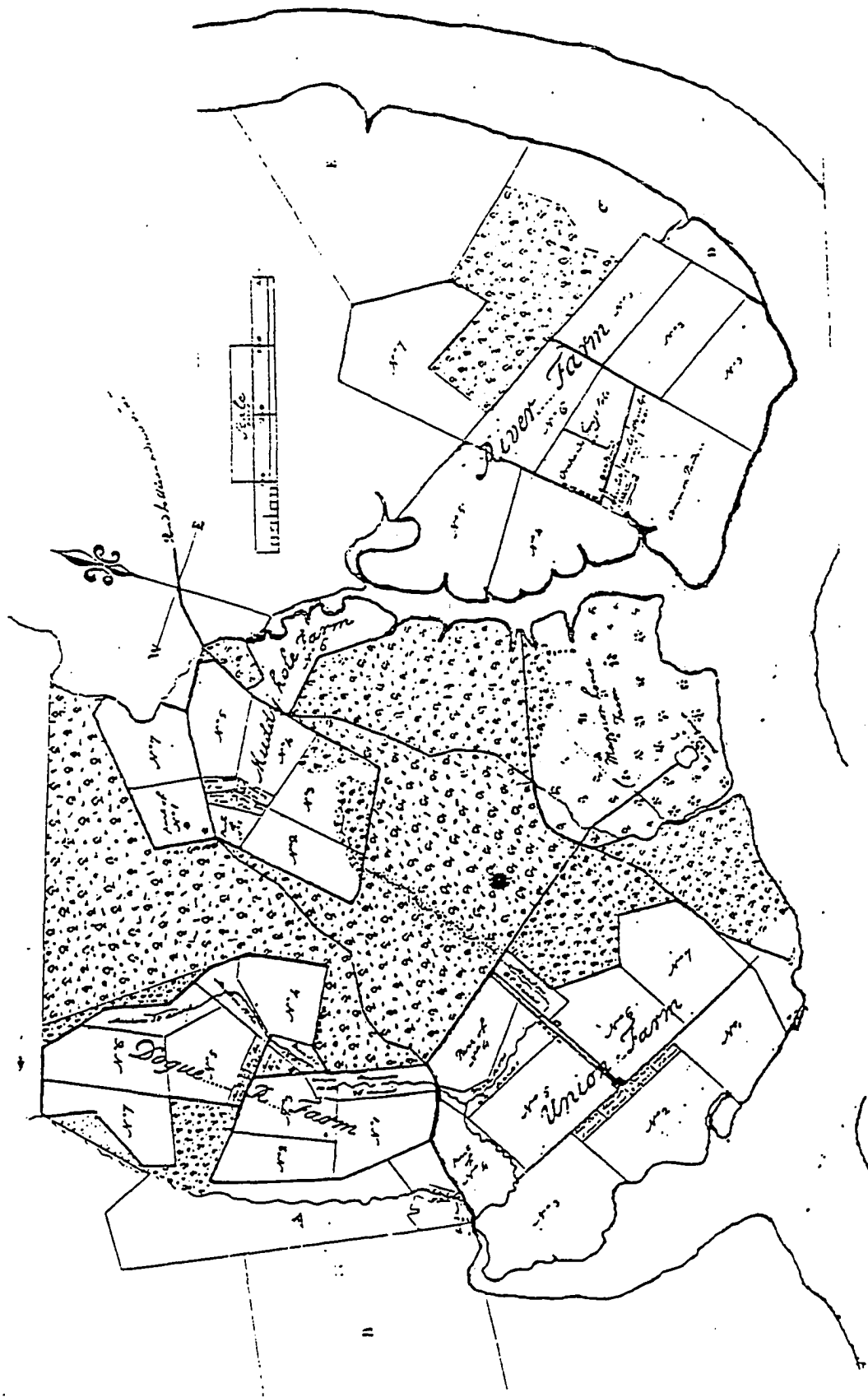
The best evidence, however, for the existence of both intra-plantation slave families and an expanded inter-plantation familial network that extended even across the Potomac River into Prince George's and Montgomery counties in Maryland are the slave holdings of George Washington. Washington was the largest slaveholder

in Fairfax county; he held 188 slaves in 1783,⁵⁸ 215 in 1786 (by his count),⁵⁹ and 316 in 1799, the year of his death.⁶⁰ The familial arrangements of his very large holding in 1799 and the connections his slaves had with other men's holdings are additionally significant because Washington was a longtime local resident and slaveholder (he had lived in Fairfax over fifty years at the time of his death), and was a member of the local governing elite (a county court justice and parish vestryman). He also had close personal ties with the other great slaveowning families of the area such as George Mason, or his nearest neighbors the Fairfaxes at Belvoir. His extensive holdings were in the center of the area of highest slave density (65 percent with his slaves and 54 percent without), which in turn was in the earliest and longest settled area of all northern Virginia. Both the size and location of his land and slave holdings and his social position with his white neighbors qualify Washington's slaves to be representative of Fairfax slave culture overall.

In June or July 1799, Washington made a complete listing of his slaves on each of the five farms of his sprawling Mount Vernon estate.⁶¹ Although the slaves are listed -- by farm -- as men, women, and children, it is possible to attempt a reconstruction of the family relationships of Washington's slaves, where such families

MAP DRAWN BY GEORGE WASHINGTON SHOWING

LOCATION OF HIS FIVE FARMS IN 1793



existed, to determine which slaves lived outside of families, and to establish some familial relationships between the farms and with the slaves on other men's plantations. (Map-II, drawn by Washington in 1793, indicates the arrangement of the five farms on the Mount Vernon Estate.)⁶² The slaves were domiciled or quartered on the farm where they were assigned to work rather than by family units, although families doubtless lived together when quartered on the same farm. Washington recognized the familial arrangements, and even noted when slave spouses were off his property.

Approximately ninety slaves were domiciled on the grounds of the mansion house, including four complete slave families with children, two childless couples, three women with children but without husbands, and five women with husbands on other farms or plantations. There were also fourteen single women, seven single men, and twenty men with wives or families elsewhere. Three men had wives and children at Muddy Hole Farm; three had wives, and three wives and children, at River Farm; four, including Washington's personal body servant, "Will," had families at the Dogue Run Farm, and three had families at Union Farm. Sinah, also had a husband, Ben, domiciled at the mill. It is clear that Washington's slaves established families, and that he recognized this relationship. All of the young children were quartered with the mothers on the various farms.

At the mansion-house complex itself, as early as 1787, Washington maintained a substantial two-story "house for families," that was superior to the quarters on the farms.⁶³ This was later replaced by the greenhouse quarters, a series of rooms with fireplaces that shared one-half of a long brick building with the greenhouse. Each "apartment" had a fireplace and several bunk beds, the latter apparently a unique innovation of Washington's.⁶⁴

How often the slaves with spouses or family elsewhere got to visit their mates is unclear. It was four miles by land, around the intervening creek, to River farm and somewhat less to the other quarters. Whatever Washington's policy about family visitation was, his caution to his overseers to avoid "the effect of nightwalking," indicates that surreptitious nocturnal visits were common among the slaves. Richard Parkinson, an Englishman who visited Mount Vernon in 1799, noted in his journal "though you have them slaves all the day, they are not so in the night . . . the men are lecherous and the women lewd. All the black men . . . used to be out all night and return in the morning."⁶⁵ Whatever Parkinson's judgment of the individuals involved, it seems clear that the slaves did visit wives and family on a regular basis.

Of most interest regarding the mansion-house slaves

are four men and four women with spouses on other men's holdings. That Washington knew of and noted these relationships would suggest he allowed his slaves to visit kin on other plantations, some at a great distance, and that other local slaveowners did the same. Betty Davis had a husband at Hayfield, slightly inland and downriver from Mount Vernon, the home of the widow of George's cousin, Lund Washington. Lucy, a knitter, had her husband at Daniel McCarty's "Cedar Grove," downriver a few miles near Pohick Bay. Grace Dundee and Tom Davis had spouses at Tobias Lear's "Wellington" (Walnut Hill Farm), land rented from Washington at the northern extreme of River Farm.⁶⁶ Chriss had a wife at "Major West's" plantation (Bellehaven) just south of Alexandria, a distance of seven or eight miles. Muclus [Mulclus?], a bricklayer, had a wife at "Captain Marshalls." This most likely refers to Thomas Marshall who resided at "Marshall Hall" across the Potomac from Mount Vernon. In 1779 Washington had purchased part of what later became Union Farm from Marshall.⁶⁷ Perhaps Muclus, and Lucy -- quartered at Union Farm -- established relationships with Marshall's blacks before 1779, and that when Marshall sold the land to Washington and took his slaves across the river to Maryland, the slaves refused to give up the family connections. It is not known whether Muclus was allowed to cross the river to visit his family, or whether Lucy's

husband was allowed to come to see her. It seems unlikely, however, that some sort of visitation did not take place. If the relationships were in fact formed as early as 1779 and were still viable as late as 1799, it is very significant that these slave marriages had lasted for the intervening twenty years because family stability was clearly important in development of a slave culture. (A documented slave marriage of this tenure in northern Virginia would also help to neutralize a rather prevalent opinion that slave unions were only transient affairs.) Finally, Anna had a husband at Georgetown. On whose holding this slave lived or how the relationship developed is not known. But if Washington allowed his Negroes to journey seventeen miles upriver and then ferry to the Maryland side of the river, or if the slave husband made the journey to Mount Vernon, then the inter-plantation slave network was very extensive and slave culture could have been exchanged, in this and the Marshall case, with Maryland slaves as well. This would appear to have been the situation as Washington took time to note that Anna's husband was at Georgetown, and as the woman had three small children, the youngest only eighteen-months old.

Of special interest at the mansion house are Alce with four children whose husband was Charles "a freeman" (so noted by Washington), and Caroline with five children,

Peter Hardman noted as the husband and father. These men were not among Washington's slaves and it is curious he did not indicate they were at some other plantation. Charles was, judging from Washington's notation, a free black; Hardman may have been as well, perhaps among the growing class of these people at Alexandria.

Washington's largest farm, with slaveholdings second only to the mansion house, was River Farm. There resided fifty or sixty slaves "warmly lodged chiefly in houses of their own building," but which Washington was forced to admit to the Englishman Arthur Young "might not be thought good enough for the workmen or day labourers of your country."⁶⁸ These accommodations were described by a visitor to Mount Vernon in June 1798 as "huts . . . one can not call them by the name of houses. They are more miserable than the most miserable cottages of our peasants. The husband and wife sleep on a mean pallet, the children on the ground; a very bad fireplace."⁶⁹ There was, of course, a much better house for the overseer on each farm. Aside from the qualitative comments on the housing, the visitor recorded that Washington's slaves were living in family units. The slave housing on all the farms was roughly equivalent.

Among the fifty-seven slaves resident at River Farm in 1799 were five couples, one with three children, six women (three with children) with husbands at the mansion house,

three women with no husband (one with five children), and five single men. There were also three orphan children; Hannah the twelve-year-old daughter of husbandless Rose had apparently had a daughter "Daphne," now dead. Of most interest for an extended slave-family network, however, were the four women (three with children) whose husbands were off the plantation. Two, Alce and Betty, had husbands at Lears; Fanny's spouse was at "Alexanders," above Alexandria, a distance of perhaps ten miles, and Suckey's husband "belongs to Adams," who probably lived upriver from Mount Vernon. There were no familial relationships with slaves on any of Washington's other farms. That there were none with the Muddy Hole slaves is surprising as the two farms were contiguous, separated only by Little Hunting Creek. Indeed, the overland route from River Farm to the mansion house was through Muddy Hole. Yet, the relationships either did not exist, or were not noted by Washington.

There were forty-one slaves at Muddy Hole in 1799, housed in what Washington described in 1793 as "covering for about thirty negroes," and in 1796 as "sufficient for fifteen or more with their families."⁷⁰ Washington's comment suggest that he not only recognized the family groups but tried to allow them to live together when possible. Five women (four with children) had husbands at other farms, four at the mansion house and one at Union

Farm; all the women, except old Nanny, had young children under age two, indicating regular conjugal visits. There were three husbandless women with children, three single women, a married but childless "Virgin," whose husband was at Lear's, and two single girls, fourteen-year-old Patience and Mary, age eleven; the mothers of both girls lived at Union Farm. In addition to three single males, thirty-year-old Gabriel's wife "blind Judy" (age fifty) lived at Douge Run. There were two men with wives in residence; Davy the black overseer, and Will, who appears to have been a "minister." Surely this man was not, in 1799, ordained, but apparently he fulfilled this role within the slave community. His wife, Kate, is known to have been a midwife to the slaves.⁷¹

Among the forty-five slaves at Dogue Run were four complete families, four women with children whose husbands were at the mansion house (here also the numerous and very young children indicate regular conjugal visits), two single men, five husbandless women -- two of whom had children -- and eighteen-year-old Kate with a husband at "Moretons."⁷² Also at Dogue Run was "blind Judy" whose husband, Gabriel lived at Muddy Hole. One of the single males was Lawrence, age fourteen, whose mother was at the mansion house. Apparently fourteen was the age at which Washington felt his slaves were no longer children and could be separated from their mothers. Such a distinction

again indicates Washington's concern about slave family life. Nowhere on the 1799 slave census did he list an individual under fourteen as "children," and occasionally thirteen or even twelve-year-olds are listed with the adults.

At Union Farm, the most recent of Washington's acquisitions associated with his home estate, were thirty-six slaves, none of whom lived in a complete family. Three women with children had husbands at the mansion house; three others (two with children) had husbands at Hayfield, and one, Lucy, had a husband across the river at Marshall's. Two old men had wives off the plantation: Sam's wife was at Daniel Storers, which cannot be located; Will's wife was at French's, nearby and a bit inland. Four women with children had no husband. There were ten single women and eleven single men -- also three orphan children of two deceased mothers. Five Union Farm blacks had mothers or children either on other farms or off the plantation. At Union Farm family life was at its lowest among the Washington slaves, and the separation of mothers from their children was at its highest. Possible reasons for this are that Union Farm was a later acquisition than the other holdings; also, in order to get part of the Union Farm land, Washington had to agree to hire a number of Negroes from the widow of Daniel French during her lifetime.⁷³ Among the thirty-six Union Farm

slaves were about twenty-seven blacks belonging to French, whom Washington had hired since about 1786. It appears that Washington agreed not only to hire a certain number of slaves but also to increase this by any children born to them during the period of the hire. The major reason for the lack of family life at Union Farm, however, was almost certainly the short period of time that he had maintained a slave force there, and that he stopped buying new (presumably young and unmarried) slaves around 1786. As in any other human society it took family life a while to develop among any given group of slaves, and those slaves had to include enough young adults for the process to take place. That Washington noted no families at Union Farm, which was a recent acquisition and where there may have been few young adults, when family life was so extensive among the remainder of his blacks substantiates the assertion that given time and the proper conditions the slave families developed. It also suggests that Washington's notations regarding slave husbands and wives referred to serious and lasting, rather than casual and transient, relationships.

It is clear that Washington recognized the slave family, provided for familial quartering, and allowed --or at least acknowledged -- conjugal visits of his slaves between his farms and to other plantations at some distance. In 1796, when he was attempting to rent his

farms, he observed to his overseer "how much the Dower Negroes and my own are intermarried, and the former with the neighboring Negroes."⁷⁴ The following year, 1797, when he was attempting to purchase or hire a new slave cook, being forced to this action by the former cook running off, and when a black cook was recommended to him, he inquired "whether he has a wife, and expects to have her along with him; and in that case, what children they have."⁷⁵ In the last year of his life, barely four months before his death, after complaining that "I have more working Negroes . . . than can be employed to any advantage in the farming system," he not only refused to sell any slaves but even to hire them out "because they could not be disposed of in families to my advantage, and to disperse the families I have an aversion."⁷⁶ Indeed, even his desire and instruction in his last will and testament that his slaves be freed and cared for was delayed until his wife's death because freeing them during her lifetime would "be attended with such inseparable difficulties on account of their intermixture with the Dower Negroes, as to excite the most painful sensations."⁷⁷ On his own farms children were not indiscriminately separated from their mothers and most children grew up experiencing, at least indirectly, the bonds of an intact nuclear family.

The familial arrangements and privileges of Washington's slaves are not as important in their own right as in their representativeness of the northern Virginia slave-society-at-large -- especially that of tidewater Fairfax. Having spouses and conducting regular visits off the Mount Vernon lands by Washington's slaves clearly required not only the permission and cooperation of the other local slaveowners, but the acceptance by the white community of Negroes going about on the roads and even crossing the river to Maryland. Not only did family groups on the large holdings establish and perpetuate supportive family values, but conjugal visits between holdings extended the family network, probably even to the smallest holdings. Such conjugal visits served as the perfect vehicle for spreading the general slave culture from the large holdings to the smaller ones, and to allow the increased acculturation of blacks in closer contact with whites on small holdings to enter the overall slave culture. Neither George Washington nor his 316 slaves lived in a cultural or social vacuum. The social experience of his slaves is representative for this very reason, a fact whose significance is increased by his slaves having lived in that area of northern Virginia with the highest slave density. An extensive slave family network and with it, by implication, an adaptive Afro-American slave culture did exist in northern

Virginia. The exact characteristics of that culture are another matter, but its existence provided the basis for the slave experience of the first half of the nineteenth century.⁷⁸

The slave society and the society of slaves that grew and developed in northern Virginia in the last six decades of the eighteenth century exhibited many of the characteristics of tidewater Chesapeake slavery throughout Virginia and Maryland; at the same time it showed some regional variation and, perhaps, in the Loudoun piedmont recapitulated the earlier stages of tidewater slave experience. Almost from its inception as a county, Fairfax had a population that was a quarter or more black, with a heavy concentration of slaves on the plantations near the river. After 1757, the slave population of the Loudoun piedmont increased rapidly from the 4 percent it had been in 1749 to nearly 30 percent by 1760. In both counties a pattern of absentee maintenance of slaves on quarters, especially by the large slaveowners, was widespread. This pattern of large holdings, absentee ownership, and heavy concentration of Fairfax slaves along the river, provided the opportunity for the development of an intra-plantation Afro-American family structure to develop.

In Fairfax there is little indication of importation of African blacks, the majority of the local slaves

probably coming up from the Westmoreland, Stafford, and Prince William County plantations of the great slaveholders, or being imported from Barbadoes. In either case, creole slaves who already had some adaptive skills probably made up the vast majority of northern Virginia holdings. Sex ratios were roughly even, and natural reproduction was apparently high.

In Loudoun County, African immigration may have accounted for a significant proportion of the slave increase, especially during the rapid growth of the early 1760s. Sex ratios badly biased toward males both reflect such immigration and would have increased the retardation of slave family and community development that African importation implied.

By the late eighteenth century, an extensive intra- and inter-plantation slave family network had developed in northern Virginia; with it, in all likelihood, an adaptive Afro-American culture grew as well. This should have been especially true in the large holdings along the river, but in all probability the process of family formation and cultural development extended inland and encompassed virtually all of the area slaves. The acceptance of inter-plantation and even inter-state slave conjugal visits by the white society-at-large would have allowed the Afro-American families and culture to spread throughout the region. The apparent lack of friction

between the white and black society of northern Virginia continued on into the next century when there was local social pressure not to sell slaves and for traders not to dismember slave families.

The second half of the eighteenth century was the formative period for slavery in northern Virginia. The slave culture that existed in Fairfax and Loudoun counties by 1800, would change and work itself out in the early nineteenth century until it was battered by the Civil War, and then forceably destroyed by the thirteenth amendment.

Notes for Chapter-I

[Notes to pages 14-20.]

¹Nan Netherton, Donald Sweig, et al., Fairfax County, Virginia: A History (Fairfax, Va., 1978), 8-10, 15-17, 36-39.

²Gerald W. Mullin, Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth-Century Virginia (London, 1972), IX.

³Peter H. Wood, "' I Did the Best I Could for My Day': The Study of Early Black History During the Second Reconstruction, 1960 to 1976," WMQ, 3^d Ser., XXXV (1978), 219.

⁴Allan Kulikoff, "The Origins of Afro-American Society in Tidewater Maryland and Virginia, 1700 to 1790," WMQ, 3^d Ser., XXXV (1978), 258; and Kulikoff, "Tobacco and Slaves: Population, Economy and Society in Eighteenth-Century Prince George's County, Maryland" (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1976), chapt. 6.

⁵Ira Berlin, "Time, Space, and the Evolution of Afro-American Society in British Mainland North America," American Historical Review, LXXXV (1980), 76-77; Kulikoff, "Time, Space, and the Origins of Afro-American Society," WMQ, 3^d Ser., XXXV (1978), 257.

⁶Kulikoff, ibid., 240, 258.

⁷Allan Kulikoff, "A 'Prolifick People': Black Population Growth in the Chesapeake Colonies, 1700-1790," Southern Studies, XVI (1977); Kulikoff, ibid., 238-240; Russell R. Menard, "The Maryland Slave Population 1658 to 1730: A Demographic Profile of Blacks in Four Counties," WMQ, 3^d Ser., XXXII (1975), 33-35, 38-42, 47-49; Berlin, "Evolution of Afro-American Society," AHR, LXXXV (1980), 71.

⁸Berlin, ibid.; Menard, ibid., 36-45 and passim; Kulikoff, "Origins of Afro-American Society," WMQ, 3^d Ser., XXXV (1978), 231-236; Mullin, Flight and Rebellion, chapt. 2; Kulikoff, "Tobacco and Slaves," 186-191.

⁹Wood, "I did the Best I Could for My Day," WMQ, 3^d Ser., XXXV (1978), 204.

[Note to pages 20-26.]

¹⁰Philip D. Curtin, The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census (Madison, Wis., 1969), 268; James A. Rawley, The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade (New York, 1981), 428.

¹¹Herbert S. Klein, "Slaves and Shipping in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, III (1975), 383, 392, 410, 385, 411-412, 387, 394, 408, 385, 408.

¹²Wood, "I Did the Best I Could for My Day," WMQ, 3^d Ser., XXXV (1978), 205; Berlin, "Evolution of Afro-American Society," AHR, LXXXV (1980), 74.

¹³W. E. Minchinton, "The Virginia Letters of Isaac Hobhouse, Merchant of Bristol," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, LXVI (1958), 282; Mullin, Flight and Rebellion, 14; Berlin, "Evolution of Afro-American Society," AHR, LXXXV (1980), 74-74.

¹⁴Kulikoff, "Tobacco and Slaves," 73; Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery, I (Boston, 1974), 25.

¹⁵Kulikoff, "Origins of Afro-American Society," WMQ, 3^d Ser., XXXV (1978), 245. It is difficult to determine whether Kulikoff meant to include the northern Virginia piedmont in this generalization, or just what he felt the situation was regarding slave imports to the Virginia counties of Fairfax and Loudoun. Fairfax is primarily a tidewater county (defined as below the fall line) and Loudoun is clearly piedmont. His assertion that 21 percent of adult Fairfax blacks had entered the county between 1750 and 1755 seems open to question. He arrived at the total number of blacks imported to Fairfax by multiplying the number of children brought before the county court to have their ages judged for tithing purposes [William Waller Hening, A Collection of The Laws of Virginia from 1619, VI (Richmond, Va., 1819), 41] by four. (Kulikoff, *ibid.*, 230, n. 10) How he determined what percentage this was of the population increase of Fairfax blacks between 1750 and 1755 is unclear. But in both cases the methodology is open to question. How did he determine that a quarter, rather than (for example) a third or a half of slave imports were children? Second, how was the actual black population for either 1750 or 1755 determined? The available tithing information is for total tithables, black and white. To determine what percentage imports were of the slave population it is first necessary to determine the proportion that blacks

[Notes to pages 26-30.]

were of total tithables, subtract the 1750 figure from the 1755 figure to determine difference (increase?) and then to determine the percentage of this increase in slaves represented by the estimated number of imports. There is no reliable method I have found for determining proportions of blacks and whites among the total tithables on a yearly basis. Additionally the recorded number of tithables for 1755 shows a decrease from 1754 which would make determination of percentages of whites and blacks in total tithables all the more difficult. (Fairfax County Court Minute Book, 1754-1756, part-I, 165, part II, 438). Further, the importance of this procedure is to determine the rate of "immigration of Africans," to various Virginia counties (Kulikoff, ibid., 245). The law, however, required all slave children brought into Virginia to be judged regardless of origin, and there is reason to suspect a significant proportion of slaves coming into Fairfax were of creole or West Indian origin. The inexactitude of Kulikoff's method leaves his conclusion that 21 percent of Fairfax blacks in 1755 were newly imported Africans open to serious question. And, as I shall subsequently demonstrate, the profile of Loudoun slaveholdings, which was a piedmont county, was significantly different from that of Fairfax.

¹⁶For ships clearing inward with slaves on Rappahannock River, 1742-1764, see Elizabeth Donnan, ed., Documents Illustrative of the Slave Trade to America, IV, "The Border Colonies and the Southern Colonies" (Washington, D.C., 1935), 210, 214-215, 217 (probably from Africa via York), 226, 227-228 (over 1,000 African blacks were landed on the Rappahannock in the summer of 1761, the very peak of the African importations, and during a period of significant increase in the northern Virginia slave population), 229, 230, 231.

¹⁷For list of major Fairfax slaveholders in 1749, see Netherton, Sweig, et al., Fairfax County Virginia, 32; For Fairfax family see, Kenton Kilmer and Donald Sweig, The Fairfax Family in Fairfax County (Fairfax, Va., 1975), 25-35.

¹⁸"Fairfax County List of Tithables for 1749," Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

¹⁹Hening, Laws of Virginia, VI, 40-41.

[Notes to pages 30-42.]

²⁰Dinwiddie's estimate is in agreement with the proportion of children on a 1782 census (xerox in possession of author) taken for Fairfax County.

²¹Beth Mitchell, Beginning at a White Oak . . . : Patents and Northern Neck Grants of Fairfax County, Virginia (Fairfax, Va., 1977), 168 and map.

²²"Eighteenth Century Maryland As Portrayed in the Itinerant Observations' of Edward Kimber," Maryland Historical Magazine, LI (1956), 327; Kulikoff, "Tobacco and Slaves," 206.

²³These include George Mason, 22 slaves; Gerard Alexander, 24; Abraham Barnes, 24; Catesby Cocke, 28; Gedney Clarke, 28 (Clarke did not own any Fairfax land, but as brother-in-law of William Fairfax, he may well have leased some of the Fairfax land at Belvoir along the river); Lord Fairfax (Belvoir), 30; Lawrence Washington, 54; Hugh West, 20; John Colvil, 58; Daniel French, 30; Aylet heirs, 28; and John Graham, 20, for a total of 183 slaves on twelve large holdings.

²⁴Mintz, "History and Anthropology," 483, n. 18; as if to emphasize the obviousness of this process, Mintz notes that "surely it need not be pointed out," and that "how 'African' all [his emphasis] Americans are is conventionally hidden by the assumption that, under conditions of oppression, acculturation is a one-way street."

²⁵The analysis of Loudoun Slave population and tables VI, VII, and VIII are based on "Loudoun County Tithables, 1758-1760," Loudoun County Courthouse, Leesburg, Va. This material was brought to my attention by Beth Mitchell, of McLean, Virginia.

²⁶Of the 189 slaveholders in Fairfax in 1749, 27 (14 percent) were absentee owners holding their slaves on quarters with an overseer. In Loudoun in 1760, 35 of 132 holders were absentees; this was 27 percent of all holders and nearly double the proportion in Fairfax. The 14 percent of absentee Fairfax owners in 1749 held 30 percent of the slaves; the nearly double 27 percent in Loudoun in 1760, held only 52 percent of the slaves.

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²⁷An exception to this is the 50 percent more slaves held in groups of six to ten (29 %) in Loudoun, over that (19%) in Fairfax.

²⁸Menard, "Maryland Slave Population," WMQ, 3^d Ser., XXXII (1975), 33.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Wesley Frank Craven, White, Red, and Black: The Seventeenth-Century Virginian (Charlottesville, Va., 1977), 98-100.

³¹Kulikoff, "Tobacco and Slaves," 76.

³²John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799, XXIX (Washington, D.C., 1939), 5, 56.

³³Ibid., XXXIV (1940), 47-48.

³⁴The sex of 14 of the 259 slaves held on Loudoun quarters in 1760 could not be determined by names alone. Such names as Tene, Kook, Fortune, Malengailee, or Punborough are difficult to assign to either a man or a woman. If males and females appeared to be listed by sex, the questionable name can be added to that group. But if the sexes were interspersed the determination of sex for some names, as above, is highly questionable.

³⁵Menard, "Maryland Slave Population," WMQ, 3^d Ser., XXXII (1975), 33; Craven, Red, White, and Black, 98-100; Kulikoff, "Origins of Afro-American Society," WMQ, 3^d Ser., XXXV (1978), 245.

³⁶Analysis for 1782, and tables XII and XIII, are based on "A List of the Number of People both White and Black in the County of Fairfax in 1782," photostat of original document (location unknown) in Library at Mount Vernon estate, courtesy of John Castellani, Resident Director, and Ellen McCallister, Librarian. This is the only known full and accurate census for Fairfax county in the eighteenth century. Because the 1790 federal census for Fairfax County is lost, this 1782 enumeration was published in "Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States in the Year 1790: Records of the State Enumerations, 1782 to 1785, Virginia (Baltimore, Md., 1970), 16-18, 85-87. My analysis utilized the original

[Notes to pages 57-64.]

manuscript, before I was aware of the printed version. Data for 1749 is from tables III and VI.

³⁷The geographical locations represented by each of the ten enumerated districts on the 1782 census were determined by identifying the prominent names on the lists. For example, list number one was taken by William Ramsey and includes the name of John Carlyle; both men were Alexandria merchants. This list also includes Eleanor Custis, widow of John Parke Custis, whose plantation, "Abingdon," was on the river, north of Alexandria, approximately at the present location of Washington National Airport. It was possible to locate the individuals on some lists more easily than others. I am indebted for the assistance given me in locating the names on the lists to Edith Sprouse and Beth Mitchell, both of whom are very familiar with the location of eighteenth-century Fairfax County landholdings.

³⁸Calculated by dividing the number of slaves by the number of slaveholders.

³⁹Because under Virginia law all slave children belonged to the mother's owner, a small holder whose male slave or slaves went to another farm to mate saw no increase in his holdings from offspring. In a large holding where both parents belonged to the same master, the number of offspring was added to the number of both parents in many families. Also, not only did resident status of both parents facilitate natural reproduction, but the prospect of living with the resulting family may have had a positive psychological effect in encouraging slaves to reproduce.

⁴⁰Berlin, "Evolution of Afro-American Society," AHR, LXXXV (1980), 76.

⁴¹For dates and locations of land grants in Fairfax, see Mitchell, Beginning at a White Oak, and accompanying map; Robert Moxham, The Colonial Plantations of George Mason, and Great Hunting Creek Land Grants, both (Springfield, Va., 1974); and Netherton, Sweig, et al., Fairfax County, Virginia, 11-17.

⁴²Prince George's data is from Kulikoff, "Origins of Afro-American Society," WMQ, 3^d Ser., XXXV (1978), 248; and "Tobacco and Slaves," 185. The 1750 Prince George's data is from the county estate inventories 1741-1750. The

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1790 data is from the United States census. Fairfax data from table-XIII.

⁴³Kulikoff, "Origins of Afro-American Society," WMQ, 3^d Ser., XXXV (1978), 240.

⁴⁴Ibid., 250.

⁴⁵Ibid., 252; "Tobacco and Slaves," 205.

⁴⁶Kulikoff, "Origins of Afro-American Society," WMQ, 3^d Ser., XXXV (1978), 262.

⁴⁷Berlin, "Evolution of Afro-American Society," AHR, LXXXV (1980), 55.

⁴⁸Fairfax County Will Book, A-1, 49.

⁴⁹Ibid., 51.

⁵⁰Ibid., 57.

⁵¹Ibid., 82.

⁵²Ibid., D-1, 57.

⁵³Ibid., 109.

⁵⁴Ibid., 172.

⁵⁵Ibid., C-1, 146.

⁵⁶Ibid., B-1, 54.

⁵⁷Ibid., A-1, 383.

⁵⁸See table-XII.

⁵⁹See table-XIII.

⁶⁰See table-XIII.

⁶¹"Negroes Belonging to George Washington in his Own Right and by Marriage," Original manuscript in library, Mount Vernon Estate, through courtesy of Ellen McCallister, Librarian. This list is printed in Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXXVII (1940), 265-268. As the transcription contains errors, I have used the original document in Washington's hand.

[Notes to pages 73-79.]

⁶²Map adapted from facsimile reproduction in Lawrence Martin, ed., The George Washington Atlas, (Washington, D.C., 1932).

⁶³The "Quarters for Families," is indicated on the 1787 "Plan of Mount Vernon," drawn by Samuel Vaughn, original at Mount Vernon. See also Charles Cecil Wall, George Washington: Citizen-Soldier (Charlottesville, Va., 1980), 59-60. Wall reproduces a detail from a 1792 painting, now at Mount Vernon, which depicts the house for families.

⁶⁴"Housing and Family Life of the Mount Vernon Negro," unpublished research report of Charles Cecil Wall, Director, Mount Vernon (October, 1954), 33, 35-36.

⁶⁵Ibid., 21; Richard Parkinson, Tour in America, in 1798, 1799, and 1800, I (London, 1805), 420.

⁶⁶Information on Lear was supplied in a telephone conversation with Ellen McCallister, Librarian, Mount Vernon estate, 1 Dec. 1980. Lear, Washington's longtime secretary, noted in a 1788 letter, "I shall purchase a farm in the neighborhood and cultivate my own land -- but not with slaves -- I abhor and deprecate the idea of holding one and am convinced . . . that a man may hire his labourers to more advantage than he can employ Negroes as slaves." It is not known whether Lear owned or hired the slaves mated with Washington's blacks. Tobias Lear to William Prescott, 4 march 1788, in Annual Report, Mount Vernon Ladies Association of the Union, (1958), 22.

⁶⁷"Growth of Mount Vernon Estate, 1739-1799," Unpublished research report, 7 Oct. 1948, in Mount Vernon library.

⁶⁸Washington to Arthur Young, 12 Dec. 1793, in Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXVIII (1938), 178-179, and an advertisement to rent the farms, 1 Feb. 1796, ibid., XXXIV (1940), 433-434.

⁶⁹Julian Ursyn Neimcewicz, Under Their Vine and Fig Tree: Travels through America in 1797-1799 . . ., trans. and ed., Mitchie J. E. Budka, Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society (Elizabeth, N.J., 1965), 100.

⁷⁰Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXVIII (1938), 178; XXXIV (1940), 435.

[Notes to pages 80-87.]

⁷¹Wall, "Mount Vernon Negro," 25.

⁷²This probably referred to the widow of the Rev. Andrew Morton, who lived at Belvoir. The mansion had been abandoned by the Fairfaxes in 1774, and was rented by Washington to Morton. The Mansion burned in 1784, but the following year Washington wrote to George William Fairfax that "Mrs. Morton still lives at Your Barn Quarter." Kilmer and Sweig, Fairfax Family, 31-33.

⁷³Wall. "Mount Vernon Negro, 27.

⁷⁴Washington to William Pearce, 7 Feb. 1796, Fitzpatrick ed., Writings of Washington, XXXIV (1940), 448.

⁷⁵Washington to George Lewis, 13 Nov 1797, ibid., XXXVI (1941), 70-71.

⁷⁶Washington to Robert Lewis, 18 Aug 1799, ibid., XXXVII (1940), 338-339.

⁷⁷"Last Will and Testament of General George Washington," printed facsimile of original document in Fairfax County Courthouse, available from Office of the Clerk of the Circuit Court, 2.

⁷⁸Herbert G. Gutman's excellent study The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom (New York, 1976), passim utilizes some eighteenth-century data in discussing the development of the Afro-American family and culture.

CHAPTER II

Stability and Change in the Nineteenth-Century Slave Society of Northern Virginia

The institution of slavery was not immutable. As the Cambridge historian M.I. Finley has observed, "once established, a slave society had its own dynamic: the conditions that led to its creation were not identical with the conditions that led to its maintenance, expansion or decline." This was as true in nineteenth-century northern Virginia as at other times or in other places. Economic and social changes in American society brought about changes in the nature and operation of the northern Virginia slave society. In Fairfax the changes were effected by the whites, but had a major effect on the enslaved Afro-Americans. They affected not only the work routines of the slaves but the stability of slave family life and psychological security as well.

Eighteenth-century northern Virginia was a prosperous, growing society. Its slave population and slave family life (and implicitly Afro-American culture as well) also grew and developed. In the first half of the

nineteenth-century, Fairfax, Loudoun, and the new county of Alexandria, District of Columbia, were undergoing change, experiencing decline, and adapting to both. The area's society of slaves had change forced upon it as well. The question is in what ways this change affected the black family structure that had developed in northern Virginia by 1800. Did the black family survive? Were enslaved black men and women able to marry, live with their spouses, and survive long enough to see their grandchildren? In what ways, and to what degree, did owner bequest, sale, and manumission alter slave family structure? At least some of the answers to these questions can be found in the profound change that occurred in Fairfax County after 1800.

The major alteration to life in Fairfax County was economic, which in turn brought about significant demographic decline between 1800 and 1830. As the market for tobacco collapsed in the early nineteenth century, and especially as the majority of the Fairfax tidewater soil had been exhausted by overcultivation in the eighteenth century, the agriculturally based economy of Fairfax went into a serious decline. The cession of part of Fairfax along the river as part of the new federal District of Columbia also sapped vitality from the formerly prospering economy. The white population of Fairfax declined from 6,626 in 1810 to 4,893 in 1830, a decrease of 26 percent (see table-I).

TABLE I
1820 POPULATION PROFILE OF WHITES, SLAVES, AND FREE BLACKS
FOR FAIRFAX AND LOUDOUN COUNTIES.¹

COUNTY	TOT. POP.	TOT. WHITES	% OF TOT. POP.	WHITE MALES	% OF TOT. WHITES	WHITE FEMALES	% OF TOT. WHITES	TOT. BLACKS	% OF TOT. POP.	TOT. SLAVES	% OF TOT. POP.	% OF TOT. BLACKS
Fairfax	11,404	6,224	55%	3,054	49%	3,170	51%	5,180	45%	4,673	41%	90%
Loudoun	22,979	16,421	71%	8,633	53%	7,788	47%	6,558	28%	5,729	25%	87%

COUNTY	BLACK SLAVE MALES	% OF TOT. SLAVES	BLACK SLAVE FEMALES	% OF TOT. SLAVES	TOT. FREE BLACKS	% OF TOT. POP.	% OF TOT. BLACKS	FREE BLACK MALES	% OF FREE BLACKS	FREE BLACK FEMALES	% OF FREE BLACKS
Fairfax	2,353	50%	2,320	50%	507	4%	10%	261	52%	246	48%
Loudoun	2,964	52%	2,765	48%	829	4%	13%	406	49%	423	51%

¹Data for Fairfax are based on a sex/age tabulation from Lynn C. McMillion and Jane Wall, transcribers, Fairfax County, Virginia, 1820 Federal Population Census and Census of Manufactures (Vienna, Va., 1976), 45; Loudoun data tabulated from 1820 manuscript federal census for Loudoun County, Virginia, microfilm, National Archives, microcopy 33, roll 137. The Fairfax data are at variance with my tabulations in Table-IV. The discrepancy (2%) is not sufficiently large to affect the overall totals.

The slave population decreased by 38 percent, from 6,485 to 4,002. The majority of this decline was due to outmigration of local farmers and planters, many of whom took their slaves with them, to more promising land in Kentucky or elsewhere.² Although by 1860 the white population had made a resurgence to a little over 8,000, the slave population further declined to 3,116, less than half of what it had been a half a century earlier.³ Such a large decline in the slave population in a relatively short period obviously affected slave family life. This is especially so as all the indications are that the birthrate within the resident slave community remained high.⁴

The demographic data suggest that many Fairfax slaveowners left with their chattel for better opportunity elsewhere. What effect such migration had on slave families, especially those with family members on two or more farms or plantations, is very difficult to determine. Herbert Gutman and Richard Sutch found among former slaves interviewed after the Civil War that in two of three cases the husband and/or father had been in a different holding from that of the wife/mother, and that separation of slave families due to migration was frequent. "Unless a spouse was purchased by a migrating owner, Upper South slave families were frequently broken simply by the movement of an owner with his resident

slaves to the Lower South."⁵ Such outmigration of planters with their slaves must have broken some Fairfax slave families. The domestic slave trade was also responsible for removing many northern Virginia slaves from the area beginning soon after 1800.⁶

Considerable data are available on the slave population that remained in Fairfax, on the relatively stable slave population of Loudoun County, and after 1846 when it again became part of Virginia, on the slaves in Alexandria County as well.⁷ United States census data allow a sex and age analysis to be made of the slave population, and the manuscript census returns can be analyzed to determine the number and percentage of holdings of various size for both owners and slaves. Additionally, the wills and estate inventories of former slaveowners yield much valuable information on the existence of slave families, and the recognition of such by the whole society, of both given and surname patterns among the slaves --a strong indicator of slave identity and culture -- and on such external factors as disposition of slaveholdings by bequest or sale after an owner's demise and the frequency and terms of manumission by last will and testament. Two sample decades, 1820-1830 and 1850-1860, were selected for analysis of the slave population, primarily in Fairfax, but to a lesser degree for comparative purposes in Loudoun and Alexandria

(1850 only) counties as well. Selection of these decades was based on their representativeness (1820-1830 was in the middle of the major Fairfax decline; 1850-1860 represents the final and latest data from the slave system) and on the availability of evidence.

The Demographic Dimensions of the Northern Virginia
Slave Population in 1820

By 1820 the number of slaves in Fairfax had risen to 4,673 from 3,605 in 1782 (see table-II). The proportion of the total population as slaves, however, was still the 41 percent it had been thirty-eight years earlier. This is in contrast to the numerical doubling and over 33 percent proportional increase in the thirty years prior to 1782. The proportions of slave men and women in 1820 were evenly balanced at 50 percent each, suggesting at least the possibility of every slave's forming a family. In Loudoun the number of slaves was about 18 percent higher than in Fairfax, but the proportion of slaves in the total population was only 25 percent, compared to the 41 percent in Fairfax. The Loudoun sex ratio was slightly biased with 52 percent of the slaves being male and 48 percent female.

The proportion of all Fairfax households with slaves had risen from 47 percent in 1782 to 61 percent in 1820 (see table-III).

TABLE II
FARIFAX COUNTY HOUSEHOLDS, WITH AND WITHOUT SLAVES,
BY PARISH, IN 1820.¹

PARISH ²	TOTAL PARISH HOUSEHOLDS	PERCENTAGE OF ALL HOUSEHOLDS	SLAVE HOLDERS	PERCENT PARISH HOUSEHOLDS	NON- SLAVE HOLDERS	PERCENT PARISH HOUSEHOLDS	TOTAL SLAVES	PERCENT OF ALL SLAVES
TRURO	570	55%	354	62%	214	38%	2948	62%
FAIRFAX	474	45%	277	58%	196	41%	1822	38%
TOTAL	1044	100%	631	61%	410	39%	4770	100%

¹ Tabulated from 1820 manuscript federal census, microfilm, National Archives, microcopy 33, roll 137.

² The Fairfax-Truro Parish line ran from Little Hunting Creek, on the Potomac, just north of Washington's River Farm, to a point on the Loudoun County line. Thus, southern Fairfax was in Truro Parish, and northern Fairfax in Fairfax Parish. See map in Netherton, et al., Fairfax County, Va.: A History, 38

TABLE - III
 FAIRFAX AND LOUDOUN COUNTY HOUSEHOLDS, WITH AND
 WITHOUT SLAVES IN 1820.³

COUNTY	TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS	SLAVE HOLDERS	PERCENT OF ALL HOUSEHOLDS	NON-SLAVE HOLDERS	PERCENT OF ALL HOUSEHOLDS	NUMBER SLAVES	PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION
Fairfax	1,041	631	61%	410	39%	4,770	41%
Loudoun	2,733	1,131	41%	1,602	59%	5,412	25%

³Fairfax data from Table - II; Loudoun data tabulated from 1820 Manuscript census, N.A.; Total slaves for both counties were from my count of manuscript census, which differs slightly from the total slaves in Census of 1820 (Washington, D.C., 1821). The proportion of the whole population as slaves, however, was calculated using the aggregate figures from the 1820 census compendium.

In Loudoun only 41 percent of all households owned slaves. Thus, the increase in number and stability in proportion of slaves in Fairfax was paralleled by a significant increase in the number and proportion of Fairfax whites who owned slaves. And 62 percent of both slaves and owners continued to be clustered in the lower parish of Truro, probably along the river. As 55 percent of all Fairfax households were in the lower parish, the higher proportion of slaves in the parish population suggests a high black population density, which should have increased the probability of black interaction and family formation.

About 44 percent of the Fairfax slaves were under age fourteen; this child/adult ratio of .79 is lower than that found by Richard Sutch for sexually balanced slave populations (see table-IV).⁸ However, as Sutch's data are based on children up to age fourteen, and the Fairfax data do not include fourteen year olds, the Fairfax ratio is closer to the norm than .79 would suggest. The sex/age ratio for Fairfax slaves indicates an increase in the proportion of males during the female childbearing years (14-45) when childbirth mortality may be assumed to have decreased the number of females through sex-specific mortality, a trend that reversed itself sharply after age forty-five. This increase in the number of adult male slaves should increase the child/adult ratio to over

TABLE - IV
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF SLAVES, BY SEX, BY AGE CATEGORY,
FAIRFAX AND LOUDOUN COUNTIES IN 1820.¹

<u>FAIRFAX</u>						
AGES	MALES	% SLAVES THIS AGE	FEMALES	% SLAVES THIS AGE	TOTAL THIS AGE	% ALL SLAVES
Under 14	1,024	50%	1,040	50%	2,064	44%
14-26	592	51%	561	49%	1,153	25%
26-45	481	53%	428	47%	909	19%
45-Up	256	47%	291	53%	547	12%
TOTAL	2,353	50%	2,320	50%	4,673	

<u>LOUDOUN</u>						
AGES	MALES	% SLAVES THIS AGE	FEMALES	% SLAVES THIS AGE	TOTAL THIS AGE	% ALL SLAVES
Under 14	1,307	50%	1,303	50%	2,610	45%
14-26	790	53%	693	47%	1,483	26%
26-45	598	55%	497	45%	1,095	19%
45-Up	299	52%	272	48%	571	10%
TOTAL	2,994	52%	2,765	48%	5,759	

¹From McMillion and Wall, trans., 1820 Fairfax Census; Loudoun data from Census for 1820 (Washington, D.C., Gales and Seaton, 1821)

1.0. That it did not strongly suggests the absence of any rewards or "practice of the slave master intended to cause the fertility of the slave population to be higher," in other words the absence of "slave breeding."⁹ In Loudoun County the childbearing-age sex bias is slightly higher than in Fairfax, with a corresponding higher proportion of the slave population as children, which supports the relationship between the percentage of children and sex-specific mortality of slave women due to childbearing.

The data also suggest a mortality rate of about 45 percent for slave children of both sexes under age fourteen (2,064 ages 0-13 and only 1,153 ages 14-26). This compares with a similar child mortality rate for free black children of 56 percent and of 61 percent for free white children, under age sixteen. Other data, available for the white population only, indicates that 58 percent of white children were dying before age ten, with only 3 percent mortality between ages ten and sixteen.¹⁰ Slave mortality was, in all probability, primarily in the preadolescent years as well.

It is unclear whether the lower mortality for slave children was due to a higher resistance to disease or to slave owners who had and used better food and medical care to protect property in slave children than was available to the general white population.

The overwhelming majority of northern Virginia slaves by 1820 were native born. A naturally reproducing population of American born, creole slaves had been in the area since the mid-seventeenth century. In addition to a slightly greater natural tolerance of all blacks to the Virginia heat and humidity, and genetic immunity of some of them to malaria, generations of acclimatization had in all likelihood increased their immunity to local varieties of disease. The more transient white population would not have had such biological protection.¹¹

Among the 741 slaves held in the eleven largest holdings (about 16 percent of all Fairfax slaves) the adult sex ratio was biased toward men at about 1.2 (54 percent males). Yet, the proportion of children in these holdings was only slightly higher than the county average (see tables V-VI). On an age-specific basis, the sex ratio of these largest holdings was most heavily biased toward males during the childbearing years, again suggesting sex-specific mortality due to childbirth.

The child/adult ratio of the large holdings was .84, compared with the Gutman-Sutch average of 1.27 for holdings with a sex ratio of 1.5 to 2.0.¹² As the large holdings are where one would logically expect to find

TABLE - V
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF SLAVES, BY SEX, BY CATEGORICAL
AGE, FOR THE ELEVEN FAIRFAX HOLDINGS OF OVER FORTY SLAVES
IN 1820.¹

AGES	MALES	% SLAVES THIS AGE	FEMALES	% SLAVES THIS AGE	TOTAL THIS AGE	% ALL SLAVES
0-14	175	52%	164	48%	339	46% ²
14-26 ⁴	97	61%	62	39%	159	21%
26-45	80	57%	59	43%	139	19%
Over 45	40	40%	64	60%	104	14%
TOTAL	392	53% ³	349	47%	741	

¹Tabulated from McMillion and Wall, trans., 1820 Fairfax Census.

²A slightly larger proportion of the slaves were children in the large holdings than in the slave population at large (46% vs 44%). This may indicate an increased opportunity for family life.

³A slightly higher percentage of males than in general slave population.

⁴The under age 14 mortality rate was: males 45%, females 63% (perhaps an indication of early pregnancies), and overall 53%. This is higher than the 44% child mortality rate in the overall 1820 slave population.

TABLE - VI
SEX/CATEGORICAL-AGE AND CHILD/ADULT PROFILE FOR EACH OF THE ELEVEN
FAIRFAX HOLDINGS OF OVER FORTY SLAVES IN 1820.¹

OWNER	TOTAL SLAVES	MALES				FEMALES				TOTAL ADULT MALES	PERCENT MALES	TOTAL ADULT FEMALES	PERCENT FEMALES	TOTAL OVER AGE 14	PERCENT OVER AGE 14	TOTAL CHILDREN	PERCENT CHILDREN
		0-14	14-26	26-45	45-Up	0-14	14-26	26-45	45-Up								
Lawrence Lewis	93	22	14	5	6	29	7	4	6	25	59%	17	41%	42	45%	51	55%
William H. Foote	<u>42</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>69%</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>31%</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>62%</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>38%</u>
Richard Fitzhugh	50	14	6	5	---	9	7	7	2	11	41%	16	59%	27	54%	23	46%
Sarah Chichester	44	11	4	6	3	7	2	5	6	13	50%	13	50%	26	59%	18	41%
D. P. Chichester	48	15	7	3	1	8	3	7	4	11	44%	14	56%	25	52%	23	48%
Benjamin R. Davis	66	18	9	5	2	15	6	6	5	16	48%	17	52%	33	50	33	50%
Charles C. Stuart	56	10	6	10	1	17	8	2	2	17	59%	12	41%	29	52%	27	48%
Bushrod Washington	83	15	10	7	12	16	7	5	11	29	55%	23	45%	52	63%	31	37%
Hottrom Ball	44	10	2	5	3	10	5	4	5	10	42	14	58%	24	55%	20	45%
Augustin Smith	60	17	9	8	---	12	6	6	2	17	55%	14	45%	31	52%	29	48%
TOTALS	744	175	97	80	43	164	62	59	64	220	54%	185	46%	405	54%	339	46%

Compiled from McMillion and Hall, trans., 1820 Fairfax Census.

evidence of owner-supplied incentives to reproduce --slavebreeding -- the lower than average proportion of children suggests there was not any significant amount of slavebreeding in Fairfax County.

On the largest single Fairfax holding, the 158 slaves of William Fitzhugh at Ravensworth, where males were 59 percent of adult slaves, the children were only 43 percent of all slaves -- below the already low county average. Only among the ninety-three slaves of Lawrence Lewis at Woodlawn, the county's second largest holder, did the proportion of slaves as children increase to over 50 percent. Although Fairfax slaveowners may have sold excess slaves, even slave children, there is no evidence to suggest that they deliberately increased slave reproduction for this purpose.

In terms of holding size, the majority of Fairfax owners (56 percent) continued to hold just under 20 percent of all slaves, in groups of one to five (see table-VII). The proportion of slaves held in the largest holdings, over forty slaves, decreased from 22 percent in 1782 to 16 percent in 1820. In Truro Parish, by the river, the proportion of slaves in these largest holdings was still 22 percent, but inland in Fairfax Parish this dropped to only 6 percent.

TABLE - VII
 SLAVEHOLDINGS, BY HOLDING SIZE, FOR SLAVES AND
 SLAVEHOLDERS, IN BOTH PARISHES OF FAIRFAX COUNTY, 1820.¹

PARISH	TOTAL SLAVES	PERCENT OF ALL SLAVES	SLAVES HELD SINGLY		SLAVES HELD IN GROUPS OF TWO				THREE TO FIVE					
			NO. OWNERS	PERCENT OF OWNERS	NO. SLAVES	PERCENT OF SLAVES	NO. OWNERS	PERCENT OF OWNERS	NO. SLAVES	PERCENT OF SLAVES	NO. OWNERS	PERCENT OF OWNERS	NO. SLAVES	
Truro	2948	62%	85	24%	85	3%	35	10%	70	2%	68	19%	264	
Fairfax	1822	38%	73	26%	73	4%	34	12%	68	4%	61	22%	257	
Total	4770		158	25%	158	3%	69	11%	138	3%	129	20%	521	
			. . . GROUPS OF SIX TO TEN				. . . ELEVEN TO FIFTEEN				. . . SIXTEEN TO TWENTY			
	PERCENT OF SLAVES	NO. OWNERS	PERCENT OF OWNERS	NO. SLAVES	PERCENT OF SLAVES	NO. OWNERS	PERCENT OF OWNERS	NO. SLAVES	PERCENT OF OWNERS	NO. OWNERS	PERCENT OF OWNERS	NO. SLAVES	PERCENT OF SLAVES	
Truro	9%	86	24%	632	21%	30	8%	385	13%	25	7%	434	15%	
Fairfax	14%	66	24%	510	28%	19	7%	255	14%	9	3%	174	9.5%	
Total	11%	152	24%	1142	24%	49	8%	640	13%	34	5%	608	13%	
			. . . TWENTY-ONE TO THIRTY		. . . THIRTY-ONE TO FORTY				OVER FORTY					
	NO. OWNERS	PERCENT OF OWNERS	NO. SLAVES	PERCENT OF SLAVES	NO. OWNERS	PERCENT OF OWNERS	NO. SLAVES	PERCENT OF SLAVES	NO. OWNERS	PERCENT OF OWNERS	NO. SLAVES	PERCENT OF SLAVES		
Truro	11	3%	264	9%	5	1%	174	6%	9	2.5%	640	22%		
Fairfax	9	3%	246	13.5%	4	1%	135	7%	2	.7%	104	6%		
Total	20	3%	510	11%	9	1%	309	6%	11	2%	744	16%		

¹ Tabulation and calculations from, McMillion and Wall, trans., 1820 Fairfax Census; percentages, by parish, are of slaves and holders within that parish. Totals are for entire county. Total owners are: Truro, 354; Fairfax, 277; county, 631.

TABLE - VIII

SLAVEHOLDINGS, BY HOLDING SIZE, FOR FAIRFAX AND LOUDOUN

COUNTIES IN 1820.¹

COUNTY	TOTAL SLAVES	PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION	SLAVES HELD SINGLY		SLAVES HELD IN GROUPS OF TWO				THREE TO FIVE				
			NO. OWNERS	PERCENT OF OWNERS	NO. SLAVES	PERCENT OF SLAVES	NO. OWNERS	PERCENT OF OWNERS	NO. SLAVES	PERCENT OF SLAVES	NO. OWNERS	PERCENT OF OWNERS	NO. SLAVES
Fairfax	4770	41%	158	25%	158	3%	69	11%	138	3%	129	20%	521
Loudoun	5412	25%	382	34%	382	7%	162	14%	324	6%	278	25%	1074

COUNTY	PERCENT OF SLAVES	. . . GROUPS OF SIX TO TEN				. . . ELEVEN TO FIFTEEN				. . . SIXTEEN TO TWENTY			
		NO. OWNERS	PERCENT OF OWNERS	NO. SLAVES	PERCENT OF SLAVES	NO. OWNERS	PERCENT OF OWNERS	NO. SLAVES	PERCENT OF SLAVES	NO. OWNERS	PERCENT OF OWNERS	NO. SLAVES	PERCENT OF SLAVES
Fairfax	11%	152	24%	1142	24%	49	8%	640	13%	34	5%	608	13%
Loudoun	20%	176	16%	1139	21%	73	6%	932	17%	22	2%	385	7%

COUNTY	NO. OWNERS	PERCENT OF OWNERS	. . . TWENTY-ONE TO THIRTY		. . . THIRTY-ONE TO FORTY		OVER FORTY						
			NO. SLAVES	PERCENT OF SLAVES	NO. OWNERS	PERCENT OF OWNERS	NO. SLAVES	PERCENT OF SLAVES					
Fairfax	20	3%	510	11%	9	1%	309	6%	11	2%	744	16%	631
Loudoun	25	2%	623	11%	9	.8%	368	7%	4	.3%	185	3%	1131

In Loudoun County the proportion of slaves and slave owners associated with holdings of less than six slaves was much higher than in Fairfax, a full 73 percent of all owners, and 33 percent of all slaves -- nearly twice the Fairfax total (see table-VIII). In the largest holdings, Loudoun's 3 percent was less than one-fifth of the 16 percent in Fairfax.

The higher slave density and larger holdings along the river in Fairfax should have continued, as in Prince George's County across the river and elsewhere, to offer the best opportunity for slave family formation and cultural life. The decreasing slave density and smaller holding sizes inland (less in Fairfax Parish than in Truro and less again in Loudoun County) decreased the opportunity for slaves to have or live with families. And, because more of the slaves in the areas of smaller holdings would have had a spouse or children belonging to another owner, the likelihood of slave family dismemberment through death or outmigration of a owner was increased. It was the larger presumably more impersonal holdings that afforded the best opportunity for slaves to develop their own culture. This is especially ironic as Loudoun County and much of western Fairfax that had been in Loudoun before 1798 had been heavily settled by Quakers, some of whom were involved in abolitionist activities and other attempts to improve the fate of black Americans.¹³

For the majority of slaves, however, high slave density, large holdings, and an even sex ratio offered the opportunity to develop family life. The ample though not excessive number of slave children in the county as a whole, and specifically among the large holdings, substantiate the existence of an uncoerced naturally reproducing population, without specific breeding or excessive trading to disrupt slave family values. Indeed, specific evidence exists that not only substantiates the existence of slave families in several Fairfax holdings but also throws some light on such valuable indicators of family identity and culture as slave given and surnames.

Slave Families in Antebellum Fairfax

The Fitzhugh family had long owned the largest single piece of land in Fairfax County -- the nearly 22,000 acre Ravensworth tract. They were also the largest slaveholders in Fairfax County, owning even more slaves than George Washington had before his death. In April 1810, the estate inventory of William Fitzhugh was presented to the Fairfax Court; it included 232 slaves.¹⁴ Fitzhugh had his land subdivided into four farms: Ravensworth, Centre, Backlick, and Pohick. The first three were contiguous; the fourth, Pohick, may not have been. Fitzhugh apparently domiciled some slaves on

CHART I:¹

SLAVES HELD BY WILLIAM FITZHUGH ON HIS FAIRFAX FARMS AT HIS DEATH IN 1810,
BY FARM OF RESIDENCE, INDICATING FAMILY GROUPS AND SINGLE SLAVES

RAVENSWORTH FARM²

<u>Families</u>					
Ben Douglas	30 yrs.	George Packer	55 yrs.	¹¹ James	14 yrs.
Scharlotte	35	Sarah	50	¹¹ John	12
¹¹ Sintha	14	Henson	18	Henry	8
Lucy	6	Beckey	12	Louisa	1
Franky	2	Peyton	9	John Hopes	45
Moses	40	Rachael Triplett	50	¹¹ Betty	40
Sina	30	Randolph	21	Kelley	13
Henry	11	Giles	18	James Buller	70
Selly	9	Elizabeth	12	Franky	55
Areanna	8	Dick Gardner	40	Dinah Packer	43
Robert	2	Bickey	35	¹¹ Henry	18
Lucy	1	Dennis	23	Lydia	14
Aaron Davis	50	Ailey	25	Lucy	10
Deriah	35	Isaac	8	Nancy	8
James	13	William	4	Mary	4
Caty	12	Henry	6	Eliza	1
David	10	Suckey	3	¹¹ Billy Birke	22
Jesse	8	Infant	boy	¹¹ Linda	16
Setsey	3	Lewis Birke	52	Sally Backer	55
Moriah	1	Judy	45	William - a cook	22
				Daniel - a cook	20
				Caroline	12

CHART I, Continued

<u>Single Slaves</u>			
Aaron Clark - B. smith	30	Gowen Bessee - a carpenter	45
Oliver - B. smith	25	Doctr.	30
ll Billy Bossee - B. smith	18	Joseph Clarke	30
Abram - cowper	25	Jesse	28
Billy Robinson - carpt.	35	Nathan	18
David Carey - carpt.	32	George	15
George Buller - a carpenter	45	Elijah	14
Daniel	14	James Newman	40
Jacob	12	Phill	20
Dick (Tanner)	50	Venus (has fits)	30
Medow Bob	60	Conny	8
Adam Buller	35	Ned	70
Akey	40		

CHART I, Continued

BACKLICK AND CENTRE FARMS³

		<u>Families</u>				
	Ailey Clarke	28	Ben	60	Anny	30
	Tracy	12	Nanny	42	Billy	12
	Stacey	8	John	13	James Buchan	8
4	Ailey Johnson	30	Philis	12	Lucy	5
	Aney	6	Ned	9	Nancy	3
	Mary	3	James & Franky - Twins	5	John	1
	Em [?] ea - a Granny	60	Sirus - sickly	2	Gowen Bossee	70
5	Easter	60	11 Frankey	40	Winnie	50
	Siller	28	Minta	16	Roderick	10
	Saul, a boy 1 hand	10	Betty Triplett	18	Beckey	45
	Grace	4	Eliza - infant		Judy	9
	Kitty	2	Lucy	30	Si [?] by	7
	Peter - has fits	15	Henry	11	Molly	5
	Judy Triplett	30	Penny	9	Clarke	4
	James Triplett	6	Jone	7	Easter	50
	Milly Clarke	30	Enock	2	Edmond Brown	36
	Cloe	11	Genett	1	Linny	26
Selia	9	Billy Douglass	60	6 Aggy	7	
Aaron	4	Nelly	35	Clary	1	
Robert	2	Billy Junr.	9	Clarissa	5	
Aggy	30	Prasilla	11	James	4	
Janny	11	Judy	5	Suckey	3	
	Kessy	9				
	Lewis	6				
	Noble	3				
	Copa	1				

CHART I, Continued

Noah	41	Tom Robinson	41	George Spotswood	51
Sarah	10	Lucy	40	<u>Milly</u>	32
Franky	8	<u>Anny</u>	14	James Curry	40
Giles	6			Betty	38
Linney	4				
Fetesha [?]	3				
<u>George</u>	1				

Single Slaves

Moses	18	Billy Butler [,] has fits & burnt	38	Ben Holly	45
Billy William	20	David Thomas	50	Bosse	16
Tom Geson	25	Clary	57	Anthony	12
11 Rose	70	James Douglas	75	Anny	30
Easter	50	Winnie	90		
John	11	Gowen	20		
Ben	9				

POHICK FARM⁷

Families

Nelly	22	Letty	22	} Aggy	45		
Moriah	3	Kitty	3		} Bick	5	
Bryant	2	Polly	1			} Peyton	4
							} Lindsey

CHART I, Continued

<u>Single Slaves</u>						
9	John Bossee Sen.	50	John Patrick	11	Becky	16
	John Bossee Jun.	28	Lucy	45	Matilda	16
	Alexander	43	Nanny Kelly	45	Delphia	16
	Sibby	32	Sarah Douglas	45	Larry	10
	Borkett [?]	39	Sally	30	Frank	8
	Simpson	18	¹¹ Violett	12	Randolph	4
	Archibald	16	Janny	12	Sarah Bossee	50
	Sam	12	Aaron	54	Nanny Bueker [?]	60
	Price	14	¹⁰ Mingo	70		

¹Compiled from "Inventory and Appraisement of the Estate of William Fitzhugh Esqr. decd. in the county of Fairfax on the 4 & 5 April 1810," Will Book, J-1, 285-294, FCCH.

²Ravensthorpe was the "home farm" of William Fitzhugh in Fairfax County.

³These lands were contiguous to Ravensthorpe. Fitzhugh apparently domiciled some slave on each farm to avoid a long trek back and forth to the home Quarters each day. It is unclear from the inventory which slaves were on Backlick and which were on Centre.

⁴Apparently a three-generational family.

⁵Apparently a three-generational family; Peter, age 15, could be a late child of Easter, or an early one of Siller. The ages are, of course, only estimates made by the executors.

⁶This appears to be a three-generational family. It is curious that the children were not listed in descending order of age.

⁷This farm may not have been contiguous with the other three.

⁸Appears to be a family, even though entered in a group with five other single slaves.

⁹Apparently a father and son; if so, an example of the pattern noted by Gutman of slaves naming male children after their fathers. Black Family, 189-191.

¹⁰African names seem to have been a rarity among Fairfax slaves. This old man would have been 20 years old, a prime age for transporting African slaves, in 1760, a period of high African immigration. It thus seems likely that Mingo was an African born slave.

¹¹These slaves can be identified on the 1830 inventory of William Henry Fitzhugh at Ravensthorpe. See chart-III.

¹²May have been the son of Gowen Bossee, age 70, At Backlick Farm and thus named for his father.

each farm to avoid the long walk twice a day to and from quarters at the home farm. The slaves were listed by family group, usually with a subtotal at the end of each family, by farm of residence (see chart-I). This arrangement indicates that the executors (including David Stuart) recognized the existence of stable slave families, and it suggests that the eventual division of slaves among Fitzhugh's three nephews would attempt to maintain the family groups.¹⁵

Among the Fitzhugh slaves, 155 (67 percent) were living in some sort of family group. There were twelve complete families comprised of sixty-seven slaves, at least two three-generational families, seventeen husbandless women with sixty children, and six childless couples. The adult sex ratio was slightly biased toward men (53 percent), and half of the slaves (49 percent) were under age fifteen. The slaves were apparently living in family groups on their respective farms of residence.

Half of the twenty-six women with children had given birth to their first surviving child before age twenty-two. As infant mortality was at nearly 45 percent among Fairfax slaves, and as several of the women appear to have been over age thirty when the first surviving child was born (which distorts the median), the actual age

for the birth of the first child among the Fitzhugh slave women would appear to be about age eighteen.¹⁶ This is lower than the median of 20.8 years reported by Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman and almost exactly what Gutman found for 136 slave women, on four different southern plantations, from 1776 to 1865.¹⁷ Thus, the largest slaveholding in Fairfax seems to have been similar in this respect to other plantations in the antebellum South.

Of equal interest and importance is the proliferation of slave surnames; many slaves on the Fitzhugh inventory had a surname. This is extremely uncommon. It had been assumed by most whites that slaves did not have surnames. Even George Washington, who both recognized the slave family and freed all of his slaves, found it necessary to refer to his personal body servant as "my Mulatto man William (calling himself William Lee)."¹⁸ Indeed, the entire subject of slave surnames, and their right to have surnames, has long been in question -- at least among whites.

As late as 1890, at a New York conference on the "Negro Question," Albion W. Tourgee, novelist and former North Carolina Radical Republican, expressed the opinion that a slave's master could "change his name as often as he chose." C. C. Gaines, a Hudson Valley college president, noted that plantation slaves "never had but one name. If they had a surname at all this was supposed [my

emphasis] to be that of the master."¹⁹ "Supposed" is the key word. It expressed the common and fallacious belief that slave culture was bound and formed by white law and social structure. Tourgee had earlier stated the legal basis for this belief. "'A name is no name unless the bearer has a legal right to it. No slave could have a surname because he could not have a legal sire.'" The implication was that because slaves could not contract legally binding marriages, no slave had a legal father, and thus had no right to a surname.

M.I. Finley has cogently pointed out that the essence of being a slave was lack of control not only over one's labor, but person and personality as well. The slave was denied a social identity (such as a surname) because he could be denied the most basic social bond -- kinship. "There were slave unions and slave families, beyond a doubt, but they counted among the privileges that could be granted or withdrawn unilaterally by a slaveowner."²⁰ The slaves' social identity could be withdrawn by sale of family members or more subtly by refusing to allow the slave an extended family identity through a surname.

Eugene Genovese has noted that both masters and slaves "understood that names marked an appropriate degree of respect." He found that slaves often took surnames for themselves "without their masters' consent or even knowledge." This served not only to confirm a slave's

status -- for himself and among his peers -- but also to "establish a real history, preferably well back in time but in any event in a family experience."²¹

For the slave, a surname was an adaptive response to American custom, and to slavery. The West African blacks originally brought to America did not have immediate or family surnames. Sam Aleckson, a former slave, recollected that when his great grandfather was brought to America from Africa and "found he needed a surname -- something he was not accustomed to in his native land -- he borrowed that of the man who brought him."²² Thus, first and foremost, whatever other significance may be attached to a slave surname, its very existence is evidence of Afro-American adaptation to the New World. Slaves first adopted surnames because that was the pattern in their new land; they later clung to those surnames to confirm their historical and extended kinship. Even C. C. Gaines, who thought a slave's surname should be that of his master, was forced to admit that, in fact, "many slaves do not retain the surname of their last owner, but are known by that of a remoter [slave] ancestor who years ago" had a different owner.²³

Gutman has found compelling evidence that "slaves over the entire South . . . had surnames different from their owners." Slave surnames "symbolized the close tie between an immediate slave family and its family of origin," a

social identity separate from that of the present owner. "Slaves often retained surnames identified with early owners," which "they and their descendants carried . . . from one owner to another," and later from the Upper to the Lower South. Because court records, other legal documents, and plantation records "rarely recorded a slave surname," historians traditionally have assumed that such slave surnames did not exist, or if they did were a curiosity only. In fact, such evidence and assumptions reveal much more about "the beliefs and usages of slaveowners" (and historians) than about "the beliefs and behavior of the slaves who fixed upon particular surnames" for both good and functional reasons -- specifically to confirm and perpetuate extended kinship over time and distance, among an essentially nonliterate people whose familial identity was subjected to dismemberment by sale, gift, or bequest. The existence of surnames was an adaptive response to slavery by African and later Afro-American men and women. The existence of multiple surnames among the Fairfax slaves of William Fitzhugh helps to substantiate the existence of such an adaptive slave culture in northern Virginia.²⁴ Further, because slaves sold locally from one slaveholder to another often retained the name of a former owner (not necessarily the last one), local slave surname patterns may have differed from local slave ownership patterns.²⁵ Thus the

surnames of the Fitzhugh slaves testify to the great variety of owner ancestry among the slaves in this Fairfax holding, and may at a future time allow that ancestry to be traced.

There were twenty-six different surnames among the slaves listed on the Fitzhugh inventory. Some were held by many members of more than one family, some by one family only, some by but a single slave.²⁶ Several of these were the names of prominent Fairfax whites -- Triplett, Burke, Carey; others suggest more distant origins; Joseph Clarke may have traced the origin of his family to Gedney Clarke, a native of Barbados, brother-in-law of William Fairfax, and one of Fairfax County's largest slaveholders in 1749. The surname of George Spotswood recalls that the Fitzhughs had other plantations further south in Virginia; this slave may have traced his ancestry to Virginia's colonial governor of the same name. Of special interest is that none of the slaves carried the surname Fitzhugh.

With rare exceptions, only the surname of the family head, be it father or mother, is given. The assumption seemed to be that all family members assumed the paternal name of the husband or father.²⁷ This was indeed the case, for Billy Birke -- listed alone with his wife Linda -- can be shown from other evidence to be the son of Lewis Birke who is listed with his wife Judy and four other children. Yet, only Lewis Birke, of the six slaves in

CHART II

SLAVE FAMILIES AMONG EIGHTY-THREE SLAVES HELD BY WILLIAM FITZHUGH
OF RAVENSWORTH ON HIS DEATH IN 1830 ⁷

Sally	70	Henry Ross	31	Leah	67
Daniel	38	³ Cynthia	33	Charles	12
Caroline	33	Washington	18	⁶ Leah, Jr.	10
² Daniel, Jr.	14	Lucinda	12	Cato	7
<u>William</u>	40	<u>Betsey</u>	8	Lewis	5
Phoebes	37	³ Jim Burke	33	Virgil	4
Isabella	14	³ Violet	34	Child	
Agnes	12	⁴ Charles Brown	26		
Litty	5	Betty	18		
<u>Ann</u>	1	<u>Eleanor</u>	1		
³ <u>Billy Burke</u>	43	⁵ Peyton	31		
Lindy	37	Kitty	34		
Lewis	18	Betsey	14		
Burke	16	Henrietta	12		
Hilliard	13	John	8		
Westley	11	Sally	5		
Albert	9	<u>George</u>	3		
Laura	8				
Lana	6				
Lorenzo	4				
<u>Sarah Ann</u>	2				

¹This woman was entered as number one on the inventory. As the first 34 slaves were listed in family groups, she may have been the mother of either Daniel or Caroline.

²An excellent example of the practice of naming the eldest male child for the father. See Gutman, Black Family, 189-191.

³Among slaves found on the 1810 Ravensworth inventory. See charts I and II.

⁴There is an Edmond Brown, age 36, with a wife and five children on the 1810 list. The intergenerational persistence of the surname is of interest.

⁵Peyton, age 4, and Kitty, age 3, among the Pohick Farm Slaves in 1810 could be the same slaves, with a ten year error in assigning ages.

⁶An example of female slave child named for its mother, which Gutman found rarely occurred, Black Family, 189-191. Whether the "JR." was used by the slaves or assigned by the executor is not known. This family also included the only two Fitzhugh slaves with classical names -- Cato and Virgil. As a slave would seem unlikely to choose such names for children, perhaps these children were, for some reason, named by Fitzhugh. This would also explain the girl, Leah, named for her mother and the suffix "Jr." after the child's name.

⁷From "Estate of William Fitzhugh," August Court 1830, Will Book, Q-1, 68-76, FCCH. The 38 slaves not included in families were listed singly.

CHART - III
 INTERGENERATIONAL SLAVE FAMILY CONTINUITY AMONG THE SLAVES OF THE
 FITZHUGHES IN FAIRFAX COUNTY - 1810-1830.

Slaves on Inventory of William Fitzhugh - 1810		Some of Same Slaves on Inventory of William Fitzhugh - 1830	
Lewis Birka	52	John Burke	30
Judy	45	Jim Burke	33
James	14	Violett	34
John	12	Billy Burke	43
Henry	8	Lindy	37
Louisa	1	Lewis	18
Billy Birka	22	Burke	16
Linda	16	Hilliard	13
Violett	12	Westley	11
		Albert	9
		Laura	8
		Lana	6
		Lorenzo	4
		Sarah Ann	2
Francy	40	Francy	63
Minta	16		
John Hopes	45	Betty Hopes	60
Betty	40		
Kelly	13		
Dinah Packer	43	Harry Packer	40
Henry	18		
Ben Douglas	30	Cynthia	33
Scharlotte	38	Washington	18
Sintha	14	Lucinda	12
Lucy	6	Betsey	8
Francy	2		
Billy Bossee-B.smith	18	Billy Bossee	39
Rose	70	Rose	95

this family, was entered with a surname. The same subsequent evidence that establishes Billy as the son of Lewis, also proves that as adults Lewis's sons John and James were known by their father's surname -- Burke.²⁸ It is thus clear that young single slaves living on the same or a different farm belonging to Fitzhugh may actually have been the older children of parents who are listed with their younger children.

The William Fitzhugh whose inventory was presented to the Fairfax court in 1810 left Ravensworth and many of its slaves to his son William Henry Fitzhugh. William Henry died in 1830 and his inventory, presented to the Fairfax court in August of that year, included eighty-three slaves, some with surnames, many in families, and a few who are also on the 1810 inventory of William Fitzhugh, or who clearly had family connections to those slaves (see charts II and III).²⁹

Forty-five (about 54 percent) of the slaves on William Henry's inventory can be placed in seven different family groups; only four of the seven are entered with surnames and again only the head of the family, in this case all men, was entered with a surname. Many of the single slaves were listed with surnames as well. It is unclear why some of the family and single slaves were listed with surnames, and others not. Perhaps some slaves were reluctant to reveal their family names to the executor.

It is also possible that the surnames were openly used during the lifetime of the original William Fitzhugh, and that William Henry had tried to suppress their use.

Of special interest are the eleven slaves on the 1830 inventory who can positively be identified on the 1810 list (see chart-III). The most significant of these are the members of the Burke family -- eighteen individuals comprising three generations. Two of Lewis Birke's children from the 1810 inventory, John and James, also appear in the 1830 enumeration, now assuming the patriarchal name of Burke. John is listed as a single slave in 1830, and James as Jim Burke with a wife, Violet, who was a twelve-year-old girl on the 1810 list for Pohick farm. Billy Burke and his wife Linda, who are on the 1810 list with no necessary connection to Lewis, are also on the 1830 inventory, this time with nine children, the oldest of whom, an eighteen-year-old boy named Lewis was almost certainly named for his grandfather, thereby confirming Billy as a son of Lewis and Judy.³⁰

Also entered on the 1830 enumeration and traceable to the 1810 inventory are Frankey, without her daughter Minta; Betty Hopes, without her husband John or son Kelly, but now bearing the family name; Harry Packer, entered in 1810 without a surname as Henry, was listed in 1830 with the family surname of his mother Dinah Packer; Cynthia and

her three children, entered in 1810 as Sintha the fourteen-year-old daughter of Ben Douglas and his wife Scharlotte; and finally, two individuals who were entered as single slaves on both inventories -- Billy Bossee and Rose. Other more tenuous connections may also be suggested.

Peyton and Kitty, who appear on the 1830 inventory with four children, may be the offspring of Aggy and Letty, who are listed among the families at Pohick in 1810. At ages thirty-one and thirty-four, Peyton and Kitty were too old in 1830 to have been ages three and four in 1810. But, all the ages at both dates were only estimates, and an executor may have simply entered the wrong number, or if asked, the slaves themselves may well have confused twenty and thirty. The circumstantial evidence of similar names, close to the same age, and both growing up a Pohick at a time when Fitzhugh was unlikely to have imported or purchased any new slaves, all suggest that Peyton and Kitty are also part of a slave family continuum embracing two owners and three generations of slaves on the same plantation. The surnames, especially from the 1810 to the 1830 inventory, demonstrate that Fairfax slaves did have and assume family identity, tracing not only their paternity but most likely their ancestors original ownership as well. This fits in well with the general pattern discovered by Gutman for the

CHART IV

SLAVES IN ESTATE OF MARTIN COCKBURN, JUNE 1822, AS LISTED ON
INVENTORY AND PARTIALLY RECONSTRUCTED INTO FAMILIES¹

<u>As Listed</u>	<u>Partially Reconstructed</u>
1 negro Woman Grace	Grace
1 do Nelly	2 [Henry Jerry Sally
1 do Hagar	
1 do Sally	
Henry son of Grace	Nelly
Richard Do	3 [Amanda Ellen
Jerry Do	
Sally do	Katy
Eliza daughter of Nell	2 [Michael Manuel
Amanda do	
Ellen do	3 [Hagar Hagar
Negro Woman Katy	
Michael son of ditto	
Manuel do	
Negro	4 [John Nace Nathan
do Girl Cagy	
Hagar	

¹From Will Book, M-1, 382- 382 [sic].

²Based on assessed valuation, these slaves were children.

³The first of these women was valued at only \$10, suggesting that she was an old woman. The second was valued at \$250, the highest of all slave women, equalled only by Nelly, and was clearly in her prime years. Reconstruction of these slaves as mother and daughter is conjectural and based on the ages and the similar names. If they were linked in this way, their separate listing demonstrates that (to the whites) even uterine connections became unimportant after a child reached majority, thus potentially isolating a slave from all family connections.

⁴It seems likely that one or more of these men -- valued as prime slaves -- was the husband of the slave women, or father of their children. Lack of recorded surnames and enumeration by uterine descent only make it impossible to place the men within a family.

entire southern slave community from 1785 until 1860, and clearly places the Fairfax slave community as part of that larger slave culture.

In other, more representative instances, slave families appear on inventories listed separately, by first name only, as men, women, and children. In some of these examples the children may be grouped as "son of," or "daughter of," which at least allows reconstruction of families by uterine descent; in others, where only first names are given recognition of slave family relationships is not possible. The inventory of Martin Cockburn, filed in June 1822, for example allows mothers and their children to be regrouped, but no more (see chart-IV). The importance of an inventory enumeration such as this is in how clearly it demonstrates why the surnames and the pattern of given names were so important to the slave community. For the white community, recognizing an individual slave by a given name and knowing the uterine descent one generation back was sufficient. This enabled an owner of keep track of the slave, direct his or her labor, and, through the mother, determine who could claim ownership and whether a black was slave or free. Under Virginia law, all blacks were slave or free depending on the condition of the mother, and slave children belonged to the owner of the mother. For the slave, knowing one's father and more distant ancestors was a matter of vital

importance; this the slaves accomplished by adopting the system of surnames, often unbeknownst to the whites, which linked them to their more distant forebears and collateral relatives. A pattern of given names linked them to fathers, grandfathers, and occasionally to mothers as well.

Northern Virginia Slave Demography in 1850

The slave population of Fairfax and Loudoun declined in the three decades between 1820 and 1850 (see table-IX). By 1850, the number of Fairfax slaves had decreased over 30 percent to 3,250; this was also a decline to 30 percent, from the 41 percent it had been in both 1782 and 1820, of the total population. In Loudoun the numerical decrease was an insignificant eighty-eight slaves, while the proportion of slaves in the whole population held steady at 25 percent. Four years earlier, in 1846, the county and town of Alexandria had been retroceded to Virginia from the federal District of Columbia. The 1,382 slaves resident there were only 14 percent of the total Alexandria population. Thus, in 1850, the number of slaves in all of northern Virginia was 10,628, or 25 percent of the area's total population (see table-X).

In both Fairfax and Loudoun, the sex ratio remained about even. In Alexandria the adult slave population was

TABLE-IX
POPULATION PROFILE OF WHITES AND SLAVES IN
FAIRFAX, LOUDOUN, AND ALEXANDRIA COUNTIES IN 1850

County	Total Pop.	Total Whites	% Pop.	White Male	% Wh.	White Female	% Wh.	Total Black	% Pop.
Fairfax	10,682	6,834	64%	3,531	52%	3,304	48%	3,847	36%
Loudoun	22,079	15,081	68%	7,477	50%	7,604	50%	6,998	32%
Alex- andria	10,008	7,217	72%	3,397	47%	3,820	53%	2,791	28%

County	Total Slaves	% Pop.	Slave Male	% Slv.	Slave Female	% Slave
Fairfax	3,250	30%	1,606	49%	1,644	51%
Loudoun	5,641	25%	2,766	49%	2,875	51%
Alex- andria	1,382	14%	553	40%	829	60%

¹Tabulation and calculations from J.D.B. DeBow, The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850 . . . A Statistical View (Washington, D. C., 1853), 242-260.

TABLE-X
 FAIRFAX, LOUDOUN, AND ALEXANDRIA HOUSEHOLDS
 WITH AND WITHOUT SLAVES IN 1850

	Total House- holds	Slave Holders	% of all Hshld	Non- Slave Holders	% of all Hshld	Number Slaves	% Total Pop.
Fairfax	1,381 ¹	606 ²	44%	775	56%	3,777 ³	35% ⁴
Loudoun	2,805 ¹	785 ²	28%	2,020	72%	5,588 ³	25% ⁴
Alexandria	1,545 ¹	484 ²	31%	1 060	69%	1,263 ³	14% ⁴
Northern Va. Total	5,731	1,876	33%	3,855	67%	10,628	25% ⁵

¹Total households from 1850 manuscript federal census, microcopy 432, rolls 942 (Fairfax), 932(Alexandria), 957(Loudoun), National Archives. The Fairfax return may be missing some pages, which would increase the actual number of slaveholders.

²Total slaveholding households tabulated from 1850 manuscript federal slave census, microcopy 432, rolls 986(Fairfax), 989(Loudoun), 983(Alexandria).

³Ibid.

⁴Of county totals in J.D.B.DeBow, The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850 . . . A Statistical View (Washington, D.C., 1853), 252-258.

⁵Of 42,769 calculated from Debow, Seventh Census.

TABLE-XI

SEX/AGE PROFILE OF SLAVES HELD IN FAIRFAX, LOUDOUN,
AND ALEXANDRIA COOUNTIES IN 1850¹

FAIRFAX COUNTY

Ages	Males	% Slaves This Age	Females	% Slaves This Age	Total This Age	% All Slaves
0-14	714	50%	753	50%	1494	46%
15-29	452	51%	437	49%	889	27%
30-49	248	48%	270	52%	518	16%
50+	165	47%	184	53%	349	11%
Total	1606	49%	1644	51%	3250	

Loudoun County

Ages	Males	% Slaves This Age	Females	% Slaves This Age	Total This Age	% All Slaves
0-14	1317	50%	1316	50%	2635	47%
15-29	764	49%	802	51%	1566	28%
30-49	403	46%	479	54%	882	16%
50+	282	50%	276	50%	558	10%
Total	2766	49%	2875	51%	5641	

Alexandria County

Ages	Males	% Slaves This Age	Females	% Slaves This Age	Total This Age	% All Slaves
0-14	240	44%	309	56%	549	40%
15-29	162	39%	250	61%	412	30%
30-49	68	28%	172	72%	240	17%
50+	83	46%	98	54%	181	13%
Total	553	40%	829	60%	1381 ³	

[Notes on next page.]

¹ Data from DeBow, Seventh Census, 252-253; calculations are mine.

² Alexandria County was that portion of Fairfax County that had been ceded to the federal government as part of Washington City in 1801. Retroceded to Virginia in 1846, it included all of what is now Arlington County, and the original town of Alexandria.

³ Seventy-six percent of Alexandria County slaves were in the town of Alexandria, rather than in the more rural county area.

60 percent women. As 76 percent of all Alexandria slaves were resident in the town, this strong bias toward female slaves was probably due to the need for domestics, and there being little use for male field hands. The sex-specific mortality among women of childbearing age, witnessed in 1820, was in 1850 no longer evident in either Fairfax or Loudoun (see table-XI). The proportion of children was up slightly in both counties from what it had been three decades before, and the mortality rate for slaves under age fifteen was down to 40 percent from the 45 percent it had been in 1820. Fewer births and therefore less infant mortality would account for this change, and would explain the decrease in female sex-specific mortality as well. As the slave population was stable in Loudoun and declining in Fairfax, the birth of fewer slave children around 1850 is both consistent and logical to assume. The high proportion of women of all ages, and less children than would be expected may, perhaps, be attributable to the possibility of surplus men and children being sold to the resident slave traders.³¹ Sex and child/adult ratios suggest that family life for most Fairfax and Loudoun slaves had continued with little change since 1820, with the possible exception of a few less children being born. Among those slaves resident in Alexandria, family life appears to have been restricted, and if the sale of men and children was

common, disrupted by this practice as well. It seems likely, therefore, that slave families were more infrequent and more frequently broken in Alexandria than in Fairfax or Loudoun.

The percentage of all northern Virginia households with slaves decreased sharply between 1820 and 1850 (see table-X). By the latter date only 44 percent of Fairfax households included slave labor, a decrease of over a quarter from the 1820 high of 61 percent. The Loudoun decrease was even greater, down from 41 percent in 1820 to 28 percent thirty years later. In Alexandria, where only 14 percent of the population was slaves, nearly a third of all households included slaves. This suggests, once again, that most of the Alexandria slaves were held in small units as domestics, an assertion conclusively substantiated by an analysis of the Alexandria holding sizes.

Forty-four percent of Alexandria slave owners held only one slave, which was nearly twice the percentage in Fairfax and over four times that in Loudoun (see table-XII). Alexandria's 17 percent of all slaves held singly is over four times the 4 percent of Fairfax and ten times the 1.4 percent in Loudoun. Indeed, an amazing 90 percent of all Alexandria slave owners held a full two-thirds of Alexandria slaves in groups of less than six slaves each. If the fifty-eight slaves belonging to

TABLE - XII
 SLAVEHOLDINGS, BY HOLDING SIZE, FOR FAIRFAX, LOUDOUN, AND
 ALEXANDRIA COUNTIES IN 1850.¹

COUNTY	TOTAL SLAVES	PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION	SLAVES HELD SINGLY		SLAVES HELD IN GROUPS OF TWO				THREE TO FIVE				NO. SLAVES
			NO. OWNERS	PERCENT OF OWNERS	NO. SLAVES	PERCENT OF SLAVES	NO. OWNERS	PERCENT OF OWNERS	NO. SLAVES	PERCENT OF SLAVES	NO. OWNERS	PERCENT OF OWNERS	
Fairfax	3777 ¹	35% ²	159	26%	159	4%	98	16%	196	5%	158	26%	607
Loudoun	5588 ³	25% ⁴	81	10%	81	1.4%	80	10%	160	3%	228	29%	878
Alexandria	1263 ⁵	14% ⁶	212	44%	212	17%	119	24%	238	19%	105	22%	385

COUNTY	PERCENT OF SLAVES	. . . GROUPS OF SIX TO TEN				. . . ELEVEN TO FIFTEEN				. . . SIXTEEN TO TWENTY			
		NO. OWNERS	PERCENT OF OWNERS	NO. SLAVES	PERCENT OF SLAVES	NO. OWNERS	PERCENT OF OWNERS	NO. SLAVES	PERCENT OF SLAVES	NO. OWNERS	PERCENT OF OWNERS	NO. SLAVES	PERCENT OF SLAVES
Fairfax	16%	125	21%	951	25%	28	5%	352	9%	22	4%	402	11%
Loudoun	16%	249	32%	1897	34%	86	11%	1074	19%	33	4%	594	11%
Alexandria	30%	40	8%	297	23%	4	.8%	54	4%	2	.4%	36	3%

COUNTY	. . . TWENTY-ONE TO THIRTY				. . . THIRTY-ONE TO FORTY				OVER FORTY				TOTAL SLAVE OWNERS
	NO. OWNERS	PERCENT OF OWNERS	NO. SLAVES	PERCENT OF SLAVES	NO. OWNERS	PERCENT OF OWNERS	NO. SLAVES	PERCENT OF SLAVES	NO. OWNERS	PERCENT OF OWNERS	NO. SLAVES	PERCENT OF SLAVES	
Fairfax	11	2%	270	7%	4	.6%	141	4%	2	.3%	99	3%	606
Loudoun	18	2%	469	8%	7	.9%	205	4%	4	.5%	231	4%	785
Alexandria	1	.2%	21	2%					2	.4%	101	8%	485

¹Data tabulated and calculated from, 1850 manuscript federal slave census, microfilm, N.A., microcopy 432, rolls 986(Fairfax), 989(Loudoun), 983(Alexandria); my tabulations of slaves from the Fairfax slave schedules is 527 more slaves than that given by DeBow in the statistical abstract for the seventh census. The reference staff at the National Archives informed me that DeBow's was the first such compendium made, and that many errors have been found. Marginal numbers appear on the original manuscript that seem to sum the slaves in each holding, but which often undercount the slaves for a particular holder. The discrepancy of 527 slaves between my total and that of DeBow is significant, but cannot be explained. All calculations here use my tabulations.

²Percentage my tabulation of 3,777 slaves is of DeBow's 10,682 total population.

³DeBow's figure is 5,541; the discrepancy is insignificant.

⁴Of DeBow's 22, 079 total population.

⁵Totals for the 1850 Alexandria County slave schedules, recorded on the manuscript regular census, indicates 1, 445 slaves, 586 males, and 859 females (N.A., microcopy 432, roll 932). My tabulations of the slave schedules resulted in a total of 1,263 slaves, 294 in town, and 294 in the county. Close examination of the film indicates that six pages of the original manuscript have been omitted, 438-441 which recorded town slaves, and 466-467 recording county slaves. Each page enumerates 42 slaves, for a total of 252 for the 6 pages. This would increase my total of 1,263 to 1,515, close enough to the 1,445 recorded on the manuscript to be statistically accurate. As the slaves on the missing pages cannot be tabulated by holding size, my count of 1,263 was used to compute all percentages here. DeBow's total of 1,382 was used in Table XI, which reflects sex and age, but not holding size.

⁶Of DeBow's 10,008

George Washington Parke Custis at Arlington House in Alexandria County, and the forty-one slaves, almost certainly all transients, being held by the Alexandria slave trader George Kephart are removed from the calculations, the proportion of Alexandria slaves held in groups of less than six increases to 72 percent.³² The high proportion of Alexandria slaves held in small groups, the distorted sex ratio, the small number of children, all suggest that Alexandria slaves did not form either frequent or stable families. Large three-generational families, such as those found at Ravensworth, were almost surely nonexistent. The close physical proximity of the town holdings to one another may have provided social opportunities not available to slaves on small holdings in more rural areas. Although the incidence of this sort of interholding slave family formation cannot be ascertained with the available evidence, the sex and child/adult ratios both suggest that it was not a frequent occurrence.

The Fairfax County proportions of slaves by holding size remained approximately constant from 1820 to 1850, with one notable exception. In 1820, 744 slaves, 16 percent of the total were held in groups of over forty slaves; by 1850 this had drastically declined to only 99 slaves, a meager 3 percent. Most of the difference was transferred to the smallest holdings -- under six slaves. In a rural setting, smaller holdings would impede the

formation of slave families that could, in turn, explain the apparent lowered birthrate among Fairfax slaves by 1850.³³

By contrast, in Loudoun County the number and the proportion of both owners holding and slaves held singly dropped sharply from 34 percent of all owners in 1820 to 10 percent in 1850, and from 7 to 1.4 percent of all slaves. As in Fairfax the corresponding increase was in the holdings of two to ten slaves. Whether this reflected slave hiring, as in Fairfax, or was brought about by changing agricultural conditions is unclear. Loudoun, in 1850, was still heavily settled by prosperous Quaker farmers who had moral prohibitions about owning slaves yet needed labor for their farms. As many Fairfax farmers with similar reservations hired slave labor; it seems reasonable to assume that this occurred in Loudoun as well.³⁴ The increase in the number and proportion of slaves held in groups of less than ten, the apparent lowered slave birthrate, and the prevalence of slave hiring, all suggest a decreased opportunity for, and actual formation of, family life for northern Virginia slaves around the middle of the nineteenth century.

Northern Virginia Slave Families at Mid-Century

Dennis Johnston was the largest slaveholder in Fairfax in 1850. That he held only fifty-three slaves and was one of only two men in Fairfax with over forty slaves testifies to the decline of the great slaveholdings in northern Virginia. Johnston's adult slaves were nearly 60 percent male, and only 30 percent of all his slaves were children (see table-XIII). The high proportion of men and the few children in Johnston's holdings may have exemplified a decrease in slave family life or it may have been simply that Johnston was an old man with a declining slave force. For within two years, Johnston was dead; his estate inventory, including sixty slaves, was filed in August 1852.³⁵

All of Johnston's sixty slaves were entered on the inventory with surnames; there are eighteen surnames in all, several used more than once, and none of them are Johnston.³⁶ This is consistent with Gutman's findings, and the example of the Fitzhugh slaves, that the slave surnames were seldom that of the most recent owner.³⁷ Several of the names were those of prominent, past or contemporary, Fairfax whites: Payne, Jackson, Jones; at least one -- Williams -- also appeared among the surnames of Fitzhugh's slaves in 1810, suggesting a

TABLE - XIII
SEX/AGE - CHILD/ADULT PROFILE OF MAJOR NORTHERN
VIRGINIA SLAVEHOLDERS IN 1850.¹

OWNER	MALES				FEMALES				TOTAL ADULT		TOTAL OVER 14		TOTAL CHILD	
	0-14	15-29	30-49	Over 50	0-14	15-29	30-49	Over 50	MALES	PERCENT MALES	FEMALES	PERCENT FEMALES	CHILD	PERCENT CHILD
Fairfax														
Dennis Johnson	8	8	11	2	8	5	7	3	21	58%	15	42%	36	69%
David Fitzhugh	13	8	8	2	12	7	3	10	50%	10	50%	20	44%	
Joseph Bruin	4	6	2		5	7	1	8	47%	9	53%	17	65%	
Totals	25	14	21	4	25	19	8	7	39	53%	34	47%	73	59%
	52 ²												16	31%
	53													
	45												25	56%
	16 ³												9	35%
	32													
	123												50	41%
	130													
Loudoun														
Elizabeth Carter	13	14	7	13	16	7	9	13	34	54%	29	46%	63	68%
Lewis Barkley	12	5	6	5	15	6	5	4	16	52%	15	48%	31	53%
Robert Morfelt	13	10	4	1	9	4	4	1	15	62%	9	38%	24	52%
John P. Dufany	8	8	6	3	5	7	3	2	17	59%	12	41%	29	69%
George Buet(?)	10	10	5	3	9	1	2	1	18	82%	4	18%	22	54%
Thompson Mason	6	5	4	4	8	3	2	4	13	59%	9	41%	22	61%
Totals	62	52	32	29	62	28	25	25	113	59%	78	41%	191	61%
	92												29	32%
	58												27	47%
	46												22	48%
	42												13	31%
	41												19	46%
	36												14	39%
	315												124	39%

Alexandria

OWNER	TOTAL SLAVES	MALES				FEMALES				TOTAL ADULT MALES	PERCENT MALES	TOTAL FEMALES	PERCENT FEMALES	TOTAL OVER 14	PERCENT OVER 14	TOTAL CHILD	PERCENT CHILD
		0-14	15-29	30-49	Over 50	0-14	15-29	30-40	Over 50								
George Kephart	19 ⁴ 41	8	8	0	0	12	9	2		8	42%	11	58%	19	49%	20	51%
G.W. Parke Custis	58	12	9	3	9	10	5	3	7	21	58%	15	42%	36	62%	22	38%
Totals	97	20	17	3	9	22	14	5	8	29	53%	26	47%	55	57%	42	41%

¹Tabulated from 1850 manuscript federal slave census, microfilm, N.A., microcopy 432, rolls 986 (Fairfax), 989 (Loudoun), 983 (Alexandria).

²Sex of one slave indecipherable; calculations based on count of 52 slaves.

³Sex of 6 slaves indecipherable; calculations based on count of 26. This man was a known slavetrader.

⁴Sex of 2 slaves indecipherable; calculations based on count of 39. Kephart was an Alexandria slave trader. He had taken over the old Franklin and Arnfieid slave pen, and one of their ships. These are apparently the slaves he kept at the pen, and thus may be considered transients. There is a second and separate enumeration of him with 5 slaves, which may have been his personal holdings.

CHART V

CONJECTURAL FAMILY RECONSTRUCTIONS, FROM ESTATE INVENTORY OF
DENNIS JOHNSTON, AUGUST 1852, BASED ON SURNAMES AND SLAVE VALUATION¹

Ann Napper and Child	\$750	Priscilla Bailey	\$700
Frank Napper	300	William Bailey	100
Ellen Napper	300	<u>John Bailey</u>	350
Ann Napper Jr.	200	Jane Carroll	\$700
<u>Jane Napper</u>	150	<u>Robert Carroll</u>	180
Mariah Quander and Child	\$550	Martha Jasper	\$700
Hannah Quander	150	Eliza Jasper	550
Henry Quander	300	Austin Jasper	300
<u>James Quander</u>	250		

¹From "Inventory and Appraisalment of the Estate of Dennis Johnston," August 1852, Will Book. W-1, 299-300, FCCH. In no instance was it possible to relate a child or a mother to a male slave who could have been the father. The surnames recorded were apparently those that each slave had gotten from its parents (mother?) rather than reflecting the identity of the husband or father. There is no way of knowing whether this was a slave or a white custom.

tenuous inter-plantation family relationship. The slaves were not listed in family groups, although based on surnames and valuation it is possible to reconstruct some conjectural families -- tracing only the female line (see chart-V). In only one instance was it possible to connect the surname of an adult male with that given for women and children. There are, for example, six slaves surnamed Napper, all of whom were female except Frank Napper who, valued at only three-hundred dollars, was perhaps still a child or adolescent. The two males among the five slaves surnamed Quander and one among the three Baileys were, based on valuation, also not yet adults. Only in the case of Jasper, where a conjectural family of Martha, Eliza, and Austin can be reconstructed, are there adult males with surnames, and in that case there are two such males -- Edward and Henry.³⁸

As there was no attempt to list the slaves in family groups, as all of the children are entered with the surname of the mother, and as in four of the five families that can be reconstructed, no adult male with the same surname was on the plantation, it appears almost certain that the surnames indicate only uterine descent. It is, of course, possible that the women with children had husbands elsewhere and took their surnames. If so then the dozen prime age male slaves on the plantation may have been assumed to have done likewise. Although

CHART VI

SLAVE FAMILIES, BY SURNAME, AS LISTED ON ESTATE INVENTORY OF
 GEORGE WASHINGTON PARKE CUSTIS, HELD AT ARLINGTON HOUSE, JANUARY 1858¹

2	[Austin Bingham	Thornton Grey	Julia Ann Check
		Louisa Bingham	Selina Grey	Catherine Check
		Harrison Bingham	his wife	Louis Check
		Reuben Bingham	Emma Grey	<u>Henry Check</u>
		Parke Bingham	Sarah Grey	Catherine Burke
		Edward Bingham	Harry Grey	Fanny Burke
3	[Henry Bingham	Ada Grey	Mary Ann Burke
		Austin Bingham	6 - <u>Selina Grey child</u>	<u>Agnes Burke</u>
		Son	Lawrence Parks	Margaret Taylor
		Leante Bingham	Patsy Parks	Dandridge Richardson Taylor
		Lucius Bingham	George Parks	John Richardson Taylor
4	[Caroline Bingham	Amanda Parks	Billy Taylor
		Jim her child	Perry Parks	Quincy Taylor
		Louisa her child	Robert Parks	
		<u>Baby her child</u>	Martha Parks	
5 -		Lon Norris	7 - Laurence Parks	
		Sally Norris	James Parks	
		his wife	Magdalena Parks	
		Wesley Norris	Leanna Parks	
		Mary Norris	Matilda Parks	
		<u>Sally Norris child</u>	<u>William Parks</u>	

¹Alexandria County Will Book, no. 7, 369-371, Alexandria City Courthouse, Alexandria, Va.; slaves are listed by surname, but without ages or valuation. As other slaves with similar surnames are entered singly elsewhere on the inventory, it is assumed that those listed together were a family group. Other slave surnames are Grey (twice), Lancaster, Check, Meredith, Branham, Sifax (Syfax), Clarke, Dotson, and Derricks, once each.

possible it seems unlikely that in a holding of approximately forty adult slaves that only two would find mates among themselves. Recording surnames according to uterine descent is more likely to have been the case. Gutman found that "as slaves, wives and children sometimes had different surnames from husbands and fathers,; but that after emancipation nearly all returned to using the surname of the father."³⁹ This is yet another example that customs of the owners were frequently not those of the slaves -- it may have been so in Fairfax as well.

Another large and longstanding slaveholding in 1850 was that of George Washington Parke Custis at Arlington House, then in Alexandria County.⁴⁰ Custis the grandson of Martha Washington and adopted by her husband George, died in 1857 leaving 63 slaves at Arlington in addition to 130 elsewhere in Virginia. Robert E. Lee, Custis' son-in-law and executor of the estate, filed the Arlington estate inventory with the Alexandria County court in September 1858.⁴¹ The Custis slaves were entered on the inventory with surnames, apparently by family group, but without ages or valuation. As other slaves with the same surnames as those grouped together are listed singly, the groups are apparently families (see chart-VI). There are fourteen slave surnames, none of them Custis.⁴² Interestingly, none of the 133 slaves on either of Custis' quarters in New Kent or King William counties was entered

with a surname. Those slaves were simply listed by sex in descending order of age. That the Arlington slaves were entered with surnames probably indicates an increased awareness of slave culture by whoever took the inventory at Arlington, rather than an absence of slave surnames among Custis' other slaves. At Arlington, all of the slaves in a family seem to have been known by their paternal surname. Four of the seven slave families at Arlington were headed by males and in every case the wife carried the same surname.

Another slave-naming practice observed by Gutman throughout the South -- that of naming children for parents or grandparents, especially father or grandfather -- is quite obvious among the Arlington slaves. Because "a child's legal status followed its mother's legal status, . . . slaveowners rarely recorded the slave father's name in plantation birth records." In like manner, Gutman and Sutch found that slaveowners valued slave women primarily "as breeders and mothers, but [that] their value as slave wives is rarely mentioned by contemporaries."⁴³ For similar reasons, slaves were commonly recorded in court and other legal records by uterine descent only.

Slaves also frequently named male children for their grandfathers, and in so doing may have been carrying out a distant West African cultural tradition that "only on the

birth of a grandchild is a man in a position to be truly sure that his name and spirit will live in the history and genealogy of his people."⁴⁴ Such practices had a religious and cosmological function in West African society. In American slave society where a man was potentially isolated from his descendants and families were often scattered by sale or gift, the naming of slave children for fathers or grandfathers took on added importance. Naming a child for its father or grandfather confirmed the male biological tie and provided the child with an "assured historical continuity that complemented the close contact" binding slave children to their mothers.⁴⁵

Among the thirty-one children or grandchildren in the four complete families at Arlington were five examples of parent or grandparent naming. Henry Bingham was a son of Austin and Louisa Bingham; Henry's son was in turn named for his grandfather Austin (see chart VI). Caroline Bingham, a daughter of Austin and Louisa, named her first daughter Louisa for her grandmother. This also serves to confirm that the Louisa listed on the inventory directly under Austin was his wife and not his daughter. Mary Norris, the daughter of Lon and Sally Norris names her first child Sally for its grandmother. Selina Grey, entered last in the family of this name and identified simply as " child," could be either the daughter of

Thornton and Selina Grey, and thus named for her mother, or the child of Ada Grey, named for her grandmother. Whatever the case, a family link was formed through the child's first name. Finally, among the Custis slaves, Laurence Parks was also named for his father.

Similar child-parent/grandparent naming occurred among the slaves of the Fitzhughs and Dennis Johnston as well (see charts I, II, III, V). Among the slaves at Backlick Farm in 1810, Bill Douglass' son was named "Billy Junr"; by 1830 Lewis Birke's son Billy had named his first born "Lewis" for the grandfather; and Leah, a woman without a surname, had a daughter named "Leah, Jr." Ann Napper, one of Dennis Johnston's slaves, had a daughter "Ann Napper Jr." named for herself.

Among the Custis slaves examples of possible "white names" also appear. Dandridge Richardson Taylor carried the name of Custis' grandmother, Martha Dandridge Custis, before she married George Washington. Magdalena also seems an unlikely name for a slave mother to give her daughter, but it appears in the Parks' family. Among the Fitzhugh slaves, several names seem more likely to have been bestowed by a white owner than a black parent: Virgil, Cato, Leah, Phoebe, Areanna, Doriah, Moriah, Lydia, Venus, Cloe, or Sirius.⁴⁶ Attempting to trace the origins of slave's given names as late as 1850, however, is clearly conjectural.

"A JOB AWAY FROM HOME:"

Slave Hiring in Antebellum Fairfax⁴⁷

Estimates of the degree of opportunity for and the quality and stability of slave family life are logically based on the assumption that the slaves in any given holding worked, played, and lived together throughout the year. It was the physical proximity of numerous fellow slaves on the same farm or plantation that provided the opportunity for them to form and maintain families. Any activity that disrupted this pattern of mutual sharing of life's experiences decreased the family opportunities.

During most of the antebellum period Fairfax was in an agricultural depression due primarily to soil exhaustion. By 1830, the Fairfax farmers had abandoned any form of agriculture that relied on gang labor, and there was a resulting surplus of slaves. Most of the local planters were educated men, sensitive to abolitionist pressure, who had a strong revulsion against selling their slaves. When northern Quakers and other Yankees settled in Fairfax during the 1840s, wheat and corn production, dairying, and sheep raising became the major agricultural activities.

Except during peak periods, none of these activities required a great amount of labor. There was, therefore, a surplus of slaves on the resident plantations, and a fluctuating but definite need for short term labor by the nonslaveholders.⁴⁸ The answer to both problems was slave hiring, a system of "renting slaves away from their home plantations for a specified period of time." This arrangement allowed the slave to be rented for a set period of time for a specific job; it enabled the labor to be fitted to the available task to a degree not possible with simple slave ownership. The hiring out of slaves was an "attractive alternative" for a planter wishing to receive a return on his surplus slave labor, but unwilling to sell his surplus slaves." It proved viable in Fairfax because it provided profit to the slave owner, and simultaneously fulfilled much of the local demand for labor.

A significant portion of the slaves hired in Fairfax were from estates under the control of executors. From 1830 until the Civil War, nearly 35 percent of Fairfax probate accounts included one or more slaves hired out. For the decade 1845 to 1855 over two-hundred slaves were hired from Fairfax estates under probate, and 70 percent of these were for the benefit of widows or minor children. From the whites' point of view, the hiring of slaves from estates with dependent beneficiaries provided

a steady income while maintaining the capital value of the estate until the heirs came of age. For the slaves so hired, it meant not only the uncertainty of a new master, albeit for a limited period, but temporary separation from family and friends.

The incidence of slave hiring increased steadily after 1830, until by 1860 it was a "widespread practice, affecting nearly the entire slave and white communities." Slaves were customarily hired for a term of fifty-one weeks and returned to their home plantations between Christmas and New Year's to be reunited with kin and to have a holiday rest. In early January of each year, one or more hirings were held in Fairfax, for the ensuing fifty-one weeks.⁴⁹ Frederic Bancroft reported that at the January 1860 hiring at Catt's Tavern in Fairfax County about 450 slaves were hired out. Although this was a smaller hiring than usual, he estimates when all the public and private transactions were combined (private hirings were generally in conjunction with an estate settlement) that perhaps 25 percent of all the county's slaves were involved in the activity.⁵⁰ A recent study of Fairfax hiring agrees with Bancroft's general conclusion as to the magnitude of slave hiring, but puts the proportion of slaves hired out at 28 percent.⁵¹

Fairfax slaves were generally hired out as domestics, field hands, and to labor for railroad and canal

companies. Slaves were hired by the Fairfax Theological Seminary and, in season, by the shad and herring fisheries along the Potomac.⁵² Some Fairfax slaves were hired to work in Richmond or even in the Deep South. In 1836, a prime field hand worth only \$60 a year in Fairfax brought \$225 in Mississippi. A slave hired out for several successive years to work at a distance from home brought his Fairfax master significant profit. For the slaves, separated from family and Fairfax friends, long distance hiring must have seemed little better than outright sale.⁵³

In other cases, hirings served to keep slave families together, especially when free black men were able to hire members of their own family. Henry Herbert, a free black, "repeatedly hired his small sons from the estate of Harrison Allison between 1835 and 1840." Tenants occasionally hired a family member of a slave they already owned. And, of course, whites could have hired black mistresses or their own mulatto children as well.

Whatever the economic advantages to the owner, slave hiring surely had the greatest effect on the blacks who were hired. To some it was apparently an opportunity to test their true worth. George Mason, a Fairfax farmer, noted "the impudent manner of boasting young slaves, proud of the prices they could command."⁵⁴ In the early 1850s, however, Frederick Law Olmstead recorded a less

sanguine picture of slaves waiting to be hired: "Each carried his crude possessions in a blanket, and, looking disgruntled, sat under the scrutiny of a 'villanous looking' white man."⁵⁵

In all likelihood, the majority of owners were at least aware of the personal plight that hiring posed for their slaves. Surely whites understood the slaves' feelings; runaway notices would attest to that. The owners probably believed, however painful to the slaves, that hiring was preferable to outright sale.

Settlement of Estates and the Black Family

Perhaps no single event more seriously threatened a slave family than the death of an owner. However kindly the master may have been, the fate of slave families in his estate now rested with others -- perhaps family, perhaps not. It was the element of uncertainty that made estate settlement such an ominous situation. Except under extreme circumstances, an owner could choose whether or not to sell or hire his slaves; he retained some measure of control over the fate of the black families whom he held as property. But upon his death, the matter passed entirely from his control. Even a carefully worded will, directing that slaves be treated humanely, that they not be sold out of the area, was no guarantee of

maintenance of slave family integrity. Wills and estates were subject to administration by other men who might not feel as the former owner had regarding the slave families. The realities of liquidating estate debt or providing for widows or children might force even a kindly executor to sell or hire-out slaves, thus dismembering black families. Even provisions in a will for manumission -- the outright freeing of slaves -- could prove disruptive. Slave property often could not be freed, thereby liquidating estate capital, until all the debts were paid. Further, if a member of a slave family was in the holdings of a nearby owner, even emancipation might force a separation. Slaves therefore had good reason to look upon the death of a master with great anxiety.

Last wills and testaments, property inventories, and estate accounts recorded in the Will Books of the Fairfax County court provide much information as to the fate of slaves following the death of a former master. The documents elucidate owner requests regarding slaves, how well and often such requests were carried out, the proportion of slaves simply passed to next of kin, the number sold, and whether any heed was paid to slave families in the division or sale of an estate's slaves. Even so, the evidence gleaned from court records must be approached with due caution; such public records have frequently proven to be unrepresentative of the society at

large. Many, perhaps most, men did not make a will; many estates were not inventoried, and there is always a bias toward older and wealthier men in probate records.

Nevertheless, court probate records provide some measure of information on the fate of slaves between owners. The fate of those whose owners are not in the books may be lost forever.

For the decade of the 1820s, 168 entries in the Will Books mention slaves. The majority of the individual estates, forty-four (there were several entries for some estates), simply left "all my slaves" to wife and/or children, or divided them in a straightforward way among the heirs, a reminder that in antebellum Virginia slaves were first and foremost property to be treated with other accumulated property such as livestock or household belongings.⁵⁶ There were seventy-six estate inventories or accounts; few listed slaves by surname or in family groups or gave any indications that the executors were aware of or concerned about slave domestic arrangements.⁵⁷

Occasionally, an inventory such as that of Martram Cockerill in 1828, would group a man and wife: "Negro John, Lizza his wife," or assign a single value to a woman and children such as "Sinah and 3 children, \$550; Betty and 3 children, \$500," in the 1826 inventory of George Triplett.⁵⁸ In the latter case, it appears that the

women and their children were passed to heirs or sold as a group. But, in general, the inventories reflect only the cold legal formality of disposing of human property in slaves.

Also recorded were nineteen sales of slaves associated with an estate.⁵⁹ Again, little if any regard was paid to slave families. The twenty-six slaves formerly owned by William Powell were sold in 1821 to twenty different buyers; in 1825 the thirty-one slaves formerly owned by Spencer Wigginton were sold to twelve purchasers; three slaves belonging to John Marshall were also sold to separate purchasers; and four bondsmen in Josiah Clarke's estate were divided among three purchasers, only "Lucinda and child" going to one buyer.⁶⁰ Temple Smith, who died without heirs in 1829, willed his slaves to his executors with instructions that three old Negroes were to be supported "in a humane manner . . . after they shall be past labor." He also directed that his "negro boy Jack be appraised . . . and sold."⁶¹ Some of the sales appear to have been to relatives of the deceased. Four of the purchasers of slaves from the estate of James Burke also had the same surname.⁶² If these were local relatives, the slaves purchased could perhaps at least visit their families on nearby plantations or farms.

The fate of the vast majority of slaves sold is unknown; whether they were retained in Fairfax or

transported out of the county or state cannot be determined. There is no indication that any of the slaves listed in the court estate accounts were sold to known slave traders.⁶³ In all likelihood, the slave's anxiety accompanying the death of a master was all too often proved justified at the time of an estate sale. Even if the master were unwilling to sell slaves during his lifetime to relatives, neighbors, or traders, the threat of this occurring after an owner's death "was sufficiently large to affect the life of every slave." Gutman and Sutch estimate that for the average Maryland slave there was "a 70.8 percent risk of sale in a 35-year period and [that] over 20 expected sales of a slave's family members [could be expected] during his lifetime."⁶⁴ And at no time was the possibility of a sale more likely than at the time of an owner's death. Even a simple division of slaves among several heirs might mean family dismemberment as the legatees took their chattel to their home farms and plantations. Those slaves left as a group to a sole heir, such as a son or brother, however, may have passed through estate settlement without a domestic separation.

Approximately thirteen wills recorded during the 1820s provided for manumission of slaves. Some, such as the 1829 will of William H. Fitzhugh, freed many slaves, others only one or two; some manumitted all of their

slaves and others only a portion of them. Some slaves were to go free immediately, while others were held in bondage for a specified period of time or until attaining a certain age. Several masters provided for transportation out of Virginia; two suggested that the emancipated bondsmen emigrate to Liberia.

Upton Beall, for example, set his Negro woman and girl free after a term of ten years; John Morris willed his three slaves to his wife, to be freed after her death. William Watters required his three male slaves to serve until age twenty-five, and the four females until age twenty-one, but also directed "that if there should be any of my young negroes that have not arrive [sic] to the time of there [sic] freedom at the death of my wife . . . they shall be given to there [sic] parents and that they shall be free as they severally arrive at the age -- the males twenty and the females eighteen." Presumably, the parents entrusted with the young blacks had already been manumitted by Watters. Elkanah Nalley left "my malatto [sic] boy to his mother to be given his liberty at age twenty-five."⁶⁵ Other emancipations were more complicated or required more specific direction.

Hannah Adams freed slave Sarah immediately, Sarah's children Henson and Mary Jane "with all her increase," at age twenty-five, Sinah after twelve years, and four others "already emancipated according to law when their time was

up.⁶⁶ Sally Wren emancipated five slaves immediately, eight more at age twenty-one, and specified that one boy, Hanson Lee, "be bound . . . to the age of twenty one years old to some mechanick to learn a trade or profession." All the slaves, except Lee, were to be sold until their time of freedom, but the executors were to assure that the purchasers not remove any of the slaves from Virginia or the District of Columbia, unless to a free state. To "Milly and her child," Hanson Lee, Wren left her bedstead and furniture; Wren's clothes were to be divided up among four of her slave women. Apparently, Wren owned no male slave who had not been born to these four women; Milly, the mother of Hanson Lee, was the daughter of another Wren slave, Nancy.⁶⁷ Wren obviously had a close paternal feeling for her slaves and attempted to provide for them after her death. To have freed the males any sooner than age twenty-one would have left them free as minors, wards of the orphans court. Selling them outright to someone until age twenty-one was actually a protection for their eventual freedom.

Robert Gunnell provided for freedom also, but once again there were specific instruction. The slaves were to be hired out for a year or two to raise money to transport them to Nashville, Tennessee, where they were not only to be freed, but any excess money from the hiring to be divided among them. His wife's dower slaves "not claimed

by me or my exclusive property" were not intended to be set free.⁶⁸ Joshua Hutchinson also provided that his slaves be hired out for two years after which time they were to go "into open court in Fairfax County and make their election" to go either to Liberia or to a free state. Hutchinson "earnestly advise[d] them to Liberia, where they will be on an equality with the rest of the country."⁶⁹

The eighty-three slaves of William H. Fitzhugh, who died in 1830, were also given their freedom in 1850, and were to have their expenses paid to go where they wished out of Virginia. Like Hutchinson, Fitzhugh suggested they return to Liberia: "as an encouragement to them to emigrate to the American Colony on the Coast of Africa, where I believe their happiness will be most permanently secured, he provided for payment of their passage and "that the sum of fifty dollars shall be paid to each one so emigrating on his or her arrival in Africa."⁷⁰

The provisions of these slaveowners that their emancipated bondsmen be removed from the state of Virginia were apparently based on a belief that the 1806 statute requiring all slaves freed after that date to either leave the state or be sold back into slavery, would be enforced -- which it was not in northern Virginia.⁷¹ As many nineteenth-century Americans believed that freed slaves could never be happy or prosperous in this country, the

American Colonization Society was established in 1816 to recolonize the new freedmen in their native land. Bushrod Washington, who lived at the Mount Vernon estate he inherited after Martha Washington's death in 1802 until his death in 1829, was president of the Colonization Society.⁷² His residence in Fairfax may have encouraged some of his neighbors to provide for the return of their manumitted blacks to Africa. On his own death Bushrod left to his wife and his nephew George C. Washington those slaves he had not already sold, neither setting them free nor sending them to their ancestral homeland. One of Bushrod's Fairfax neighbors, Elizabeth Lee Jones, however, willed all of her slaves to the "American Society for colonizing the free people of color of the United States."⁷³

Hutchinson, Fitzhugh, Jones, and others who provided for transportation of manumitted blacks to Liberia or elsewhere had no way of foreseeing that the commonwealth's 1806 statute would never be strictly enforced in northern Virginia, or that nearly sixty of Fitzhugh's former slaves would register as free blacks with the Fairfax court at the very moment of their emancipation, January 1850. Ten of Hutchinson's former slaves also refused to go to Liberia and registered in Fairfax as well.⁷⁴

One Fairfax slaveowner, Edward L. Blackburn, left a will that specifically mentions a slave family. Blackburn

directed that "my negro man Nace remain in my family and with his family [my emphasis] until my youngest child then living be of the age of twenty-one years," at which time Nace and his family were to be freed and given one-hundred acres of land in Hampshire County, Virginia.⁷⁵

The will of Ferdinando Fairfax, written in 1806 and presented to the Fairfax court in 1820, provided for partial emancipation of his slaves in a rather complicated manner. Initially, they were all to be sold subject to the conditions that all above age ten would serve for life, but their issue would be free at age twenty-one. Those under ten would serve only until age twenty-eight, at which time both they and their issue would be free. This was a common and rather straightforward plan for the manumission of his bondsmen. Yet Fairfax was a visionary who went on in his will to give every evidence that he was genuinely concerned about the welfare of the blacks, especially after freedom, and that he was firmly opposed to the institution of slavery. He wrote not only of the "original injustice of slavery," but also of the "evils of an even partial emancipation without a preparation of the mind and habits of the individual destined to enjoy it." He expressed the colonizationist concern that "their removal from among us" should be "effected as a national concern." Finally, as if to remove any doubt of the complete sincerity of his opposition to slavery, he

expressly required that all inheritance of property by his own children was "only on condition that they shall never hold a slave for life."⁷⁶ To doubt the sincerity of Fairfax's sentiments is to be overly cynical. His emancipation provisions indicate a genuine concern for his slaves, and for their welfare after his death.

The court probate records for the decade before the Civil War indicate little change in the treatment of slaves. Slaves continued to be listed on estate inventories by name, sex, and age, and to be passed on by bequest, dispersed by sale, and freed by emancipation. Of the ninety-two entries in the will books that mention slaves, forty are simple inventories with no special conditions relating to the slaves.⁷⁷ The inventory of Susan Potter, in 1858, also includes five slave surnames: Adams, Willis, and Thomas, once each; and Napper, five times.⁷⁸ There was also a family of six slaves surnamed Napper in the estate of Dennis Johnston in 1852 (see chart V), another indication of an inter-plantation extended kin network.

The three slaves of Matthew Davis were also apparently a family, although recorded without surnames: "Willoughby, Daniel -- son of Willoughby, [and] Willoughby, Jr."; the girl named for her mother being consistent with northern Virginia practice. Caleb Stone's small holding of five

slaves was apparently a family group, but was not specifically indicated as such on the inventory: "Negro Man Tom, Negro Ann and child, Negro boy Norman, Negro girl Margaret."⁷⁹

There are thirty-seven probate entries recording bequeathal of slaves to relatives, estate sales, or manumissions.⁸⁰ Some of the entries reflect division of slaves in a manner that respected the legal property rights of the heirs. In those instances where slaves were inventoried by first name only and were passed on to heirs, black families become lost to the record. In the case of some emancipated slaves, also often entered in the probate records by first name only, their subsequent registration as free Negroes enables the family groups established under slavery to be identified.

In June 1857, Warren Croson freed seven slaves -- Nancy, Carlson, Oscar, Maria, John, Sam, and Fanny. Each was given fifty dollars to "remove to the state of Ohio"; the executors were to put them on the train and then distribute the money.⁸¹ In December of that same year, however, six of Croson's recently emancipated blacks registered in Fairfax as free Negroes: Nancy, age fifty-five, was the mother of Carlson (twenty-seven), Oscar (twenty-five), Maria (seventeen), and Samuel (sixteen); they all registered with the surname Fairfax. Fanny at age sixty was the mother of twenty-two-year-old

John; both were surnamed Dobson.⁸⁵ One other Croson slave, Richard, was apparently also a member of the Fairfax family. Croson directed Richard to be sold, which he presumably was; but by December 1859, thirty-three-year-old Richard Fairfax had also obtained his freedom and registered as a free Negro in Fairfax. The children of both families registered by the surname of their mothers; whether these were the women's ancestral surnames or those of their husbands is unknown. But the rapidity of their registrations as a family clearly indicates the names were not assumed with their new freedom. It seems indicative of the function of surnames in slave society that none of these former slaves of Croson registered with his surname. Several years earlier, Samuel Collard had provided for the immediate emancipation of four elderly slaves --Tom Henson, Betsey King, Henny Blue, and Linda Watson -- and the eventual manumission of ten more, seven surnamed Watson and three King. They were to be freed on the first day of January of the year they arrived at age thirty-five, the first in 1857 and the last in 1876. Collard provided explicit instructions to assure that the slaves would be freed at the appropriate times, that they were not "carried" from Fairfax County, "where they can have most easy and certain access to the Records of the Court in which are registered . . . their right to freedom," and that funds be set aside

to provide them with transportation from Virginia."⁸³ He further directed that the slaves should be divided between his son and daughter until the time of their freedom. Other former Fairfax slaves may also have remained in the county to be near the legal assurances of their freedom.

Such careful provisions to assure the eventual freedom of his slaves indicates that Collard was a humane and thoughtful man. His concern for detail and for the benefit of his bondspeople both freed them after his death and attempted to provide for the legal protection of that freedom. Several of his former slaves -- Tom Henson, Betsy King, and Linda Watson -- subsequently registered in Fairfax with their children; Henny Blue, apparently without children, did not remain.⁸⁴

The age similarity of Tom Henson and Betsy King (both registered as age fifty-nine), that they both remained in Fairfax, and that the oldest of Betsy King's sons (age thirty) was also named Tom, all suggest that Tom Henson was Betsy's husband and the father of young Tom. If so, then Betsy King was retaining the surname of her parents rather than assuming that of her husband. Young Tom's surname, after freedom, is unknown. If the function of the surname within the slave community was to establish one's paternity, then young Tom may have taken the surname Henson, which would also explain Betsy King not assuming

the same surname. The identical given name of the two men not only linked them as father and son but may, as suggested by Gutman and others, have had a religious or cosmological function as well as establishing paternity and extended kinship.⁸⁵ Thus, Collard apparently owned two slave families who managed to remain together under the provisions of their former master's will.

By the antebellum era, many northern Virginia slaves, whose ancestors had generations earlier formed both nuclear and extended families to survive, lived within an existing family system and society. Aware that family separations could occur, they assumed surnames to confirm their ancestry and extended kinship. It seems probable in Fairfax, as has been established elsewhere, that "the pattern used by slave parents in naming their children reveals the importance of both paternal and maternal kinship in defining the place of the child in slave society."⁸⁶ The anthropologist Stephen Gudeman agrees that a slave child's place in society was "determined bilaterally through both the mother and father."⁸⁷ If the legal realities of ownership required the owners to be primarily concerned with the maternal connection, the slaves may have understood and accepted this and therefore provided linkage to the father within the slave society. "The system that developed . . . [should] be viewed as a response by the slaves" to the possibility of family

separation, and thus had an adaptive function within Afro-American society.⁸⁸

Slaveowners elsewhere in the South not only recognized slave mothers, fathers, and children but also "viewed the slave family as a functional [as well as] reproductive unit. The [slave] family or household served as the basic structure for the distribution of food and clothing."⁸⁹ Slaveowners "established rules to maintain . . . [slave families] when dividing their estates."⁹⁰ It seems unlikely that these observations do not hold true for the northern Virginia slaveholders as well.

Demographics suggest and the wills and inventories confirm that by the early nineteenth century many if not most of northern Virginia slaves lived in family groups and were part of an extended kinship system. By 1820 the number of slaves in the whole population had risen to nearly five thousand, although the proportion of slaves in the whole population remained at its late eighteenth-century level of 41 percent. The more numerous slaves in Loudoun were a smaller proportion of the population. The sex ratios were nearly even overall and about 45 percent of the slave population in both counties was under age fourteen. Most slaves, it seems, had the opportunity for family life, and there is little if any indication of slave breeding.

By 1850 there was a significant decline in the number and population proportion of Fairfax slaves, brought about by the changing and declining Fairfax economy. During the same period the number and proportion of slaves in Loudoun remained constant. The population of Alexandria County, once again a part of Virginia, was only 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ percent slaves, the majority in the town itself. Fairfax and Loudoun sex and child/adult ratios remained at approximately what they were in 1820, indicating that the decreased number of Fairfax slaves had not stunted the family structure of the overall slave society. In Alexandria, the sex and child/adult ratios were badly biased, suggesting either a diminished incidence of slave family formation or perhaps the selling of surplus slaves out of town.

Throughout northern Virginia most of the slaves probably continued to live in families, and the domestic structure of the slave society survived. An adaptive surname system adopted by the slaves tied the northern Virginia bondsmen to their lineal descendants, and may have integrated them into an inter-plantation extended kinship web as well. On some holdings, women and children assumed the surnames of their husband and father, on others the children may have kept the maternal surname. Fairfax slaves named male children for their fathers and grandfathers as other slaves did throughout the South.

The recorded evidence left by the slaveholders indicates awareness of slave families, though not necessarily of all their functions, and concern for the eventual welfare of many slaves. On some plantations slave families apparently continued for generations. Although black families were sometimes divided by wills, distribution of estates, sales and even emancipations, humane well-intentioned slaveowners left testimonial directions intended for the slave's benefit, that allowed many former slave families to remain together after obtaining freedom. The slaves, with or without freedom, remained with their families whenever possible. There may have been a diminution in the number of slave families, but apparently not in the importance or quality of slave family life. The Afro-American's domestic structure survived.

What cannot be gleaned from either census returns or probate records is the effect on the slave community of its most destructive potential adversary -- the professional slave trader. To this final question, our investigation now turns.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER-II

[Notes for pages 97-108]

¹M. I. Finley, Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology (New York, 1980), 92.

²Summary of changes in Fairfax and population figures from Netherton, Sweig, et al., Fairfax County, 154-156

³Ibid.

⁴See tables VI, V, XI.

⁵Paul A. David, Herbert G. Gutman, Richard Sutch, Peter Temin, Gavin Wright, Reckoning With Slavery: A Critical Study in the Quantitative History of American Negro Slavery (New York, 1976), 104-105.

⁶The relative proportions of total slave outmigration attributable to planter migration and to slave traders is assessed in chapter-III.

⁷The Loudoun population declined from 6,078 in 1800 to 5,127 in 1810, and then rose steadily to 5,641 in 1850.

⁸David, et al., Reckoning With Slavery, 156-157.

⁹Ibid., 154.

¹⁰Mortality rate of slaves calculated from table-IV, and of whites from Lynn C. McMillion and Jane K. Wall, comps., Fairfax County, Virginia: 1820 Federal Population Census (Vienna, Va., 1976), 45.

¹¹Todd L. Savitt, the most recent authority on the health of slaves, makes no specific mention of childhood mortality, although he notes "the death rate from complications of pregnancy was slightly lower in slaves than in whites." Medicine and Slavery: The Diseases and Health Care of Blacks in Antebellum Virginia (Urbana, Ill., 1978), 117.

[Notes to pages 108-124]

¹²David, et al., Reckoning With Slavery, 156-157.

¹³On Quaker abolitionism in Loudoun and elsewhere, see Patricia Hickin, "Gentle Agitator: Samuel M. Janney and the Antislavery Movement in Virginia, 1842-1851," Journal of Southern History, XXXVIII (1971), 159-190; and "Antislavery in Virginia, 1831-1861" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Va., 1968).

¹⁴Will and Estate Inventory of William H. Fitzhugh, Fairfax County Will Book (hereafter Will Book), J-1 244-250 (will), 285-296 (estate account), Fairfax County Courthouse (hereafter FCCH).

¹⁵The division of Fitzhugh's slaveholdings into such clearly definable family groups, all with surnames, is uncommon in the Fairfax inventories. Part of the explanation for that procedure in this instance may be that David Stuart was one of the executors. Stuart had married the widow of George Washington's stepson, John Parke Custis. He was a physician, a former commissioner of the District of Columbia, and a close personal friend of Washington (a man who recognized the slave family, although not slave surnames, see chapt.-I), and Stuart may have acquired an awareness of the existence of the slave family network from the General.

¹⁶Calculated by subtracting the age of the child from the age of the mother. The ages in the inventory are, of course, only estimates. Two women gave first birth at age 17, two at age 18, and seven at age 19; the youngest was age 16.

¹⁷Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery, I, (Boston, 1974), 137; David, et al., Reckoning With Slavery, 142-143.

¹⁸"Last Will and Testament of General George Washington," mss., FCCH, 4.

¹⁹This and much of the discussion that follows is from Gutman, Black Family, 230-252.

²⁰Finley, Ancient Slavery, 74-74; see also Martin Klein and Paul Lovejoy, "Slavery in West Africa," in Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn, eds., The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Slave Trade (New York, 1979), 189.

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²¹Eugene D. Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made (New York, 1974), 445-446.

²²Gutman, Black Family, 244, 252.

²³Ibid., 230-231.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid., 252.

²⁶Surnames of the Fitzhugh slaves include: Douglas, Davis, Packer, Birke [Burke], Hopes, Bulles, Triplett, Gardner, Backer [Packer?], Newman, Johnson, Clarke, Carey, Robinson, Bossee, Geson, Buchan [Buchanan?], Thomas, Brown, Spotswood, Curry, Holly, Kelly, Patrick, and Williams.

²⁷This was not always the case. See chart-V, and discussion of slaves of Dennis Johnston, below.

²⁸See charts II and III, below.

²⁹Will of William Fitzhugh, Will Book, J-1, 244-250; "Inventory of the Goods and Chattels of William H. Fitzhugh," Will Book, Q-1, 68-74, FCCH.

³⁰The importance of first name naming patterns in establishing slave paternity is discussed below, and also by Gutman, Black Family, 188-191.

³¹See chapt. III.

³²See table-XIII for the two largest Alexandria slaveholders. See Chapt. III for identification of Kephart.

³³Analysis of holding size based on federal census enumeration needs to be approached with the understanding that the census does not differentiate between owned and hired slaves. Slave hiring was common in Fairfax by 1850; some owners such as the Scotts at Bush Hill hired out as many as 30 slaves a year. These slaves were probably counted in the numerous small groups in which they were hired out. Even so, because the slaves spent most of the year in small groups, the opportunity for family formation would be lessened. That the small holdings were only hired, and were therefore transient, probably impeded slave family life even further.

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³⁴Elizabeth Pryor, "Flexibility and Profit in the Slave Hiring Systems of Fairfax County, Va.," unpublished mss. made available through the courtesy of the author, 6.

³⁵"Inventory and Appraisalment of the Estate of Dennis Johnston," Aug. 1852, Will Book, W-1, 299-300, FCCH.

³⁶Slave surnames on Johnston's inventory were: Taylor, Bailey, Quander, Hodge, Smock, Jones, Jasper, Napper, Goings, Nelson, Williams, Rodgers, and Furgurson(?).

³⁷Gutman, Black Family, 231-232. For Fitzhugh surnames see charts I, II, above.

³⁸Adult male slaves were valued from \$500 to \$900. The only exception, an "old man, valued at nothing," was clearly indicated as such. Edward and Henry Jasper were valued at \$500 and \$850, respectively.

³⁹Gutman, Black Family, 248.

⁴⁰The county of Arlington was named for this house in 1920. It is now officially Arlington House, also known as the Custis-Lee Mansion, in the midst of Arlington National Cemetery.

⁴¹Will of G.W.P. Custis, Dec., 1857, Alexandria County Willbook no. 7, Alexandria City Courthouse; "An Inventory of the Slaves, at Arlington belonging to the Estate of G.W.F. Custis," 369-371.

⁴²Custis slave surnames were: Bingham, Norris, Grey, Check, Burke, Lancaster, Meredith, Parks, Taylor, Branham, Sifax [Syfax], Clark, Dotson, and Derricks.

⁴³Gutman, Black Family, 188-191; David, et al., Reckoning With Slavery, 137-138; because English law determined the status of a child by the status of the father, the American practice of determining whether a black child was slave or free by the status of the mother, and rewarding ownership of slave children to the maternal master has been viewed by some historians as a legal perversion to allow unlimited miscegenation between white masters and black slave women without increasing the number of free blacks. Yet, in West African societies where blacks owned and exploited fellow blacks, "slave children inherited their mothers' status and belonged to their mothers' owners," as well. Klein and Lovejoy, "Slavery in West Africa," 189.

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⁴⁴Gutman, Black Family, 197-198.

⁴⁵Ibid., 188-191; it would be instructive to know if slave children in African slave societies, also stripped of their parental linkage (see n. 43, above), were also named for fathers and grandfathers. If so, then the Afro-American practice clearly had African origins; if not, it would appear to be adaptive to American slavery only.

⁴⁶The first four are from the 1830 inventory, the remainder from 1810.

⁴⁷Much of the factual information on slave hiring in this section is based on Pryor, "Flexibility and Profit"; in general, specific citations will not be made as the source of the information is acknowledged.

⁴⁸For agricultural background on Fairfax in the antebellum period, see Netherton, Sweig, et al., Fairfax County, 152-316, especially 250-270.

⁴⁹Notice of public hirings appear in the Alexandria Gazette in early Jan. of each year. See, for example, 1 Jan. 1832; 1 Jan. 1840; 1 Jan. 1855; 4 Jan 1860.

⁵⁰Frederic Bancroft, Slave Trading in the Old South (New York, 1931), 148.

⁵¹Pryor, "Flexibility and Profit," 34, n.55.

⁵²Pryor notes that fisheries paid high prices for slaves "because owners justifiably [my emphasis] believed that working near the bottomland increased the incidence of malaria among the slaves" (p. 6). This seems to contradict the general opinion of white southerners that blacks were less susceptible, if not immune, to malaria. Peter H. Wood found that among South Carolina whites during the colonial period there was a general feeling that blacks were resistant to "intermittant fever." Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina From 1670 Through the Stono Rebellion (New York, 1974), 88-91. Todd Savitt presents scientific data substantiating that "a large proportion of Negro servants were immune to the severe effects of falciparum malaria -- a fact which planters and physicians in the south could not but help notice." (Medicine and Slavery, 32). This was true because of the large proportion of West African blacks who

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were either heterozygous or homozygous for hemoglobin-S, making them carriers or victims of sickle-cell anemia, because a large proportion lacked a specific red-blood-cell factor called Duffy antigen, and because many may have also lacked an enzyme, glucose-6-phosphate dehydrogenase -- all inherited biological conditions that conferred immunity to malaria. (Medicine and Slavery, 27-32). Thus, while Pryor's use of "justifiably" is unsubstantiated, and probably incorrect, her suggestion that local slave owners, responding to empirical observation, believed that river work endangered their slaves from malaria suggests that by the antebellum era Fairfax slaves may have developed a decreased immunity to malaria. This in turn could have occurred in two ways: in a stable resident population of slaves not constantly exposed to malarial infection the incidence of the biological factors, such as sickle-cell trait, would be reduced; alternatively, significant interbreeding with the white population would also result in a lowered incidence of all three biological factors that confer the immunity to malaria. In either event, the effect on the black family may have been significant. In the first case, it may evidence a fairly stable slave society within northern Virginia, and in the second, interference in black family life by whites.

⁵³A detailed investigation of the economic aspects of northern Virginia slave hiring, is in Pryor, "Flexibility and Profit," 9-26.

⁵⁴George Mason to "My dear Sir," 11 June 1857, William Johnston and Family Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

⁵⁵Frederick Law Olmstead, A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States (New York, 1968), 30-31.

⁵⁶For wills recording simple inheritance or division of slaves see: Will Book, M-1, 69, 75-76, 128, 131-133, 179, 189, 197, 229-230, 236-238, 239, 240, 270, 297-298, 330, 403-404; N-1, 31-32, 45, 137, 175, 206, 278, 283, 292, 387, 424; O-1, 54, 56, 58-59, 71, 77, 131-132, 134, 136-137, 166; P-1, 11-12, 116-117, 128-130, 149, 242-244, 277, 330, 350, 406, 421-422, FCCH.

⁵⁷For inventories including slaves see: Will Book, M-1, 3, 72, 108-108, 178, 196, 209, 217, 231, 277, 296, 321, 342, 359-360, 394-395, 408; N-1, 5-6, 18, 35-36, 61,

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64, 90, 106-107, 126, 141-142, 169-170, 176-177, 183-184, 216, 256, 280, 334, 362, 364, 370, 374, 385, 387-388; O-1, 2-3, 7, 12, 23-24, 72, 83, 89, 122-123, 129, 130, 148, 171-174, 190-191, 195, 351, 397, 402, 410; P-1, 15, 23, 28, 87, 90, 127, 140, 143, 147, 193, 242, 246, 247, 251, 252, 334, 342, 349, 390, 394, 395, 415, 428; Q-1, 14-45, 18-19, 21, 24, 27-28, 53-54, 68-70, 72-73, 90-91, FCCH.

⁵⁸Will Book P-1, 121; O-1, 329, FCCH.

⁵⁹Will Book M-1, 91, 100-101, 376; N-1, 1, 229, 261, 281, 379; O-1, 28, 31, 197, 80, 286, FCCH. Also see notes 60-63, below.

⁶⁰Will Book, M-1, 222-226; O-1, 64-64; M-1, 369, 414-418, FCCH.

⁶¹Will Book, P-1, 272, FCCH.

⁶²Will Book, O-1, 202, FCCH.

⁶³The two major traders in Fairfax County were George Kephart and Joseph Bruin. After 1828, John Armfield purchased slaves at Alexandria for shipment to New Orleans. None of these men's names appear as purchasers in any Fairfax estate account for the decade 1820-1830. See Chapt.-III.

⁶⁴Gutman and Sutch, "Frequency of Slave Sales," in David, et al., Reckoning With Slavery, 110-111.

⁶⁵Will Book, O-1, 427, 193; P-1, 145; O-1, 399; M-1, 183. Watters was a local clergyman. See will of Robt. Gunnell, P-1, 173, FCCH.

⁶⁶Will Book, N-1, 81, FCCH.

⁶⁷Will Book, L-1, 53-55, FCCH.

⁶⁸Will Book, P-1, 173-174, FCCH.

⁶⁹Will Book, U-1, 38-39, FCCH.

⁷⁰Will Book Q-1 57-59, FCCH.

⁷¹Samuel Shepherd, The Statutes at Large of Virginia; From October Session 1792 to December Session 1806, III (Richmond, Va., 1835), 252.

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⁷²See Marie Tyler McGraw, "The American Colonization Society in Virginia, 1816-1832: A Case Study in Southern Liberalism" (Ph.D. diss., George Washington University, 1980).

⁷³Will Book, N-1, 51-52, FCCH.

⁷⁴Donald Sweig, ed., Registrations of Free Negroes, 1822-1861, Fairfax County, Virginia (Fairfac, Va., 1977), 4-5, 156-157, 168-170, 173, 179-195.

⁷⁵Will Book, P-1, 9-10, FCCH.

⁷⁶Will Book, M-1, 158-159, FCCH.

⁷⁷Will Book, W-1, 68, 88, 89, 123, 165, 187, 214, 251, 258, 306, 312, 315, 349; X-1, 83, 165-166, 168, 178, 182, 377, 390, 408-409; Y-1, 29, 81, 91, 189, 203, 232, 302, 314, 357, 431; Z-1, 17, 50, 81, 133, 147, 151-152, 171, 196, 200, 202, FCCH.

⁷⁸Will Book, Y-1, 438, FCCH.

⁷⁹Will Book, Y-1, 207-208, W-1, 133, FCCH.

⁸⁰For simple transmission of slaves see: Will Book, W-1, 80, 120, 129, 151-153, 161-162, 201, 238, 254-255, 302-303, 384, 385; Y-1 25, 139, 164, 181, 296, 404, 433, 444; Z-1, 85, 122, 123, 127-128, 227, 253, 275. For sale of slaves: X-1, 266, and Y-1, 319; for manumission with various provisions: W-1, 86, 282; Y-1 225, 354, 432-435; Z-1, 120; for emancipation and bequeathal, X-1, 184, FCCH.

⁸¹Will Book Y-1, 352, FCCH.

⁸²Sweig, ed., Registrations of Free Negroes, 237-239.

⁸³Will Book, W-1, 282-287, FCCH.

⁸⁴Sweig, ed., Registrations of Free Negroes, 211-212.

⁸⁵Gutman, Black Family, 196-199.

⁸⁶Cody, "Naming, Kinship, and Estate Dispersal," WMQ, 3^d Ser., XXXIX (1982), 192.

⁸⁷Gudeman, "Anthropologist's View," Soc. Sci. Hst., III (1979), 61.

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⁸⁸Cody, "Naming, Kinship, and Estate Dispersal,"
WMQ, 3^d Ser., XXXIX (1982), 192.

⁸⁹Ibid., 192-193.

⁹⁰Ibid.

CHAPTER III

The Interstate Slave Trade: Its Extent and Effect on Slave Families in Northern Virginia.

In March 1830, a French Louisiana sugar planter wrote to a correspondent in New Orleans that the "slave-trade of both sexes leaving the different states of the North is so great that they will soon outnumber the Creoles and slaves from Guinea."¹ The planter's concern was the effect such an influx of black Anglo/Afro-Americans would have on the predominantly French culture of Louisiana.² It doubtless never occurred to him that this forced migration of Upper-South blacks to labor on the cotton and sugar plantations of the new southwest threatened the cultural and familial integrity of another group of men and women as well--the slaves themselves. For Upper-South slaves, getting caught up in the domestic slave trade was a real and present danger which by 1830 they surely understood all too well. The trade was the most serious threat to their family and community life, far worse than the separations of local transfer or being hired out. Once

the money had passed to the master, and the trader took legal possession of the slave, family separation was both certain and permanent. No paternalism, gratitude for past service, or recognition of a personal bond that might have acted upon a planter to change the fate of the slave would apply to the professional trader. Once the legal property of the trader, the slave would either be marched overland or transported by water to labor in Louisiana, Mississippi, or perhaps Arkansas, Alabama, or east Texas. Was this forced dismemberment of slave families a frequent occurrence in northern Virginia? Surely some Fairfax, Loudoun, and Alexandria slaves were sold, but how many? To what extent did northern Virginia slaves contribute to the threat to Creole hegemony that the Louisiana planter feared? Was the interstate slave trade a prominent feature of slave life in northern Virginia?

The domestic slave trade has long been recognized as a major feature of American antebellum slavery. Assumptions about the nature of master-slave relations, about family separation, and about the slave family have necessarily had much to do with slave sales and with the extent and character of the domestic traffic in slaves. It is thus essential to assess the extent and character of the trade in northern Virginia to portray slave-family experience in the area. The domestic slave

trade owed its existence and growth to three major factors: legal prohibition of the importation of new slaves into the United States after 1808; a concurrent need for more labor in the trans-Mississippi southwest; and an increasing surplus of slaves in the older states of the Upper South.

As early as the late 1800s, soil exhaustion, a gradual shift from tobacco (a labor intensive crop) to wheat (a seasonal labor crop), and falling prices, all contributed to an agricultural depression that decreased the need for slaves throughout Virginia, and compelled economically pressed farmers to sell slaves.³ After December 1803, when the United States took possession of the Louisiana Purchase, a vast new domain was opened for the growth of American agriculture, and on 1 January 1808 the federal government cut off the external source of new slave labor. The natural rate of slave increase was more than sufficient in the Upper South to meet the needs of agriculture in the region, but in the Deep South it was less than sufficient to meet the demands for increased cotton production. In response to this western demand Virginia and the other eastern states shipped their natural increase to the cotton South.⁴ It is, therefore, no coincidence that the great decline in the northern Virginia slave population began in 1810.⁵

The British historian Michael Tadman observes that

"the trade accounted for the substantial majority (somewhere between 56 and 69 percent) of the more than one million net inter-regional slave movements . . . over the period 1820 to 1860. The slave trade was so extensive," he continues, "that of the Upper South's slave population which was ten years old in 1820, more than one in four would by 1860 have been traded to the Lower South."⁶

Another study confined to the Virginia trade of the 1840s, while agreeing that about 10,500 slaves were transferred to the Deep South during that decade, asserts that "the picture of the domestic slave trade has been overdrawn," and that the majority of Virginia planters sold south not to make a profit, but to cover their losses during a time of severe agricultural decline. The study notes that "fluctuation in the number of purchases in Virginia did not [my emphasis] match the rise and fall in the price of slaves in the New Orleans market," and therefore that local conditions, not traders or Deep South demand, was the chief determinant of the rate of trade.⁷ If this was so, and the evidence suggests that it was, then only a careful and close assessment of the local trade will shed any light on the effect of the trade on northern Virginia slaves.

Location on the Potomac River, in the heart of a region overstocked with surplus slaves, made the City of Washington and the town of Alexandria an early transfer

point for buyers and sellers of slaves. As early as 1802, an Alexandria grand jury had complained of the "Grievance . . . of persons coming from distant parts of the United States into this District for the purpose of purchasing slaves." It referred to the "wretchedness and human degradation" of marching slaves "in our streets . . . loaded with chains as though they had committed some heinous offence against our laws." It lamented that "interposition of Civil authority cannot be had to prevent parents being wrested from their offspring, and children from their parents, without respect to ties of nature."⁸

In 1816, vituperative Virginia congressman John Randolph declaimed against this "nefarious traffic" in the House of Representatives, and insisted it was not necessary that "this city should be made a depot for slaves."⁹ Yet the newspapers continued to carry advertisements for the local traders. Samuel J. Dawson, Jesse Bernhard, and Samuel Meek, advertised to buy in Georgetown; John W. Smith, and E. P. Legg, were among those who operated at Alexandria. By the 1830s, James H. Birch, William H. "Yellow House" (from the color of the building where he conducted his business) Williams, and Joseph W. Neal and Company bought slaves in Washington City, as did numerous planters who came to buy for themselves.¹⁰ Alexandria was early recognized as "the best point from which to start both coastwise and overland

coffles." It became "the place most favored" for beginning such journeys.¹¹

Between 1828 and 1836, the firm of Franklin and Armfield operated a large trading business from their establishment on Duke Street in Alexandria. After 1836, their operation was taken over by George Kephart, a former agent for Franklin and Armfield. Later, after the Compromise of 1850 prohibited the trading of slaves in the District of Columbia, numerous Washington traders moved across the river to Alexandria, which had been retroceded to Virginia in 1846 and was thus free from the new prohibition.

The slaves of northern Virginia were therefore subjected to considerable risk, of being sold south by their owners. Indeed, given the depressed economy and surplus of slaves in the region, it seems a wonder there were any slaves at all left in Fairfax or Loudoun by the Civil war. The operations of Franklin and Armfield, the most intensive and extensive in the area, provide a starting point for determining the effect of the trade on northern Virginia slaves.

The Alexandria-New Orleans Slave Trade

On May 17, 1828, the following advertisement appeared in the Alexandria Phenix Gazette:

Cash In Market

The subscribers having leased for a term of years the large three story brick house on Duke Street, in the town of Alexandria, D.C. formerly occupied by Gen. Young, we wish to purchase one hundred and fifty likely young negroes of both sexes between the ages of 8 and 25 years. Persons who wish to sell will do well to give us a call, as we are determined to give more than any other purchasers that are in market, or that may hereafter come into market.

Any letters addressed to the subscribers through the Post Office at Alexandria, will be promptly attended to. For information, enquire at the above described house, as we can at all times be found there.

This was neither the first nor the last such notice to appear in Alexandria or Washington newspapers, but it marked the commencement of the business operations of the most successful interstate slave trading operation in the history of the United States. Over the next eight years, John Armfield in Alexandria purchased from local planters and farmers, and shipped to his partner Isaac Franklin at New Orleans at least five thousand Virginia and Maryland slaves. Franklin and Armfield were engaged in the

transportation and sale of slaves within the United States; in compliance with the law, they did not bring into the country any African or West Indian blacks.

Isaac Franklin was operating as a slave trader in Mississippi as early as 1819. In 1824, he met John Armfield driving a stage in Virginia. Armfield later married Franklin's niece and, in 1828, the two men formed a partnership to engage in the slave trade. Armfield, who operated the Alexandria end of the business, was a careful and successful businessman. He and his partner Franklin, are each reputed to have made over half a million dollars in the slave trade. Franklin's biographer refers to the two men as having "a positive genius for speculating in slaves."¹²

John Armfield purchased slaves at the firm's "establishment" on Duke Street from 1828 until 1836. He not only acquired slaves brought to him by farmers and planters, but had agents or buyers at Richmond and Warrenton, Virginia, and at Baltimore, Frederick, and Easton in Maryland.¹³ The majority of the slaves were transported to New Orleans by ship from October through April of each year. The firm initially used whatever ships were available, such as the Shenandoah of Georgetown and the Ariel and James Monroe of Norfolk, often sharing these ships with other traders. By 1834, they owned four ships

of their own: the United States, the Tribune, the Uncas, and the Isaac Franklin, which was built at Baltimore especially for their trade. The ships sailed from Alexandria once a month at first and later once every two weeks.¹⁴ A typical cargo was from less than 100 slaves to over 250, the average being a little less than 200. Once a year, during the summer, they transported slaves by "coffle," or chain gang, overland to Mississippi.

The best descriptions of the Alexandria "establishment" come from abolitionist writings of the early 1830s. Many abolitionists came to Washington to protest slavery and the slave trade before the Congress, and several of these men came across the river to Alexandria, inspected the slave "prison or jail" on Duke Street, and recorded what they saw. By this time, Franklin and Armfield were at the height of their business.

The Reverend Joshua Leavitt of New York visited the "establishment" in late January 1834.¹⁵ Leavitt had been told that Armfield "bore the character of a gentleman, of fair character for integrity and openness in his dealings, and one who was ever ready to afford any facilities for redressing whatever abuses might grow out of the nature of his business."

George Drinker, an Alexandria Quaker and abolitionist, confirmed this essentially positive picture of Armfield and added that Armfield was very careful to avoid

purchasing or transporting free blacks, and often went "to much trouble and expense . . . to keep his business free from every thing that would contravene the laws." The following year, 1835, a Boston abolitionist, E. A. Andrews, recorded that Armfield had by his efforts to prevent kidnapping and his honorable mode of dealing "acquired the confidence of all the neighboring country." In fact, Andrews had been assured that this reputation extended even to the Alexandria slave community, and that when faced with being sold, many Alexandria slaves requested that they "be sold to Mr. Armfield."¹⁶

The building, or buildings, themselves were located on the outskirts of the town. The main building, then as now, was three stories, handsomely painted, with green blinds. Appended to the main building was a large yard, perhaps 300 feet square, enclosed by a high "close board fence" neatly whitewashed and filled with numerous small buildings. Over the door hung a simple sign: "Franklin and Armfield." Inside the fence was a high brick wall, also whitewashed, with the enclosed courtyard about half covered by a roof. The pavement inside the wall was reported to be clean, with a pump in the center to provide an "ample supply of water." In the roofed area was a large table where the slaves ate from tin plates. The fare was bread and boiled meat which both visitors found

wholesome in quality and sufficient in quantity. The courtyard was apparently used only for exercise and meals. Otherwise, the men and women were sequestered separately in cellars, the children staying with the women.¹⁷

Both visitors found the slave men well clothed with shoes and stockings, which was apparently the Virginia standard. The only raggedly clothed boy was from Maryland. "That's the way they come from Maryland," Armfield said, "you see the difference." The women and girls were also clothed in "coarse but apparently comfortable garments." In the cellar, both the rooms, which separated the slaves by sex, were provided with fireplaces or stoves for warmth.

Next to the yard was a kitchen where the slaves' food was prepared, and a tailor's shop where the slaves' clothing was made. Before embarking for New Orleans, each slave was provided with two entire suits from the shop. Andrews found the clothing well made of good materials, with the women's wardrobe showing "considerable taste." In the corner of the yard was a hospital, which in January 1834 contained an old sick woman whom Armfield had refused to buy and a young woman with an infant beside her on a pillow, indicating a recent childbirth. In July 1835 the hospital was empty. Each of the slaves was provided with a blanket which was hung in the sun during the day; both

men also commented on the prevalence of iron bars, door grates, and security bolts -- a reminder that the facility was, in fact, a prison and that the observers were opposed to slavery.

Most of the slaves appeared to these visitors to be contented. Leavitt could not discover "any indication of despondency or unhappiness;" Andrews reported the slaves "were standing about in groups, some amusing themselves with rude sports, and others engaged in conversation, which was often interrupted by loud laughter in all the varied tones peculiar to Negroes." Several of the women were clutching young children tightly to themselves, as if to prevent any separation.

Leavitt was able to visit the Tribune, which was loading at that time in the Alexandria harbor. He was told by Armfield that the firm had purchased its own ships to prevent overcrowding, which resulted in the slaves becoming sick and arriving at the market "in bad order." It was to Armfield's interest to have the slaves appear fresh and healthy, and John Armfield was a man who protected his interest carefully.

The hold of the Tribune was divided into two compartments, one to transport about eighty women and the other about one hundred men. "On either side were two platforms, running the whole length, one raised a few inches, and the other about half way up to the deck." On

the platforms, which were about five and one half to six feet deep, the slaves would lie as closely together as possible. The captain of the Tribune observed that the slaves were not confined, that he did not even lock his hatchway, but allowed the slaves to come on deck as they pleased, and that he never had the least difficulty with them. Leavitt, a minister, observed that this should be an example to those who tried to "lock down the hatchways upon the mind of the slave, and keep him from a free enjoyment of the light of heavenly truth."¹⁸

The visit to Alexandria altered Leavitt's view of the trade. While adamantly opposed to slavery in all forms, he refused to condemn Armfield. "The very men who sell him slaves in Alexandria, and those who buy them in New Orleans are respectable," he wrote. "Judge (Bushrod) Washington sold his slaves from Mount Vernon;...¹⁹ I have met here a minister of the gospel who told me without remorse that he had bought a slave and afterwards sold her. A member of one of our Presbyterian churches," he continued, "sold another member of the same church, to go to New Orleans." Thus, in Leavitt's view, Armfield as a facilitator of the trade should not be singled out for social censorship. Whatever Leavitt's opinion was of this respectable trader of human beings, closer analysis of John Armfield's business indicates he was shrewd rather than kind, and that he had profit, not the slaves' well being, uppermost in this mind.²⁰

Franklin and Armfield handled from about three hundred to nearly fifteen hundred slaves a year for nearly ten years. The vast majority of these slaves was shipped to New Orleans by water. Under the federal legislation of 1807 that prohibited the introduction of new slaves into the United States, this necessitated the entry on a customs manifest of detailed information for each slave in the interstate trade. The manifest was signed and certified as correct by the Collector for the port of embarkation, in this case Alexandria, and then delivered to the customs agent in New Orleans when the slaves were landed. Each slave was listed by first name, usually surname as well, height, age, and color, and sometimes by sex. A large collection of these manifests is in the National Archives, including twenty-eight which record the shipments of about 3,600 slaves from John Armfield to his partner Isaac Franklin at New Orleans.²¹ Analysis of the entries on the manifests casts some light on the number of local slaves involved in the trade, and allows an estimate to be made of the effect of the trade on local slave families.²²

Nearly 3,600 slaves were listed on the manifests.²³ Not all the slaves on every manifest were shipped by Armfield, especially in the early years, and not all of Armfield's shipments went to Franklin, although all the slaves listed on the manifests were included in the

analysis unless otherwise noted. (Table I presents a tabulation of the slaves shipped indicating sex, age, and family status; table II is an analysis of table I.) Most of the slaves were male, and a majority of these appear to have been shipped without wives or children. Most of the slaves were also single with the majority of these being males. Among slaves shipped with children, females outnumbered males by almost two to one. When all females are grouped together single females also outnumbered family females by almost two to one. Overall, single slaves outnumbered family slaves by about three to one, with the majority of single slaves being male, and of family slaves female. Apparently, Armfield was willing to purchase women with children, but seems to have had few qualms about separating male slaves from wives and children, except when purchasing entire estates. This trend is further substantiated by the 80 percent of the women with children who were apparently shipped without husbands. (See table III.)

TABLE I
 TABULATION OF ALL SLAVES SHIPPED
 BY SEX, AGE, AND FAMILY STATUS¹

<u>Age</u>	<u>Single Males</u>	<u>Single Females</u>	<u>Family Males</u>	<u>Family Females</u>	<u>Totals Each Age Category</u>
0-10	83	63	219	250	615
	4.9%	6.2%	66.76%	44%	17% ²
11-2	92	73	24	14	203
	5.5%	7.1%	7.3%	2.5%	5.6% ³
13-16	243	329	26	29	627
	14.5%	32.4%	7.9%	5%	17.5% ⁴
17-20	401	367	12	77	857
	24%	36%	3.6%	13.5%	23.9% ⁵
21-24	433	87	4	49	573
	26%	8.5%	1.2%	8.6%	16%
25-28	238	54	8	55	355
	14.25%	5.3%	2.4%	9.7%	9.9%
29-30	51	9	3	20	83
	3%	.88%	.9%	3.5%	2.3%
Over 30	129	33	32	74	268
	7.7%	3.25%	9.75%	13%	7.4%
TOTAL ACROSS	1670	1015	328	568	3581
PERCENTAGE IS OF 3581	46.6%	28.3%	9.1%	15.8%	100%

Source: Individual manifest tabulations by author.

¹The top number in each entry is the actual number

of slaves in that category by age group. The percentage below is of that category or column.

²23.7% of slaves in this age category were single.

³81% of slaves in this age category were single.

⁴91% of slaves in this age category were single.

⁵40% of all slaves were in prime age category of 17 through 24 year; of these 90 percent were single.

TABLE II
 ANALYSIS OF TABULATION BY SEX, AGE, AND FAMILY STATUS
 28 SHIPMENTS, OCTOBER 22, 1828 - NOVEMBER 15, 1836
 3,581 SLAVES

		<u>BY SEX</u>	
Males	1,998 or 55.8%		of 3,581
Females	1,583 or 44.2%		
		<u>SEX BY FAMILY STATUS</u>	
Single Males	1,670 or 62%		of all single
slaves			
Single Females	1,015 or 38%		
Family Males	328 or 36.6%		of all single
slaves			
Family Females	568 or 63.4%		
		<u>FAMILY STATUS BY SEX</u>	
Single Males	1,670 or 83.6%		of all males
Family Males	328 or 16.4%		
Single Females	1,015 or 64.0%		of all females
Family Females	568 or 36.0%		

Source: Data from Table-I, calculations by author.

TABLE III

TABULATION OF AGE OF MOTHER AT BIRTH OF OLDEST SURVIVING CHILD
AND OF WOMEN WITH CHILDREN, SHIPPED WITH AND WITHOUT HUSBAND

<u>AGE OF MOTHER</u>	<u>WITH HUSBAND</u>	<u>WITHOUT HUSBAND</u>	<u>TOTAL THIS AGE</u>	<u>% OF MOTHERS</u>
Under 13	1	2	3	1.2%
13	0	2	2	.8%
14	3	3	6	2.4%
15	1	4	5	2.0%
16	3	9	12	4.7%
17	8	30	38	15.0%
18	2	23	25	9.9%
19	5	21	26	10.3%
20	5	20	25	9.9%
21	2	12	14	5.5%
22	5	22	27	10.7%
23	3	11	14	5.5%
24	3	9	12	4.7%
25	1	6	7	2.8%
26	2	2	4	1.6%
27	0	5	5	2.0%
Over 27	7	21	28	11.0%
TOTAL &	51	202	253	
PERCENT OF ALL MOTHERS	20%	80%		

¹Median: An equal number of women had first surviving child before and after this age. Due to statistical distortions this age is no higher the 19. Tabulations by author.

As one might expect, 75 percent of the single males were under age twenty-five. Fully half of them were between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five -- the prime ages for field hands. This is consistent with most of the slaves shipped being single males. For a Deep South planter looking to increase his work force for cotton or sugar cane, a young, single male was the most productive slave to purchase -- or at least potentially so. Because such slaves commanded the highest prices and were easiest to sell in Franklin's Louisiana and Mississippi markets it is not surprising that they made up the majority of the slaves sent from Alexandria.

Of the women shipped without children, an overwhelming 90 percent were younger than age twenty-five, with an almost even division of 46 percent under age sixteen, and 45 percent over that age. A large proportion of all females transported were without children. Of those with children, 82 percent had had their first child by the time they were age twenty-five (see table III). This large percentage of women in their prime childbearing years, but without children, and after most family women had given birth, suggests that many young women were separated from their children by the trade. Single women could either be put to work in the fields or used to increase a planter's slave force by natural reproduction.

If Andrews's assertion that "women with young children . . . were less saleable than others" is true, then Armfield was selectively purchasing women who would be easy and most profitable to sell, as he did with the males.²⁴ The question remains whether this high proportion of young, single women was achieved by careful purchases of single women only, or by forced separation of women from their children in order to increase their saleability in the New Orleans market. The manifests do not permit a firm answer, but in light of the large percentage of young males apparently shipped without wives or children, and other aspects of Armfield's purchases, it seems reasonable to assume he was separating both men and women from spouses and children to maximize his profit. This conclusion is supported by the 35 percent of all slaves shipped who were both single and in their prime childbearing years -- ages seventeen through twenty-four for the females shipped. This percentage is too high to have occurred in the overall slave population, and few traders purchased single slaves so carefully. Other evidence suggests that neither Armfield, nor his agents, were so careful.

When viewed in terms of age, 23 percent of all the slaves were under age thirteen, 40 percent were under age sixteen, with an additional 40 percent in the prime years of seventeen through twenty-five. But as we have seen,

percentage of all slaves may give a distorted picture, especially when any consideration of sex or family status is involved. The nearly reverse proportions of males and females (62 percent to 38 percent vs. 37 percent to 63 percent) when analyzed by marital status makes this very clear. Aggregate data, especially when it is only a sample, are insufficient to support conclusions regarding the effects of the trade on the social and domestic structure of the slaves.

Central to assessing the impact of the trade on slave families is the frequency of the sale of young children away from their mothers. Such sales were a prime target of abolitionists and reformers of the time. Historians have argued about its extent for over half a century, the extremes of historical assessment being that the sale of young children singly was "hardly less than a staple in the trade," to "only 9.3 percent of the New Orleans sales."²⁵ Analysis of the Franklin and Armfield shipments will suggest the frequency of this practice in northern Virginia.

Of the 3,570 slaves listed on the Alexandria manifests, 4.5 percent were children under ten, apparently shipped without either parent, and 8.62 percent were similar children under age thirteen.²⁶ It would therefore appear that the proportion of northern Virginia slaves in the trade who were sold as single children was

relatively small. But a determination of single children as a proportion of all the slaves shipped over the entire time period omits a crucial factor that greatly influenced both the number and proportion of such children in the shipment of slaves to New Orleans.

In January 1829, Louisiana Governor Pierre Derbigny signed into law new legislation prohibiting the separate sale of children ten years of age or under, except orphans, or of mothers away from children of similar age.²⁷ This statute, which came very near the mid-point of the antebellum slave trade era, had great effect on the shipment of slaves from Alexandria.

There were two shipments, comprising 311 slaves, made just before the effective date of the new law: October 22, 1828, and January 26 1829. Of this 311, 28 (13.5 percent) were age ten or under, and 63 (20.25 percent) were under age thirteen. Such figures might qualify as "a staple in the trade." The first three shipments after the effective date of the new law on April 1, 1829, were in October, November, and December of that year. They comprised 350 slaves, of which 13, or 3.7 percent (down from 13.3), were ten or under, and twenty-nine, or 8.3 percent (down from 20.2), were under thirteen. But even further refinement of these figures is possible. These early shipments were made up of the slaves of several traders. When the Franklin and Armfield slaves on these manifests are

TABLE IV

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGE OF ALL SLAVES
AS CHILDREN AGE 10 AND UNDER,
AND UNDER AGE 13, BEFORE AND AFTER PASSAGE OF 1829
LA. LAW

PRE-LAW, BY SHIPMENT

<u>DATE OF SHIPMENT</u>	<u>TOTAL SLAVES</u>	<u>SINGLE CHILDREN 10 OR UNDER</u>	<u>% OF ALL SLAVES</u>	<u>CHILDREN UNDER 13</u>	<u>% OF ALL SLAVES</u>
Oct. 22, 1828	201	28	13.9%	43	21.39%
Jan. 26, 1829	110	14	12.7%	20	18.1%

POST-LAW, BY SHIPMENT

Oct. 30, 1829	140	10	7.1%	16	11.4%
Nov. 21, 1829	90	0	0%	4	4.4%
Dec. 24, 1829	120	3	2.5%	9	7.5%

COMPARATIVE TOTALS-ALL SHIPPERS

Pre-Law All Shippers	311	42	13.5%	63	20.2%
Post-Law All Shippers	350	13	3.7%	29	8.3%

COMPARATIVE TOTALS-FRANKLIN AND ARMFIELD

Pre-Law Franklin and Armfield	210	28	13.3%	41	19.5%
Post-Law Franklin and Armfield	180	0	0%	7	3.9%

Source: Calculations by author.

isolated they yield 13.3 percent for children ten or under and 19.5 percent for those under thirteen before the Louisiana prohibition. This declined to no single children ten or under, and 3.9 percent for children under age thirteen (see table-IV).

That this was not mere coincidence is supported by two other factors. First, a change occurred in the ages of the slaves advertised for in the newspapers. Armfield advertised in the Alexandria Phenix Gazette and the National Intelligencer for "likely YOUNG NEGROES of both sexes, between the ages of 8 and 25 years," from 15 December 1828 until 25 February 1829. The subsequent advertisements that appeared after 1 April 1829 and were for "LIKELY NEGROES from 12 to 25 years of age, prime field hands."²⁸

Second, a tabulation of single children by age for twelve shipments from 1831 through 1834 reveals an increase in the number of single children eleven and twelve (just over the legal sale age) compared to those nine and ten (whose sale was prohibited [see table V]). Even if we assume that the traders lied about the ages of some of the children, the figures reveal a clear attempt to comply with the new law. This seems especially so as over 13 percent of all slaves shipped were single children under age ten, before the law prohibited their sale. Stephenson maintains that out of over a thousand cases

tabulated from the receipts of Franklin's New Orleans sales, "there were only twenty slaves ten or less who were sold separately and nine of them were exactly ten." Most of these, he adds, were certified orphans. Finally, when Andrews, the New England abolitionist who visited Armfield's Alexandria establishment in July 1835, was leaving Alexandria by river steamer, he met a North Carolina slave trader who admitted to selling small children separately. The trader added that such children were difficult to sell in the Deep South and asserted "Armfield never takes them if he can help it."²⁹ Armfield obviously "took them" in 1828 before the new prohibition on their sale; 13 percent of his early shipments were under age ten, and 19.5 percent under age thirteen. The North Carolina trader's obvious connection between children not selling well in the Deep South, presumably because of the 1829 statute, and Armfield not buying them is additional evidence of Armfield's conscious effort not to buy young single children and his reason for doing so.

TABLE V

NUMBER OF SINGLE CHILDREN AGES 8 THROUGH 13
IN ALL SHIPMENTS, 1,077 SLAVES, 1831-1834

<u>Age</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>Children</u>	
8	5	
9	8	18
10	5	
11	30	
12	25	87
13	32	

Tabulations by author.

If slaves shipped before 1 April 1829 are removed from the calculations the percentage of single children in the remaining 3,259 slaves is 3.16 percent for ten and under, and 7.3 percent for the under thirteen group. Therefore it seems clear that the 1829 Louisiana law had a substantial effect on the incidence of young northern Virginia slave children being stripped away from their

families by the trade. If the proportion of all slaves bought by traders in northern Virginia as single children before the legal prohibition took effect was as high as suggested from the Franklin and Armfield shipments (nearly 20 percent), then this particular sort of family separation must have been both common and deeply dreaded by the slaves. Further, although the proportion of all Franklin and Armfield slaves who were shipped before the effective date of the new law is quite small, census data suggest that the period of maximum slave sales in Fairfax and Loudoun Counties was between 1810 and 1830, before the law was in effect.³⁰ It thus appears that for the most of the slaves, during the most active period of local sales, separation from children would have been a constant source of concern.

Although most slave owners probably recognized that the sale of young children away from their mothers was upsetting to the slaves, they may have failed to realize the importance of other relationships within the slave community. As Herbert Gutman cogently observes "the owner viewed the birth of a slave child primarily as an economic fact [especially an owner who was selling slave children on either an occasional or regular basis], but the slave viewed the same event primarily as a social and familial fact."³¹ An anthropologist interested in slave society has also pointed out that "every newborn black had a dual

persona which arose from the same event: he was legally in subjection to a master who possessed him as another piece of natural property [Gutman's "economic event"], and he was bound by ties of kinship to other social beings," -- ties of kinship that the owner might fail to realize even existed.³² Add to this the frequent absence of a legal or even obvious father, in the sense of lack of a legal or de facto marriage, and the relationship of the child to the mother and the larger slave community may have been further blurred in the owner's view.

Closely allied to the question of mother/child separation is the incidence of breakup of slave marriages (separation of man and wife) and slave families (separation from spouses, children [or parents], siblings, grandparents, and extended kin) by the trade. Recent research suggests that "the view of the family he [the master] held was not the same as that held by his slaves." Differing views of the slave family held by slaves and their owners "meant that even under the best of circumstances," such as an especially humanitarian owner or a sensitive and selective trader, the separation of slaves "was not accomplished without pain."³³ Even if an owner maintained two-parent families as units of reproduction and childrearing, the volume of the trade necessitated frequent separation of older children from their parents, and from their siblings. Forceful

separation of siblings may have been especially painful to the slaves as "the sibling-sibling bond seemed to be central," in slave kinship structure.³⁴ It should be obvious that the sale of any slave with living immediate kin (spouses, child-parent-grandparent) resulted in a broken family. Disruption of extended and fictive kin relationships, which may have held great importance in the slave community, is simply impossible to determine.

Broken slave marriages are even more difficult to identify. Not only is there no way of determining the "norm" for slaves of a given age to be married, which could be used as the basis for estimating the marital separation rate among the traded slaves, but it is not even clear what constituted a slave marriage in the minds of the enslaved. Slave unions were "commonly thought [by whites] to be little more than incomplete or distorted renderings of European marriage patterns." Surely the slaves could not contract or be joined in matrimony in any legally binding sense. However, neither legal nor arbitrary determinations of "marriage" relate anything about "real relationships." If a slave man and woman are taken to be married, how does one distinguish between extra-residential unions (regular or occasional), co-residential consensual unions, and co-residential unions with a ceremony, such as jumping over the broomstick?³⁵ Does it make any difference? The

important distinction to be made is the perception that the slaves had as to whether they were or were not married. As Mintz points out "social reality [as opposed to historical objectivity] is not what is, but what people [and it will vary from group to group] believe to be so." Where no legal bonding was possible it was exclusively the emotional, rather than residential, relationship that constituted a marriage. Based on declarations made by slaves after the Civil War, it seems that a majority considered that they had been married.³⁶

When taken with the high child/mother separation rate, especially before 1830, the large proportion of single slaves of both sexes in the northern Virginia trade strongly suggests a high degree of slave family (defined as consanguineous and matrimonial) disruption. It is difficult to determine whether the slaves in the northern Virginia trade who had been separated from their families indicates a lack of awareness by owners and traders of the emotional bonds uniting black families or whether they were simply indifferent to the trauma such separations caused the slaves. For the slaves, of course, the "why" was irrelevant; the actual separation was both the reality and the problem.

Although the degree of family breakup can only be estimated, the existence of a rich and extended slave family structure among the slaves shipped from Alexandria

is evident. Numerous families appear on the manifests, from young slave men and women with one infant, through husbandless mothers, often with several children, occasionally a wifeless father with children, and finally complete, even three generational families. For example, a manifest for February 1832 includes Ben Thomas and his wife Milly, both age forty; their three daughters, Ann, Serina, and Matilda ages twenty, eighteen, and thirteen; three sons age eighteen, eleven, and nine; and a twenty month old infant who was clearly the child of twenty year old Ann Thomas.³⁷ In another case, Dick Johnson, Senior, age seventy-five, and Dick Johnson, Jr., were both shipped out on the Tribune in October 1835. Was the older man the father or grandfather of the younger? If, as seems likely, the manifest was filled in by asking each slave his or her name as they boarded the ship, the family pride reflected in the answer of Dick Johnson Senior and Junior is apparent.

Family groups accounted for only a small percentage of the earliest shipments (see Appendixes I-II). For the first six shipments, 1828-1829, slaves in families accounted for 48 of 661, a mere 7.26 percent. During 1832 and 1833, (the next years for which manifests are available) the number increased to 70 of 516 (13.5 percent). Then, in 1834, a transition of sorts took place; the first shipment included only 10 percent family

slaves, the second no family slaves at all; In the third and final shipment that year family slaves numbered 61, or 58 percent of the 105 slaves on board. The family surnames included: King, mother and six children; Lucket, mother and four children; Dorsey mother and four children; John and Hannah Gaige with three children; Speake, seven children only -- including twin girls, age ten --(could they have been the children of Opay Speake who is listed elsewhere on the manifest?); Lucy David and her five children; Gaige, mother and three children; Paine, mother, father and three children; Charles and Permillia Greene and their five children; Butler, mother and two children; and Amelia Blackwell with her four children. Such a large number of families in one shipment most likely resulted from Armfield's purchase of an entire plantation labor force, probably at an estate auction. But this 1834 shipment of families was not an isolated incident, rather part of a general trend by which Armfield bought many more slave families than he had before.

In 1835, nearly one-third of the 1,438 slaves shipped were in family groups, and for the final two shipments of the firm in 1836, families made up 69 and 49 percent of all the slaves, respectively. For the first sixteen shipments, up to 17 April 1834, 11 percent of all slaves were in family groups. For the twelve shipments after that date the proportion of family slaves increased

to 28 percent. It is unlikely that this change was mere coincidence. Armfield was a businessman and he bought what he wanted. Apparently, he decided after April 1834 not only to purchase more families but, whenever possible, to obtain entire estates.

For example, an advertisement in the National Intelligencer for 2 January 1836, offered to "sell at Messrs. Franklin and Armfields' establishment in Alexandria, D.C. on Tuesday, the 5th of January next, seventy likely negroes of different ages, male and female. They will be sold without reserve (to the highest bidder) in families." It was signed by Thos. S. Herbert and H. Capron, administrators for the estate of T. Snowden. On 27 January 1836, twelve days after this sale, Armfield shipped 140 slaves of whom 96 (69 percent) were in at least twenty-two family groups, doubtless the Snowden slaves.³⁸

Could the high percentage of slaves shipped by Armfield after 1834, therefore, be due to coincidental availability of large estates? Such an explanation, while possible, seems less than plausible. Armfield was too careful a businessman. If he bought more families it was surely for solid business reasons, although social circumstances may have encouraged or forced him to do so

Abolitionist activity was raging in the early 1830s and the slave trade was one of its prime targets. A

number of foreign and domestic visitors, some of whom had come to lobby for abolition in Congress, crossed the river to Alexandria to visit the Franklin and Armfield establishment. As mentioned, the Reverend Joshua Leavitt, New York abolitionist and publisher, inspected the "jail" and one of the ships in January 1834. That same winter, late 1833 or 1834, the establishment was visited by the English abolitionist E. S. Abdy. Armfield offered them both hospitality, and showed them through the "prison." Leavitt committed his impression to a letter that was published in New York; Abdy kept a journal that was subsequently published as well. Surely Armfield and the other traders realized they were involved in controversial business activity. They also understood that many of the northern Virginia planters from whom they purchased slaves were the targets of abolitionist pressure, and were perhaps having doubts about the moral rectitude of slavery. By deciding to buy slaves primarily in family groups, Armfield may have been attempting to reassure the planters from whom he bought that families would be kept intact -- a move to improve public relations. If a planter saw slave families owned by a neighbor torn asunder by a trader, he might decide to manumit his slaves in his will, rather than consign them to a similar fate. But if he had confidence that the trader would at least respect the family ties, he could perhaps allow his

executor to sell the slaves, and to hope the families would not be broken in New Orleans. The importance of giving the impression of keeping slave families intact was apparently not lost on Armfield, nor, presumably, on the other local traders.

When Andrews visited the Armfield establishment in 1835, he was assured by an assistant that "they were at great pains to prevent" the separation of families and "to obtain, if possible, whole families." "In one instance," the clerk continued, "they had purchased, from one estate, more than fifty, in order to prevent the separation of family connections; and in selling them, they had been equally scrupulous to have them continue together." This had cost the firm "not less than one or two thousand dollars, which they might have obtained by separating them," as they sold better in small lots. It was, as Stephenson noted, ultimately profitable for the firm to lose on an isolated sale "in order to gain the good will of farmers and planters in Maryland and Virginia." Armfield's public relations were excellent. Andrews was assured at Alexandria that Armfield "has acquired the confidence of all the neighboring country," even to the point that Alexandria slaves "when about to be sold, requested "that they might be sold to Mr. Armfield." Whatever the truth of the contemporary statements, both the assurances offered to Andrews and the actual increase

in the number of intact slave families purchased suggest that Armfield was responsive to public pressure respecting separation of slave families in the trade.⁴⁰

For the local slaves the motivation that led the local traders to separate fewer slave families was irrelevant. Sale to a trader in large plantation groups retained at least some hope of not being separated from their closest relatives. Both public pressure and legal prohibition appear to have acted, over time, to soften the worst aspects of slave family dismemberment occasioned by the trade. The law first significantly decreased the number of young children separated from their mothers, and then the local owner sentiment helped to preserve larger family groups. Other evidence will suggest that as early as 1830 there may have been a decided or growing reluctance among northern Virginia slave owners to sell to traders at all, and that by the mid-1840s few local slaves were consigned to the trade. For whatever reason, white public sentiment seemed to be perceiving what the slaves had known all along -- that the trade was a painful and inhumane business. Even so, the ready market for prime age, single men and women in the Deep South and the high percentage of such individuals among the Alexandria shipments testify to the disastrous effect of the marketplace on the black family and kinship systems. And a large number of local slaves were affected.

Leavitt reported in 1834 that one-thousand slaves had been shipped the previous year, and that Armfield had declared his operation alone would dispatch twelve-hundred slaves in 1834. These contemporary estimates indicate how seriously the surviving manifests understate the total number of slave actually shipped. For 1833, when Leavitt said a thousand were shipped, only two manifests (recording 163 slaves) survive; for 1834, when Armfield estimated twelve hundred would leave Alexandria, only three manifests listing 258 slaves remain. And, the estimates were not exaggerations. In 1835, a veritable surfeit of slaves flowed from Alexandria to New Orleans: 318 in three weeks in February; 201 in March; 352 in five days in October; 344 in ten days in November; 281 in December; and 140 in January 1836. A total of 977 slaves was shipped in the last three months of 1835 alone! (1,117 including the January shipment.) In November 1836, Armfield's last shipment, an astounding 254 slaves were dispatched on one ship -- the Isaac Franklin.

Franklin and Armfield retired from the slave trading business late in 1836, for unknown reasons. Two of the firm's ships, the Tribune and the Uncas, were sold to William H. (Yellow House) Williams, the well-known trader in the federal city. The "slave pen" on Duke street and the Isaac Franklin were sold to George Kephart,

Franklin and Armfield's former agent in Frederick, Maryland. Kephart may have been less careful about his reputation and more anxious for a fast profit than Armfield. He is reputed to have shipped as many as four-hundred slaves at one time in the Isaac Franklin. In the early 1850s, the Duke Street establishment was conveyed to "Price, Birch, and Co.," slave traders who had operated in Washington City and been driven from the District of Columbia by the Compromise of 1850. This firm's name was on the building when it was captured by Union troops in 1861.⁴¹

Northern Virginia Slaves
in the
Interstate Trade

Even though the trade, which used Alexandria as a dispatch point, has been shown to have caused much disruption of slave families, this does not mean that an equal amount of slave family breakup was occasioned by the trade in Fairfax or Loudoun Counties. Before any assessment of that nature can be made it is necessary to determine the proportion of the Alexandria trade that consisted of northern Virginia slaves, and the extent of local slaves sold into that trade. William Calderhead

estimates that for the entire decade of the 1830s, the total number of Maryland slaves sold south was only 3,601. He found Prince George's County, Maryland, across the river from Alexandria, to be the second most active trading county in that state and even so that only 179 Prince George's slaves were sold for the entire decade.⁴² As most northern Maryland slaves were shipped south from Baltimore, and southern Virginia slaves were dispatched from Richmond and Norfolk, Calderhead's small tabulation from Prince George's would suggest that most of the slaves in the Alexandria trade were purchased in northern Virginia, which was experiencing an agricultural depression, and where there were many surplus slaves. A small but revealing source of data is available to indicate where Franklin and Armfield purchased their slaves.

Section one of the 1828 Louisiana legislation that prohibited the sale of the single young children specified that every slave introduced into the state after 1 April 1829 had to be accompanied by a certificate executed in the county where the slave had been purchased attesting to the slave's moral character. This was intended to prevent the "dumping" of criminal or runaway slaves into the Louisiana market. These certificates were subsequently attached to the bills of sale executed by Franklin at New

Orleans.⁴³ A tally of the Virginia and Maryland counties where the certificates were executed enables an analysis to be made of the source of the slaves shipped to Franklin from Alexandria. The requirement for the certificates, however, persisted for only thirty-nine months, from April 1829 until the last day of December 1831. The most active years of Armfield's shipments are totally unrepresented. Further, although many certificates remain in the sale records, the extant certificates represent only a portion (often small) of the total number of slaves known to have been shipped in a given period. Even so, analysis of 180 certificates accompanying Franklin's sales from May 1829 until February 1830 offers surprising insights. (see table VI).

Of the 180 slaves sold, only 46 (26 percent) were purchased anywhere in Virginia. Of these, only sixteen, a mere 9 percent of all the slaves, or 20 percent of the Virginia slaves, were from Fairfax, Loudoun, and Alexandria counties. There were more slaves, thirteen, purchased in Prince William County than in Fairfax and Loudoun combined. More surprising is that the seventeen slaves from Berkeley and Jefferson counties (now in West Virginia) exceed the entire northern Virginia total! For the six separate parcels of slaves represented by the 180 certificates, from four different purchasers in the Alexandria area, the highest percentage of slaves in

TABLE - VI
 COUNTY OF ORIGIN OF 180 SLAVES SHIPPED FROM ALEXANDRIA¹
 AND SOLD AT NEW ORLEANS, MAY 1829 - FEBRUARY 1830.¹

DATE OF TRANSFER	TOTAL SLAVES IN TRANSFER	PERCENTAGE OF TRANSFERRED SLAVES FAIRFAX CO. VA	PERCENTAGE OF TRANSFER	LOUDOUN CO. VA	PERCENTAGE OF TRANSFER	PRINCE WILLIAM CO., VA	PERCENTAGE OF TRANSFER	JEFFERSON, BERKELEY COS. VA	PERCENTAGE OF TRANSFER	ALEXANDRIA CO. D.C.	PERCENTAGE OF TRANSFER	WASHINGTON CO. D.C.	PERCENTAGE OF TRANSFER	PRINCE GEORGES CO. MD	PERCENTAGE OF TRANSFER	CHARLES CO., MD	PERCENTAGE OF TRANSFER	ANNE ARUNDEL CO. MD	PERCENTAGE OF TRANSFER	ST. MARYS, CALVERT COS. MD	PERCENTAGE OF TRANSFER
8 May ² 1829	15	8%	1	6%				4	27%	1	6%		6	40%	3	20%					
15 May ³ 1829	5	3%											4	80%	1	20%					
30 Nov. ⁴ 1829	15	8%	1					8	54%	1	6%		2	12%	3	20%					
10 Dec. ⁵ 1829	56	31%	3	5%		4	7%	3	5%	2	3.5%	4	7%	9	16%	16	29%	12	21%	3	5%
26 Jan. ⁶ 1830	39	22%	2	5%	1 ⁹	2%	3	8%	2	4%		1	2%	15	38%	6	15%	6	15%	3	8%
Feb. (?) ⁷ 1830	50	28%	4	8%			6	12%				3	6%	7	14%	15	30%	10	20%	5	10%
TOTALS	180	11	6%	1	Neg	13	7%	17	9%	4	2%	8	4%	43	24%	44	25%	28	15.5%	11	6%

Total Virginia slaves were 46, or 26 percent of 180; northern virginia (Fairfax, Loudoun, and Alexandria counties) slaves were 16, or 9 percent of 180. Total Maryland slaves, including Washington County, D.C., were 134 or 74 percent of 180.

¹In Jan. 1829, a new legislative act "relative to the introduction of Slaves" passed into La. law. (Acts Passed at the Second Session of the Eighth Legislature of the State of Louisiana [New Orleans, 1828], no. 24.) Section one of that act specified that any slave introduced into La. after 1 April 1829, had to be accompanied by a certificate executed in the county where the slave was purchased indicating a physical description of the slave, "the place where he, or she was purchased, and from whom purchased," and that the slave had good moral character, as attested by two freeholders of the county. Section three of the same act provided that all sales of slaves were to be executed by a notary public with the required certificate "annexed to the conveyance or contract." This provision remained in effect until Dec. 1831 when all introduction of new slaves into La. for sale was prohibited. (Acts passed at the Extra Session of the Tenth Legislature of the State of Louisiana [New Orleans, 1831], no. 1.) Numerous certificates are still attached to the Notarial Acts retained in the archives of the Civil District Court for the Parish of Orleans in New Orleans. The records are indexed by seller and buyer. Utilizing these records and the names of known no. Va. slave traders, it is possible to determine from whom numerous slaves transported to New Orleans from Alexandria had been purchased. As Franklin and Armfield were the largest and most important exporter of no. Va. slaves, attempts to locate sales of such slaves in the New Orleans records was limited to indexed sales of this firm. Stephenson notes (Isaac Franklin: Slave Trader) that one or more Franklin sales have been found in the acts of twelve notaries. The majority of the sales appear to be in the acts of William Boswell, with some also in the acts of Carlile Pollock, and Hugh Pedesclaux. Sales recorded by the other notaries appear to be only occasional. The problem of locating sales and certificates is complicated by the business arrangements of Franklin and Armfield. Nearly all of the slaves shipped by them from Alexandria to New Orleans are indicated on the customs manifests as belonging to that firm. Yet no reference to the name of John Armfield appears in the index to the notarial acts. The slaves listed on the manifests as shipped by Franklin and Armfield were accompanied by certificates indicating that the slaves had actually been purchased by other traders. These men subsequently transferred legal title to Franklin after the slaves reached New Orleans. Franklin would then sell the slaves to local planters. The certificates attached to several of these "block transfers" as well as individual sales by several of the traders were utilized in constructing the table. The information on the table may be taken as representative

but not conclusive for some of the following reasons: whereas many of the slaves on the certificates can be identified on specific customs manifests, certificates for other slaves on the same manifest have not been found which leaves their county of origin unknown; some certificates cannot be associated with any known shipment; notarial acts refer to specific shipments for which certificates do, but manifests do not, survive. Even so the representativeness of the table may be assumed as it encompasses six separate transactions by four different trades, over a period of nearly one year in both block sales to Franklin, and retail sales to local planters. Notes 2-7, below, indicate source of certificates for each transaction.

²James F. Purvis (Franklin's nephew) to Francois Maysonne, in Boswell, "Acts," VII, 255.

³Purvis to Isaac Franklin, Boswell, "Acts," VIII, 529; resale of two of these slaves by Franklin to Wm. Alderson, 25 May 1829, is in ibid., 550.

⁴James R. Franklin (Issac Franklin's brother), to Isaac Franklin, Boswell, "Acts," VII, 313 or 404 (books have been numbered twice).

⁵George Davis (apparently an Alexandria trader) to Isaac Franklin, Boswell, "Acts," VII, 432.

⁶Wm. Swann to Isaac Franklin (Stephenson says Swann was a local trader (Isaac Franklin: Slave Trader, 90), Boswell "Slave Certificates," XIII, Jan.-Dec., 1830, "No. 2" Boswell apparently handled so many slave sales in 1830 that he set aside a separate book of about 450 pages for the sole purpose of recording the certificates. They are grouped as "No. 1," "No. 2," etc. and refer to the notarial acts of sale recorded elsewhere.

⁷George Davis to Franklin, Boswell, "Slave Certificates," XIII, "No. 3."

⁸Washington Co., D.C. was all that part of the ten-mile square District of Columbia on the Maryland side of the Potomac, except Washington City and Georgetown.

⁹This slave was sold by Thompson Francis Mason, grandson of George Mason of Gunston Hall. Included among certificates of a sale from David H. Davis to John Woolfold (a Maryland trader) 3 Dec. 1829 are nine slaves purchased in Loudoun County and imported on board the ship United States on 30 Oct. 1829. As all the certificates for this sale are not available, and as they are listed on the manifest as shipped by William K. Ish, they are not included in the table.

any one parcel that had been purchased in Fairfax was 8 percent, while the lowest percentage for Charles County, Maryland was 15 percent and for Prince George's, 12 percent. The overall proportion of the 180 slaves that had been purchased in Maryland was an impressive 74 percent.

Calderhead found only 179 Prince George's slave sales for the entire 1830s, yet Franklin received (even in this selective and partial sample) twenty-two from that county in the first two months of 1830 alone. At the rate suggested by the certificates far more than 179 Prince George's slaves would have left Alexandria before 1840. The discrepancy may be accounted for by observing how Calderhead arrived at 179 total sales for the 1830s -- quite logically he counted the slave sales recorded in the Prince George's County records.⁴⁴ But as the British historian Michael Tadman perceptively observes, the tabulation of local sale records, even where they exist, fails to represent the number of sales accurately if it does not positively identify all the local traders and that in any event it is likely "that a very high percentage of slave sales were not publicly recorded."⁴⁵ It is therefore probable that not only was a significant proportion of Prince George's slave sales shipped out of Alexandria, but that a very large percentage of all Alexandria shipments came from that and

other southern Maryland counties. But why should this be so?

Fairfax County was in an agricultural depression and the local planters, at least many of them, did have many more slaves than they needed for their own land. Was the number of sales by Fairfax owners to this major trader as small as the certificates examined would imply, and if so, why? To answer the second question first, there is considerable evidence, particularly after 1830, that the local northern Virginia slaveowners had a reluctance to sell their slaves, especially to traders. It seems worth remembering that George Washington in the early 1790s was endeavoring to lease or sell some of his Mount Vernon farms rather than put any of his surplus blacks on the market. The example of a man as prominent as Washington cannot have been lost on his Fairfax neighbors. In 1821, when Bushrod Washington, who had inherited Mount Vernon from George Washington's estate, sold fifty-four of his slaves to two "gentlemen from New Orleans" for ten-thousand dollars, there was an outcry in the local press extending as far north as Baltimore. The Leesburg [Loudoun County] Genius of Liberty reported that a "drove of negroes . . . men, women, children" had passed through the town enroute to the south, and that "fifty-four of the unhappy wretches were sold by Judge Washington of Mount Vernon." A subsequent letter in the Baltimore Morning Chronicle charged that families had been

separated; the editor of the Chronicle reminded his readers that George Washington had freed his slaves.

Bushrod eventually felt obliged to publish an explanatory letter in the Baltimore Federal Republican admitting that the sale had taken place, that families had been separated to his regret, but justifying his actions as the result of constant financial loss just to feed the slaves, and that they had been corrupted and made insubordinate by local free blacks; many of George Washington's freed slaves still lived at Mount Vernon. It is unknown, and irrelevant, whether Bushrod succeeded in vindicating his actions to his neighbors. That the sale received so much negative publicity in the first instance is indicative of local sentiment about selling slaves.⁴⁶

Elizabeth Pryor, who has done a careful study of slave hiring in Fairfax County, maintains that at least by the 1830s local planters "had a strong prejudice against selling slaves." She attributes this reluctance to sell surplus black laborers as the reason that slave hiring became so prevalent in the area, and cites the example of the Scott family of Bush Hill Plantation, near Alexandria, who had inherited a large number of family slaves that "even if not profitably laboring, they could not bring themselves to sell."⁴⁷

The evidence substantiates her point for the period after 1830. Richard Marshall Scott, Jr., who lived at Bush

Hill, wrote in his diary in 1846 that he had "sold my boy George to Richard Windsor for \$400 contrary to my feelings, but agreeable to necessity." It seems that George had run away several times; even so, Windsor was a local farmer, not a trader.⁴⁸ Another Fairfax planter, William Swartwout of Sully Plantation, during a visit to Vicksburg in 1839, wrote back to his neighbor George Turberville in Fairfax County that he should not come to Mississippi because "you cannot sell your negros without the consent of your friends -- this you cannot get. Therefore no one will buy them ." Swartwout added "Mr. Stuart gives you enough for the hire of your negroes."⁴⁹ It is not clear whether Swartwout was referring to the inability to sell slaves in Mississippi or in Fairfax. If Fairfax, this further corroborates the impression that northern Virginians were reluctant to sell slaves; if Mississippi, why could Turberville not sell his slave to a Fairfax trader before leaving for the south, if sale was the object of his journey? There was certainly an ample number of traders operating in the area. Public pressure appears to have prevented Turberville and other Fairfax owners from parting with their chattels in this manner. Calderhead agrees that by the 1840s expanding slave hiring practices had decreased sales to traders. It seems likely that a general aversion to selling slaves was responsible for

both events -- more hiring and less trading.⁵⁰

Calderhead also found that for the entire 1840s decade slave shipments by water from Virginia (Alexandria, Richmond, and Norfolk) totalled over 10,000 slaves. Of this number only 246 were shipped from Alexandria, which also served as the port of embarkation for southern Maryland, and that the shipment of slaves from Alexandria ceased altogether after 1843.⁵¹ This finding is consistent with the small number of slaves among those tallied from New Orleans sales who had been purchased in northern Virginia, and with the impression that there was a strong and growing reluctance against breaking up slave families in northern Virginia. Whatever the actual extent of slave sales in the area, the prospect of a slave being sold to a trader was apparently less than in other counties of Virginia and southern Maryland. Presumably the slaves came to understand this, which may have made them accept the temporary separation of hiring with the knowledge that it was preferable to being traded to an owner in a different state. Alternatively, the same understanding may have encouraged hired-out slaves to run away to family and friends, being relatively sure that their owners would not "sell them down the river." Whatever the case, public pressure against selling slaves in northern Virginia probably provided the area's slaves with an increasing sense of family security.

TABLE VII

FAIRFAX, LOUDOUN, AND ALEXANDRIA COUNTY SLAVES
 AMONG 180 SOLD AT NEW ORLEANS, 1829 - 1830.

FAIRFAX COUNTY

<u>SLAVE NAME</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>NO. VA. OWNER/SELLER</u>
Sarah Jackson ¹	20	Abraham Brown
Presley Marable ²	25	William Beck
Wesley Mason ³	30	Thomas Debile
Fielder Mason ³	23	Thomas Debile
Caroline McPherson ³	18	William White
Stephen Johnson ⁴	25	William E. Beckwith
Daniel Dade ⁴	30	Henry S. Halley
Moses ⁵	26	John Simpson
Robert ⁵	20	Thomas ap. C. Jones
Ned ⁵	24	Elizah Hutchinson
Robert ⁵	15	Thomas ap. C. Jones

LOUDOUN COUNTY

Charles Moore ⁶	22	Thompson F. Mason
Thomas ⁷	23	Chas. Douglas ⁸
Aaron	18	Chas. Douglas
William	17	Townsend D. Peyton
Jacob	33	Jacob Ish
Richard	55	Chas. Douglas
Moses	18	Chas. Douglas

<u>SLAVE NAME</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>NO. VA. OWNER/SELLER</u>
<u>LOUDOUN COUNTY</u>		
Lewis	24	John Swope
Bazzell [Basil?]	20	Erasmus G. Tillet
Washington	24	Chas. Douglas
<u>ALEXANDRIA COUNTY</u>		
Thomas Furgusson ⁹	28	Horatio Clagett
Fidelius Winter ¹⁰	14	John D. Harrison
Martin Ball ¹¹	26	Robert Bealle
Lucy Neale ¹¹	20	Augustine Newman
George Turley ¹²	20	William Fitzhugh Thornton
Carter Love	20	William Fitzhugh Thornton
John Muse	17	William Fitzhugh Thornton
Philip White	16	William Fitzhugh Thornton

¹All of the slave certificates in the New Orleans notarial records include the first name and age of the slave, and first and last name of a local owner/seller. A few, such as this entry, record both given and family names of the slave. When not on the certificates the last names were determined, where possible, by locating the slave by name, age, and height on the customs manifest, where the surname was frequently given. This allows sales of more than one slave from the same family to be found, and for a comparison of slave and owner/seller surnames to be made. Table-I, n.2, cert. J-256.

²Table-I, n.4, cert. Q-404; United States, 30 Oct. 1829, no. 42.

³Table-I, n.5, certs. CCC-434, BBB-434, L-434; Comet, 21 Nov. 1829, nos. 2, 3, not found. Attached to this bundle of certificates in the notarial records is the Franklin and Armfield bill of lading listing the 60 slaves to which the certificates apply. Caroline McPherson was entered as no. 47 on the bill of lading, but does not seem to appear in the customs manifest.

⁴Table-I, n.6, certs. A-59, A-64; Shenandoah, 23 December 1829, nos. 1, 22.

⁵Table-I, n.7, certs. A-83, A-89, A-112, A-116; the manifest for shipment of these slaves has not been found. The slaves are not on any of the manifests among the New Orleans customs house records at the National Archives.

⁶Table-I, n.6, cert. A-73; table I, n.9.

⁷Table-I, n.9, Boswell, "Acts," VII, 413, certs. N-416, O-416, Q-416, S-416, T-416, Y-416, V-416, W-416, Z-416. The Certificates executed in Loudoun County for these nine slaves indicate that they were purchased by William Jones; they were shipped to New Orleans on board the United States, 30 Oct. 1829, by William K. Ish, and the notarial act transfers them from David Henry Davis to John Woolfolk. How they were transferred from Jones to Ish, or from Ish to Davis is unclear. The less than clear title to the slaves, at any given point in time, is illustrative of the complicated nature of trying to deduce particulars about the interstate trade from the public records. It is also significant that of the 141 slaves listed on the manifest, shipped by four different men that only the initial 75, all the property of James R. Franklin, are entered with surnames.

⁸Five of the nine slaves were sold by Chas. Douglas. "Executor of Hugh Douglas, decd." This was apparently an estate sale.

⁹Table-I, n.2, cert. C-256; surname on certificate.

¹⁰Table-I, n.2, cert. K-404; United States, 30 Oct. 1829, no. 37.

¹¹Table-I, n.5, certs. DDD-434, Y-434; Comet, 21 Nov. 1829, nos. 1, 33.

¹²These may not have been no. Va. slaves. In a very unusual transaction, they were sold by Thornton to Alexander M. Rose on 23 Dec. 1829; Rose, master of the Ship Shenandoah, sailed the following day for New Orleans

with a cargo of 120 slaves, six of which, including these four, were on the manifest as belonging to him. The similarity of names of the other two, Amanda Thornton and William Muse, suggest they had been purchased at the same time. On 8 Feb. 1830, the same four slaves were sold back to Thornton by Rose in New Orleans (Hughes Pedesclaux, "Slave Sales," Dec. 28, 1829 to July 28, 1830, 66), for subsequent resale.

Yet, some northern Virginia slaveowners did sell to the traders; the names of nine Fairfax and four Loudoun County slaveowners were found on the sample of certificates examined in New Orleans (see table VII).

Nine of the eleven Fairfax slaves and all of those from Loudoun were males, with all but one of these in their prime. They were all sold by small slaveholders with no indication of the motive for sale. It therefore appears that northern Virginia slaves sales were primarily occasional transfers of single slaves, perhaps to raise extra cash during hard times. Although the small number of northern Virginia sales listed in the New Orleans records (16 of 180), will not support firm conclusions, the absence of significant numbers of northern Virginia slaves, especially of women and children, among those sold at New Orleans suggests that there was less transfer of the area's blacks to the Deep South than might have been thought.

Local Sales to a Local Trader

From the withdrawal of Franklin and Armfield from the trade, until at least 1850, the major figures in the northern Virginia trade were Kephart and another longtime

TABLE VIII

COUNTY OF ORIGIN OF NINETY-FIVE SLAVES
PURCHASED BY JOSEPH BRUIN, 1839-1840¹

FAIRFAX COUNTY

<u>SLAVE NAME</u>	<u>OWNER/SELLER</u>
Len [a boy]	Walter Powell
Tascoe	Hector Kinchloe
John [age 12]	Alex. S. Grigsby
Mary and Isaac	Alex S. Grigsby
Harriet	John Millan
Leah, "Yellow girl ten-years old"	Walter Powell

LOUDOUN COUNTY

Lewis Jackson	Charles W. D. Binns
Nan Caroline Coleman	
Maria and three children,	
Sally Ann, Charles, Albert	Benjamin Hixson

OTHER COUNTIES

Unknown=43	Alexandria Co., D.C.=8
Washington C., D.C.=4	Frederick Co., Va.=8
Prince William Co., Va.=8	Fauquier Co., Va.=4
Warren Co.Va.=2	Hampshire Co., Va.=2
Clark Co., Va.=1	Jefferson Co., Va.=1
<u>Elkton, Md.=2</u>	<u>St.Mary's Co., Md.=1</u>

SOURCE: See note 59 and related text.

local trader, Joseph Bruin.⁵² For several years in the late 1830s and early 1840s , Bruin acted as an agent for Kephart, receiving cash advances from the Alexandria operation and making purchases of slaves from local owners. In 1842 or 1843 Kephart filed suit in Fairfax Couty Court against Bruin for some \$1,400 he had advanced Bruin to buy slaves. Attached to the court papers are a number of receipts for Bruin's purchases of slaves (see table VIII).⁵³

The majority of Bruin's purchases appear to have been made in counties outside of northern Virginia. Eight were from Prince William County to the south; eight from Frederick County in the Shenandoah Valley; four from Fauquier, to the southwest of Loudoun; six more from counties in the Valley or now in West Virginia; three from Maryland; and forty-three whose county of residence is unknown, and whose names cannot be placed in northern Virginia. The northern Virginia sellers appear to have been small slaveholders, whose reasons for selling cannot be determined. A number of slaves were also sold by the deputy sheriff, presumably pursuant to court action.

Although neither the sample of import certificates from New Orleans, nor the receipts presented by Bruin to the court are sufficiently large or representative to support firm conclusions, it seems more than coincidental

that the same basic pattern regarding incidence of slave sales to traders in northern Virginia emerges from both sets of records. The New Orleans certificates, all from 1829 and 1830, represent purchases for a large successful trading operation by four or five different traders; the court receipts, which may represent nearly all of Bruin's purchases for two or three years, represent the operations of a small, local, Virginia trader operating in 1839 and 1840. Yet in both cases a very small number and proportion of the slaves came from the overstocked plantations of Fairfax or Loudoun. In both groups of receipts there were far more slaves purchased in the Valley of Virginia than in the counties nearer at hand. In both groups of sales, the northern Virginia transactions appear to be infrequent or one-time sales by financially pressed slaveholders. Only the isolated case of Alexander Grigsby suggests that Fairfax sales were in any way a regular occurrence, or perhaps even made without regret. All the evidence, statistical and literary, suggests that at least by 1830, and increasingly through the 1830s and 1840s, few Fairfax or Loudoun slaves went into the interstate trade, and even those may have been sold with a reluctance to incur adverse public opinion. It was becoming increasingly disreputable to dispose of

one's slaves, even though they might work little and cost much to maintain, for the hard cash the traders offered. In this sense the slave owners of northern Virginia appear to have increasingly seen their human chattel as persons rather than mere property. The slave family may have increasingly become a reality to both the slaves and their white masters as well.

A Demographic Assessment
of Northern Virginia
Slave-Trading Activity

All of the evidence examined relating to specific sales, traders, or practices of the slave trade in northern Virginia is confined to a twelve-to-fourteen-year period -- 1828 until 1840 or 1842. The overall impact of the trade on the northern Virginia slaves cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty unless the extent of the trade in the earlier period, 1810 to 1830, is examined more closely. It is also necessary to place the trade in any given decade in perspective in order to determine trends and changes over time during a thirty- or forty-year period. Determinations of the expected growth rate of the northern Virginia slave population can be compared with changes in the actual number of slaves at

ten-year intervals to estimate the extent of loss to the trade during the period in question.

William Calderhead is correct when he asserts that critics disagree about the theoretical size of the natural expansion to be expected in a nineteenth-century American slave population.⁵⁴ Estimates utilizing aggregate figures from the federal census have been used to arrive at expected slave population numbers from which conclusions can be drawn.⁵⁵ Although such estimates may be, or have been, satisfactory for general assessments of very large slave populations, i.e. several states, they fail to provide enough detail to examine changes in a local population of slaves. They also fail to assess changes in proportions of slaves by sex or age -- both of which are critical in determining the extent of the domestic slave trade.

Tadman postulates that "inter-regional slave movement can be calculated by means of the survival rate method of demographic analysis."⁵⁶ If one knows the number of slaves in a given age category (cohort) and knows also the percentage of them that may be expected to live (survive) for another ten years, it is possible to calculate the expected number of slaves in that cohort at the next census. For example, if there are 100 slaves, age ten to twenty, on a given census and the "survival rate" is .95, you would expect to find 95 slaves surviving to the "next

cohort," ages twenty to thirty, at the next census; 1,000 slaves would yield an expected cohort survival rate of 950, and so forth.

Survival rate analysis depends on two essential factors: it is necessary to have two, or more, sequential censuses that enumerate slaves in compatible age cohorts, which is to say in identical ten year age groups. This condition is met with the federal censuses for 1820 and 1830, which cover not only the height of the northern Virginia trade, but one of the unexamined decades before 1850 as well. The second essential factor is to have a "closed" population, statistically unaffected by international migration or slave manumission. For the period in question, 1820 to 1850, the U.S. slave population "can be regarded as essentially closed."⁵⁷

Immigration of new slaves, from Africa, was surely insignificant, if not nonexistent, in northern Virginia by 1820, especially so as such importations were illegal after 1808. As for emigration back to Africa, the American Colonization Society reported that "fewer than 10,000 [former slave] colonists went from the U. S. to Liberia in the whole of the period 1817 to 1860," and such colonization was in all probability negligible in the local population.⁵⁸

Subtractions from the slave and additions to the free black populations, from manumissions and emancipations,

did occur in northern Virginia, although, as Tadman reported, from 1820 to 1860 the free black population grew too slowly to "have been very greatly swelled by newly emancipated slaves."⁵⁹ The Upper South had the highest manumission rate in the nation, but mostly older slaves tended to be freed. Older slaves (as we shall see) are the critical age group in determining the extent of the slave trade, and any manumissions of such older slaves would tend to decrease the statistical proportion of total slave loss attributed to the trade. Therefore, survival rate analysis may be applied to the Fairfax and Loudoun slave populations for the 1820s (see tables X - XI) to determine the number of slaves actually leaving the area during the decade. This can then be compared with available data for the preceding and subsequent decades to arrive at a total antebellum picture of the trade.

This analysis of the Fairfax County slave population for the decade of the 1820s indicates that a minimum of 1,449 slaves were transferred out of the county during that period (see table XI). This does not include the expected number of children born and transferred out between census enumerations. Tadman figures this at about 7 percent, which would raise the total of slave transfers from Fairfax to about 1,550.⁶⁰ Even without the new-born children, over one-third (36 percent) of the slaves alive in 1820 who would have survived until 1830 were transferred out.

TABLE-X

OUTMIGRATION OF FAIRFAX COUNTY SLAVES BY SLAVE
TRADE AND PLANTER MIGRATION, 1820-1830¹

Age in 1820	0-13	14-25	26-44	45+	Totals
Age in 1830	10-23	24-35	36-54	55+	
1820 slave population	2,064	1,153	909	547	4,673
1820s slave survival rate	.93	.92	.73	.575	
Expected 1830 slave population	1,919	1,060	665	314	3,958 ² 1,741 5,699
Actual 1830 slave population	1,145	601	513	250	2,509 ³ 1,460
Preliminary transfer totals	774	459	152	64	1,449

OUTMIGRATION OF LOUDOUN COUNTY SLAVES BY SLAVE
TRADE AND PLANTER MIGRATION

Age in 1820	0-13	14-25	26-44	45+	Totals
Age in 1830	10-23	24-35	36-54	55+	
1820 slave population	2,610	1,483	1,095	571	5,759
1820s slave survival rate	.93	.92	.73	.575	
Expected 1820 slave population	2,429	1,363	802	327	4,919 ² 2,411 7,330
Actual 1830 slave population	1,651	877	666	325	3,519 ³ 1,839 5,358
Preliminary transfer total	776	486	135	2	1,402

[notes on next page]

¹Data for both tables from Fifth Census or Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the United States in 1830 (Washington, D.C., 1832); slave survival rates from Tadman, "Slave Trading in the Ante-Bellum South," Jour. Amer. Stds., XIII (1979), 210, table 3 (i). The procedure adopted by Tadman for determining total loss to a given slave population due to both outmigration with slave owners and sale to slave traders, and the proportion of loss attributable to each seems more accurate and explanatory than that suggested by Alfred H. Conrad and John R. Meyer, "The Economics of Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South," The Journal of Political Economy, LXVI, (1958), 111-114, or to attempting a similar age specific loss rate based on comparisons of local data with decennial census data as given in Jack Ericson Eblen, "New Estimates of the Vital Rates of the United States Black Population During the Nineteenth Century," Demography, XI (1974), table 1, 304 where the original census data has been regrouped into new age cohorts. The problem with any analysis of this nature is the accuracy of determining the rates at which slaves in various age cohorts should survive and the overall slave population increase in order to assess the effect of the trade on a given slave population. As every local population will grow and survive at varying rates, and as 19th century census data has a substantial margin for error, both as to numbers and ages, conclusions drawn from calculations such as presented here are best used to suggest or substantiate general trends, not to provide exact and specific data.

²To the total of expected slaves in all cohorts was added the percentage of the 1820 census that was children under age 10 to arrive at a total expected 1830 slave population; the percentages were 44% for Fairfax and 45% for Loudoun.

³Second figure is children under age 10 from 1830 census.

TABLE XI

SUMMARY OF TABLE XI

Number of slaves to leave during decade:	1,449	1,402 ¹
Percent of expected 1830 slave population	25%	19%
Percent of 1820 slaves alive in 1830: (No new births.)	36%	29%
Transfer rate of slaves over 45+/55+: (Planter migration.)	11.7%	1.7% ²
Total number of slaves lost to planter migration, based on 45+/55+ cohort %:	227	28
Planter migration as percentage of all slave transfers:	16%	2% ²
<hr/> Number of slaves sold to traders:	<hr/> 1,222	<hr/> 1,374
Percent of expected 1830 slaves:	21%	19%
Proportion of 1820 slaves alive in 1830:	31%	28%
Percentage of all slave transfers:	84%	98%

COMPARISON OF PRIME AGE COHORTS IN 1820 SLAVE
POPULATION WITH THAT OF SLAVES ATTRIBUTED TO TRADE

	FAIRFAX			LOUDOUN		
Age in 1820:	0-13	14-25	26-44	0-13	14-25	26-44
Age in 1830:	10-23	24-35	36-54	10-23	24-35	36-54
1820 slaves:	44%	25%	20%	45%	26%	19%
Traded slaves:	56%	33%	11%	55%	35%	10%

¹This does not include children born and removed from county between 1820 and 1830; Tadman increases preliminary totals by 7% to cover this. If applicable to No. Va., the new totals would be 1,550 (Fairfax), and 1,500 (Loudoun) transferred out.

²These are consistent with the decline of white population from 1820 to 1830; see appendices A-D.

In Loudoun County the total number of transferred slaves was 1,402. or 1,500 including the newborn children. The proportion of Loudoun's 1830 expected slave population that was transferred out is less than in Fairfax -- only 29 percent. These are, however, only the total number of slaves to leave the respective counties during the decade. They reveal nothing about how the slaves left. Estimates of the extent of the trade that are based on the number of slaves missing from aggregate expected growth rates "fail to provide any basis for distinguishing between [those lost to] the . . . trade on the one hand and planter migration on the other."⁶¹ This is a crucial factor as the white population of Fairfax showed a net decline of 1,510 persons during the decade. Nearly one-quarter of whites in Fairfax in 1820 had left by 1830. Many of these surely took their slaves with them.

Calderhead asserts that most of the slaves reported marching south from Virginia were with migrating planters, not with slave traders. He argues that only a small proportion of overland slaves were in the trade, and that only a small proportion of the trade went by land.⁶² Calderhead found among the wills recorded in the 1840s "two dozen references to [Fairfax] planters or their relatives who possessed slaves" and were moving to or already resided in other southern states; he found ten

such cases in Loudoun during the same time period.⁶³ Export manifests are also an inconclusive measure of the total extent of the domestic coastal trade. The extant manifests represent only a portion of the trade by water, and waterborne trade was only a portion of total trade.

How the slaves were removed from northern Virginia by the traders is, however, irrelevant. The distinction of significance is the proportion of all transferred slaves that went with migrating planters (by land or water), the remaining portion of all transferred slaves being the extent of the trade. Although nonquantitative estimates are of little use in determining the true extent of the northern Virginia trade, age specific survival rate analysis will enable the proportions of migrating and traded slaves to be distinguished. The key to such analysis is the observation reported by numerous travellers and diarists in the antebellum South that "typically planter migrations comprised whole plantation populations irrespective of age structure."⁶⁴ In other words, whereas a trader would select his slaves by age according to what sold best, a migrating planter would take all his slaves including not only the very young, but the very old as well.

"Since planter migration can be taken to have been essentially an unselective process (and] . . . tended to draw at an equal percentage rate from each age and sex

cohort," the total percentage of expected slaves missing from the actual over 45/55 age cohort may be taken as the highest percentage of missing slaves in the other cohorts attributable to the same cause; the surplus migration in these cohorts would then be attributable to the trade.⁶⁵ For example, if the expected survival rate for this 45/55 cohort suggested that one-hundred slaves should have been alive in 1830, and the actual number on the census was only ninety, then 10 percent of this cohort may have migrated with their owners. This 10 percent is the maximum proportion of the remainder of transferred slaves, regardless of age, that can be attributed to planter migration.

For Fairfax County, 84 percent of all slaves who left the area may be attributed to the trade (see table-XI). This is a much higher number and proportion of Fairfax slaves lost to the trade than any other evidence would suggest. There were also more slaves in their prime years among the transferred slaves than in the general population (see table XI), which is what would be expected as traders selected such prime-age slaves because they sold better. A very high proportion of the 1,449 slaves transferred from Fairfax during the 1820s almost certainly went to traders.

In Loudoun County 98 percent of the slaves who left may be attributed to the trade, which is also not

surprising as there was less reason for Loudoun farmers and planters to leave their lands and migrate elsewhere with their slaves. As in Fairfax, comparison of proportions of Loudoun slaves in their prime years between transferred slaves and the general slave population reveals a similar pattern; a significantly higher percentage of the most saleable slaves among the slaves attributed to the trade (see table XI). Loudoun also sold a smaller proportion of its total slave population to traders than did Fairfax. The survival rate analysis suggests a possible conflict between the number of slaves attributed to the trade in northern Virginia and the percentage of such slaves in the waterborne trade. On closer examination this assumption may prove not to be true, at least in relative terms.

Analysis of the New Orleans Certificates and Bruin's sale receipts indicate only the extent of northern Virginia slaves in a segment of the slave trade; it presents no information on the impact of the trade on the local slave populations. The proportion of Fairfax County slaves among the New Orleans sample was about 6 percent. If Franklin and Armfield exported ten- to fifteen-thousand slaves over an eight year period (1828- 1836), it can be demonstrated that 6 percent of their shipments is very close to the actual number attributed to the trade in Fairfax.⁶⁶ Thus it appears that although northern

Virginia slaves were a small proportion of the interstate trade, that a sizeable number of local blacks were sold to traders.

A Half-Century Assessment
of the
Northern Virginia trade

The suggestions made earlier that the slave trade was in decline in Fairfax after 1830 are supported by the subsequent census enumerations. There was a decrease in both the number and percentage of slaves in the overall Fairfax population from 1810 through 1850 (see appendix B). The assertion that there was a dramatic decline in slave trading in the area after the mid-1830s (due to abolitionist pressure) and Calderhead's finding that only 246 slaves were shipped from Alexandria in the 1840s is also supported by the census -- the Fairfax slave population decreased by only 203 individuals during the entire decade. This includes losses to all sources: waterborne trade, overland trade, planter migration, and emancipation.⁶⁷

The census suggests, and is supported by the survival rate analysis for the 1820s, that the major period of slave trading in Fairfax, but not in Loudoun, was the

decade 1810 to 1820.⁶⁸ There was a significant decline in trading activity during the 1820s; perhaps due to the adverse publicity surrounding Bushrod Washington's sale of fifty-four slaves in 1821. This decline continued during the 1830s and 1840s. In Loudoun County, the trading activity was never as extensive as in Fairfax, although after 1810 the slave population constantly exceeded that in Fairfax. Loudoun may have experienced some trading activity during the 1820s; this declined to almost nothing in the next decade and by the 1840s the county experienced a major increase in slaves. From the standpoint of the slaves, Loudoun County was a safer and more pleasant place to live, and the likelihood of family breakup was much lower there than in Fairfax.

The proportion of Fairfax slave transfers attributable to planter migration was over four times that found by Tadman for all the exporting states of the Upper South as a whole.⁶⁹ About one Fairfax slave in three appears to have been traded away during the 1820s; presumably it was a larger proportion earlier, but decreasing after 1830. The slave trade appears to have been responsible for many slave family breakups in Fairfax, especially before 1830. If one slave in three was traded during the 1820s and about at least that many before that, few Fairfax slave families can have been left untouched. Perhaps only the slaves on the large and

secure plantations, such as the Ravensworth estate, could have hoped to maintain a family life, and even then only if the owner had been disinclined to sell. In all likelihood, nearly all the slaves in the smaller holdings whose family attachments would have been at a nearby farm or plantation had families dismembered by the trade. Although the northern Virginia slaves were not a major component of the Alexandria to New Orleans trade, the slave trade was, nevertheless, a significant threat to the slaves in northern Virginia, especially Fairfax County. Perhaps between 3,500 to 4,000 Fairfax slaves were consigned to traders over the entire antebellum period.⁷⁰

The family breakup of slaves transferred by the trade appears to have been especially high. Armfield's shipments provide overwhelming evidence that it was good business to buy single men and single women in their childbearing years. This must have resulted in a high percentage of marital and child/parent separations -- and Armfield had a good reputation among traders. If 70 percent or more of Fairfax slave transfers went to Armfield, or men like him, there is no way of accurately estimating the incidence of even immediate or nuclear slave family trauma, because almost any sale of a slave probably involved some sort of immediate family separation, even if only of a grown child from parents or a sibling separation. Although most adult children in any

society eventually leave their parents, few are forceably stripped away and sold. Even a planter migrating with his slaves might break up inter-holding nuclear families, and would almost certainly have severely disrupted the extended and fictive kin system.

The slave trade was a profitable business for those who operated it, but the lion's share of the price was paid not by the trader or even by the Louisiana sugar planter; it was paid by the slaves. It was for good reason that northern Virginia slaves must have dreaded the trade. A trader could and often did carry off a loved one as quickly and surely as death. A former Maryland slave told Bancroft "everybody knowed Kephart an' was afeerd of 'em too. When it was reported he was about, they trembled."⁷¹

Yet for all the trauma of the trade to the northern Virginia black family, the slaves somehow managed to adapt. They did form families, raise children, and survive. When apparently faced with white indifference or hostility to their surnames, they somehow managed to have those names entered on the manifests of the slave ships carrying them to New Orleans. If the Armfield certificates are a true picture, the prospect for southern Maryland or western Virginia slaves may have been even worse. Northern Virginia may, in a comparative sense,

have been a fairly safe place for a slave to try to raise a family. This prospect seems to have improved, with white awareness of the slave's plight, as the antebellum period wore on.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER III

[Notes to pages 189-193]

¹Jean Boze to Henri de St. Geme, 10 March 1830, Henri de St. Geme Papers (1762-1842), ms. 156, Historic New Orleans Collection, New Orleans Public Library. I am indebted to Paul LaChance, at the University of Ottawa, for pointing this out to me, and for the English translation from the original French.

²Paul F. LaChance, "The Politics of Fear: French Louisianians and the Slave Trade, 1786-1809," Plantation Society, I (June, 1979), 162-197.

³Michael Tadman, "Slave Trading in the Ante Bellum South: An Estimate of the Extent of the Inter-Regional Slave Trade," Journal of American Studies, XIII (1979), 195-196; William Calderhead, "The Interstate Slave Trade in Virginia: The Old View Versus the New," 8, unpublished research paper, 1980, made available through the kindness of the author.

⁴Alfred H. Conrad and John R. Meyer, "The Economics of Slavery in the Ante Bellum South," The Journal of Political Economics, LXVI, (1958), 112, 119.

⁵See Appendices A and E.

⁶Tadman, "Slave Trading in the Ante Bellum South:" Jour. Amer. Stds., XIII (1979), 195-196.

⁷Calderhead, "Virginia Trade," 12, 7.

⁸Alexandria Phenix Gazette, 22 June 1827, quoted in Frederic Bancroft, Slave Trading in the Old South (New York, 1959 [orig. pbl.1931]), 23-24.

⁹Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States; Fourteenth Congress . . . First Session, Dec. 4, 1815 to Apr. 20, 1816 (Washington, D.C., 1854), 1116-1117 Randolph's remarks are notable not only for their condemnation of the slave trade within the District of Columbia, but because in the same speech he defended his negative vote some years before on a motion to prohibit the "African slave trade," as "the duty of every man of the southern or slaveholding States." To prohibit the trans-Atlantic trade "assumed a prerogative to interfere in the right of property between the master and the slave."

[Notes to pages 193-202]

¹⁰Bancroft, Slave Trading, 47, 50, 56.

¹¹Ibid., 49.

¹²Wendell Holmes Stephenson, Isaac Franklin, Slave Trader and Planter of the Old South (Baton Rouge, La., 1938), 23-25; Alexandria Phenix Gazette, 17 May 1828; see also National Intelligencer, 15 Dec. 1828.

¹³The agents at these towns were respectively: R.C. Ballard & Co., J. M. Saunders & Co., George Kephart & Co., James F. Purvis & Co., and Thomas M. Jones. National Intelligencer, 2 July 1833; also Bancroft Slave Trading, 59; and Stephenson, Isaac Franklin, 26. Purvis was Isaac Franklin's nephew; James R. Franklin, Isaac's brother, George Davis, Wm. Swann, and others also shipped slaves from Alexandria to Isaac at New Orleans. See table VI, below, n. 2-7.

¹⁴Stephenson, Isaac Franklin, 5-36.

¹⁵Leavitt's description of the physical facilities and the method of operation is by far the best and most detailed. A small portion is reproduced in William Jay, Miscellaneous Writings on Slavery (Boston, 1853), 157-158, and quoted in Stephenson, Isaac Franklin, 34-35. A portion is also reproduced on the antislavery broadside Slave Market of America published by the American Anti-Slavery Society (New York, 1836); Leavitt's original letter, much longer and detailed than the excerpts, is in New York Evangelist, 1 Feb. 1834.

¹⁶E.A. Andrews, Slavery and the Domestic Slave-Trade in the United States (Boston, 1836), 150.

¹⁷The description of the building here is a composite from Leavitt, Evangelist, and Andrews, Slavery, 135-153.

¹⁸Description of the Tribune from Leavitt, Evangelist.

¹⁹See n. 46, below, and corresponding text.

²⁰Leavitt, Evangelist.

²¹Slave manifests, New Orleans, inward, 1828-1836, Records of U. S. Customs Service, Record Group 36, National Archives. Exact numbers of total shipments are impossible to determine as the 28 surviving manifests clearly do not represent all the shipments by the firm

[Notes to pages 202-209]

from Alexandria to New Orleans. An examination of entrance and clearance records for vessels at New Orleans shows more arrivals of slave vessels used by the firm than represented by the extant manifests. An "Act to Prohibit the Importation of Slaves," passed 2 March 1807, not only prohibited further importation of slaves into the United States, but expressly allowed the interregional coastwise trade if the necessary and proper manifests were prepared and delivered to customs officials. This provision was intended to prevent the "switching" of American for African or West Indian slaves enroute. Occasional notices by customs officials at New Orleans as to deaths (very few) or births enroute, or to slaves answering to a different name than that listed on the manifest testify to the care taken to insure the accuracy of the data recorded on the manifests.

²²For the purpose of the analysis each manifest was treated individually, with every slave entered on a tally sheet by sex, age, and family status -- with or without children. The ages were taken from the entries on the manifests. In the small minority of cases where sex is not indicated on the manifest, the first name of the individual was used to make a determination. For the method used in assigning family status see Donald Sweig, "Reassessing the Human Dimension of the Interstate Slave Trade," Prologue: The Journal of the National Archives, Spring (1980), 8-9.

²³Even though many manifests are missing, and 3,600 is far below the number actually shipped, it seems a sufficient number for statistical purposes, especially when the extant documents are spread over the entire period, with manifests for each year, and when clear patterns or trends of change can be discerned. The tabulations and calculations are mine; a computer was not used. A very small discrepancy in the total number of slaves (3,570 vs. 3,581) has appeared in assembling the sex-age-family data (table-I) and the family and single child tabulations (appendices I-II). The discrepancy is too small to be of concern; all percentages were calculated using the total for that particular table or appendix.

²⁴Andrews, Slavery, 139; 253 women with children appear on the manifests, as reflected on table-III. Nearly 13% had given birth to their first surviving child before age 17. An additional 41% gave birth at ages 17 through 20, 26% between the ages of 21 and 24, and the remaining 20% at age 25 or older. This puts the women's median age at the birth of the first surviving child at about 19 or 20. These calculations have a significant margin for error.

[notes to pages 209-216]

By subtracting the age of the oldest child from the age of the mother, one arrives at the age of the mother at first birth. The margin for error in arriving at this age is readily acknowledged. The most serious problem is that in all likelihood the majority of all ages (mothers and children) on the manifests were estimates. Nonetheless, the data are as reliable, perhaps more so, than any other source of similar data for antebellum slaves. This does not, however, account for infant and child mortality, or, in the case of older women, for the oldest child having already been sold. At best, therefore, the calculated age at first birth is slightly later (older) than it actually was. Even so, by these calculations, 54% of all women with children had given birth by age 21. It is then possible to calculate that 696 (69%) of Armfield's single slave women were between the ages of 13 and 21, of which 54% (375 women) should have had a child by this age. This 375 is 37% of all slave women. If Armfield and his agents did not carefully select only single and childless slave women (a doubtful proposition), then 37% or about one-third of his single slave women between 13 and 21 had been separated from their children. This figure would be even higher if the older slave women were included in the calculations.

²⁵Bancroft, *Slave Trading*, 208; Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (Boston, 1974), 49-50.

²⁶See appendix-I; it is worth emphasizing that the method used to separate children on the manifests into single and family categories would tend to inflate the number of single children. If there was any doubt, a child was considered as sold singly.

²⁷Acts Passed at the Second Session of the Eighth Legislature of the State of Louisiana (New Orleans, 1828), 48, sec.-15.; Stephenson was incorrect when he wrote that this was repealed in 1834. See Statutes of the State [Louisiana] (New Orleans, 1852), 534, sec.-59.

²⁸Alexandria Phenix Gazette, 17 Dec. 1828, 25 Feb. 1829.

²⁹Stephenson, Isaac Franklin, 77; Andrews, Slavery, 149.

³⁰See Appendices A and C. The greatest decline in the Fairfax slave population was between 1810 and 1830; other evidence to be presented here will suggest that very few northern Virginia slaves were sold to traders after about 1840.

[Notes to pages 216-227]

³¹Gutman, Black Family, 75.

³²Stephen Gudeman, "Herbert Gutman's The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750 - 1925: An Anthropologist's View," Social Science History, III (Oct. 1979), 59.

³³Cheryll Ann Cody, "Naming, Kinship, and Estate Dispersal: Notes on Slave Family Life on a South Carolina Plantation, 1786 to 1833," WMQ, 3^d Ser., XXXIX (1982), 207, 198, 211.

³⁴Gudeman, "Anthropologist's View," Soc. Sci. Hst., III (Oct., 1979), 61-62; Cody notes this same pattern of dispersal of older children from parents and siblings, ibid., 210.

³⁵John Modell, "Herbert Gutman's The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom: 1750 - 1925: Demographic Perspectives," Soc. Sci. Hst., III (Oct. 1979), 47; Gudeman, "Anthropologist's View," ibid., 63; Mintz, "History and Anthropology," 484.

³⁶Gutman, Black Family, passim; Mintz, ibid, 478; Mintz also notes that attempts to use slave sale records can only suggest when "slave wives were sold with or without children, based on the probability of a given woman having a child. Such sale records, however, cannot determine "when slave husbands [however defined] were sold with or without their children or wives," 488.

³⁷See note 22, above.

³⁸Snowden may have lived in or near the Alexandria area. Both his name and that of his executor, Herbert, were prominent in Alexandria and Fairfax County. His will has not been located. Many of the slave surnames are identical with those on the 17 Apr. 1834 manifest, indicating that perhaps an inter-plantation slave family network, such as was suggested by the domestic arrangements of Washington's slaves, existed in northern Virginia.

³⁹Abdy, Journal, 179-180; Jay, Writings on Slavery (Boston, 1853), 157; Leavitt, Evangelist, 1 Feb 1834.

⁴⁰Andrews, Slavery, 139, 150; Stephenson, Isaac Franklin, Slave Trader, 33.

⁴¹Bancroft, Slave Trading, 64-65.

[notes to pages 228-248]

⁴² William Calderhead, "How Extensive Was the Border State Slave Trade? A New Look," Civil War History, XVIII (1972), 53, 49.

⁴³ See note 1 to table-VI.

⁴⁴ Calderhead, "Border State Slave Trade," Civil War History, XVIII (1972), 49.

⁴⁵ Tadman, "Slave Trading in the Antebellum South," Jour. Amer. Stds., XIII (1979), 197

⁴⁶ The articles from the various papers relative to the sale and Bushrod's reply were reprinted in Niles Weekly Register, 1 Sept. 1821, 29 Sept. 1821.

⁴⁷ Pryor, "Slave Hiring," 1, 20.

⁴⁸ "Diary of Richard Marshall Scott, Jr., Notebook-II, 1846-1847," 30 Apr. 1846, typescript in Virginia Room, Fairfax County Central Library.

⁴⁹ William Swartwout to George Turberville, 28 Sept. 1839, Sully Foundation, Sully Plantation, Fairfax Va.

⁵⁰ Calderhead, "Virginia Trade," 10-11.

⁵¹ Ibid., 4-5.

⁵² Stephenson, Isaac Franklin, 223; Bancroft, Slave Trading, 65.

⁵³ Joseph Bruin vs. George Kephart, chancery suit, Fairfax County court, final file no. 5.

⁵⁴ Calderhead, "Virginia Trade," 11.

⁵⁵ See note 1 to table XI.

⁵⁶ Tadman, "Slave Trading in the Antebellum South," Jour. Amer. Stds., XIII (1979), 204-205.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

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⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Ibid., 210-211, table 3 (i), n.a. (30,994 divided by $461,444 = 6.7\%$).

⁶¹Ibid., 196.

⁶²Calderhead, "Virginia Trade," 9.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Tadman, "Slave Trading in the Antebellum South," Jour. Amer. Stds., XIII (1979), 202.

⁶⁵Ibid., 214, 216.

⁶⁶Ten to 15,000 seems a reasonable total for their operation. An average between these two would be 12,500 slaves shipped in eight years, or about 1,562 slaves per year. Six percent of this 1,562 is about 93 slaves per year, or 937 for the decade. The number of Fairfax slaves attributed to the trade for the 1820s was 1,222, or 285 more than 6% of Armfield's shipments. But the 1,222 was based on slave transfers in the 1820s; slave loss in the 1830s was less in both number and percentage (see appendix-C), and anti-trade abolitionist sentiment was increasing. Thus fewer Fairfax slaves should have been sold to traders in the 1830s, when Franklin operated, than in the 1820s. This reduces the number of traded slaves in the Fairfax slave population to about 1,075 ($1,222 - 12\% = 1,075$) or only about 138 slaves unaccounted for. The number of slaves attributed to the Fairfax trade from Armfield's certificate tally and the survival rate analysis are, therefore only about 138 slaves apart -- and this for the entire decade! The numbers are close enough to be accepted as in agreement rather than to suggest a conflict.

⁶⁷The census indicates a loss of 703 slaves during the 1830s as compared with the 1,449 computed by survival rate analysis, -- about double the census loss rate. Doubling the 1840s census loss rate to 400 would still leave it well within the range to be absorbed by the factors listed in the text, and is only 40% of the loss in the previous decade.

⁶⁸As the white population of Fairfax declined by 351 and the slave population by 1,269 during this decade,

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the population of Loudoun, contiguous on the west, rose by 844, and 572 respectively. Surely some of the migrating Fairfax whites and slaves simply moved west to better land.

⁶⁹Tadman, "Slave Trading in the Antebellum South," Jour. Amer. Stds., XIII (1979), 216.

⁷⁰Calculated as follows: the number of slaves transferred out during the 1820s, based on the survival rate analysis, was 1,449 or about twice the 703 net loss indicated by the census; 84% of these, or 1,222 slaves, were attributed to the trade. For the preceding decade I took the 1,269 net slave loss from the census, doubled it to arrive at an approximate expected survival rate gross, subtracted the 572 that may have migrated to Loudoun, and attributed 84% of the remainder (on the assumption that the trade was as active in the period 1810-1820, and 1820-1830), which was 1,572. For the 1830s the procedure was the same (with no subtractions for migration to Loudoun), but with the proportion attributed to traders decreased to 70%, from 84%, on the assumption that the antitrade sentiment was beginning to take hold. For the 1840s the procedure was, again, the same, with the proportion attributed to traders reduced to 50%. The figures for number of slaves sold to traders are thus:

1810-1820	1,572
1820-1830	1,222
1830-1840	725
1840-1850	<u>203</u>
Total antebellum slave loss	3,722

The calculations are, admittedly, less than conclusive, but they incorporate all the available evidence as to actual numbers traded, and changes in attitudes about traders in the area.

⁷¹Bancroft, Slave Trading, 65.

RETROSPECTIVE

This investigation of the racially-based slave system that existed in northern Virginia from 1750 until the Civil War initially differentiated between slave societies and societies where there were slaves. It then asserts that Virginia was already a slave society by 1740, suggested the existence of a society of slaves based on and transmitted through the slave family within that overall slave society.

This society of slaves was based on the development of an adaptive Afro-American slave culture, and the transmission of cultural values and norms to successive generations of northern Virginia blacks. The social group within which that culture developed and which served as the agent for its transmission to black children was the slave family -- both the nuclear family of mother, father, and children, and an extended slave-kinship structure as well. The importance of inter-generational ties, exemplified by the naming of children (especially males) for their parents or grandparents and of sibling bonds was stressed. Finally, the effect on the resulting slave-family structure of family separation occasioned by bequest or sale was assessed. The results of this investigation suggest that slave families and culture did

develop in northern Virginia almost from the time of initial settlement; that the slave-family structure grew and developed into the nineteenth-century, and that in spite of traumatic separations (especially in the early nineteenth century) many slave families remained together and the overall family structure survived.

Conditions conducive to slave family formation and adaptive Afro-American cultural development existed in Fairfax as early as 1749, when slaves were nearly one-third of the population, many of them living in large groups in proximity to few whites (absentee owners), in areas of high black population density. Sex ratios were roughly balanced and the high proportion of children suggests an active family life for most slaves. African immigration to these early groups of northern Virginia blacks appears to have been small. Most of the Fairfax slaves were probably already-acculturated creole or West Indian blacks.

After the formation of Fairfax's "upper parish" into Loudoun County in 1757, the slaves in that piedmont region also lived predominantly in large groups with few whites. Family formation may, however, have been stunted in the 1760s due to African immigration as the sex ratio of Loudoun slave holdings appear to have been biased toward males.

By the 1780s, northern Virginia was increasingly becoming a slave society in both number and proportion of slaves (over 40 percent), and in the number of men who held slaves. The proportion of slaves on holdings, which favored family and cultural development, had increased as well. Suggestive but inconclusive evidence of an extensive slave-family structure in the area gleaned from probate inventories was confirmed by careful analysis of George Washington's large and long-standing slaveholding in 1799.

Washington's slaves lived in family groups of various sorts. There were single individuals -- many of whom were older children of other Washington slaves, couples -- both with and without children, and single women with children and no identifiable husband. A few families lived together on the same farm, others had family members on one of Washington's other farms. Of most interest was the sizeable number of Washington slaves with spouses on other plantations, some of these in Maryland. Existence of inter-plantation conjugal visits was strongly suggested by the female spouse of such unions having young children. The representativeness of Washington blacks to the overall area slave experience was set forth, and the acceptance by northern Virginia whites of such family arrangements and visits was argued.

In the eighteenth century, northern Virginia slaves appear to have formed families, and developed an inter-plantation family network. The conditions that foster these developments are assumed to have fostered adaptive Afro-American cultural values as well. Nineteenth-century northern Virginia inherited an extensive slave family structure within an established society of slaves.

That there was an established nineteenth-century slave-family structure in northern Virginia is evident from the appearance of families on the estate inventories of the Fitzhughs of Ravensworth, and others. Inter-generational slave families appear among the slaves of William Fitzhugh in 1810; these same families carried over to the next owner of Ravensworth (William Henry Fitzhugh) as well. Naming patterns among the Fitzhugh slaves both confirm the inter-generational ties, and establish that northern Virginia slaves exhibited the functional adaptive values of given names found among other slaves throughout the South. The same pattern of given names was also found among the Custis slaves at Arlington, just before the Civil War.

Many northern Virginia slaves adopted surnames, perhaps sometimes unbeknownst to their master. Many slave surnames appear in the inventories; in other cases where slave surnames were not specifically noted by the whites,

they later appear in such records as free negro registrations. This adoption and utilization of surnames by the area slaves also ties the local slave community into the overall southern society of slaves.

The proportion of slaves in the Fairfax population remained constant up to about 1820, even though the actual number of blacks declined significantly. In Loudoun the number of slaves increased -- although the proportion of slaves who were children decreased in both counties as the antebellum area came to an end. This decline may have been brought about by a disruption in the slave-family structure. Some estate settlements divided slave families either inadvertently or of necessity. Even so, many northern Virginia slave families managed to stay together (some reassembled after obtaining freedom) and the area's slave-family structure remained intact.

Operations of professional slave traders offered the greatest threat to the integrity of northern Virginia slave families. This was so both because there was a surplus of slaves in the area brought about by regional economic and agricultural decline, and by the presence of professional slave traders, several of national reputation. Franklin and Armfield established the northern end of the biggest slave trading operation in the United States at Alexandria in 1828. For the next eight years they shipped out perhaps ten-thousand regional

slaves. Although their operation had a good business reputation -- allegedly extending even into the slave community -- careful analysis of their shipments indicated many broken slave families and marriages.

The majority of Potomac region slaves going into the interstate trade appears not to have come from northern Virginia. Most of the Franklin and Armfield shipments seem to have been of Maryland slaves, with even western Virginia contributing more slaves than Fairfax and Loudoun.

Evidence was presented to substantiate a general aversion to selling slaves, especially after 1830, among northern Virginia planters, which was attributed both to the possible continued example set by George Washington (who had refused to sell his surplus blacks), and to potential local sensitivity to abolitionist pressure. The anti-sale attitude appeared to have increased from about 1830 on, with a corresponding decrease in the incidence of local sale of slaves. An increase in local slave hiring also arose during the same period, which (it was suggested) served as an economic alternative for hard-pressed local planters with surplus slaves.

Even so, a careful statistical analysis of census enumerations suggests that a sizeable number of northern Virginia blacks were removed from the area by whites, either migrating with their owners to other states or by sale to the traders. The majority of these "transferred

slaves" appear to have been sold into the trade. Thus, even though the proportion of northern Virginia slaves in the interstate trade was small, the trade was large enough for that small proportion to have encompassed a sizeable number of local blacks. This was especially the case between 1810 and 1820 when the largest decline in the area's slave population occurred, and before anti-trade sentiment and slave hiring grew in prominence. It appears, however, that the risk of sale to traders was far less in Fairfax and especially in Loudoun than in the surrounding counties of Virginia and Maryland.

Thus, almost from the outset, Fairfax provided favorable conditions for slave families and the resulting slave culture. Demographic conditions were conducive to family formation during the eighteenth century and slave family development occurred. After an initial possible influx of Africans, the Loudoun slave community grew as well.

By the nineteenth century and until the Civil War, an extensive slave-family structure existed throughout the area. Family separations due to the interstate trade were less than elsewhere, and Loudoun slaves appear to have enjoyed a remarkably secure family and community life. To have been a slave in northern Virginia was, perhaps, less onerous than in other parts of the South or even the Potomac region.

Slavery was an economic and social reality of northern Virginia society before the Civil War. The society of slaves that developed within the overall slave society was a reality as well. Slave families did form, grow, and establish an inter-plantation regional kinship network. Both the families and the network survived either because or in spite of attitudes and actions of the white slaveowners. The important realization is that the slave family did survive. The adaptive cultural values associated with the slave-family structure are assumed to have developed as well. The northern Virginia blacks also demonstrated they were part of the overall southern slave society.

Northern Virginia was not an overly oppressive area, such as the West Indies, where slaves were worked to an early and often inhumane death. It was a decidedly better place to be a slave (however undesirable that general status) than the cotton or sugar plantations of the deep South. In a world where black and slave were virtually synonymous, if one were black, northern Virginia was, comparatively, a good place to be.

The slaves apparently understood this as there is a decided lack of any reference to slave uprisings or disturbances in northern Virginia. There is no indication that serious social friction existed, at any time, between the white and black communities. This is evident not only

from the existence of the inter-plantation conjugal visitations, but from the toleration of a large and growing free black community, often allowed to expand itself and go about unregistered -- both contrary to Virginia law¹. There appears to have been little reason to, or effort by, the whites to make their slaves "stand in fear". There is similar lack of evidence that the blacks felt any such compulsion. Being a slave was never a desirable fate in life at any time or place; but if the evidence can be believed it was at least tolerable in northern Virginia.

¹ For more on free blacks in northern Virginia, see Sweig, "Free Negroes in Northern Virginia" (M.A. Thesis, George Mason University, 1975); Sweig ed., Registrations of Free Negroes, passim, esp. 1-8; and Black Fairfax, a revised and expanded version of this dissertation, forthcoming (Fairfax County Office of History and Archaeology).

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APPENDIX-A
 WHITE, SLAVE, AND FREE NEGRO POPULATION IN FAIRFAX COUNTY, VIRGINIA
 1810 - 1850

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	NUMBER OF WHITES	PERCENTAGE OF WHITES IN TOTAL POPULATION	NUMBER OF SLAVES	PERCENTAGE OF SLAVES IN TOTAL POPULATION	NUMBER OF FREE NEGROES	PERCENTAGE OF FREE NEGROES IN TOTAL POPULATION
1810	13,111	6626	50.53	5942	45.32	Free Persons 543	Free Persons 4.14
1820	11,455	6275	54.77	4673	40.79	Free Negroes 507	Free Persons 4.42
1830	9,046	4765	52.67	3970	43.88	311	3.43
1840	9,370	5469	58.36	3453	36.85	448	4.78
1850	11,229	7432	66.18	3250	28.94	547	4.87

Data from United States Census Schedules, Calculations by author.

APPENDIX - B

COMPARISON OF THE INCREASE OR DECREASE OF WHITE, SLAVE, AND FREE NEGRO
POPULATION IN FAIRFAX COUNTY, VIRGINIA

1810 - 1850

YEAR	NUMERICAL INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (-) OF WHITE POPULATION OVER PREVI- OUS CENSUS	PERCENTAGE INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (-) OF WHITE POPULATION OVER PREVI- OUS CENSUS	NUMERICAL INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (-) OF SLAVE POPULATION OVER PREVI- OUS CENSUS	PERCENTAGE INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (-) OF SLAVE POPULATION OVER PREVI- OUS CENSUS	NUMERICAL INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (-) OF FREE NEGRO POPULATION OVER PREVI- OUS CENSUS	PERCENTAGE INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (-) OF FREE NEGRO POPULATION OVER PREVI- OUS CENSUS
1810	- 409	- 5.81	- 136	- 2.23	Free Persons + 399	Free Persons + 166.17
1820	- 351	- 5.29	-1269	- 21.35	Free Negroes - 36	Free Negroes - 6.62
1830	- 1510	- 24.06	- 703	- 15.04	- 196	- 38.65
1840	+ 704	+ 14.77	- 517	+ 13.02	+ 137	+ 44.05
1850	+ 1963	+ 35.89	- 203	- 5.87	+ 99	+ 22.09

Calculations by author from data in Appendix A

APPENDIX-C

WHITE, SLAVE, AND FREE NEGRO POPULATION IN LOUDOUN COUNTY, VIRGINIA

1810 - 1850

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	NUMBER OF WHITES	PERCENTAGE OF WHITES IN TOTAL POPULATION	NUMBER OF SLAVES	PERCENTAGE OF SLAVES IN TOTAL POPULATION	NUMBER OF FREE NEGROES	PERCENTAGE OF FREE NEGROES IN TOTAL POPULATION
1810	21,338	15,577	73.00	5157	24.16	Free Persons 604	Free Persons 2.83
1820	22,979	16,421	71.46	5729	24.93	829	3.60
1830	21,939	15,517	70.72	5360	24.43	1062	4.84
1840	20,431	13,840	67.74	5273	25.80	1318	6.45
1850	23,393	16,438	70.26	5641	24.11	1314	5.61

Data from United States Census Schedules, calculations by author.

APPENDIX-D

COMPARISON OF THE INCREASE OR DECREASE OF WHITE, SLAVE, AND FREE NEGRO
POPULATION IN LOUDOUN COUNTY, VIRGINIA

1810 - 1850

YEAR	NUMERICAL INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (-) OF WHITE POPULATION OVER PREVI- OUS CENSUS	PERCENTAGE INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (-) OF WHITE POPULATION OVER PREVI- OUS CENSUS	NUMERICAL INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (-) OF SLAVE POPULATION OVER PREVI- OUS CENSUS	PERCENTAGE INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (-) OF SLAVE POPULATION OVER PREVI- OUS CENSUS	NUMERICAL INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (-) OF FREE NEGRO POPULATION OVER PREVI- OUS CENSUS	PERCENTAGE INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (-) OF FREE NEGRO POPULATION OVER PREVI- OUS CENSUS
1810	+ 367	+ 2.41	- 921	- 15.15	Free Persons + 271	Free Persons + 81.38
1820	+ 844	+ 5.41	+ 572	+ 11.09	Free Persons + 225	Free Persons + 37.25
1830	- 904	- 5.50	- 369	- 6.44	+ 233	+ 28.10
1840	- 1677	- 10.80	- 87	- 1.62	+ 256	+ 24.10
1850	+ 2598	+ 18.77	+ 368	+ 6.97	- 4	- 00.30

Calculations by author from data in Appendix A

APPENDIX I

SUMMARY TABULATIONS, AS NOTED, BY YEARLY TOTAL OF ALL 20 SHIPMENTS, 1820-1826, 3,570 SLAVES (Calculations and tabulations by author.)

DATE OF SHIPMENT	TOTAL SLAVES	NUMBER IN FAMILY GROUPS	PERCENT IN FAMILY GROUPS	NUMBER AS SINGLE SLAVES	PERCENT AS SINGLE SLAVES	NUMBER SINGLE CHILDREN AGE 10 OR UNDER	SINGLE CHILDREN AS % OF SINGLE SLAVES	NUMBER SINGLE CHILDREN AGE 10 OR UNDER	SINGLE CHILDREN AS % OF SINGLE SLAVES	NUMBER SINGLE CHILDREN AGE 10 OR UNDER	SINGLE CHILDREN AS % OF SINGLE SLAVES	NUMBER SINGLE CHILDREN AGE 10 OR UNDER	SINGLE CHILDREN AS % OF SINGLE SLAVES	NUMBER SINGLE CHILDREN AGE 10 OR UNDER	SINGLE CHILDREN AS % OF SINGLE SLAVES	NUMBER SINGLE CHILDREN AGE 10 OR UNDER	SINGLE CHILDREN AS % OF SINGLE SLAVES	NUMBER SINGLE CHILDREN AGE 10 OR UNDER	SINGLE CHILDREN AS % OF SINGLE SLAVES	NUMBER SINGLE CHILDREN AGE 10 OR UNDER	SINGLE CHILDREN AS % OF SINGLE SLAVES	NUMBER SINGLE CHILDREN AGE 10 OR UNDER	SINGLE CHILDREN AS % OF SINGLE SLAVES	NUMBER SINGLE CHILDREN AGE 10 OR UNDER	SINGLE CHILDREN AS % OF SINGLE SLAVES	NUMBER SINGLE CHILDREN AGE 10 OR UNDER	SINGLE CHILDREN AS % OF SINGLE SLAVES	NUMBER SINGLE CHILDREN AGE 10 OR UNDER	SINGLE CHILDREN AS % OF SINGLE SLAVES			
1829 Dec-10	111	10	5.02	97.01	47	14.37	11.53	611	23.22	71.86	10	55.52	3.22	10	55.53	1.27																
1830 Aug-10	150	30	8.67	91.33	13	4.00	1.72	29	9.02	8.20	17	56.71	4.02	17	56.72	4.18																
1831 Aug-10	103	45	14.92	85.13	7	2.71	2.31	23	8.92	7.62	20	67.21	9.24	29	64.41	9.52																
1832	153	51	15.02	85.02	14	4.67	3.06	31	10.12	8.70	20	57.80	7.92	30	56.62	8.40																
1833	161	17	10.42	89.58	2	1.47	1.22	12	8.22	7.63	10	58.80	6.12	10	58.81	6.11																
1834	258	74	28.72	71.28	5	2.71	1.93	16	8.72	6.22	41	55.42	15.92	45	60.32	17.41																
1835	143	44	11.02	69.02	40	4.00	3.31	100	16.02	6.95	212	51.92	16.12	255	57.02	17.71																
1836	194	22	56.02	44.02	14	8.12	3.63	29	16.02	7.41	111	51.02	20.72	129	50.32	32.71																
TOTAL	3759	1007	27.22	72.78	103	4.32	3.16	740	10.02	7.32	452	50.92	13.02	515	50.02	15.02																
TOTAL 1829-1836	3570	905	25.41	74.59	145	5.41	4.01	308	11.52	8.62	462	51.02	12.32	525	50.02	16.71																

APPENDIX II

FAMILIARITIES AND CALCULATIONS, AS NOTED, BY SHIP,
 WITH TOTALS BY YEAR, 1829-1836
 (Tabulations and calculations by author.)

DATE OF SURVIVAL	TOTAL SLAVES	NUMBER IN FAMILY GROUPS	PERCENT IN FAMILY GROUPS	NUMBER AS SINGLE SLAVES	PERCENT AS SINGLE SLAVES	NUMBERED SINGLE CHILDREN (AGE 10 OR UNDER)		SINGLE CHILDREN UNDER AGE 13		SINGLE CHILDREN UNDER 13 AS % OF SINGLE SLAVES		SINGLE CHILDREN UNDER 13 AS % OF ALL SLAVES		NUMBER FAMILY CHILDREN AGE 10 OR UNDER 13		FAMILY CHILDREN AGE 10 OR UNDER 13 AS % OF FAMILY SLAVES		FAMILY CHILDREN AGE 10 OR UNDER 13 AS % OF ALL SLAVES	
						TO OR UNDER AGE 13	TO OR UNDER AGE 13	AS % OF SINGLE SLAVES	AS % OF ALL SLAVES	NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER	PERCENT
October 27, 1828	201	12	6.02	189	94.02	28	14.01	48	25.42	23.92	11.91	7	3.52	7	58.33	3.52	1.77	1.77	
January 25, 1829	110	6	5.52	104	94.48	14	12.73	20	19.27	10.12	9.20	1	9.09	1	50.00	8.27	7.52		
October 1829 Before 1829 law	311	10	3.22	291	93.57	42	14.15	68	23.15	7.43	2.39	10	3.38	10	55.53	3.38	1.09	1.09	
October 30, 1829	140	13	9.30	127	90.70	10	7.90	16	12.62	11.42	8.23	7	5.47	7	53.85	5.47	3.91		
November 21, 1829	90	10	11.11	80	88.89	0	0.00	4	5.00	4.44	4.94	5	5.56	5	50.00	5.56	6.11		
December 24, 1829	120	7	5.83	113	94.17	3	2.62	9	8.02	7.52	6.25	5	4.44	5	71.43	4.44	3.70		
Total: 1829 After Law	350	30	8.57	320	91.43	13	4.00	29	9.06	8.32	2.32	17	5.14	17	56.25	5.14	1.46		
March 10, 1831	111	19	17.12	92	83.00	5	5.41	12	13.02	10.82	11.80	12	13.04	11	60.45	11.80	10.65		
March 31, 1831	59	4	6.78	55	93.22	0	0.00	4	7.27	6.82	11.53	1	18.18	1	75.00	18.18	31.03		
October 15, 1831	112	15	13.39	97	87.00	1	1.02	5	5.15	4.52	4.52	8	8.16	8	51.11	7.14	6.33		
November 12, 1831	21	7	33.33	14	66.67	1	7.14	2	14.29	9.52	11.43	5	35.71	5	71.43	21.43	21.43		
Total: 1831	303	45	14.85	258	85.15	7	2.70	23	8.92	7.62	2.97	27	10.59	27	62.22	9.27	3.04		

APPENDIX II (continued)

DATE OF SHIPMENT	TOTAL SLAVES	NUMBER IN FAMILY GROUPS	PIERCED IN FAMILY GROUPS	NUMBER AS SINGLE SLAVES	PIERCED AS SINGLE SLAVES	NUMBER SINGLE CHILDREN UNDER AGE 10 (M)	SINGLE CHILDREN UNDER AGE 10 (M) AS % OF SINGLE SLAVES	NUMBER SINGLE CHILDREN UNDER AGE 13 (M)	SINGLE CHILDREN UNDER AGE 13 (M) AS % OF SINGLE SLAVES	NUMBER SINGLE CHILDREN UNDER AGE 13 (M)	SINGLE CHILDREN UNDER AGE 13 (M) AS % OF SINGLE SLAVES	NUMBER FAMILY CHILDREN UNDER 10 (M)	FAMILY CHILDREN UNDER 10 (M) AS % OF FAMILY SLAVES	NUMBER FAMILY CHILDREN UNDER 13 (M)	FAMILY CHILDREN UNDER 13 (M) AS % OF FAMILY SLAVES	NUMBER FAMILY CHILDREN UNDER 13 (M)	FAMILY CHILDREN UNDER 13 (M) AS % OF FAMILY SLAVES	
February 13, 1812	116	33	28.52	83	71.52	1	1.72	8	9.62	10	6.92	10	54.53	15	15.52	70	60.62	17.72
March 14, 1812	111	10	8.02	121	92.02	10	8.35	16	13.72	5	17.72	5	50.07	3	3.02	5	50.02	3.02
November 26, 1812	106	10	9.02	96	91.02	3	3.12	7	7.32	5	6.62	5	50.07	4	4.72	5	50.02	4.72
TOTAL: 1812	353	53	15.02	300	85.02	14	4.62	31	10.32	20	8.02	20	52.02	27	7.72	30	56.62	11.52
May 24, 1813	71	2	3.02	69	97.02	2	2.92	4	5.02	1	5.62	1	50.02	1	1.47	1	50.02	1.47
October 16, 1813	92	15	16.02	77	84.02	0	02	8	10.42	9	8.72	9	56.02	9	9.72	9	56.02	9.72
TOTAL: 1813	163	17	10.42	146	89.67	2	1.32	12	8.22	10	7.42	10	50.02	10	6.12	10	58.02	6.12
January 13, 1814	124	13	10.02	111	90.02	1	.92	5	4.52	5	4.02	0	61.52	0	6.52	0	61.52	6.52
April 8, 1814	29	0	02	29	100.02	2	6.92	0	27.52	0	27.52	0	07	02	02	0	02	02
April 17, 1814	105	61	58.02	44	42.02	7	4.52	3	6.02	33	2.02	33	54.02	17	11.52	17	60.62	15.02
TOTAL: 1814	258	74	28.72	184	71.27	5	2.72	16	8.72	16	6.22	41	55.42	45	15.92	45	60.02	17.42

APPENDIX II (Continued)

DATE OF SHIPMENT	TOTAL SLAVES	NUMBER IN FAMILY GROUPS	PERCENT IN FAMILY GROUPS	NUMBER AS SINGLE SLAVES	PERCENT AS SINGLE SLAVES	SINGLE CHILDREN UNDER 13		MARRIED CHILDREN AGE 13 AND OVER		NUMBER CHILDREN UNDER 13 AS % OF ALL SLAVES	NUMBER CHILDREN AGE 13 AND OVER AS % OF ALL SLAVES	FAMILY CHILDREN UNDER 13		NUMBER CHILDREN UNDER 13 AS % OF ALL SLAVES	FAMILY CHILDREN UNDER 13 AS % OF ALL SLAVES
						NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER	PERCENT			NUMBER	PERCENT		
February 5, 1835	156	6	3.82	150	96.22	1	6.72	1	6.72	1	2.02	3	50.02	1.97	50.07
February 26, 1835	162	20	12.32	142	87.62	11	7.72	21	6.72	21	16.27	5	25.02	3.02	15.02
March 26, 1835	201	40	23.92	153	76.02	3	1.92	10	1.57	10	6.52	26	50.27	12.92	50.27
October 1, 1835	151	45	29.82	106	70.12	7	1.82	9	1.32	9	8.42	24	51.37	15.97	60.02
October 6, 1835	143	67	47.02	76	53.02	6	7.92	11	4.22	11	14.57	40	50.22	27.97	61.22
November 6, 1835	174	90	51.82	84	48.22	4	4.82	11	2.17	11	13.02	40	53.32	27.67	60.02
November 16, 1835	170	82	48.22	88	51.82	7	7.92	10	4.12	10	11.42	30	46.32	22.42	51.67
December 1, 1835	171	77	45.02	94	55.02	11	11.72	14	6.42	14	14.92	43	55.82	25.12	61.07
December 26, 1835	110	12	11.02	98	89.02	3	1.02	9	2.72	9	9.12	5	41.62	4.52	50.02
TOTAL: 1835	1430	447	31.02	991	69.02	40	4.92	100	3.32	100	10.02	212	51.92	16.12	57.02
January 27, 1836	140	96	68.62	44	31.42	6	13.62	8	4.32	8	10.82	40	51.02	15.02	58.32
November 15, 1836	254	125	49.22	129	50.82	8	6.22	21	2.41	21	16.32	64	51.02	25.02	51.62
TOTAL: 1836	994	221	22.22	773	77.72	14	8.12	29	3.62	29	16.82	111	51.02	20.72	58.32

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