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## Littletown Plantation, 1700-1745

James Patrick McClure

*College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences*

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LITTLETOWN PLANTATION,

1700-1745

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A Thesis

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  
Master of Arts

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by

James P. McClure

1977

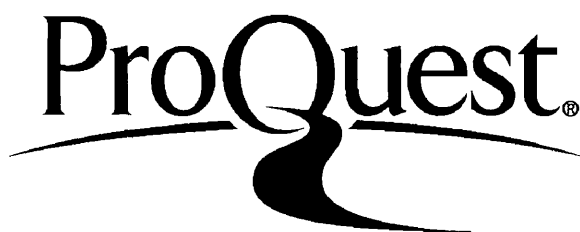
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APPROVAL SHEET

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

Master of Arts

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660100

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE . . . . .	iv
LIST OF TABLES. . . . .	vi
LIST OF FIGURES . . . . .	vii
ABSTRACT. . . . .	viii
I. INTRODUCTION: PLANTATION ECONOMICS . . . . .	2
II. LITTLETOWN AND THE BRAYS. . . . .	10
Narrative Sketch. . . . .	10
Material Aspects of Littletown. . . . .	21
III. ORGANIZATION, MANAGEMENT, AND PERSONNEL. . . . .	34
IV. PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES . . . . .	56
Staple Crops. . . . .	56
Livestock . . . . .	74
Other Plantation Activities . . . . .	87
V. CONCLUSION . . . . .	101
APPENDICES. . . . .	109
BIBLIOGRAPHY. . . . .	117

## PREFACE

Beginning in 1972 Busch Properties, Inc., contracted with archaeologists of the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission for the survey and excavation of colonial sites on the Kingsmill tract near Williamsburg as the land underwent development. The Bray family plantation called Littletown, the subject of this thesis, was one of those sites. Complete information regarding the archaeology of Littletown is available in the form of the reports of the Landmarks Commission, to be found at the Virginia Research Center for Archaeology in Williamsburg. This thesis is historical in nature; I hope that the information contained herein will prove complementary to the archaeological evidence and will help round out the general depiction of the plantation.

The records from James City County relevant to Littletown in the eighteenth century no longer exist. Other documents do survive, including a set of plantation accounts and some probate information from Littletown, among other records. I have used archaeological evidence as a primary historical source in its own right, and I hope that one result of this thesis will be to show the amount of information that can be derived from the combination of these disparate sources even when county records are no longer extant.

The author wishes to thank the staffs of the Research Department of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and of the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission for their great helpfulness and patience while I investigated the documentary and material evidence concerning Littleton. I am indebted to Dr. William Kelso of the Landmarks Commission for "sharing" Littleton with me and for sharing also his knowledge of the Kingsmill digs and of colonial archaeology in general. The enthusiasm, criticism, suggestions, and encouragement of Dr. George M. Curtis were of tremendous help to me in the completion of the thesis. A special debt of appreciation is due Professor Thad Tate for his direction of the project and his unflagging interest in it from the beginning. Thanks also to Betsy August McClure for typing the final manuscript and for her constant support. The errors in research or interpretation that may remain in the thesis despite the contributions of these many knowledgeable people are of course mine and not theirs.

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Following Page
1. Summary of Shares Received by Overseers of James Bray III, 1740-1744 . . . . .	43



LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Following Page
1. Bray Plantation and Vicinity (Source: USGS survey map, Hog Island quad; Desandrouins, <u>Carte des Environs de Williamsburg</u> ; Fry and Jefferson, <u>Map . . . of Virginia</u> ) . . . . .	9
2. The Family and the Land. . . . .	13
3. Littletown (Source: Desandrouins, <u>Carte des Environs de Williamsburg</u> ; Berthier, "Environs or Williamsburg;" and information furnished by Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission) . . . . .	20
4. Building Location (Source: Plans of Littletown site drawn by Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission). . . . .	22
5. Domestic Goods from Littletown (Photo courtesy Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission). . . . .	26
6. Bray Crest (Photo courtesy Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission). . . . .	30
7. Bray Family Crest (Photo courtesy Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission). . . . .	30
8. Wine Bottle Seal (Photo courtesy Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission). . . . .	33

## ABSTRACT

This study is intended to provide a detailed examination of Littletown, a plantation located on the James River in the first half of the eighteenth century. The first chapter of the thesis describes the economic framework within which tobacco plantations operated; then the second chapter describes Littletown and discusses its history as a plantation. Both documentary and archaeological evidence is used in this discussion.

The next chapters examine the operations of Littletown, concentrating on the tenures of James Bray II, who occupied the estate from 1700 to 1725, and James Bray III, who ran the plantation from 1736 until 1744. Littletown's organization and management were typical of those of tobacco plantations--including the property's division into quarters, the supervision of slaves by overseers, and the keeping of ledger accounts by the planters. However, activities on the estate also involved operations other than tobacco production. Wood, meat, grain, shoes, and bricks were among Littletown's products.

Littletown is important because it provides a detailed view of a plantation's activities during a significant period. Its example is particularly useful for an examination of the relationship between tobacco and nontobacco production on the plantation. Such examinations can say a great deal about the true nature of "self-sufficiency" and "diverse" activity, about the development of regional and local economies, and about the decreased dependence upon tobacco as the sole staple product of Tidewater plantations.

LITTLETOWN PLANTATION,

1700-1745

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION: PLANTATION ECONOMICS

During the first half of the eighteenth century the primary crop of Tidewater Virginia was, as it had been for a century, tobacco. Plantations were the large production units capable of marshaling sufficient land and labor to produce this staple crop.<sup>1</sup> Tobacco economics also required mechanisms for credit, bookkeeping, and capital. All plantations in the early part of the century were part of a larger economic sphere that directly affected them at all times, and that economy was specifically oriented to the production, transportation, and distribution of the staple crop. During the eighteenth century, however, greater diversification of plantation activity replaced the reliance on a single staple commodity. An economic system that was structured for single crop production became the basis for more varied activity on some plantations.

The credit system of the plantation's economic sphere was based on tobacco. Credit was a necessary device in colonial Virginia, where currency and capital in general were in

---

<sup>1</sup>Aubrey C. Land, ed., Bases of the Plantation Society (Columbia, S.C., 1969), 43; Lewis Cecil Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860 (Washington, D.C., 1933), I, 302.

short supply. Capital was needed to buy slaves, land, and tools, to maintain the plantation while it produced the market crop, and to provide for any expansion of activity. Credit mechanisms were what allowed most planters to operate. Such credit was essentially of two types. One type was tied to a capital base in England and was founded on the sale of tobacco through British merchants. The other segment of credit was based on capital owned in the colonies. Land and slaves were the usual form of capital in Virginia. Both of these types of credit favored the wealthiest planters, those with large amounts of capital themselves and strong ties to England. The large planters often provided credit for others. They marketed tobacco for smaller producers and covered the less wealthy with their own credit until the year's crop was produced. In effect a vast credit system existed whereby people bought from merchants on credit, sold tobacco to get credit, and for the most part dealt with one another through credit. All of this activity depended upon the annual production of a tobacco crop for sale.<sup>2</sup>

Certain bookkeeping methods were employed to record this economic system. The kinds of records kept included ledgers, account books, fee books, memorandum books, day books,

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<sup>2</sup>Gray, History of Agriculture, 409-433; James H. Soltow, The Economic Role of Williamsburg (Williamsburg, Va., 1965), 128-132; Aubrey C. Land, "Economic Behavior in a Planting Society: The Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake," Journal of Southern History, XXXIII (1967), 478-479; Arthur Pierce Middleton, Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era (Newport News, Va., 1953), 93-132.

waste books, journals, and specific accounts for specialized portions of an operation. Most business accounts of the period were recorded in the same general manner, dictated by common practice at the time, despite their specific purpose. A left-hand column, often the left page of a two page folio in the book, was labelled "Dr," "disbursements," "payments," or some similar way to show outflow or "debits," while the right page was called "Cr" or "Credit" to record what came in. Sometimes accounts were recorded by date and then transferred to another book listing them by the persons' names. It was also often the practice to draw up totals for debits and credits at the end of a year to see one's profit or loss. Accounting practices were not formalized, so recordkeeping varied from individual to individual. The debit-credit system was a practical means for most people to keep accounts, for it told them who owed them what, what they owed others, what they owned, what they sold, and what their profit or loss was.<sup>3</sup> These accounting methods when coupled with the existing credit situation led to a system of "bookkeeping barter." By this system cash was not exchanged so much as obligations, goods, and services, and transactions were recorded as a debit or credit for each individual involved.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup>Albert F. Voke, "Accounting Methods of Colonial Merchants in Virginia," Journal of Accountancy, XLI (1926), 1-11; William G. Shenkir et al., "Thomas Jefferson: Management Accountant," Journal of Accountancy, CXXXIII (1972), 33-47; G.E. Mingay, English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century (Toronto, 1963), 174-175.

<sup>4</sup>Soltow, Williamsburg, 125.

An obligation showing on someone's books was often as effective as cash in both day to day and long term transactions.

In order to manage large and scattered acreages, Virginia tobacco planters generally divided their production into manageable units. Each piece of land would have its own group of slaves who lived in a "quarter" and worked the fields. The term "quarter" is often used to refer to the secondary estates or plantation subunits themselves as well as the slaves' residences on them. Quarters were usually supervised by overseers, employees of the planter who were responsible for working the slaves and producing the crop on their quarters.<sup>5</sup>

Overseers often were paid by a system of shares whereby the overseer received a part of the crop he produced. The proportion of the total crop that he received was generally based on the number of men working under him. Draft animals were on some occasions included as part of the share count, while slave boys might count as half a share each. The system was a practical one designed to give the overseer a percentage

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<sup>5</sup>Avery O. Craven, Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860 (Urbana, Ill., 1925), 38, 60; Gray, History of Agriculture, 501-503, 545-546; Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Jefferson's Farm Book, ed. Edwin Morris Betts (Princeton, N.J., 1953), 148-150; Thomas Jefferson, Garden Book, 1766-1824, ed. Edwin Morris Betts (Philadelphia, 1944), 242; Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia, ed. Richard L. Morton (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1956), 52; Landon Carter, The Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778, ed. Jack P. Greene (Charlottesville, Va., 1965), all pertinent index references.

of his crop based on the labor needed to produce it.<sup>6</sup> Overseers might receive compensation in addition to shares, such as a cash salary, a house, firewood, or provisions such as pork, corn, or milk. Salaries for overseers are usually quoted as from £25 up, but these figures are commonly from the second half of the eighteenth century.

A basic understanding of the credit systems, bookkeeping methods, and use of overseers and quarters is essential to the study of any Tidewater plantation of the eighteenth century. These mechanisms all grew out of a practical need to manage staple crop plantations. They remained in use as the tobacco plantation began to diversify during the eighteenth century.

While the economic system based on tobacco was still the influencing economic factor on Tidewater plantations during the first half of the eighteenth century, changes were taking place that affected the activity of the plantations. There was during the century a trend toward greater diversification with a lessened dependence upon the single staple crop of tobacco. This was a natural diversification as opposed to the unsuccessful government imposed attempts of the seventeenth century. It was tied to a maturing of the economy, increased and more formalized trade, depressed tobacco markets, urbanization, and possibly soil exhaustion. It involved a change in the nature of local economies. Planta-

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<sup>6</sup>Jones, Present State of Virginia, 75; Craven, Soil Exhaustion, 38; Gray, History of Agriculture, 545-546.



tics that had been self-sufficient from necessity now became more interdependent with maturing local economies and towns. Some of the activities of self-sufficiency faded as their functions were replaced by sectors of the local economy. Other activities increased because they became a part of the local economic web of labor and services. This trend was paralleled by a slow shift away from tobacco as the single important crop and the foundation of the economy.<sup>7</sup>

If the export trade in grain is taken as the primary indicator of diversification, it would appear that the process of shifting into production areas other than tobacco began around the middle of the eighteenth century and was established by the 1770s.<sup>8</sup> Such a view is misleading, however, for diversification began earlier. In the 1730s and 1740s Governor Gooch reported exports of grain, beef, tallow, pork, and lumber products from Virginia. Production of these items for local and external markets was well underway by the second quarter of the century and expanded continuously to create the substantial trade with the West Indies and Europe of the 1770s.<sup>9</sup> Diversification essentially involved

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<sup>7</sup>John C. Rainbolt, From Prescription to Persuasion: Manipulation of Seventeenth Century Virginia Economy (Port Washington, N.Y., 1974); Soltow, Williamsburg; Lois Green Carr, "Ceramics from the John Hicks Site, 1723-1743: The St. Mary's Town Land Community," in Ian M.G. Quimby, ed., Ceramics in America (Charlottesville, Va., 1973), 80, 93-94; Gray, History of Agriculture, 442-444, 451-455.

<sup>8</sup>Such is the view of Gray and Soltow.

<sup>9</sup>Middleton, Tobacco Coast, 179-184. See also David Klingaman, Colonial Virginia's Coastwise and Grain Trade (New York, 1975).

the production for sale of items that tobacco plantations were already producing for their own internal consumption. The diversified plantation devoted more resources to these activities and began to produce marketable surpluses of pork, beef, corn, wheat, lumber supplies, and some kinds of services, for either local or export market consumption.<sup>10</sup> The self-sufficient tobacco plantation itself thus became the basis for economic diversification, which began perhaps as early as the late seventeenth century and increased through the eighteenth.

Diversification was to some extent a long term economic trend that is difficult to define in terms of specific plantations. It is possible, however, to examine a plantation's economic activities for some of the more obvious indicators of diversified production, such as the raising of non-tobacco products for distribution outside the plantation. Littleton, a Bray family plantation, may be studied in such a manner. The problem in deciding whether a plantation was diversified is one of degree: how much surplus, how much interaction with the local economy constituted diversification? All tobacco plantations may have been undergoing some

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<sup>10</sup>See Carr, "John Hicks Site," 80, 93-94; note also Rainbolt's comment that 17th-century proponents of diversification were too deluded with an impression of Virginia's vast potential to see that diversification must come from "efficient marshaling of effort and resources in a limited number of economic spheres;" Rainbolt, Prescription to Persuasion, 169. Tobacco plantations themselves perhaps provided the "limited number of economic spheres" needed for diversification.

form of increased interdependency with the local economy. In addition, the individual economic situation or plans of a planter could have led to activities on a plantation that were not part of the general economic trend.

Several things could have been happening at Littleton in the first half of the eighteenth century to influence its economic relationship with the world. Littleton could have represented a perpetuation of the system whereby tobacco was the only real end and apparent diversified activity was simply the normal activity of a self-sufficient commercial plantation unit. Or, it could have been a part of the trend of true diversification, with an economic mix influenced by the local economy and by the presence of Williamsburg nearby. In that case it was moving away from self-sufficient tobacco production toward interdependence with a broader based economy. Of course the individual planter's financial solvency, abilities, whims, foresight, or conservatism inevitably influenced the activities of any plantation. While a concrete answer may not be found, a look at Littleton's activities in the light of these factors will help in a better understanding of the plantation and the economic climate in which it was being operated.

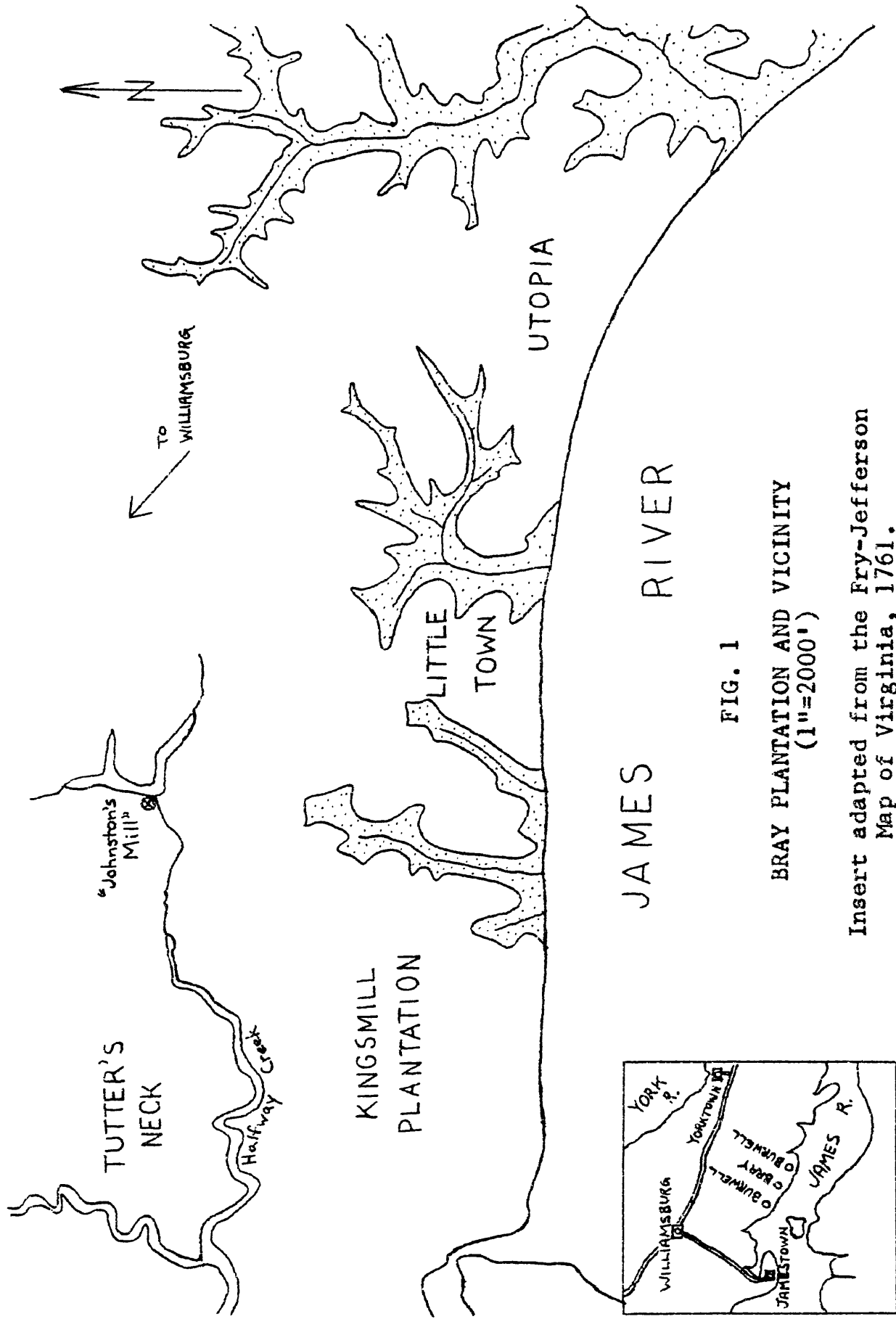


FIG. 1

BRAY PLANTATION AND VICINITY  
(1"=2000')

Insert adapted from the Fry-Jefferson  
Map of Virginia, 1761.

CHAPTER II  
LITTLETOWN AND THE BRAYS

Narrative Sketch

During the 1690s James Bray, the second Virginia Bray of that name, married Mourning Glenn Pettus, widow of Thomas Pettus of Littletown plantation. In 1700 the Pettus children confirmed Bray's title to Littletown for the consideration of five shillings and the rent of one ear of Indian corn a year, payable only when demanded. This release deed gave Bray ownership of Littletown and Utopia plantations, adjacent tracts totaling some 1280 acres along the north side of the James River downstream from Jamestown. Utopia, the more easterly tract, was bounded by Warehams Run, while the western edge of Littletown lay against the Harrup estate toward what would become Kingsmill plantation. Littletown and Utopia were themselves separated by a wooded draw stretching from the James River in an irregular line (see fig. 1). The same deed also gave Bray title to a piece of land near "Rickahock path" in James City and New Kent counties.<sup>1</sup> Two eighteenth-century maps of Virginia, the Fry-Jefferson

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<sup>1</sup>Virginia State Library, Deed no. 24881, October 8, 1700; also transcribed as "An Old Record," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XLVI (1938), 52-55.

and that of John Henry, mark the location of Littleton as the center of three estates on the James River near Williamsburg labelled "Burwell," "Bray," "Burwell."<sup>2</sup> The plantations on either side of the Bray plantation were the Kingsmill home of Lewis Burwell and Carter's Grove, the estate of Carter Burwell.

James Bray II occupied Littleton for the first quarter of the eighteenth century. His tenure there was the first period of intensive activity at the plantation during the Bray ownership. He and his wife moved the central building complex of the plantation out onto the center of a ridge near the James River by building their house some 800 feet from the site of Thomas Pettus' house.<sup>3</sup> Much of the physical arrangement of eighteenth century Littleton was the result of the efforts of James Bray II, for he determined the house site and probably built the major structures during his life there. Bray was a member of the House of Burgesses, a justice for James City County, and one of the original aldermen of Williamsburg according to the city's 1722 charter.<sup>4</sup> Quit-

<sup>2</sup>Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, A Map of the Most Inhabited Part of Virginia (London, 1761); John Henry, A New and Accurate Map of Virginia (London, 1770).

<sup>3</sup>William Kelso, "An Interim Report on Historical Archaeology at Kingsmill: The 1972 Season" (unpublished report, Apr. 1973, available at Virginia Research Center for Archaeology, Williamsburg), 13.

<sup>4</sup>"Public Officers in Virginia, 1680," Virginia Magazine, I (1894), 233; "Public Officers in Virginia, 1702, 1714," Virginia Magazine, I (1894), 366; and continued in Virginia Magazine, II (1894), 6; William G. and Mary Newton Stanard, eds., The Colonial Virginia Register (Baltimore, 1965), 94; "The Building of Williamsburg," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st Ser., X (1901), 85.

rent rolls for 1704 list 3500 acres in James City County and 1400 acres in King William County under his name.<sup>5</sup>

James Bray II died in 1725. In his will he gave his daughter Elizabeth Allen the use of "Little Town" until his grandson, also named James Bray, became of legal age at twenty-one. Elizabeth also received full rights to an estate on the Chickahominy River called Rockahock, probably the property mentioned in the 1700 deed along with Littletown and Utopia. Bray gave his son Thomas, the father of the underaged James Bray III, another Chickahominy plantation along with some minor pieces of land, and asked that a house and some lots in Williamsburg be sold or otherwise disposed of. Both the land and the slaves at Littletown, and all other tracts not specifically willed to others, were to go to James Bray III when he came of age, and were to descend to "the Heirs Male of his Body lawfully begotten Forever."<sup>6</sup> Should the grandson die before reaching twenty-one, or should he die without a son, the property was to go to Thomas Bray and then descend to his heirs. This specific language of the will meant that Littletown, its slaves, and the other unspecified properties were thereafter entailed by law and

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<sup>5</sup>"Virginia Quit Rent Rolls, 1704," Virginia Magazine, XXXI (1923), 153, and continued in Virginia Magazine, XXXII (1924), 69.

<sup>6</sup>Will of James Bray, Nov. 18, 1725, recorded Mar. 14, 1726 in James City County; MS original in possession of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. An inventory without appraisal (no cash values for goods were given) listing Bray's personal property is included with the will.

could only pass to the mentioned heirs.<sup>7</sup>

Elizabeth Bray Allen was to retain the use of Littletown until James Bray III came of age as long as she paid the taxes on it and cared for the slaves and stock. Elizabeth had inherited other estates from her father, and sometime before 1732 Thomas Bray paid her £500 sterling for the usage rights to Littletown until his son should reach maturity.<sup>8</sup> In 1732 Thomas requested the colonial assembly to dock the entail on lands he had inherited as the last adult male of the Brays. Thomas claimed that several thousand acres had devolved upon him and he did not have the number of slaves required to work such extensive holdings.<sup>9</sup> A special act of Assembly was necessary to release any entailed lands for sale, and this Thomas requested on his own behalf and that of his heirs.<sup>10</sup> The Assembly allowed Thomas to sell certain minor tracts in four counties, provided that the money from the sales not exceed £2000 and that all of it be reinvested in slaves to work the remaining entailed lands.<sup>11</sup> Due to these specific conditions the Assembly required Bray to give an accounting of the sales, and apparently the government was

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<sup>7</sup>For a discussion of entailment see C. Ray Keim, "Primogeniture and Entail in Colonial Virginia," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d Ser., XXV (1968), 545-586.

<sup>8</sup>Colonial Records Project, British Museum Manuscripts, Lewis and Frances Burwell v Philip and Elizabeth Johnson, Additional Ms. 36,218, p. 140 (hereafter cited as Burwell v Johnson); Waverly K. Winfree, The Laws of Virginia, 1700-1750 (Richmond, 1971), 382.

<sup>9</sup>Winfree, Laws of Virginia, 381-384.

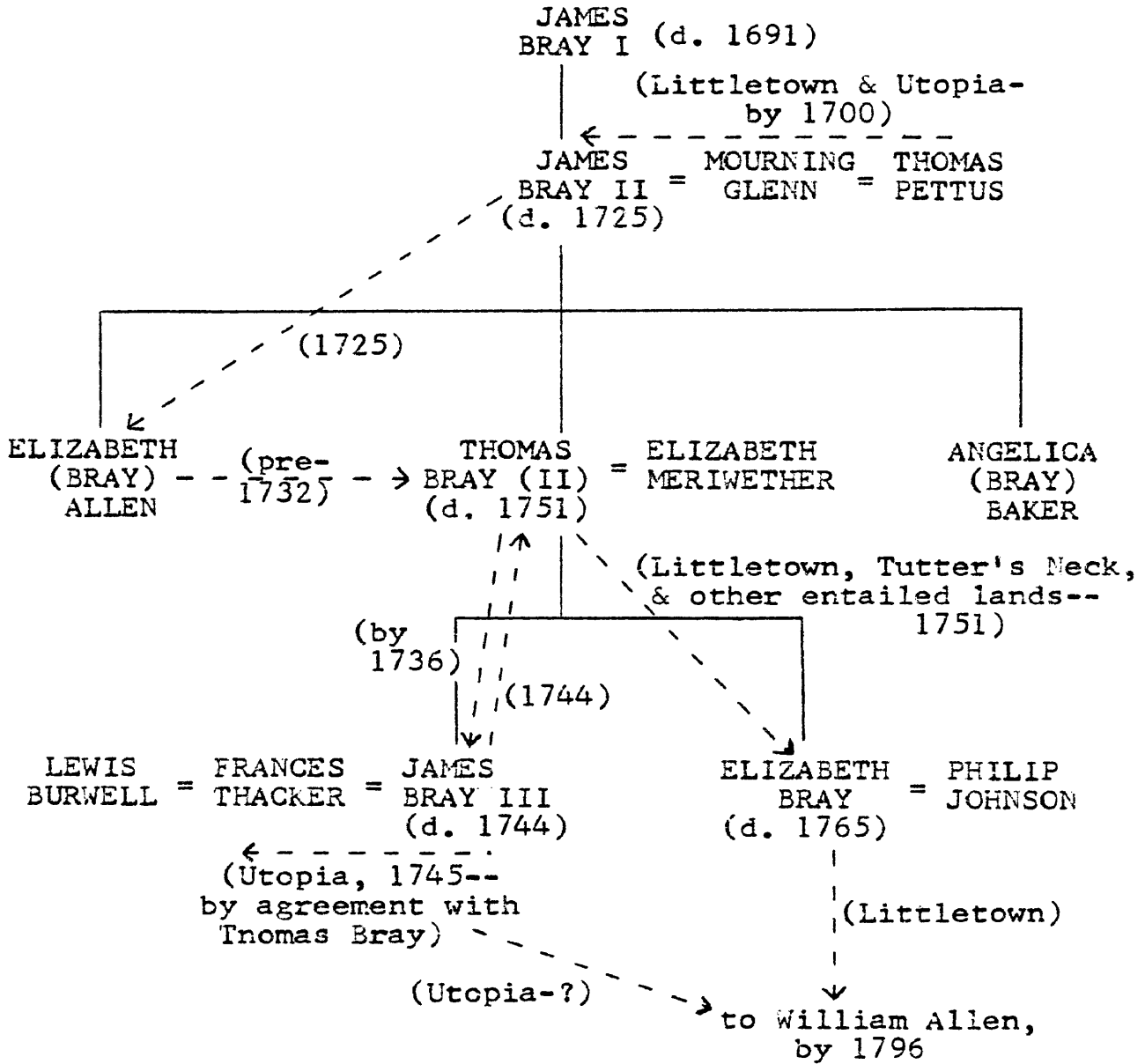
<sup>10</sup>See Keim, "Primogeniture and Entail," 569, 580-584, for docking of entail.

<sup>11</sup>Winfree, Laws of Virginia, 382-383.



FIG. 2

THE FAMILY AND THE LAND  
 (Simplified genealogy with chain of title)



not entirely satisfied with his accounts. At least two committees were appointed by the General Assembly to look into the matter. These committees reported that Thomas had not satisfactorily returned the land sales money into slaves for other entailed lands.<sup>12</sup> A similar claim was made by Thomas' son James, who in 1736 petitioned the Attorney-General for a Bill in Chancery against his father, doing so apparently as soon as he was legally of age.<sup>13</sup> The issue was still not resolved at that time.

James Bray III's year of birth is unknown, but in 1736 he sued for the Bill of Chancery, took over the direction of Littletown's operations, and served as an administrator of a Surry County relative's estate, implying that he reached legal adulthood in that year.<sup>14</sup> From 1736 until his death in 1744 James Bray III lived at Littletown and operated it as his home plantation. Like his Bray forebears he held positions of local social and political importance, serving as a justice of the peace for James City County, a surveyor of highways in York County, and a warden of Bruton Parish Church in Williamsburg. In 1740 he married Frances Thacker of

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<sup>12</sup>H.R. McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1727-1734, 1736-1740 (Richmond, 1910), 228-229, 330. One of the trustees appointed to supervise the sales was Samuel Cobbs; a wine bottle seal recovered at the Bray site was that of a Samuel Cobb, possibly the same man.

<sup>13</sup>McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses, 395-396.

<sup>14</sup>Mary A. Stephenson, "A Record of the Bray Family, 1658-ca.1800," (unpublished report for Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Sept. 1963), 15, 19; "Bray Family," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st Ser., XIV (1905), 51.

Middlesex County.<sup>15</sup> His period of residence at Littleton was the second and last period of intensive activity for the place as a Bray home plantation. After he died in September or October 1744 the executors of his estate held an outcry or general public sale of his personal property. Almost all personal property on the plantation, including livestock, household goods, and tools, were sold, leaving only the entailed land and slaves.<sup>16</sup>

Some clues to James Bray III's financial worth are available, but none of them are sufficiently concrete to give a very satisfactory answer. A notation in Bray's account book stated that the "Amount of the Appraisement of Mr. Brays Estate" was £670 12s 11d.<sup>17</sup> The note likely refers to James Bray III, since his executors used the ledger to record the sales of his personal property. The notation does not state whether the appraisement was made before or after

<sup>15</sup>"Virginia Council Journals," Virginia Magazine, XIV (1906), 21; York County Wills and Inventories, Book no. 18, 1732-1740, p. 479, Book no. 19, 1740-1746, pp. 65, 80, 90; "Marriage Bonds in Middlesex County," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st Ser., IV (1895), 121.

<sup>16</sup>Burwell Papers, Ledger One, 1736-1746 (James Bray ledger), MS original in possession of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Hereafter cited as Bray Ledger. Bray's own folio pagination will be used for specific citations from the ledger. The executors' sales accounts follow Bray's own accounts, on fol. 100-123. See also Virginia Gazette, May 9, 1745, p. 4, and June 6, 1745, p. 4. Bray's executors were Carter Burwell, William Prentis, Frances Bray (the widow), and Edwin Thacker (her father). Bray's will was dated Sept. 2, 1744: see Burwell v Johnson, 139.

<sup>17</sup>Bray Ledger, final folio (unnumbered). The notation is amidst hundreds of scratchings and figurings--the folio was used as a scratch pad by everyone using the ledger, including members of the Burwell family who used the second half of the book for their own accounts later in the century.

the sale of personal property from Bray's estate, or whether it allows for the settlement of debts due from the estate.

The amount paid by the executors for debts due from the estate, including payment of some bonds and bills of exchange, overseers' tobacco shares for the year, and other "book debts," totaled about £1437. All of the money received for goods at the outcry and other sales came to around £1427. Due to illegibility of figures in the executors' lists both of these totals are probably slightly incorrect, and they should no doubt be equal. Therefore the executors took in roughly £1430 from personal property sales and paid all of it out again into the payment of debts outstanding against the estate.<sup>18</sup> Other debts could have been outstanding from the estate, but since the executors could pay out no more than the £1430 or so that they received, they recorded no other debts in their figures. The amount received from the sales shows something of the actual value of Bray's moveable personal property and is in that sense a more reliable figure than the £670 "appraisement" total.

Statements by people who knew Bray suggested that he was concerned about debt. Bray's contemporaries indicated that James' problem was akin to that of his father Thomas: the land and the slaves were almost all entailed so that none could be sold. Unable to liquidate the entailed property to

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<sup>18</sup>These executors' lists appear at the rear of Bray Ledger; all are unnumbered except for one which bears the folio number 124 even though it does not directly follow fol. 123, the last folio of executors' sales accounts.

convert it into useable capital, James was obliged to pay taxes and upkeep on land that was too extensive to be profitably managed. Bray may have tried brickmaking as a venture to raise money to pay debts. He also consulted Benjamin Waller, a prominent attorney, about the possibility of letting a court judgment go against him so that the sheriff could impound entailed slaves, preferably old ones, to cover debts. Waller advised Bray that the sheriff would have to seize any available personal property, such as cattle, before he could take entailed slaves. The sale of Bray's personal property after his death supports the theory that Bray was in debt, for the executors sold off a tremendous amount of goods, apparently everything that was not nailed down or entailed. As stated above, every bit of the proceeds of those sales was paid out to discharge debts. Frances Bray, James' widow, may have known that Bray's personal goods would all be sold to pay debts. Hearsay reports claimed that Frances smuggled a wagonload of furnishings from Littleton to her father's plantation after Bray died and before the outcry was held.<sup>19</sup>

James Bray III had no children, so in his will he attempted to leave everything to his widow, Frances. Due to the entailment created by the will of James Bray II, however, the Bray properties and slaves reverted to Thomas Bray,

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<sup>19</sup>For statements concerning Bray's possible debt, see: Burwell y Johnson, 138-143. Unnumbered executors' accounts at rear of Bray ledger indicate that £609 was paid out to satisfy six different judgments against the estate; another £474 was paid out to satisfy bonds to John Baskerville, John Walker, and "Mrs. Tute"(?).

James III's father, who again found himself the sole male heir of the family's land. When Thomas died in 1751 the male Bray line was buried with him, so the bulk of the property went to his daughter Elizabeth and her husband, Philip Johnson. In 1745 James Bray's widow, Frances Thacker Bray, married Lewis Burwell of the Kingsmill plantation adjacent to Littletown.<sup>20</sup> Soon after their marriage the Burwells filed suit in an attempt to dispute the entailment of the Littletown slaves by the 1725 will of James Bray II. The dispute was heard by the General Court of Virginia, whose records on the case are lost. The court ruled against the Burwells, who appealed to the Crown.<sup>21</sup>

Frances and Lewis Burwell first brought suit against Thomas Bray, then filed against Philip and Elizabeth Johnson after Thomas' death. In their suit the Burwells tried to persuade the courts that slaves were personal rather than real property and could not be entailed by James Bray II's will. That will and two acts of 1705 and 1727 were at issue. If the Burwells could convince the courts that Littletown's slaves were not entailed, then by James Bray III's will Frances would be entitled to the slaves that had passed with the

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<sup>20</sup>"Marriage Bonds in Middlesex County," 121. James Bray III's will has not survived.

<sup>21</sup>For information on the litigation see: *Burwell v Johnson*, 138-143; Colonial Records Project, Public Records Office, Privy Council, Petition of appeal of Lewis Burwell, Apr. 14, 1759, PRO/PC 2/106, Survey Report 6108, p. 487 (hereafter: *Petition of Lewis Burwell*); and Public Records Office, Privy Council Registers, 1738-1778, PRO/PC 2/109, Survey Report 6111, pp. 130-135 (hereafter: *Privy Council Registers*).

land to Thomas Bray and the Johnsons. The suit was rejected by the Privy Council as it had been by the General Court of Virginia.<sup>22</sup>

Littleton and its sister estate of Utopia were split after the death of James Bray III. Some four months or so after Bray died his widow made an agreement with Thomas Bray whereby she was to take Utopia and twenty-seven slaves in lieu of her dower rights.<sup>23</sup> She also took two of eight slaves that Thomas had in his possession along with £125 that he still had on hand from the sale of entailed lands beginning in 1732, but had never reinvested into slaves. With this agreement Utopia was separated from Littleton and went to the Burwell family. Littleton meanwhile came under the ownership of Philip Johnson and his wife. The Johnsons, like Elizabeth Bray Allen earlier in the century, owned other estates besides Littleton, and there is no evidence that they lived there. Overseers or tenants therefore probably occupied the property, and Littleton remained a secondary plantation without resident owners for the rest of its existence. By 1796 it had been acquired by William Allen.<sup>24</sup> The tract Allen got included 1280 acres, the same size as the combined

<sup>22</sup>For a summary see Joseph Henry Smith, Appeals to the Privy Council from the American Plantations (New York, 1950), 504-506.

<sup>23</sup>Burwell v Johnson, 139. A widow was usually entitled to one third of her husband's estate as her dower right; see Robert E. Brown and B. Katherine Brown, Virginia 1705-1786: Democracy or Aristocracy? (East Lansing, Mich., 1964), 55.

<sup>24</sup>Kelso, "The 1972 Season," 9; Stephenson, "Bray Family," 21.

Littleton-Utopia properties acquired by James Bray II in 1700. At some point in the second half of the eighteenth century, then, Utopia was rejoined to Littleton, perhaps through sale from the Burwell family to the Johnsons.

Historical sources tell almost nothing about the plantation after mid-century. Maps drawn by military cartographers during the American Revolution, in general noted for their detail and accuracy, show at most three buildings standing there in 1781. Judging from their location those structures could have been the main house and two other buildings to the north.<sup>25</sup> Archaeological evidence confirms that the mansion and two buildings north of it were indeed probably standing when the maps were drawn. In 1820 six-tenths of the total appraisal value of the property was for a mill, so no other major buildings stood at that time, and

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<sup>25</sup>Louis-Alexandre Berthier, "Environs of Williamsburg," (unfinished map), in Howard C. Rice, Jr., and Anne S.K. Brown, trans. and eds., The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army (Princeton, N.J., and Providence, R.I., 1972), II, map 91; Carte de la Campagne de la Division aux Ordres du Mis. de St. Simon, (cartographer unknown), orig: Newberry Library, Chicago; Chantavoine, Carte de la Virginie, orig: Paris; Desandrouins, Carte des Environs de Williamsburg, Library of Congress, Rochambeau collection, no. 57; Pechon, Carte de la Campagne Faite en Virginie, orig: Paris; G. Spencer, Landing at Burrell's, April 17, 1781, several versions in Simcoe Papers at Colonial Williamsburg, maps no. 61-207, 61-210, 61-53, and 63-25c. Copies of all maps are available at Research Dept. of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Not all these maps show buildings at Littleton. The "Little Town" on the Desandrouins map is not the plantation recovered archaeologically; Desandrouins' "Little Town" is located where the Anheuser-Busch brewery on Route 60 near Williamsburg now stands, so its nature is unknown, although it was relatively close to Bray's Littleton as discussed in this essay.



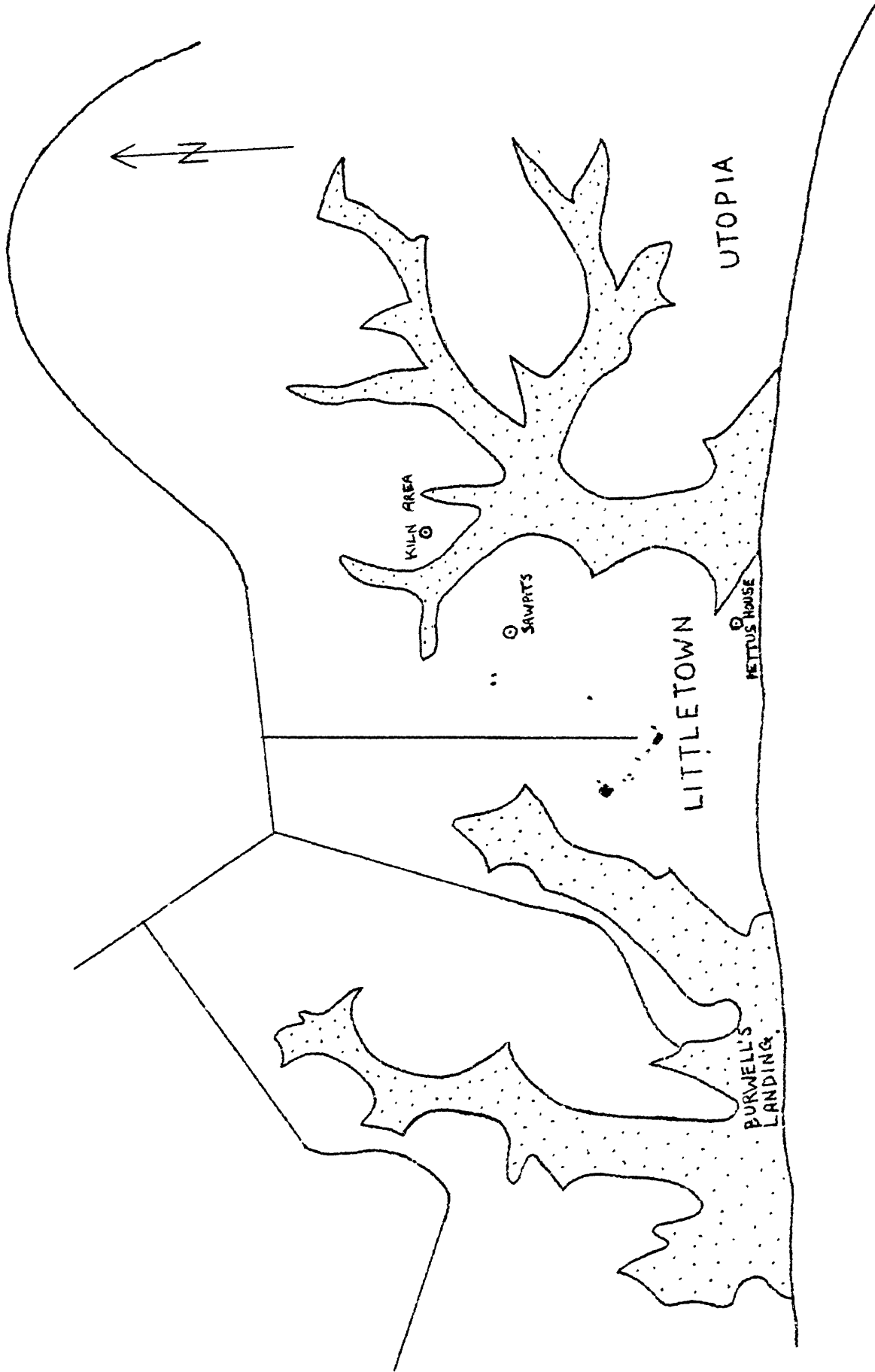


FIG. 3

LITTLETOWN

(1"=1000')

archaeological data shows that the main house did not survive into the nineteenth century.<sup>26</sup>

Littletown's life as a working home plantation of the Bray family was confined to the first half of the eighteenth century. Specifically the tenures of the last two James Brays during the 1700 to 1725 and 1736 to 1744 years marked the periods of the most important activity at the plantation. After mid-century the estate was no longer a central home plantation and it fell into decline as a secondary property under nonresident owners.

#### Material Aspects of Littletown

No one ever described Littletown plantation in writing. No one ever drew a picture of it or sketched a plan of its buildings. The maps that do show the area in detail show only the few structures left standing thirty-five years after the estate ceased to be a seat of the Bray family. As far as documentation is concerned Littletown plantation was an area on a map, a tract of land delineated in colonial deeds by boundaries of marked trees. Documents give almost no information on the structural plantation, the houses, the farm buildings, or the location and arrangement of physical plan-

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<sup>26</sup>Kelso, "The 1972 Season," 10, 15-16, 21; William Kelso, "An Interim Report on the Excavations at Kingsmill Plantation: The 1973 Season," (unpublished report, Mar. 1974, available at Virginia Research Center for Archaeology, Williamsburg), 7-8.

tation features. Archaeological data does, however, give a partial description of the structural aspects of the plantation building complex at Littletown.

The main house or mansion of the Brays at Littletown stood along a ridge overlooking the James River (fig. 3). Since the earliest Virginia settlement plantations had been located on the water insofar as possible because of the necessity for transportation. In the eighteenth century this trend was maintained, but the aesthetic placement of the house overlooking the water became more of a matter of concern than it had been earlier.<sup>27</sup> The placement of the eighteenth-century Bray mansion out along the ridge away from the earlier Pettus house site was in keeping with this tendency to use care in selecting a mansion's location. The Bray house and its dependencies were also much more aesthetically and formally arranged than the more randomly placed seventeenth-century farmstead of Thomas Pettus. Artifacts and structural evidence show that the Bray house was built during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. This date would place it within the tenure of James Bray II, so this was the home he built after marrying Pettus' widow and acquiring Littletown in the last decade of the seventeenth century. James and Mourning Bray's house had a brick basement with a five room plan, end chimneys, and probably end walls of brick while the

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<sup>27</sup>Jones, Present State of Virginia, 73. Such tendencies also became common in the building of country estates in England; see Mingay, English Landed Society, 210.

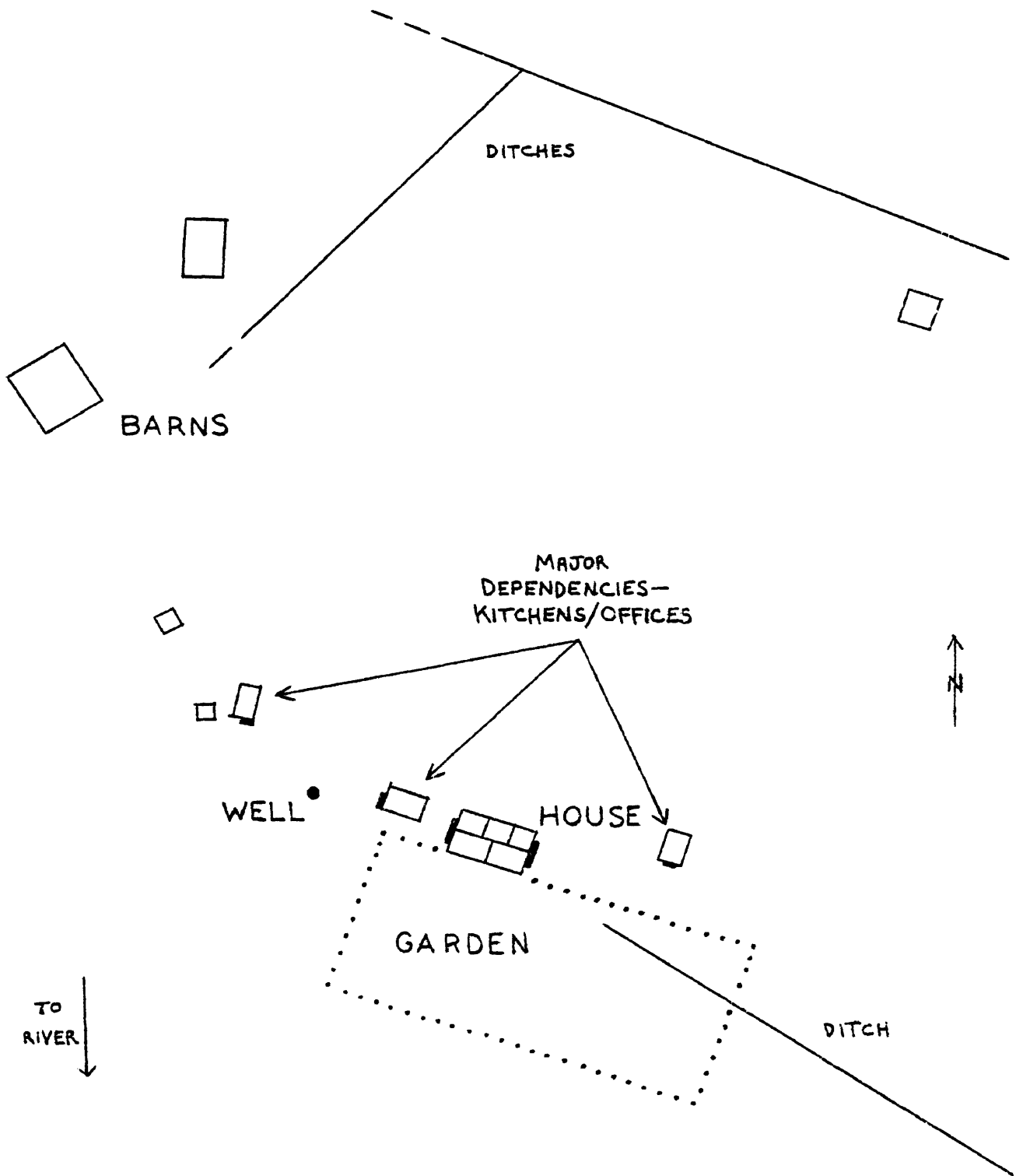


FIG. 4  
BUILDING LOCATION  
(1"=100')

rest of the building may have been of frame construction.<sup>28</sup> In general the home probably fitted Hugh Jones' category of "gentlemen's seats ... very handsom, commodious, and capacious."<sup>29</sup>

Three major dependencies stood close to the house (fig. 4). One of these was near the mansion and parallel to it in alignment. The others were at right angles to the axis of the house and advanced away from it on the "land side" to create something of a forecourt to the main dwelling. These secondary structures had brick fireplaces but were built of wood. They more than likely served as kitchen and office buildings.<sup>30</sup> The placement of these structures in relation to the mansion reflects the eighteenth-century trend toward formalism in architecture and building placement. The Bray home site demonstrates a concern with form in architecture that would develop more completely as the eighteenth century progressed.<sup>31</sup>

Artifact dating does not give a close date for the construction of any of the three dependencies. They date from the first half of the century, but may not be precisely con-

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<sup>28</sup>See Kelso, "The 1972 Season," 14-17, for a description and conjectural reconstruction of the house. This report by Kelso is a good summary of information about the archaeological features of Littletown to be discussed below.

<sup>29</sup>Jones, Present State of Virginia, 74.

<sup>30</sup>kelso, "The 1972 Season," 17-19.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., conclusion; see also relevant chapters in: Fiske Kimball, Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic (New York, 1922); Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture from the First Colonial Settlements to the National Period (New York, 1952); and Thomas Tileston Waterman, The Mansions of Virginia, 1706-1776 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1945).

temporary with the house. James Bray II may not have planned and built the secondary buildings near the house, and they could have been added individually as the need and desire for them, as well as the money needed to build them, increased. Such a pattern of construction was not uncommon -- main houses were often built first with dependencies following as needed.<sup>32</sup>

In addition to the three major dependencies the usual handful of minor service buildings stood in the house area. These smaller outbuildings, which fulfilled a variety of needs for storage, smokehouses, and so on, were more randomly placed than the more aesthetically important buildings. A fenced garden area enclosed 105 feet by 235 feet of ground on the "river side" of the house. The mansion's well was located near the house and contained a bricked chamber for storing foods and beverages some seventeen feet below the surface of the ground. Also near the house were trash pits for domestic refuse.<sup>33</sup>

Two barns stood to the northwest of the main house. At least one of them could be in association with the Bray plantation, although archaeological information can only date them to the colonial period in general. Farther away from the house area were two apparent sawpits, a brick kiln, and

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<sup>32</sup>Kimball, Architecture of the American Colonies, 78; Jefferson, Farm Book, 337-338.

<sup>33</sup>Kelso, "The 1972 Season," 19-23.

several hundred feet of field ditching, perhaps field boundary ditches.<sup>34</sup> The Brays also owned a mill at Littleton. Just under a mile to the northwest of the house area is Kingsmill Pond, and a French map of 1782 calls a mill there "Johnston's Mill." Since after mid-century the Bray lands devolved upon Elizabeth and Philip Johnson -- also spelled "Johnston" by contemporaries -- this mill is likely the Brays'.<sup>35</sup>

Finally, archaeological efforts recovered two eighteenth-century buildings north of the Bray house. Both had cellars, but their use is unknown. They could have been slave quarters or similar dwelling units. Artifacts show that they stood in 1781, so they may be the structures shown to the north of the house on military maps of the revolutionary period.<sup>36</sup> The plantation's tie to the outside world -- besides the river -- was a road shown on one map running north from the house, past the two buildings north of it, to an east-west road heading toward Kingsmill plantation.<sup>37</sup>

Domestic articles used at Littleton were also part of

<sup>34</sup>Personal communication from William Kelso and Landmarks Commission reports available at Virginia Research Center for Archaeology, Williamsburg.

<sup>35</sup>This is also the conclusion of Mary R.M. Goodwin, "'Kingsmill' Plantation, James City County, Virginia," (unpublished report for Colonial Williamsburg, Sept. 1958), 25n. See Desandrouins, Carte des Environs de Williamsburg, and fig. 1 above.

<sup>36</sup>Kelso, "The 1973 Season," 7-8. See maps cited in note 25 above.

<sup>37</sup>Berthier, "Environs of Williamsburg." The other maps of the period do not show the road, so it could be conjecture on Berthier's part.

the material culture of the plantation. The inventory taken after James Bray II died in 1725 and the accounts of personal property sales from his grandson's estate after 1744 listed many of the items used in the house at Littletown. Artifacts recovered from trash pits near the house, deposited in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, complement the written lists (see Appendices A, B, and C).<sup>38</sup> The documents record items such as silver, textiles, and furniture which were never thrown away or else only partially survived in the ground, while the artifacts give detailed information about pieces that were only counted, not described in detail, in inventories. Also, lists and inventories record what articles were on hand at particular points in time while artifacts are often the accumulated refuse of a long period of deposition. It should be noted that items recorded in sales accounts were probably not the articles that became artifacts in trash pits, although similar items from a set of glasses or dishes could leave evidence in both places. Taken together, the two types of evidence, material and documentary, give a good composite listing of the things used by the Bray households.

A large portion of the Brays' domestic goods consisted of utilitarian items. These included coarse earthenware milk pans and jars, metal pots, skillets, and kettles, bellows, bottles, andirons, trivets, pails, and linen sheets. Other

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<sup>38</sup>Will of James Bray, Nov. 18, 1725; the executors' sales accounts are fol. 100-123 of Bray Ledger. The trash





FIG. 5

DOMESTIC GOODS FROM LITTLETON (1st half of 18th century)

Clockwise from upper left: English white saltglazed stoneware tankard; Chinese porcelain bowl; wine bottle with Bray seal; English wine glass; brass keyhole escutcheon; copper knee buckle; English delftware plate.

furnishings demonstrate the variety and, to some extent, the quality of the domestic material culture of the Brays. The family owned chairs of camlet, leather, maple, and walnut, and walnut tables, in addition to the unspecified, "old" or "broken" furniture. They used candlesticks of silver as well as those of brass, and silver snuffers and diaper-weave linens along with the more mundane brass and coarse linen articles. The Brays ate and drank from Chinese porcelain, English Astbury ware, white saltglazed stoneware, silver tankards, several types of stemmed glassware, bottles with personal seals, and silver salvers; this was in addition to the pewter plates, German and English stoneware mugs, and several kinds of delftware.<sup>39</sup>

The material culture of one Bray quarter or secondary estate is also partially recoverable. Tutter's Neck, lying to the north and west of Burwell's Kingsmill, consisted of some three to six hundred acres depending on the time period under discussion. It was acquired by Thomas Bray through male inheritance and passed to James Bray III. As entailed property it passed to the Johnson family at mid-century.<sup>40</sup>

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pits examined for this discussion have excavation numbers KM9-10 and KM33-35. Special thanks go to Merry Abbott and the personnel of the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission lab in Williamsburg for allowing an examination of these artifacts, for providing information on the dates of these groups, and for vessel counts of ceramic and glass items.

<sup>39</sup>Refer to Appendices A, B, and C for lists of Bray household goods. For descriptions of ceramic and glass types see Ivor Noël Hume, A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America (New York, 1972).

<sup>40</sup>William Waller Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia (Richmond,

Tutter's Neck was archaeologically excavated and so its material goods may be compared with those of the home plantation at Littletown.<sup>41</sup>

A small house and a kitchen building stood at Tutter's Neck. There were two periods of activity at the site, one under the original owner from 1701 to 1710, and one under Bray ownership from 1730 into the 1740s. The kitchen was built around 1740, during the Bray period. "Colono" ware, a somewhat crude form of pottery perhaps related to Indian wares, was probably used by slaves at the quarter. Pieces of Yorktown earthenwares, delftware, white saltglazed stoneware, porcelain, blue and grey German stoneware, and wine-glass stems indicate other sorts of domestic articles used at Tutter's Neck.<sup>42</sup> The quality and early date of some of the items, along with the amount of wear on them, led to the excavators' conclusion that some pieces must have been "hand-me-downs" from the planters, used by the overseer or the slaves at the quarter.<sup>43</sup> Also, in general description many of the articles are of the same types as those from Littletown itself. Perhaps a study of the two artifact assemblages together would produce a direct connection, such as similar

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1809-1823), IV, 371, VIII, 460-461; Winfree, Laws of Virginia, 381-382; John Pendleton Kennedy, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1766-1769 (Richmond, 1906), 279.

<sup>41</sup>Ivor Noël Hume, "Excavations at Tutter's Neck in James City County, Virginia, 1960-1961," in Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology (Washington, D.C., 1966), no. 249, pp. 29-72.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 47-49.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., 46, 55.

pieces from a distinctive set of articles.

To a degree it may be said that the Brays' social position was also reflected in their material life. The first James Bray, who lived at Middle Plantation during the second half of the seventeenth century, was a member of the Governor's Council and as such held the title "esquire." His descendants, the Brays who owned Littleton in the eighteenth century, never attained seats on the Council, but served as burgesses, vestrymen, and county officers. They bore the title "gentleman" after their names and also held militia ranks such as "colonel," "captain," and "major" to reflect their standing in the social and political community.<sup>44</sup> That status might be demonstrated by fine teaware and silver buckles as much as by office and title.

For example, the plantation itself was a material illustration of the status of the family within the local society. To the eighteenth-century landed gentry of England land and a "great house" on it as a family seat were important elements of the group's status consciousness.<sup>45</sup> In Virginia the pattern was similar with the addition of slaves as an item of value that increased wealth and status. In this

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<sup>44</sup>For the social significance of the posts and titles see: Louis B. Wright, The First Gentlemen of Virginia: Intellectual Qualities of the Early Colonial Ruling Class (Charlottesville, Va., 1964), 53-54; Jones, Present State of Virginia, 93; Brown and Brown, Virginia, 1705-1786, 34-38. For James Bray I's appointment to the Council, H.R. McIlwaine, ed., Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia, 1622-1632, 1670-1676 (Richmond, 1924), 401, 403; and Lyon Gardiner Tyler, ed., Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography (New York, 1915), I, 131-132.

<sup>45</sup>Mingay, English Landed Society, 3, 209-210, 217.

sense Littletown indicates that its owners were concerned with form and appearance and could afford to express that concern through the placement and size of the plantation's buildings. But in the eighteenth century such a concern was the common ideal of Virginia's planters as a group, so it says little about the Brays' position within that group.

Coats of arms also illustrate concern with status on the part of landed families in Virginia. Brass coats of arms from the Burwell and Bray families were found at Littletown, demonstrating in material terms the two families' perceptions of their position in local society. The inventory of James Bray II's estate listed two coats of arms among his possessions.<sup>46</sup>

Some articles might be thought of as "high quality" items that could be considered determinants of status; silver, china, fine textiles and clothing, certain kinds of glassware or furniture, and ornate knives and forks might be such indicators. The problem with this approach is that ownership of such articles was not a strict function of wealth. For example, York County inventories recorded in 1739 and 1740 show that a number of persons worth more than £100 current money in personal property owned such items. However, the inventory of one man worth less than £77 in personal property listed a black walnut desk, two wigs, a silver

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<sup>46</sup>Wright, First Gentlemen, 60; Kelso, "The 1972 Season," 21; Kelso, "The 1973 Season," 8; Will of James Bray, Nov. 18, 1725.

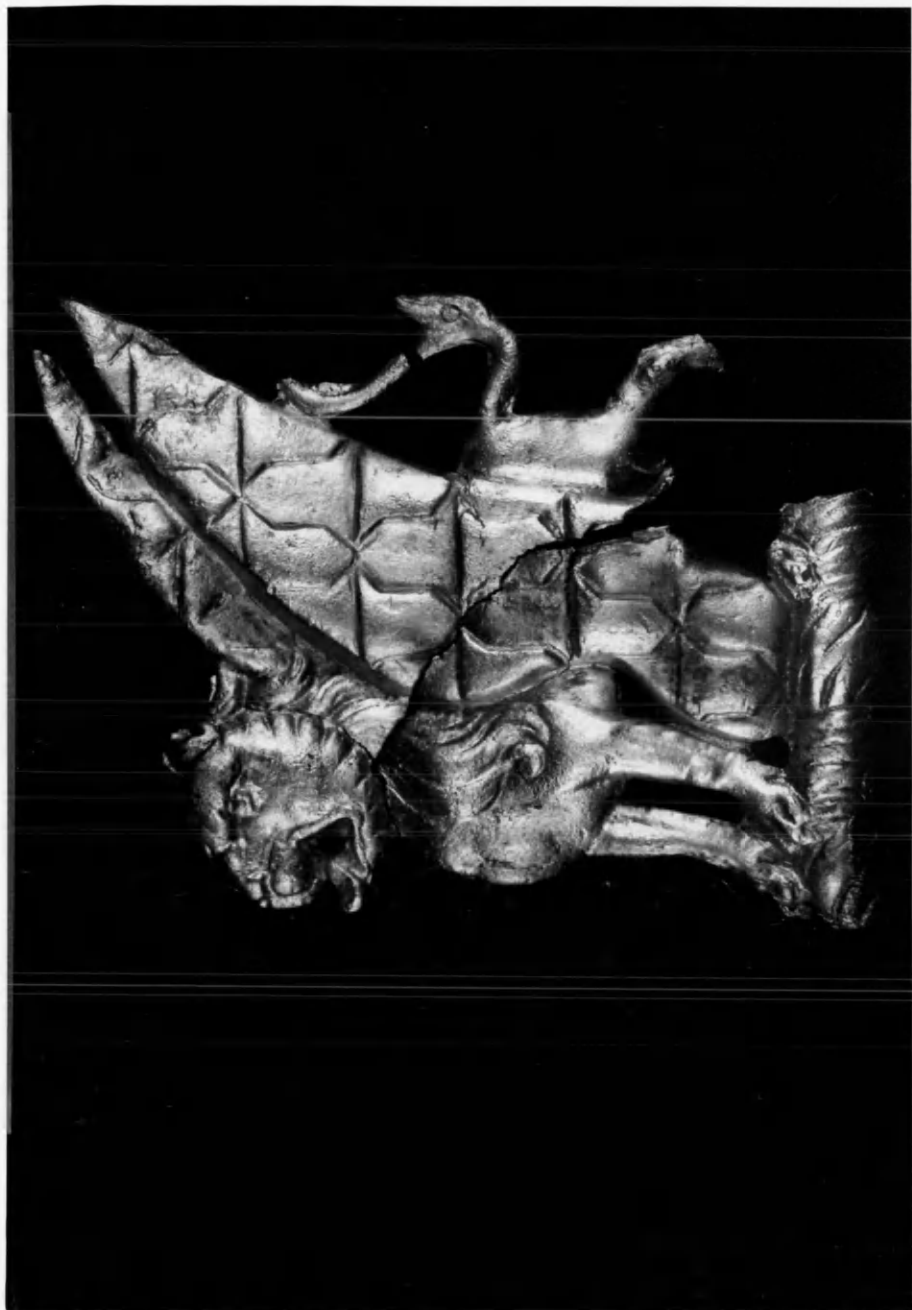


FIG. 6

BRAY CREST

As excavated at Littleton.



The Crest of Master EDMOND BRAY  
of Stoke D'Abernon, Co. Surrey  
as depicted on his Standard.

◆ ◆ ◆  
(Book of Standards, early 16th. century  
College of Arms MS. 1.2, folio 89.)

*Rodney Dennis*

College of Arms,  
London.

Somerset Herald of Arms  
February 1974

FIG. 7

BRAY FAMILY CREST

As recorded by the College of Arms.

watch, a silver snuff box, and silver shoe buckles, knee buckles, and neck clasp. Yet no silver at all was recorded on the inventory of a personal estate valued at over £558 current money.<sup>47</sup> Ownership of such "special" items could be affected by a number of factors, including the person's age, the size of his family, the inheritance of valuable articles, and individual tastes and preferences.

These factors make it difficult even to compare the "status" of James Bray II and his grandson through material culture. For example, James Bray II's inventory includes several items of silver. Friends and relatives asserted that his grandson owned silver plate of only "small value," and little of it appears in the executors' sales accounts.<sup>48</sup> Yet James Bray III owned several types of dishes and teaware, wine glasses and decanters, and furniture of walnut and maple, and may have owned more silver than that sold by the executors. Any differences in the material status of the two estates could be explained by the fact that when James Bray II died he was old enough to have a grandson, while James Bray III apparently never reached the age of thirty. Because comparison between the two estates is so difficult it is best to group them with the artifactual evidence and think of the lists as a conglomerate description of Littletown's domestic culture in the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

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<sup>47</sup>York County Wills and Inventories, Book no. 18, 1732-1740; see especially the inventories for Samuel Wilkin-son, pp. 503-504 and Robert Crawley, pp. 656-657.

<sup>48</sup>Statements about the worth of James Bray III's "plate" are in: *Burwell v Johnson*, 138-143.



While articles such as silver or china cannot be accepted wholesale as indicators of status, it is still possible to draw some general conclusions about the Brays' domestic material culture. James Bray II's clock, coats of arms, and even his pictures were relatively unusual items for a planter's inventory. In terms of quantity, few planters owned more than James Bray III's thirty milk pans or one and a half gross of tobacco pipes.<sup>49</sup> The number and variety of the Bray goods also serves as a very general indication that the family was materially better off than many. However, in hard terms this simply means that they owned items consistent with those of many other planters worth more than £100 or so in personal goods. The general "feel" of the number or type of a planter's domestic goods works only roughly as a guide to status relative to other planters in that group.

Material culture plays an important role in this study of Littletown, for no description of the plantation would be complete without a description of its structures and their placement. Also, when considered along with such factors as personal wealth, the size of the plantation, and social and political status, domestic material culture can help bring the lifestyle and position of the Brays into focus. The owners of Littletown were no longer "esquires," no longer the political cronies of the Governor or equal to him in material wealth. However, by no means would they consider

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<sup>49</sup>See again York County Wills and Inventories, Book no. 18, 1732-1740, for examples.

themselves the lowliest of planters, and the amount of land and the number of slaves that they owned, their worth in material terms, their social status, and their own conceptions of their place in society would tend to verify that assumption.



FIG. 8

WINE BOTTLE SEAL

Of James Bray (II), c. 1700-1725

### CHAPTER III

#### ORGANIZATION, MANAGEMENT, AND PERSONNEL

The only surviving business account record pertaining to eighteenth-century Littleton is the ledger kept by James Bray III from 1736 to 1744.<sup>1</sup> Bray kept these accounts himself without the assistance of a clerk or steward. The ledger was apparently the account record for both Littleton and Bray's secondary quarters, but this is not certain since Bray did not label entries as to their quarter or estate of origin. The book was Bray's main record for the plantation, for in it he recorded such things as signed settlements of accounts with employees. It may not have been the only account record Bray kept, for internal evidence shows that he must have kept other accounts of some sort for tobacco and perhaps for wood or other products.

In his ledger Bray was more concerned with knowing whether his debits were paid back than with recording the content of credit entries. As a result his recording of credits coming into the plantation was inconsistent. At one point Bray placed a memorandum in the ledger stating that he would use only an "X" in the margin to record a credit entry

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<sup>1</sup>Bray Ledger.

that paid off an existing debit.<sup>2</sup> He later changed his mind and crossed out the memo, however, and he recorded credits by "X" markings, by full credit entries, or not at all depending on his own particular needs. The account book therefore underrecords credits and makes it impossible to determine which debits were paid back to Bray and which were not.

Since Bray's accounts recorded information that was necessary to him for plantation operation, they do not record the total production of the plantation but only those items that were distributed to someone else in such a manner that Bray considered the articles as outflow or sales. Transactions that actually took place within the plantation, such as dealings with overseers, could therefore have been recorded as debits or outflow. Bray recorded entries under the names of the persons he dealt with, but often did not record the dates of the entries, making it impossible to determine what his business activity was on a monthly or even a yearly basis. To make matters worse, Bray did not make periodic cash statements recording loss and gain for each year or accounting period. It is impossible to look at the accounts and find the net worth of James Bray III, his debts or losses, his

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<sup>2</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 7. The memo reads: "It being Useless for Me that have so small accts. to keep Dr. and Cr. both I shall for the Future keep only Dr. and Distinguish Cr. by 2 lines Crossing each other as in H. Weatherburns Margin on the opposite page and either Bottom or Top a line in the Acct. to show how far Settled for I think it is every Mans Business to keep his Own Acct." Memo dated "January the 16 being Tuesday."

total production, his profits, or even his annual sales of most items.<sup>3</sup>

The accounts in the ledger nonetheless show Little-town's relationship with the local economy to some extent. In addition to accounts for tradespeople in the area, Bray recorded entries for such persons as "My Lady Randolph"; Benjamin Waller; John Baskerville, a planter; Edward Barradall, Attorney-General of Virginia; members of the Allen family tied to the Brays by marriage; the Burwells of Kingsmill; and Ellyson Armistead, a York County sheriff and justice distantly related to the Brays.<sup>4</sup> A separate study would have to be made to fully understand the extent of these account relationships. Some of the accounts tell about the social side of plantation business also, such as the entry showing Bray "won at Billiards 8 Barrils of Corn and 50/ Cash" from Dr. Henry Potter.<sup>5</sup>

The credit entries that James Bray III recorded were for a variety of articles. These included a few each of poultry, livestock, tools, hardware, household goods, and

<sup>3</sup>Mingay, English Landed Society, 175, mentions this problem in dealing with English estate accounts.

<sup>4</sup>Bray Ledger. For Baskerville see Virginia Gazette, Jan. 9, 1746, p. 4; For Barradall, "Journals of the Council of Virginia in Executive Sessions, 1737-1763," Virginia Magazine, XIV (1906), 21, and "Colonial Attorney-Generals of Virginia," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st Ser., X (1901), 34; for Armistead, "Armistead Family," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st Ser., VII (1898), 22, and "Will of Ellyson Armistead," Tyler's Quarterly, VI (1924), 253-257.

<sup>5</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 9. For Potter see Harold B. Gill, Jr., The Apothecary in Colonial Virginia (Williamsburg, Va., 1972), 54, 60.

miscellaneous items. They show some of the types of things that were part of the inflow into Littleton, but Bray's underrecording of credit entries makes this an incomplete picture. What does show up is the importance of book transactions and small exchanges within a local economy. For while only small numbers of credits fall into each of the categories of articles listed above, twenty-eight credit entries were for labor and services of various sorts, eighty-four were for cash, and an extremely large number were for financial arrangements such as the balancing of accounts, return of debts due, settlements of previous transactions, and so on. Many more recorded credits were of cash or paper transactions than of merchandise, especially when one considers credits marked as "X" notations beside debits in the ledger as transactions evening up book accounts.

Credit at the local level was in essence an exchange of small obligations. What Bray recorded as outflow or debits would show up on the receiver's books, if that person kept any, as credit from Bray. When anything went the other way the distributing person called it a debit while Bray recorded it as a credit opposite the original debit entry. Most paper transactions were to help even out these "debts" or obligations. Bray's ledger is full of small financial arrangements that fit into this pattern of a low level, local economy. A number of them involve people of less wealth than Bray, including his employees. There are hundreds of entries in the ledger for small loans, cash advances, and "assumsits"

and "notes" whereby a person could obtain goods or services on Bray's credit with tavernkeepers, merchants, apothecaries, and others in the area.<sup>6</sup> In effect a number of people were given greater access to the local economy through Bray's business connections and credit.

The Bray properties, like those of other planters of the day, consisted not of one huge tract of land but rather of scattered plots known as quarters. The inventory of James Bray II's estate listed the number of slaves and livestock at each of Bray's quarters. After slaves and stock were listed for "Little Town," stock only was given for Debb's Quarter and Jacko's Quarter. Slaves named Debb and Jacko were also on the Littletown list.<sup>7</sup> This arrangement indicates that the two quarters with those names were close to the main plantation area, for the slaves working those quarters either lived in the central plantation area at Littletown or else lived close enough to be counted on a single list of "Littletown" slaves. It is likely that at least one of these quarters was in the Utopia tract adjacent to Littletown. The main house area was perhaps farmed separately with slaves listed under it in the inventory.

Six other quarters were named on the inventory. Their listings all follow the Littletown entries and fall under the

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<sup>6</sup>These included Henry Weatherburn and Mrs. Ann Pattison, tavernkeepers; William Prentis, Alexander Spalding and John Lidderdale, merchants and storekeepers; doctors Hay, McKenzie, Wharton, and Potter, apothecaries, all of Williamsburg; and other tradespeople.

<sup>7</sup>Will of James Bray, Nov. 18, 1725.



heading, "Negroes and Stock in Chickahominy." These quarters were named Rogers', Bridges, Dubblerum's, Nero's, New Kent, and Rockahock Quarters, and each had its own livestock and slaves.<sup>8</sup> It is not known whether any of these quarters were adjacent on a single tract of land, or if all of them were scattered pieces of land in the vicinity of the Chickahominy River. James Bray II willed the plantation "called Rockahock on Chickahominy River" to his daughter and another Chickahominy plantation to his son Thomas, so at least some of these six quarters were in those estates. The inventory indicates, then, that in 1725 James Bray II's lands were divided into six quarters on the Chickahominy, two quarters on the main home tract, and "Little Town" itself as the main core area of the plantation. The Chickahominy quarters were surely under overseers, or some of them under foremen who were part of the slave gangs. Since the other two quarters were close to the house and apparently superintended by slaves, Bray may have managed them himself, or again an overseer may have been responsible for them. There is no information available about Bray overseers during the 1700 to 1725 tenure of James Bray II at Littleton.

With James Bray III the problem is reversed. There is no list of quarters for the 1736 to 1744 period, but some information is available on the overseers. So the arrangement of production during that time period must be inferred

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid. The listings of slaves on the inventory will be examined later in this chapter.

from what data there is concerning the overseers. In his ledger James Bray III occasionally stated that a particular item was "from Eutopia," "from home," or "from Town," which appears to refer to Littleton. He also identified some articles by the name of an overseer, stating that they were "from Green," or Tureman, or Bryan.

The executors' accounts within the ledger also indicate that there were two major sales of personal property in November 1744, one at Littleton and one whose entries were labelled "Chickahominy," where livestock was practically the only type of property sold.<sup>9</sup> Thomas Bray was willed a Chickahominy River plantation by his father in 1725 and he also owned one there when he died in 1751.<sup>10</sup> James Bray III may have been keeping livestock on his father's estate. Another possibility is that the land went to James when he reached twenty-one and reverted to Thomas after 1744 since James left no heirs. James may have owned his own land on the Chickahominy as part of the unspecified tracts of land willed him by his grandfather. In addition to any land on the Chickahominy James Bray III also acquired an unspecified amount of land in King William County from his father-in-law. James also owned "several Tracts or Parcels of Land lying and being in" James City County, which would include Tutter's Neck.<sup>11</sup> James Bray III obviously owned a number of pieces of

<sup>9</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 100-123.

<sup>10</sup>Will of James Bray, Nov. 18, 1725; Virginia Gazette, Aug. 29, 1751, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup>Burwell v Johnson, 139, 140.

land of various sizes, much of it through "tail male" inheritance, but their locations and sizes, which of them he actively farmed with slaves and overseers, and which were covered by the ledger accounts, is unknown for the most part.

The overseers who assisted James Bray III in the managing of these properties are more easily identified. Certain people named in the ledger had long term relationships with Bray, with repeated settlements of their accounts, and also received a large variety of miscellaneous goods from Bray, as if he were their source of supply for even everyday items. For example, John Green appeared in the ledger beginning in 1740, and from 1740 to 1741 he received a large variety of goods including a mare and saddle, rum, cash loans, cloth, beef, and other articles. John Brown appeared in the accounts at about the same time, on the page following Green's accounts, and also received an unusually long list of miscellaneous goods. Significantly, Brown also got a horse and saddle from Bray.<sup>12</sup> Both Brown and Green showed up later in the accounts over a period of years with a variety of entries. Their account relationship with Bray shows that they were likely overseers, and one of them can be confirmed as such. John Green, Benjamin Tureman, and Augustine Brown were all definitely overseers for Bray, and there were probably others.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 15, 16.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., fol. 102; Burwell v Johnson. Augustine Brown also appeared as Orsin or Orssin Brown in the ledger; the fact that the same tobacco share was listed on fol. 69 of

Augustine Brown once stated that Green and Tureman were the overseers at Utopia and Tutter's Neck, but did not identify which man supervised which quarter.<sup>14</sup> The available evidence indicates that Green may have been at Utopia and Tureman at Tutter's Neck. Green was the only overseer identified as such in the executors' sales accounts, which may mean that he was at Utopia and so was the primary overseer for Bray, or at least the one closest to the main estate. The executors also allowed Green over £2 credit against his account "for your trouble in finishing the Crop at Little Town," meaning that after Bray's death Green came from his quarter to complete the harvesting and processing of the crops at the main house area.<sup>15</sup> In addition, as noted in chapter II, Thomas Bray gave Utopia to Frances Bray as part of her dower right, and she then married Lewis Burwell of Kingsmill. In the executors' accounts several entries may indicate that Lewis Burwell became Green's employer, suggesting that Green stayed with Utopia when it changed hands. In a 1745 entry, which probably dates after Frances' acquisition of Utopia and marriage to Burwell early in the same year, Green paid what he could for items bought from the estate with the remainder of his tobacco crop. The balance of what he owed was paid by Burwell. Then in 1746

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Bray Ledger under one name, and listed again under the other in an unnumbered executors' account, is the connection that ties both names to one man.

<sup>14</sup>Burwell v Johnson, 138.

<sup>15</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 68.

Burwell purchased the last head of livestock sold by the executors when he bought a steer "for Jno. Green."<sup>16</sup> As stated earlier, Tutter's Neck was entailed and so passed to the Johnsons after Thomas Bray's death, not to Lewis Burwell. As a further, although less definite, indication of the two overseers' locations, among the artifacts excavated at Tutter's Neck were several related to the production of small grains. These included sickle parts and an iron sythe handle.<sup>17</sup> Benjamin Tureman was the only overseer for whom wheat shares were mentioned in Bray's ledger.<sup>18</sup> Taken as a whole, all of this evidence indicates that Green was probably at Utopia and Tureman at Tutter's Neck.

James Bray III at times recorded overseers' shares in his accounts, usually because they could be used as a form of credit for the overseer in his dealings with Bray, just as a forthcoming tobacco crop could be used by a planter as credit with a London merchant. These entries with shares in them serve to identify other possible overseers, as well as providing clues to crop specialization among the quarters (see Table 1). If, for example, Green is assumed to have been at Utopia, then his shares reflect to a large extent what was grown there, and the same holds true for the other

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., fol. 102, 122.

<sup>17</sup>Noel Hume, "excavations at Tutter's Neck," 47-49, 60-64. For the idea of relating material culture to grain production see Carr, "John Hicks Site," especially 80, 93. For a further discussion of this relating to Littleton see chap. IV below.

<sup>18</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 41: "By your Share of Wheat . . . £--..12..4½."



overseers and their quarters.

In 1743 or 1744 John Green received a share and a half of corn, amounting to eight barrels plus four for his own home use. In 1742 he was allowed over £4 in credit for his tobacco, and in 1743 or 1744 he definitely received a share in tobacco. In each of the years from 1740 to 1744 he received a share of pork -- which could mean he was getting a percentage of pork raised on his quarter for market production, or could be part of a contractual agreement with Bray whereby Green simply got pork as a part of his salary. Green also was listed once as receiving a "part" of some butter, probably as part of his salary.<sup>19</sup>

Benjamin Tureman was listed once for shares of wheat, corn, and peas, and twice for tobacco shares. He also received a share of cider and brandy, and is mentioned in connection with a cider account in other listings. The executors also noted a wood share for him.<sup>20</sup> The executors gave Augustine or Orsin Brown a share and a half of tobacco, the only share recorded for him even though he was definitely an overseer.<sup>21</sup> William Bryan was listed twice for tobacco shares and once for wood.<sup>22</sup> A number of other entries indi-

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., fol. 15, 22, 34, 68, and unnumbered executors' account at rear of ledger.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., fol. 41, 80, and unnumbered executors' accounts at rear of book. The initial letter of Tureman's name is not always clear in Bray's accounts, but Burwell y Johnson, 141, spells it Tureman.

<sup>21</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 69 and unnumbered executors' account at the rear of ledger.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., fol. 17, 37. See chap. IV below for more on wood production.

cate that he was closely connected with wood production for Bray.

The ledger records one entry for a share and a half of tobacco for John Brown. The same year, 1742, he also received £12 a year in salary, and Bray charged him for a quart of rum drunk during the raising of a house for Brown. Yet it is not certain that Brown was an overseer. Executors' entries refer to a John Brown who was a wheelwright.<sup>23</sup> A John Brown also witnessed the 1757 will of Ellyson Armistead, who knew James Bray. Armistead's son was apprenticed to this John Brown, of Williamsburg, whose craft or trade was not specified.<sup>24</sup> Whether the John Brown who received shares from Bray was the same one who was a wheelwright is unknown. The name John could possibly have been a third name for the overseer called both Augustine and Orsin Brown. The fact that Brown, and even John Brown, was a common name makes it impossible to be certain of even the number of individuals appearing in the records with the same name. The same holds true for Andrew Anderson, who appeared fairly frequently in the ledger. The executors gave him £1 in credit "by sharing eight months," but what he shared or why is unknown. An Andrew Anderson sat on a grand jury for York County in 1744, and someone with the same name had a slave baptised in Bruton Parish in 1750, but this evidence explains nothing about Ander-

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<sup>23</sup>For Brown, see Bray Ledger, fol. 16, 26, 102, and an unnumbered executors' account at the rear.

<sup>24</sup>"Will of Ellyson Armistead" (see n 4 above); Burwell y Johnson, 141.



son's share relationship with Littletown or Bray.<sup>25</sup>

The entries concerning shares therefore show that William Bryan and a John Brown may have been overseers, and confirm that Green, Tureman, and Orsin Brown received shares as part of their payment. Green and Tureman's shares also reflect what was produced at Utopia and Tutter's Neck, while the other overseers must have grown the crops for their shares at other quarters. The ledger is spotty in its recording of shares: none were listed for before 1740, which could be significant, and not every overseer was mentioned for shares for every year. Most of the entries are for 1743 or 1744, though, so it is possible to see something of the kinds of crops Bray's overseers received shares of at one time, and by that information to see what crops were grown on the various sections of Bray's lands. Share entries also give some information concerning the extent of diversification on Bray's properties. Augustine Brown's shares (see Table 1 again) reflect a system of tobacco monoculture; those of John Green show a greater variety of activity; and those of Benjamin Tureman show even more diversity. The ledger accounts of shares indicate that any moves toward diversification at Littletown did not involve the entire plantation, but rather were limited steps concentrating on resources within particular portions of the estate under certain overseers.

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<sup>25</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 81; York County Wills and Inventories, Book no. 19, 1740-1746, p. 312; W.A.R. Goodwin, Historical Sketches of Bruton Church (Petersburg, Va., 1903), 154.

Besides overseers there were other people who were part of the organization of the plantation. They included slaves, indentured servants, tenants, and sometimes free white or black employees or temporary laborers. The functions performed by these people included field work, domestic and household duties, and semiskilled and skilled labor by smiths, coopers, carpenters, millers, and others.

Black slaves did the bulk of the work on Virginia plantations during the first half of the eighteenth century. They did the field work for the most part, worked as household and personal servants, and on occasion became skilled in a craft.<sup>26</sup> Therefore they were of great importance to the plantation's operation. The inventory of James Bray II gives a listing of all the slaves laboring on his properties in 1725. Among the slaves listed for Littleton itself, ten or eleven were men, ten to thirteen were women, three were called boys, and one a girl.<sup>27</sup> These twenty-four to twenty-eight slaves lived in the home plantation area. Some of them must have worked and possibly resided on Debb's and Jacko's quarters, for no slaves were separately listed under those quar-

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<sup>26</sup>Gray, History of Agriculture, chaps. XXII and XXIV; Jones, Present State of Virginia, 76; Russell R. Menard, "The Maryland Slave Population, 1658 to 1730: A Demographic Profile of Blacks in Four Counties," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d Ser., XXXII (1975), 29-54; Carter, Diary, passim.  
<sup>27</sup>Will of James Bray, Nov. 18, 1725. The clerk recording the inventory was not consistent in his use of commas, so it is at times difficult to tell if two names like "Flora Doll" represent one or two individuals. In addition sex must at times be inferred from the slave's name.

ters in the inventory. The twenty-four to twenty-eight slaves therefore worked two quarters along with a possible third area around the house, and in addition any household or skilled slaves at Littletown would presumably be on the same list.

As for the Chickahominy quarters, Rogers' had three men, three women, a boy and a girl; Dubblerum's had three men, two or three women, and perhaps an additional child; New Kent quarter had apparently three men and eight women; and Rockahock had three men and one or two women. Names given for Bridges quarter seem to indicate three males and ten females, while those for Nero's quarter show one or two men and three or four females. At both of these last quarters the word "children" follows the list, apparently showing there were children at the place in addition to the named adults, although it could mean that some of the last-named persons on each list were children.<sup>28</sup>

The Chickahominy quarters thus had groups of five to thirteen slaves each. All had women present, and at some quarters women outnumbered men. Children were definitely present at three of the quarters. Women and young slaves were also listed for Littletown. The presence of women and children indicates that some of Bray's slaves had a form of family life. The inventory also shows that some slaves had

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid. Since Bray's inventory was without assessment there are no cash values given for the slaves to help distinguish children from adults in the lists.

supervisory positions. A man named Dubblerum was among the slaves of the quarter of the same name, while a Nero worked at Nero's quarter. These men probably ran their own quarters as foremen without constant supervision by a white overseer. The Debb and Jacko of the Littletown group also must have had some supervisory powers or seniority within the quarters bearing their names. All told James Bray II probably owned at least seventy to seventy-five slaves, counting children.<sup>29</sup>

No comparable listing of Littletown's slave population exists for any other period. James Bray III's ledger only makes occasional reference to slaves, usually in entries for items like "Negroes shoes" or the hiring out of slaves. Three blacks were hired out for two days in 1737, one of them for two shillings sixpence a day, the others for one shilling and threepence a day. Slaves named Simon and Jupiter went to work for others at six months or a year at a time.<sup>30</sup> Bray's executors left no information on slaves, for the Bray slaves were entailed and could not be sold with the personal property of the estate.

What information there is on slaves in the period of James Bray III comes for the most part from the litigation over slave entailment instigated by Lewis and Frances Bray

<sup>29</sup>Ibid. See Menard, "Maryland Slave Population," for types of information on slaves that can be drawn from probate data.

<sup>30</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 3, 15, 31. See Gray, History of Agriculture, 565-567, for hiring out of slaves. A man named Jupiter and a boy named Simon appeared as slaves on James Bray II's inventory.

Burwell after Bray's death.<sup>31</sup> Despite the fact that the case concerned slaves, it gives relatively little information regarding them. The records of the case state that James Bray III owned "a considerable Number of Negro and other Slaves," but in fact the Burwells did not know the number of slaves they were suing for, and no estimate was made.<sup>32</sup> The records do say that "several of the said Slaves were Tradesmen and House Servants, no Ways concerned in the Crop," giving an indication of specialization and skills among Bray's slaves.<sup>33</sup>

Fortunately the slaves Frances Bray received as part of her dower settlement were named. Besides the two she got from Thomas Bray in the final settlement of the sale of entailed lands that had begun in 1732, Frances took some twenty-seven slaves with Utopia as her rightful portion of the estate. Judging from their names, sixteen or seventeen of the slaves were male and ten or eleven were females. At least two and possibly more were children.<sup>34</sup> Widows generally received a third of the value of the husband's estate, but it cannot be assumed that Frances got a third of all of James Bray's slaves -- she was due a third of the total value of the property, not a third of each separate kind of prop-

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<sup>31</sup>See especially *Burwell v Johnson*, 138-143; also: *Petition of Lewis Burwell*, 487, and *Privy Council Registers*, 130-135. Chap. II above contains more information on the case itself.

<sup>32</sup>*Burwell v Johnson*, 139, 140.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, 139; *Privy Council Registers*, 134.

erty. It also cannot be assumed that the twenty-seven slaves she received with Utopia were the resident slave force for that piece of property, although that could have been the case.

Indentured servants formed another group of people laboring on plantations.<sup>35</sup> At least one servant was bound to James Bray II, a man named Charles Rossett, for Bray's wife was charged by James City County justices for allegedly mistreating Rossett in 1706. A man named Robert Bell also was mentioned in regard to the incident, and he was an overseer, a foreman, or another servant who was ordered by Mrs. Bray to punish Rossett.<sup>36</sup> James Bray III's ledger gives evidence for one indentured servant, or perhaps apprentice, at Littleton during the 1736 to 1744 period, although there were likely others. The servant was Edward Heighns, who appeared frequently in Bray's accounts beginning in 1739 or 1740 and continuing through 1744. Evidence of an indenture is found in a memo in which Bray stated that a certain amount of money was what "I have paid for him [Heighns] since he was bound to Me." An executors' note referred to Heighns as "Mr. Blair's Miller, was at the time of this account Bray's serv[ant]." <sup>37</sup> Heighns was a skilled worker connected with

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<sup>35</sup>Gray, History of Agriculture, 503-507; Jones, Present State of Virginia, 87-88; Brown and Brown, Virginia 1705-1786, 53-54.

<sup>36</sup>William P. Palmer, ed., Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts, 1652-1781 (New York, 1968), I, 99-101.

<sup>37</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 27, 59.



two operations at Littletown. He received shares of meal and probably had a hand in its milling, as shown by the memo calling him a miller. In addition he was Bray's shoemaker, for several entries mention shoes made by him.<sup>38</sup>

Other persons who were part of the Littletown "community" also show up in Bray's ledger book. Manuell Rosararo -- whose name was spelled or misspelled a number of ways by James Bray -- was a tenant. He paid £3 rent annually for four consecutive years.<sup>39</sup> An executors' note may indicate that Rosararo was also a carpenter.<sup>40</sup> He paid off parts of his accounts with Bray by labor on several occasions. He also hired slaves from Bray at times. Rosararo appeared in the account book from 1736 on into the executors' accounts following Bray's death in 1744. Periodically Bray would draw up a formal memo recording the balance of the account at that point, and Rosararo, an illiterate, always signed with a cross. While Rosararo's connection with Bray is not obvious, other than the fact that he was a renter, their relationship shows how a tenant was often as closely tied to the planter as employees. The ties were in the form of a financial relationship extending over a long period of time. The

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., fol. 17, for his shares of meal. See chap. IV for more on Heighns' milling and shoemaking activities.

<sup>39</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 15, 26. This is an example of when the accounting methods of the time are sometimes confusing: Rosararo's rent entries are generally recorded, "To 1 Years Rent," in the debit column; this means that Bray was charging £3 against Rosararo's account to show the money was owed, not that £3 was paid out by Bray.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., fol. 63.

tenant was in a way as much a part of the plantation's internal community as an overseer or other employee.<sup>41</sup>

Robert Roberts' relationship to Bray and Littletown is unknown. Roberts owned a boat, and he was mentioned in a credit entry for the "ferridge" of horses and a letter. Yet if he was the person identified in one account as "Right Roberts my Miller," he may have had another function, as a miller. Robert Roberts was also one of the witnesses to Heighns' indenture, and Heighns was connected with milling for Bray. Whatever his vocation, Roberts shows up in the ledger primarily through financial relationships. A number of entries show Bray paying Roberts to cover other people's -- many of them Bray's employees -- small debts with Roberts, who comes off looking like a small time creditor of some scale.<sup>42</sup>

There are others who can be identified as part of the plantation's work force. In 1743 Andrew Lindsey was receiving annual wages of £10. Bray also paid Lindsey's county, parish, and "publick" levies for 1742 and 1743. Three credit entries show that Lindsey was a weaver, although that was not necessarily his sole function at Littletown.<sup>43</sup> Mary Cox and Elizabeth Hunley each earned £4 a year, and Hunley may have replaced Cox in whatever position they occupied. Hunley

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<sup>41</sup>Brown and Brown, Virginia 1705-1786, 23, 45-46; Mingay, English Landed Society, 271; Carr, "John Hicks Site," 77; Jefferson, Farm Book, 119, 166-169, 173, 183.

<sup>42</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 21, 27, 46, 66.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., fol. 24, 35.



also got a pair of English pumps through Bray, perhaps indicating that she was a household servant of some sort.<sup>44</sup>

Elizabeth Magregor was connected with Bray somehow, since he noted that "Betty came home again" in 1742, but her relationship to the plantation is not known. Bray also paid levies for a William Townley, whose position is again unknown.<sup>45</sup>

Several people were identified in the accounts as "the ditcher," "the gardener," and so forth, identifying more employees, or perhaps temporary contract laborers. One of these was Matthew English, "the Tanner," who could have tanned leather for Bray's shoemaking operation.<sup>46</sup> There is no indication as to whether English was a permanent employee or not.

There were no doubt others connected with the plantation who did not show up clearly as such from the account entries. The persons described in this chapter should however give a good general picture of the types of individuals constituting the Littletown work force. The slaves, most numerous of the laborers, show up only as names on lists, but something about the types of jobs they performed, their distribution on the various estates, and even their life at Littletown can be inferred from the sources. As for other classes of workers one of the strongest points to be made is

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., fol. 28, 57.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., fol. 18.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., E. Hunley account on fol. 57, M. English account on fol. 61, and entries mentioning a tanner on fol. 37 and 54; Heighns is connected with tanning on fol. 27. See also chap. IV below.

that they were all tied to the plantation owner financially, if in no other way. The Brays were sources of credit, bankers, managers, and property owners in their relationships with their permanent and semipermanent employees and renters. The free plantation workers were also tied to one another through assumpts, loans, and payments for one another's obligations. The planter was a key individual in this internal web of relationships just as he helped tie the people on his plantation to the local economy around it, for he was the plantation's bookkeeper. The chapter that follows illustrates the activities of Littleton and should help show the kinds of jobs some of these people performed within the plantation. Others besides those named in this chapter were certainly part of Littleton's work force, for the activities carried out on the plantation required specialized personnel, many of them no doubt slaves, who never appeared in the Bray accounts.

CHAPTER IV  
PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES

Staple Crops

The single most important plantation activity, indeed the original purpose of the plantation, was the production of staple crops for sale. This fact was as true for Little-town as for any other estate. Information on staple crops at the Bray plantation is available primarily for the 1736 to 1744 period, in the form of the accounts of James Bray III.

It is difficult to see Littletown's ties to the tobacco economy, for the means of marketing the Bray tobacco, to whom it was sold, and the credit relationships based on the sale of tobacco are unknown. The will of James Bray II mentioned a division of his debts and money in England, indicating that Bray had financial ties to England and dealt directly with British merchants.<sup>1</sup> Following the death of James Bray III in 1744 his executors recorded the sale of tobacco to four individuals, including a Yorktown merchant of the Nelson family and Lewis Burwell of Kingsmill. No

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<sup>1</sup>Will of James Bray, Nov. 18, 1725; see also William Woodford to Capt. James Bray, May 12, 1723, in Woodford Letterbook, original at Margaret I. King Library at the University of Kentucky, microfilm copy at Virginia Historical Society in Richmond.

year was recorded for these sales, so Bray may have made at least two of them, even though his executors entered them in the ledger after his death.<sup>2</sup> If so then it could show that Bray marketed at least part of his tobacco to other planters and local mercantile firms. If the executors made all of the sales after Bray's death, this conclusion would of course not hold true.

A list by Carter Burwell accounting for other money received by the executors mentions a little over £39 from Lewis Burwell "for a Bill of Exchange drawn on Mr. Edward Athawes."<sup>3</sup> Athawes was a London merchant who had financial connections with several prominent Virginians, including the Burwells, the Carter family, and Benjamin Waller.<sup>4</sup> The executors also paid £147 19s 3d to William Nimmo, a Williamsburg attorney, on a protested bill of exchange on the account of Robert Lidderdale. The fact that Bray's estate had to pay this bill of exchange could mean that Bray marketed tobacco through Lidderdale and had an account with him. An estate account of the period identifies Robert and John

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<sup>2</sup>Bray Ledger, unnumbered folio at rear of book with executors' account titled "Received for Tobacco." Tobacco was sold to "Mr. Nelson" on July 16, to Colonel Lewis Burwell on Aug. 6, to "Colo. Grymes" apparently on the same date, and to George Braxton on Oct. 29 -- the year is not given, but the July and Aug. sales could have been made by Bray in 1744 and recorded later by his executors.

<sup>3</sup>Bray Ledger, unnumbered folio at rear of book with executors' account titled "Money received by Carter Burwell on other Accounts." The fact that Burwell paid the bill would indicate that he, not Bray, had the account with Athawes.

<sup>4</sup>Virginia Gazette, (Rind) Nov. 17, 1768, p. 2; "Letters from Edward Athawes, Merchant, of London," Virginia Magazine, XXIII (1915), 162-172.

Lidderdale as "merchants in London" while Lidderdale and Harmer was a Bristol firm. Alexander Spalding and John Lidderdale, who appeared frequently in James Bray III's ledger, were a pair of Williamsburg merchants with their own ship, the Katherine and Leanora.<sup>5</sup> While the Bray financial ties to the tobacco economy are still not well known, the connections with one of the Lidderdales are a possible indication of those ties.

Bray also may have marketed tobacco for smaller growers. In January 1741 Bray made an account settlement with Nathaniel Overstreet, who owed him "five Pounds besides his last Years Crop of Tobacco which was in the year 1739 being to be Settled Yet."<sup>6</sup> There is no indication that Overstreet was an overseer, tenant, or employee. From 1736 through 1741 he dealt with Bray, receiving a pair of shoes, a bottle of beer, a large amount of cloth and clothing, and a number of credit arrangements such as loans and "notes" whereby Overstreet could buy items on Bray's accounts with various local tradespeople. It could be that Overstreet sold tobacco to Bray, ordered English cloth through Bray as part of the same exchange, received credit protection through the Littleton planter's own credit arrangements with others, and

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<sup>5</sup>Bray Ledger, unnumbered folio at rear of book with executors' account titled, "Money paid for Debts due from the Estate of Major Bray;" Virginia Gazette, Aug. 25, 1738, p. 4; "Report of Executors of Estate of William Parks," William and Mary Quarterly, 2nd Ser. II (1922), 202.

<sup>6</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 5.

on occasion "bought" an item such as shoes from Bray, all as part of the trading of tobacco for credit.<sup>7</sup>

Bray's ledger gives little information regarding the actual production of tobacco at Littleton. It is fairly evident that James Bray III must have used a separate record book for tobacco accounts; there is too little information in the ledger regarding what theoretically should have been a major cash crop for it to be otherwise. The entries Bray did make about whole tobacco crops were portions of his accounts with his overseers. The marketing of tobacco does not show at all except in one 1736 entry for the sale of 800 pounds of sweet scented tobacco. The remaining nonshare entries are for quantities of 15 to 150 pounds and seem to reflect the use of tobacco as currency more than its place as a major cash crop.<sup>8</sup>

Entries concerning overseers' shares are more informative. William Bryan's 1742 share was 673 pounds out of a total crop of 5161 pounds. This portion would be a share and a half out of eleven and a half total shares, which may say something about the amount of labor working under Bryan. John Brown's 1742 share is unknown, but the total crop for his quarter, wherever it was located, amounted to 6500 pounds. In 1743 or 1744 John Green apparently got 1434 pounds out of an unspecified total crop -- and this was probably produced

<sup>7</sup>Overstreet's entries all appear on ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Bray Ledger. The 800 lb lot was sold to Joseph "Davenpoart"; see fol. 1.

at Utopia, or perhaps Tutter's Neck. Bryan's share at about the same time was 802 pounds. The total crop for Bryan's quarter was not given for this share period, but if the 1742 share ratio for Bryan was still in effect, it would come to around 6149 pounds. In 1743 Benjamin Tureman, probably at Tutter's Neck, got a share and a half of thirteen and a half shares: 995 pounds from a crop of 8963 pounds at that location. Executors' memoranda recorded a 1059 pound share for Augustine Brown in 1744, a 1125 pound share for Tureman for the same year, and 239 pounds as the balance of Green's share, probably after the rest of it was applied against Green's book accounts with the estate.<sup>9</sup>

As noted above, at least part of Bray's 1744 crop was sold to four individuals recorded by the executors of the estate. These men bought thirty-seven hogsheads of Bray's tobacco, paying a total of £241 13s 7½d for it. Another man, James Crosbie, bought over £8 worth of the crop that year. An executors' entry in the personal property sales accounts also allowed Matthew Moody seven shillings two pence in credit for selling the tobacco on hand at Bray's death at a public sale.<sup>10</sup>

The standard legal hogshead of tobacco weighed at least 800 pounds at that time.<sup>11</sup> At that weight the thirty-

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., fol. 17, 26, 34, 37, 41, 69, and unnumbered executors' accounts at rear of ledger

<sup>10</sup>See n 2 above and Bray Ledger, fol. 118 and unnumbered executors' accounts at rear of ledger.

<sup>11</sup>Gray, History of Agriculture, 222. Hogsheads of

seven hogsheads of Bray tobacco sold to the four buyers would total some 29,600 pounds. At 1,000 pounds per hogshead that total would increase to 37,000 pounds, and some hogsheads of sweet scented tobacco ran even higher than 1,000 pounds. There is no indication as to what percentage this amount represents of the total crop for Bray's properties for that year. According to one estimate this total would represent a very sizeable crop.<sup>12</sup>

In terms of land and labor expended to produce 30,000 pounds of tobacco, one can only speculate what such a tobacco crop would mean as part of Bray's total crop picture. Estimates for the amount of tobacco produced per acre or per man vary greatly.<sup>13</sup> At 1,000 pounds per worker the above totals represent the labor of thirty to thirty-seven men; at 500 pounds per hand it doubles that number of workers. Bryan's 5161 pound total crop with a total of eleven and a half shares comes to around 449 pounds per hand if each share represented a field hand's labor, which is conjectural only. Tureman's 8963 pound crop represented a total of thirteen and a half shares, which would be 664

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sweet scented tobacco could also run as high as 1400 lb.; see Middleton, Tobacco Coast, 101.

<sup>12</sup>Land, "Economic Behavior in a Planting Society," 473, found that in four Maryland counties from 1750 to 1759 only 2% of the planters produced 10,000 lb. or more; none produced over 16,098 lb. (32 hogsheads). Note however that these would be 500 lb. hogsheads.

<sup>13</sup>See Gray, History of Agriculture, 218-219; and Edward C. Papenfuse, Jr., "Planter Behavior and Economic Opportunity in a Staple Economy," Agricultural History, XLVI (1972), 303-305.



pounds per worker based on the same assumption. The figure of 500 pounds per hand may be the more accurate figure for Bray's tobacco crop, then: approximately sixty laborers would have been employed to produce 30,000 pounds.

According to one source, 1,000 pounds per acre was the "standard of a good crop" of tobacco during the colonial period.<sup>14</sup> At such an optimum production level Bray's thirty-seven hogsheads would represent thirty to thirty-seven acres of tobacco ground; once again 500 pounds per acre means sixty to seventy-four acres. Tureman's 8963 pound crop would have come from eighteen acres at that 500 pound per acre rate. Yet Tureman ran a quarter of at least three hundred acres at either Tutter's Neck or Utopia. Other crops were grown at his quarter, however, as shown by Tureman's shares listed in chapter III. Uncleared woodlands or unarable lands surely occupied part of his quarter's acreage also. Both hands and acres were used to produce crops other than tobacco. The point of this speculation is to give an idea of what the production of 30,000 pounds of tobacco would mean in terms of probable ranges of land and labor. This discussion is all the more speculative since the thirty-seven hogsheads may not have been all Bray's; if Bray marketed tobacco for others then the total on hand at his death could include hogsheads purchased from other growers.

One other point must be mentioned regarding Bray's

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<sup>14</sup>Gray, History of Agriculture, 218.

tobacco production based on the ledger information. With the exception of the entry concerning Nathaniel Overstreet's 1739 crop, there are no entries regarding tobacco for 1737, 1738, or 1739. The gap from 1736 to 1740 may be meaningless since Bray obviously must have kept tobacco accounts elsewhere. As will be seen, however, certain other plantation activities seem to have increased in tempo or first appeared in the ledger around 1740.

One factor that may have influenced tobacco growing at Littleton was a depression in tobacco prices that was particularly severe during the decade or so before James Bray III assumed control of the plantation in 1736.<sup>15</sup> Such periods of depressed market conditions caused some planters to make a temporary shift of emphasis by producing less tobacco and concentrating on other activities.<sup>16</sup> Depressed tobacco markets during the period just before he assumed direction of Littleton could have influenced James Bray III's economic activities at the plantation. Bray's tobacco entries in the ledger indicate a general price range of from fourteen shillings a hundredweight, a little over a penny and a half per pound, to two pence per pound. These prices were in keeping with those current in the 1739 to 1746 period.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Craven, Soil Exhaustion, 57, 64-65; Rainbolt, Pre-  
scription to Persuasion, 26-27; Gray, History of Agriculture,  
270-272.

<sup>16</sup>Gray, History of Agriculture, 166-167, 231.

<sup>17</sup>Bray Ledger; Gray, History of Agriculture, 272;  
Melvin Herndon, Tobacco in Colonial Virginia: 'The Sovereign  
Remedy,' (Williamsburg, Va., 1957), 48.

Each plantation activity had a distinctive group of material items associated with it.<sup>18</sup> Such material evidence for tobacco growing would include items such as hoes, storage buildings, perhaps carts, and hogsheads. Carts and "flats," which were boats for carrying tobacco hogsheads, were articles of this sort from the inventory of James Bray II. His grandson's estate included at least fifty-seven hoes that were sold at Littleton and on the Chickahominy. The last James Bray also owned an ox cart, two wagons, a tumbril, which was a type of cart, ox chains, and spare cart wheels. In addition he had a cooper in his service, and that artisan produced thirty hogsheads, sixteen of them specified as tobacco hogsheads, for sale to persons outside the plantation during the 1736 to 1744 period.<sup>19</sup> Several hoe blades were also recovered during the excavation of Littleton.<sup>20</sup>

Corn was another staple crop grown on plantations. It was used as a basic provision item to feed people and livestock, and increasingly as an export product as the eighteenth century progressed. In the earlier part of the colonial period it was grown in hills like tobacco, and so required similar tools, primarily hoes. Corn later was planted in

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<sup>18</sup>The germ for this idea primarily came from Carr, "John Hicks Site."

<sup>19</sup>Will of James Bray, Nov. 18, 1725; Bray Ledger; for tobacco "flats" see Middleton, Tobacco Coast, 101.

<sup>20</sup>See artifact list for the Bray and Pettus sites, in possession of the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, Williamsburg, Va.

rows, often after the ground was plowed, in which case the material articles associated with it would resemble those discussed for wheat below.<sup>21</sup>

The ledger of James Bray III indicates that he was producing corn during the entire period from 1736 to 1744. Some entries note where the corn came from, including "from home," "from Eutopia," "from Bryan's," and "from John Green." Benjamin Tureman also got corn shares once, and John Brown may have also, although the entry for Brown is not clear in its meaning. Since either Green or Tureman was at Tutter's Neck, this information means that Bray grew corn at Utopia, Tutter's Neck, Bryan's quarter, wherever that was, and "home," not to mention the possibility of another quarter under John Brown.<sup>22</sup> Bray did not necessarily run the "home" tract for himself, and corn "from Bryan" or Brown could have been from the main plantation area at Littleton. When Bray's executors sold off the corn on hand after Bray's death some of it was sold at the Chickahominy, so one or more quarters there may have produced it. Henry Weatherburn of Williamsburg bought corn from the estate also, some of it entered "from town," and some from "Bryan's," showing that

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<sup>21</sup>For corn growing in general, see Jones, Present State of Virginia, 77-78, 198n; Craven, Soil Exhaustion, 35-36; Gray, History of Agriculture, 171-174; Carter, Diary, passim, but see 159-160 for use of plows in corn fields.

<sup>22</sup>Bray Ledger. There is a "Bryan's" located on the Desandrouins map inland a bit from Littleton, but since the map is from 1781 it is not known if this relates to William Bryan. Desandrouins, Carte des Environs de Williamsburg.

Bryan's quarter was close enough to sell corn to Williamsburg buyers. In any event it is clear that Bray produced corn throughout his tenure at Littleton and did so at several of his properties.

Annual totals for crop outflow as shown by Bray's accounts are generally not possible or reliable due to the necessity of inferring dates for many entries. However, totals can be made for the entire 1736 to 1744 period that can be used to compare crop outflows.<sup>23</sup> During that period Bray's estates produced 365.9 barrels of corn that were recorded by Bray as debit entries, and as such were plantation outflow in his mind. There is an entry for John Brown regarding 100.5 barrels that is not clear as to whether it was a debit or a credit. If counted as a debit, it brings the total to 466.4 barrels. This total does not count two share entries for Tureman and Green, for Bray recorded and treated them as credit entries and so they were not outflow.<sup>24</sup>

The totals of corn sold by the executors during the personal property sales after Bray died give a somewhat different kind of information. They give a clearer idea of what was on hand at a given time, particularly in the fall after

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<sup>23</sup>It should be remembered that there is a difference between crop outflow as recorded by Bray and actual crop production; Bray's ledger gives information on the former but cannot give figures for the latter. Also, totals given for all products from the ledger are subject to error due to illegibility of figures, error in recording, and so on, but are as accurate as possible and should be adequate for relative comparisons.

<sup>24</sup>Bray Ledger.

the harvest was in -- for the sales began in November 1744. The total amount of corn sold by the executors from all Bray's properties comes to 435.45 barrels, almost as much, or perhaps more, than what Bray recorded as sold over an eight year period.<sup>25</sup> The comparison of the totals gives some rough idea of how much corn was actually being produced. The 435 or so barrels on hand in the fall that Bray died would include that year's harvest plus any surplus stored from previous years. As a fall total it was higher than it would be after some of the corn was consumed or sold. It shows that a large amount of Bray's corn production each year was consumed, probably on the plantation and quarters themselves, without ever showing up as debits in Bray's accounts. While it is still impossible to make a definite statement regarding Bray's total corn production, these figures show that Bray produced a lot of corn and used the greatest part of it on his properties.<sup>26</sup>

Bray also grew wheat during the entire 1736 to 1744 period. The only clue as to where it was grown comes from the fact that only Benjamin Tureman of all the overseers received a share of wheat. There are no indications within entries specifying where the wheat came from as there are for corn. This absence could mean that what wheat Bray did produce was grown at one location, but that cannot be assumed.

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., fol. 100-123.

<sup>26</sup>The discussions on livestock and milling in chapter IV will help show how the corn was used on the plantation.

Several of the buyers of wheat were Williamsburg residents, and Bray's mill was located at Kingsmill Pond on the northern part of the Littletown tract. It is likely that Bray's wheat production took place close to home, in the Littletown-Utopia-Tutter's Neck area, with Tureman's quarter the primary wheat area, at least in 1744 when his wheat share was recorded.<sup>27</sup>

Over the eight year period covered by the ledger Bray recorded a total wheat outflow of 377 bushels. His executors recorded the sale of thirty-nine bushels not covered by Bray's debit entries, but Bray made the sales on all thirty-nine bushels before his death. Bray therefore had a total recorded wheat outflow of 416 bushels for the eight years, and no wheat was sold by the executors after his death. The prices on Bray's wheat ran from three to four shillings a bushel during the ledger period, with most sales made at three shillings sixpence or four shillings a bushel.<sup>28</sup>

If the total for corn outflow is converted from barrels to bushels, it comes to either 1829.5 or 2332 bushels, depending on whether the 100.5 barrel entry for John Brown is counted or not.<sup>29</sup> This total shows that 4.4 to 5.6 times more corn than wheat was in the recorded outflow. As for what was on hand in the fall of 1744, the executors sold off

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<sup>27</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 41 for Tureman's wheat share. See also chapter III above.

<sup>28</sup>Bray Ledger.

<sup>29</sup>A barrel equalled five bushels as inferred from internal evidence from the ledger.

435.45 barrels of corn, or 2177.25 bushels, yet they apparently sold no wheat. Augustine Brown stated that thirteen or fourteen bushels of wheat were destroyed by weasels, apparently a short time before Bray died.<sup>30</sup> This destruction by pests may have eliminated any on-hand supply of wheat that could have been sold by the executors. The figures for outflow of wheat and corn during the 1736 to 1744 period are sufficient to show that in volume corn production greatly exceeded that of wheat. Wheat was higher priced per unit, running between three and four shillings a bushel compared to eight to ten shillings a barrel for corn. Even so the total value of the 466 barrel corn outflow at those rates would be around £200 while the 416 bushels of wheat brought in something closer to £70 or £75.

As mentioned in chapter I, a diversification of production took place on some plantations during the eighteenth century. As the century progressed, more corn, wheat, and other grains were grown as part of the gradual diversification away from the production of only tobacco as a market crop. Wheat was grown in Virginia as early as the seventeenth century, but only during the eighteenth did it come into its own as a major export crop.<sup>31</sup> This trend was thought to be partly due to soil exhaustion, for grains

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<sup>30</sup>Burwell v Johnson, 141.

<sup>31</sup>Robert Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, ed. Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1947), 316, 319; Craven, Soil Exhaustion, 66-67; Rainbolt, Prescription to Persuasion, 163-164; Harry J. Carman, ed., American Husbandry (New York, 1939), 156, 163.



were considered able to grow on land that was "tired" of tobacco. Also, small grains such as wheat were expensive to raise, harvest, thresh, transport, and mill, so a certain amount of capital and stability were required of the local economy before small grains could be produced on any large scale.<sup>32</sup> Export markets also expanded during the course of the eighteenth century, and progressively more Virginia grain was shipped to southern Europe, the West Indies, and other American colonies.<sup>33</sup>

The problem is to place Littleton within this trend toward increased grain production. Littleton was in the Tidewater area that had produced tobacco longest and had a stable economy that could well have supported early ventures into the growing of grain as a market product. The strengthening of a local economy centered on Williamsburg was also important since it provided planters with a relatively small and nearby grain market that served as an alternative to the export trade, which only developed as the century progressed and favored those who produced in large quantities. The difficulty comes in determining how much grain constituted a marketable surplus. Bray's wheat outflow was small compared to that of corn, but both could have been intended as deliberate diversification efforts to take advantage of the local

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<sup>32</sup>Jones, Present State of Virginia, 77; Carman, ed., American Husbandry, 185-186; Gray, History of Agriculture, 161-162.

<sup>33</sup>Gray, History of Agriculture, 165-166; Klingaman, Virginia's Grain Trade.

market. No answer to the puzzle is forthcoming, but it is obvious that Bray was devoting a certain amount of his resources to grain production for sale.

Grain production also meant a greater variety of agricultural equipment, animals, and specialized buildings. The raising of small grains required plows, harrows, and draft animals to pull them, sickles, scythes, flails, threshing areas, sieves, granaries, and mills.<sup>34</sup> Among the entries in the ledger were an entry for a plow that Bray received from someone else and an entry in which a sifter, which could have been for grain, flour, or possibly lime, went to Benjamin Tureman. Items sold from the estate by the executors included at least two and possibly three harrows, three wheat sieves, two of which were already "old," and an old scythe. A hand mill, possibly for grain, was also given to Bray's widow.<sup>35</sup> Several scythe and sickle parts were found in the basement rubble and well of the Bray house, but most of them were deposited after the middle of the eighteenth century, although they possibly could have been on the site before then. One iron tool fragment, possibly from a scythe, came from a pit near the house dating from the second quarter of

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<sup>34</sup>Carr, "John Hicks Site," 80, 93; Jones, Present State of Virginia, 137; Gray, History of Agriculture, 169-170, 194-195; Jefferson, Farm Book, 201; Michael Partridge, Farm Tools Through the Ages (Reading, Berkshire, 1973), 78-79; see also index references to grains in Carter, Diary.

<sup>35</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 41, 47, 102, 104, 106, 108, 119, 122. See Partridge, Farm Tools, 177, for an illustration of a type of hand sieve perhaps resembling those recorded in the ledger.

the eighteenth century.<sup>36</sup> In addition, as mentioned earlier, artifacts from Tutter's Neck included articles associated with grain farming, such as scythes and sickles. No scythes, sickles, harrows, plows, or other material signs of grain culture were listed on the inventory of James Bray II, which could well mean that the move into wheat growing was initiated after 1725. The inventory may not list all agricultural implements present on the estate, however.<sup>37</sup>

Tobacco, corn, and wheat were the major crops grown on James Bray III's lands. Other crops show up much less frequently in the ledger. Fodder was one of the minor crops, but it is difficult to give a total for it since Bray recorded it in pounds at times and in "bundles" in other entries. Some 2578 bundles and 368 pounds were sold in the years covered by the accounts, as well as one "load of Tops."<sup>38</sup> Only four individuals received this fodder, so Bray's marketing of it was not extensive. Fodder sold by Bray's executors was not always specified as to quantity in the accounts. A total of £13 4s was paid for 2400 bundles, 2682 pounds, and five unspecified loads of fodder. Two of the entries mention Utopia, including one in 1746 in which Lewis Burwell paid £3 "to Fodder used at Utopia." Two stacks of tops were also sold by the executors, as well as an

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<sup>36</sup>Bray site artifact list, Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, Williamsburg, Va. The tool fragment is from group KM9H.

<sup>37</sup>Will of James Bray, Nov. 18, 1725.

<sup>38</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 1, 10, 23.

unspecified load of "wheat Straw, Hay and Pea Vines."<sup>39</sup>

The fodder from Bray's plantations could well have been a byproduct of corn production, especially the "tops," which were probably leaves and stalks of corn plants.<sup>40</sup> Fodder also would have been used mainly on the plantation and so would not be expected to show up very frequently in the accounts.

A single entry for oats in the ledger records a half bushel of it sold in 1737. Oats were probably not grown extensively and what Bray grew on his properties was used there. Both the oats and the fodder, along with corn, were used for food for livestock on the plantation.<sup>41</sup> The only other crop related products recorded in Bray's accounts were five bushels of onions and one bushel of peas. Benjamin Tureman also received a share of peas. Onions, peas, and other food crops were grown primarily for the plantation's own subsistence.<sup>42</sup> They were not grown at Littletown or its satellite quarters for market distribution.

Littletown and Bray's secondary plantations produced three major crops, tobacco, corn, and wheat. The lack of information on tobacco makes it hard to gauge the extent of its production in relation to other plantation activities.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., fol. 100-122.

<sup>40</sup>Jones, Present State of Virginia, 78.

<sup>41</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 3; Gray, History of Agriculture, 168; Carter, Diary, 137, 145; Fernand Braudel, Capitalism and Material Life, 1400-1800, trans. Miriam Kochan (New York, 1973), 72-73.

<sup>42</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 2, 7, 8, 41; Carter, Diary, 130, 148, 228.

What totals are available show that James Bray III may have grown a sizeable crop of tobacco while diverting a portion of his resources into other activities as well. The totals for outflow of corn and wheat given in this chapter include entries that went to people connected with the plantation; if Bray recorded the entry as a debit, it was totaled herein as outflow, even if it went to a known overseer or employee. However, Bray was producing enough grain to sell a goodly portion of it on the local market even if debits to his employees are subtracted from the totals. Bray's properties grew a market surplus of corn while still retaining a large part of each year's crop for internal plantation consumption. As for crops other than grains and tobacco, little shows up in the ledger unless the saleable surplus of fodder is significant. Other items were grown for home consumption and never appeared in Bray's accounts. As was true of any plantation, Littletown grew one or two staples for sale and other provisions for its own consumption. The relative importance of the major staples, tobacco and grain, is the significant question concerning Littletown. The decision to pursue wheat production at the plantation also seems to have come after the death of James Bray II in 1725.

#### Livestock

The total livestock population of Littletown and James Bray II's isolated quarters was something around 511 animals in 1725 or 1726. Of this number 14 were horses, 45

were sheep, 227 were cattle, and approximately 225 were pigs.<sup>43</sup> Seven horses, at least three of them cart horses and two of them saddle mounts, and 45 cattle were at Little-town proper. Nearby Debb's quarter had 20 cattle and 28 swine, while Jacko's quarter had some 66 pigs and 33 cattle. All 45 sheep on the inventory were at Jacko's quarter. The remaining stock were at the Chickahominy quarters. The only specified draft animals listed were the three cart horses and four cart oxen at Littletown. Several of the cattle on the list and horses at Rogers', Dubblerum's, and New Kent quarters also could have been draft animals.

Nearly twenty years later, when James Bray III's personal property was sold following his death, Littletown, the unspecified Chickahominy land, and Bray's other quarters had a stock population of over 647. Some 372 of these were cattle, 201 were sheep, over 57 were swine, and 17 were horses.<sup>44</sup> At least 75 cattle, 26 sheep, and 22 pigs were specified or can be reasonably inferred to have been sold on the Chickahominy. This would leave over 524 animals for Littletown, Utopia, Tutter's Neck, and other quarters, but some of these may have been sold at the Chickahominy and not indicated as such. Two entries were for steers "at Eutopia," while one entry each

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<sup>43</sup>Will of James Bray, Nov. 18, 1725. See Appendix D. for a detailed list. Swine were the animals most often estimated or grossly approximated on such inventory lists.

<sup>44</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 100-122. In this instance entries of "a sow and pigs" were counted as only three individuals, so swine totals here represent a minimum number of animals. See Appendix E. for a breakdown of the totals from the executors' sales.

refers to steers "from Green" and "from Town." No other entries refer to location.<sup>45</sup>

Seven of the seventeen horses sold by the executors had names: Buck, Prince, Dragon, Polly, Fancy, Phillis, and Jumper. Equipment sold from the estate included a saddle and a four wheel chaise, so these seven horses were likely Bray's personal riding and carriage horses. Sixteen cattle were listed as oxen or draft steers. Other steers would have been intended for draft work or use as meat. Butchers bought seven sheep and twenty-one cattle of varying ages and both sexes, most of them steers.<sup>46</sup>

The ledger of James Bray III gives a more complete view of what Bray did with his six hundred livestock. He does not seem to have been dealing extensively in live animals. Of entries regarding live animals one was in 1736, while all others were in 1740 or after. Ten horses, including three specified work horses, were recorded in ledger entries. One of them was "swapped" and one apparently bought, while the rest were recorded as debits or sales. Nine cattle went out in the 1740 to 1744 time span, and two yearlings came in on the credit side. One ram was recorded as outflow while twenty-one sheep apparently came in. No swine on the hoof were listed as debits, and only one sow with her pigs

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<sup>45</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 100-122. Estimates on numbers sold at the Chickahominy should be considered very rough since Chickahominy sales entries cannot always be identified as such from the accounts.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

was taken in as a credit. Something over forty-four animals, depending on the number of pigs with the sow, were written down by Bray as both debit and credit entries during the period covered by his accounts, primarily after 1740.<sup>47</sup>

For beef and veal also there was only one entry for 1736 while the remainder were for 1740 and thereafter. Beef production, as with several other activities at Littleton, was primarily concentrated in the 1740s if the ledger is any indication. Debits for adult beef total 4425 pounds for the ledger period, including four entries for quarters of beef whose weights were also given. In addition two and a half quarters with no weights given were sold. Some 108 pounds came in as credit, in a repayment by Lewis Burwell of Kingsmill.<sup>48</sup> Bray's beef outflow was always recorded as lots in pounds, with the exception of the two and a half unspecified beef quarters. Of eighty-five debit entries comprising the total of 4425 pounds, some fifty-one entries, 60 percent of the total, were for lot sizes of 11 to 50 pounds, meaning that the beef was generally butchered into relatively small lots before it was distributed off the plantation. These figures could also indicate that some or most of the beef sales consisted of surplus lots on hand after an animal was butchered for domestic or plantation use.

While beef was recorded in pounds, Bray always sold his veal in quarters. Weights for veal were never given.

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<sup>47</sup>Bray Ledger.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.



Some eleven quarters and one complete veal were part of Bray's outflow during the ledger years. Veal sales were fairly seasonal: two quarters were recorded for May, one for June, two for July, and six for August. The month of the sale of the complete veal is unknown. Of the eleven quarters, however, nine of them were recorded in 1744. No explanation for the preponderance of veal sales in 1744 is offered by the data at hand.<sup>49</sup>

Bray recorded the sale of some 12,117 pounds of pork in his ledger. This figure includes three entries totaling 1074 pounds that might have been credit entries but were more likely debits. Some 84 pounds of bacon were noted down, all of it going to Andrew Lindsey, John Green, and Manuell Rosararo, employees and tenants. Sixty-one pounds of it was specified as "from" Lewis Burwell. The 84 pounds of bacon, along with 57 pounds of "shoat," are not included in the 12,117 pound total for unspecified pork. In addition to lots sold by weight, Bray sold four and a half barrels of pork, ten quarters of shoat, and four individual animals, including two hogs and two "roasting piggs."<sup>50</sup> Several entries were for the 1736 to 1737 period; the remainder seem to be for

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid. Another problem with Bray's recording of meat is the use of an adjective whose meaning is not clear but which is used frequently in the ledger: it is "starild" or "stauld" beef or mutton, or something of that nature. If it is "stauld" it could mean "stalled," referring to how the stock was raised. The only other adjective used in describing meat in the ledger is "gross," as in so many pounds of "Gross beef."

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

1740 and after.

John Green received shares of pork three times and Edward Heighns, the indentured shoemaker and miller, received a share of pork once in the ledger. The total of 84 pounds of bacon, plus one quarter of shoat, four barrels of pork, and 715 pounds of unspecified pork went to known employees or tenants of Bray -- Green, Heighns, Rosararo, and John Brown -- in those shares and in other entries. With the exception of the 61 pounds of bacon from Lewis Burwell, no entries specify the origin of the pork. Green's shares may show that he was producing pork; also, one entry for Green was for a half barrel of pork "which You had of John Brown."<sup>51</sup>

Of the twenty-nine entries making up the 12,117 pound total for pork, 45 percent were for lot sizes of 201 to 400 pounds. Pork was obviously sold in larger lots than beef, for which the majority of entries were for 50 pounds or less. It is possible that pork was commonly butchered into larger, heavier pieces than beef, or else was bought in larger quantities. The sizes of the pork entries also might relate to the barreling of pork. Bray's price for a barrel of pork varied from thirty to thirty-eight shillings, and could have been dependent upon weight. The weight of one barrel as inferred from an entry for Heighns was 191 pounds. It may be that the large number of lots in the 200 to 400

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid., fol. 27.

pound range was due to the sale of pork in barreled quantities.

During the period covered by his accounts Bray recorded some twelve thousand pounds of pork as outflow but only 4400 pounds of beef were sold. Yet from Bray's estate the executors sold 372 cattle compared to something more than 57 swine. This discrepancy might be explained by the fact that executors often did not bother rounding up all the free roaming swine of an estate for appraisal.<sup>52</sup> Pigs also might have been a meat resource more continuously consumed than cattle: they quickly grew to a useable maturity, raised several young per pair, fended well for themselves, produced a large amount of meat per beast, and may have been slaughtered on a more frequent schedule. Cattle, on the other hand, may have been a more long term resource, especially since they were also used for milk and as draft animals. What is clear is that Bray had a surplus of both types of meat that could be used for sale in the local area.

Sale of mutton was spread out over the whole 1736 to 1744 period, as far as years can be inferred, although there could be a preponderance of entries for the 1740s. As with beef, Bray recorded his sales of adult mutton in pounds. The total number of pounds of mutton, including seven quarters whose weights were given, was 1271 for the entire ledger period. Three whole muttons were also sold, and their

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<sup>52</sup>Beverley, History of Virginia, 318.

weights may be inferred from their prices to be 45, 48, and 45 pounds, bringing the final total for adult mutton outflow to 1409 pounds.<sup>53</sup>

If the inferred weights of the three muttons are subtracted from the total, along with the weight of another complete animal that was given in the ledger, the number of pounds is reduced to 1230. This total represents mutton entries other than those for whole muttons. The average lot size per entry for this total is 12.18 pounds. The estimated amount of useable meat from a sheep at this time varies with the source consulted, and most estimates are for later in the century anyway. Bray did give the weights of seven quarters of mutton, however, and their average weight can be used as the weight of an "average" quarter of adult mutton from Bray's properties. That average is, most strikingly, 12.18 pounds. This unexpectedly close correspondence means that Bray was selling his mutton in quarters, but not recording that fact in the entries, where he recorded all adult mutton simply as pounds. In this instance, then, internal evidence from the accounts can be used to infer a piece of information that is not readily visible in the entries.

Just as mutton, like beef, went into the accounts as entries in pounds, so was lamb, like veal, recorded in quarters with no weights given. Sixteen quarters and two whole lambs were put down by Bray as debits.<sup>54</sup> There also seems to

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<sup>53</sup>Bray Ledger.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.

have been a seasonal pattern of lamb use just as there was for veal. All lamb entries for which dates are known or can be inferred were recorded between April and October: one quarter for April, four for May, two for June, one for July, two for August, three for September, and one quarter plus one whole lamb for October. One whole lamb and two quarters are unknown as to month. Unlike the veal entries, those for lamb spread over several years, putting the seasonal character of sales on a somewhat firmer base. However, the lack of accurate dates in Bray's accounts makes any conclusions based on the month or year of entries somewhat unreliable. In his Diary Landon Carter mentioned killing "house lambs" for family use in February, May, and September. The lack of winter entries for lamb in Bray's ledger could mean that he allowed the lambs to reach a few months' maturity before slaughtering them, for according to Carter's diary lambs were generally born in January.<sup>55</sup> The fact that some months only one quarter of lamb was sold could show also that what Bray sold was the surplus over his own household needs after an animal was slaughtered.

These entries, and also the fact that a butcher bought seven sheep from the estate, reflect the use of sheep as meat animals.<sup>56</sup> Sheep also produce wool. Early in the eighteenth century Robert Beverley wrote that Virginians did not utilize much of their sheep's wool, but instead "they shear them only

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<sup>55</sup>Carter, Diary, 137, 488, 691, 970.

<sup>56</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 107.

to cool them." In 1724 Hugh Jones reported that this failure to use the wool was due to discouragement from Great Britain, "and what little woollen is there made [in Virginia] might be nearly had as cheap, and better from England."<sup>57</sup> Bray recorded 128 pounds of wool, or perhaps a little more, in debit entries. This total was not a lot of wool considering that Landon Carter wrote that a hundred of his sheep produced "only" 267 pounds of unwashed wool.<sup>58</sup> The debit outflow from the ledger gives no indication of how much wool was used on the plantation and never put into the accounts, however. Three men known to be connected with the plantation -- Heighns, Rosararo, and Green -- got over 57 pounds of the recorded wool. It was sold in small lots ranging from one pound to 24 pounds. For those entries with known months, three were in August while May and July had one each. Early summer, in June, was a common time to shear sheep in Virginia.<sup>59</sup> Wool entries were recorded for all years except 1738 and 1739, but due to the small amount of wool traded this gap is probably not very significant.

Information from other types of data does not give much insight regarding the amount of wool used on the plantation. A credit entry records that Bray got a spinning wheel and cards from Tureman, and a spinning wheel was in the house

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<sup>57</sup>Beverley, History of Virginia, 295, 317; Jones, Present State of Virginia, 78.

<sup>58</sup>Carter, Diary, 1047; Bray Ledger, fol. 1, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 22, 26, 27, 69.

<sup>59</sup>Carter, Diary, 573, 1047.

following Bray's death. No other material items associated with wool production, excepting possibly an unspecified pair of shears, were recorded.<sup>60</sup> Andrew Lindsey wove something into cloth for Bray during 1743 and 1744.<sup>61</sup> Of the many entries for cloth, most bear the names of commonly imported cloths of the time, but it is possible that some entries refer to cloth produced on the plantation. The extent of Bray's home production of wool simply cannot be determined. It is clear from the 128 pounds he sold that he was not using wool as a major market product.

Ninety-five pounds of butter were distributed from Littletown or the quarters, and John Green received credit for his "part" of it, apparently as a part of his pay.<sup>62</sup> Poultry was not recorded on the inventory of James Bray II, nor did his grandson's executors sell any from the estate. Ninety-five and a half chickens and eighteen ducks came into Littletown as credits during the ledger period. In all but one of the entries the poultry were from Tureman and Green during 1743 and 1744. No poultry were recorded as debits.<sup>63</sup> Plantations generally had a variety of poultry on hand, as would any farm, for eggs, meat, and down, but once again this was an internal activity that does not show in the accounts.<sup>64</sup>

In 1741 John Green was entered in the ledger for a

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<sup>60</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 41, 108, 119.

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 35.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 1, 7, 34, 39, 59.

<sup>63</sup>*Ibid.*, fol. 1, 34, 41.

<sup>64</sup>Jones, Present State of Virginia, 79; Carter, Diary, 267, 170.

debit of "head and pluck" -- pluck referring to the edible internal organs of a meat animal. Bray's executors also sold forty-three pounds of tallow, a livestock byproduct for household use.<sup>65</sup> In 1743 Bray sold fourteen and a half bushels of hair, possibly meaning cattle hair, which was at times used as a textile. Hair was removed from hides during tanning, so entries for cattle hair could be an indication that Bray was tanning hides at Littleton.<sup>66</sup> Another use of livestock was as a provider of manure to fertilize fields, especially lands worn out by tobacco.<sup>67</sup> Whether or not Bray was using his livestock as a source of manure cannot be seen from the sources available.

Livestock raising is not an activity generally associated with tobacco plantations. Usually the concentration on staple crop production meant the raising of stock primarily for consumption on the plantation.<sup>68</sup> Both James Brays, however, had over five hundred head of stock on their various estates. James Bray III produced a surplus of beef, veal, mutton, lamb, and pork above his own needs. Since pork has long been considered the staple meat of the southern plantation, it is significant that Bray owned and had meat surpluses

<sup>65</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 15, 110; Carter, Diary, 156, 1100.

<sup>66</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 14, 52; Rolla Milton Tryon, Household Manufactures in the United States, 1640-1860 (New York, 1966), 195. See below for leather related activities at Littleton.

<sup>67</sup>Carman, ed., American Husbandry, 165, 190; Carter, Diary, 149-150, 179, 499; Gray, History of Agriculture, 147, 198-199; Jones, Present State of Virginia, 77.

<sup>68</sup>Gray, History of Agriculture, 138; Craven, Soil Exhaustion, 33-34.



from other types of meat animals as well, although pork certainly predominated in his market sales.<sup>69</sup> The number of livestock at Littleton could also be indicative of a change in agricultural orientation, for to some extent increased use of stock may have accompanied the introduction of nontobacco crops and the growing concern for better farming practices in general.<sup>70</sup>

The number of sheep in proportion to other livestock was also higher for the estate of James Bray III than for that of his grandfather. James Bray III took in at least twenty sheep during the ledger period, perhaps in a conscious effort to increase his sheep population. Also, as noted in the previous chapter, Bray had some surplus of both corn and fodder. While supposedly it was not yet common practice to provide much feed for animals even in winter -- except for a few fattened for table use -- Bray was still able to support over 650 beasts on his properties while producing a general overage of corn and fodder for the eight years covered by the ledger.<sup>71</sup>

Livestock raising, at least at Littleton, should not

<sup>69</sup>Gray, History of Agriculture, 206.

<sup>70</sup>See Braudel, Capitalism and Material Life, 76-78; Craven, Soil Exhaustion, 68. Production of wheat would call for an increase in draft animals as a harrow/plow culture replaced a hoe culture; manure may also have become more widely used.

<sup>71</sup>For general information on stock raising in 18th-century Virginia see: Carter, Diary; Gray, History of Agriculture, chap. IX; and relevant portions of Jones, Present State of Virginia, and Beverley, History of Virginia.

be accorded a minor role in the plantation's economy. The Brays raised large numbers of stock and used them for a variety of purposes, including meat, dairy products, wool, tallow, field work as draft animals, and possibly hides, making stock husbandry a significant portion of the plantation's activity. Ledger evidence may indicate that some of the beef and mutton Bray sold may have been the surplus remaining over his own needs after an animal was butchered for plantation consumption. If so, then the marketing of livestock products was partially an extension of plantation self-subsistence practices. Yet Bray owned over six hundred animals and sold over twelve thousand pounds of pork in eight years, so his efforts in stock raising were more than that necessary for the subsistence of his own plantation.

#### Other Plantation Activities

As mentioned earlier, the Bray mill was located on Kingsmill Pond some distance to the north and west of the house at Littletown.<sup>72</sup> Both corn and wheat were ground at the mill. In the accounts of James Bray III, one entry for corn meal may have been made as early as 1738, but all others were apparently recorded during the 1740s. The majority of them were for the 1743 to 1744 period. In the ledger Bray recorded some 186 bushels and 213 pounds of corn meal as

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<sup>72</sup>See chap. II above.

outflow from the plantation. It is possible that some of Bray's meal was recorded simply as "corn," but he distinguished between the two in some entries so the likelihood of a confusion of terms is small.<sup>73</sup> He also made a distinction between meal from corn and "flower" from wheat. His records, however, show the sale of only five bushels of flour. All of the entries for flour were for the 1743 to 1744 time span, except for one entry whose date is unknown. No entries show that Bray definitely made a distinction between "wheat" and "flower" in his accounts. Some finished flour could possibly be in with the wheat totals discussed earlier. Four shillings per bushel was Bray's price for flour; he charged the same price, or sometimes three shillings sixpence, for "wheat" in the 1740s. If flour was listed as "wheat," the difference in prices was the only distinction made between the two in those entries. Since it cannot be assumed that such a price difference did indicate a distinction of products, the total outflow for flour should still be considered as five bushels only.<sup>74</sup>

In December 1738 Thomas Bray advertised for three "honest Millers" to work at "a Water Grist-Mill."<sup>75</sup> If the Bray mill in need of millers was that at Littletown it could help explain why milling activity was concentrated in

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<sup>73</sup>See Bray Ledger, Webb account on fol. 48 and T. Bray account on fol. 50.

<sup>74</sup>"Flower" entries are in ibid., fol. 14, 23, 50, 55, 60.

<sup>75</sup>Virginia Gazette, Dec. 29, 1738, p. 4.

the 1740s. The first ledger account for Edward Heighns was in 1739. Referred to as a miller by the executors, and the only individual to receive meal shares in the accounts, Heighns could have been connected to a stepping up of activity at the mill.<sup>76</sup> Robert Roberts, possibly "Right Roberts my Miller," first appeared in the ledger in 1740.<sup>77</sup> The only mention of the actual mill in Bray's accounts, besides references to meal from "the Mill," was in two entries for the 1743 to 1744 period. During that time Richard Harlewood and John Merridith performed construction or repair work on the mill on separate occasions, for a total of £23 11s 1d.<sup>78</sup>

The ledger indicates that Edward Heighns was connected with both milling and shoemaking at Littleton. Physical evidence may show the same thing. The site of Bray's mill was not dug archaeologically, but construction activity there brought the discovery of shoe leather in conjunction with structural features, probably from the mill.<sup>79</sup> Shoemaking, like milling, was also concentrated in the 1740s. From a total of 148 pairs of shoes made or repaired, one pair was recorded in 1736, one in 1737, and the remainder in the 1740 to 1744 years.<sup>80</sup> Seven of the pairs were specified as repair

<sup>76</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 17, 59.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., fol. 13. See also chap. III for more on Roberts.

<sup>78</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 29, 59. "Harlewood" also witnessed Heighns' indenture or bond to Bray (see fol.27) and may have been a member of the Harwood family of Williamsburg builders.

<sup>79</sup>Personal communication from William Kelso.

<sup>80</sup>Bray Ledger.

work in the entries. The remaining pairs were made, sold, or repaired, and included shoes for children, women, and men, along with "Negroes shoes" for slaves. Heighns was mentioned in entries for ten pairs, and probably was responsible for many more.<sup>81</sup> Many plantations had cordwainers or cobblers making and fixing shoes, and shoemakers were among the most common craftsmen at the time.<sup>82</sup>

Bray also may have tanned leather at Littleton, for there are ledger entries that mention tanning and tanners. Matthew English "the Tanner" did some work for Bray, but it could have been on a temporary contractual basis. An entry for Heighns states, "To 4/ Roberts paid You for Taning," so Heighns may have tanned leather along with his shoemaking activities.<sup>83</sup> Bray had the raw materials needed to tan leather: hides from his cattle, oak bark as a tanning agent, and lime, which as will be seen below was also available at Littleton. No tanning area with pits and vats was found at Littleton as was tentatively identified downriver at Carter's Grove, but the tanning could well have been done near the mill along with the shoemaking.<sup>84</sup> Among the items in James

<sup>81</sup>Others listed as sources of shoes were "Spaulding," meaning Alexander Spalding of Spalding and Lidderdale, merchants of Williamsburg, for two pairs; "Colonel Burwell's Isaak" for one pair; and a man named Adkins for one pair.

<sup>82</sup>Thomas K. Ford, The Leatherworker in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg (Williamsburg, Va., 1973), 11-12; Carr, "John Hicks Site," 80; Tryon, Household Manufactures, 201-202.

<sup>83</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 27. For entries regarding tanning see also fol. 37, 54, 57, 61.

<sup>84</sup>Ivor Noël Hume, Digging for Carter's Grove (Williamsburg, Va., 1974), 56-59, figs. 36, 37, 42; for tanning and its associated material goods see Ford, Leatherworker; Peter

Bray III's estate was a pegging awl, used in shoemaking, a currying knife, a basic tanner's tool with two handles, used for scraping hides, and ten pounds of unspecified leather.<sup>85</sup> These items, along with the entries for bushels of hair mentioned in the previous section, may indicate that Bray was tanning enough leather for his shoemaking venture, but not enough to use as a plantation sale item itself.

There is both physical and written evidence for brick-making at Littletown. On the Littletown-Utopia tract some two thousand feet or so north and east of the Bray house a brick kiln area was identified by archaeologists from surface evidence of crushed brick and burned soil.<sup>86</sup> The Bray ledger shows the extent of this brick production. Some entries for bricks were made in the 1730s, but most seem concentrated in the 1740 and 1741 time period. No bricks were recorded in 1743 and 1744. Also, by December 1741 Bray was distinguishing between bricks from a "new Kill" and those from the "old Kill."<sup>87</sup> It is not known if both of these kilns were in the kiln area identified by archaeologists or in different locations from one another.

Bray sold a total of 82,100 bricks from his kilns in fifty-three debit entries. Of these, 26,100 were specified

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C. Welsh, "A Craft that Resisted Change: American Tanning Practices to 1850," Technology and Culture, IV (1963), 299-317; Carter, Diary, 297, 393, 1048; Tryon, Household Manufactures, 198; Jefferson, Farm Book, 71.

<sup>85</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 109, 115, 119.

<sup>86</sup>Personal communication from William Kelso. The kiln area was not excavated.

<sup>87</sup>Bray Ledger.

as from the "new Kill" while 1200 were recorded as "old Kill" bricks. The remainder, 67 percent of the total, were not designated as to origin. Bray's price was generally two shillings for a hundred bricks, and later three shillings per hundred. The price difference apparently had nothing to do with which kiln produced the bricks. More than 339 bushels of lime also went out from Littleton, some of it with bricks and some by itself. This lime for mortar indicates that Bray had lime available for tanning if he wanted it. Sixteen of the entries for bricks and lime read, "and carting," so Bray also transported the materials if his customers were willing to pay for the service.<sup>88</sup>

Among Bray's customers for bricks were Hugh Orr, Lady Randolph, Henry Weatherburn, the "Colledge" of William and Mary, and John Baskerville on behalf of the governor. Yet the numbers of bricks purchased by these people were small. Some entries were for as few as 250 to 300 bricks while the largest was for 11,800 bricks to Dr. Henry Potter.<sup>89</sup> While discussing the building of his home at Monticello Thomas Jefferson spoke in terms of 80,000 bricks just for the first summer's work, which would bring the brickwork of that large house up to about the water table.<sup>90</sup> In such terms of magnitude Bray's 82,000 bricks were not enough to build many structures.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid.

<sup>89</sup>See ibid., fol. 22, for this entry.

<sup>90</sup>Jefferson, Garden Book, 173.

One of Bray's relatives claimed after his death that the brickmaking venture was an attempt by Bray to raise money to alleviate debts.<sup>91</sup> Perhaps Bray needed bricks himself and produced what surplus he could for sale. The only construction work showing in the ledger was some ditching and the digging and bricking of five feet of a well by James Southsea, and the building of a chimney "and Partition" by John Merridith.<sup>92</sup> There is no indication of where this construction took place. At any rate these entries, as well as those for work on the mill by Merridith and Harlewood, were for 1743 or possibly early 1744. Bray's activities in brickmaking for sale concentrated earlier than that, in the 1740 and 1741 period as far as dates are known.

Wood production was not an unusual side activity for Virginia plantations. During the colder months when tobacco was not under cultivation new land was sometimes cleared and the wood used on the plantation or sold.<sup>93</sup> In this activity as in others James Bray III produced a healthy surplus for sale within the local economy. Some 850 loads of wood, presumably cart or wagon loads, were sold, along with five timber trees and two additional cords of wood.<sup>94</sup> Of the wood 690 loads are known, or can be inferred with reasonable accuracy, to date from 1743 and 1744. This number is 81 percent

<sup>91</sup>Burwell v Johnson, 141; see also chap. II above.

<sup>92</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 51, 57.

<sup>93</sup>Carman, ed., American Husbandry, 163-164; Gray, History of Agriculture, 151-152; Jones, Present State of Virginia, 76-77, 139; Beverley, History of Virginia, 295, 318.

<sup>94</sup>Bray Ledger.



of the total of 850 loads. This apparently unfinished wood was generally sold in lots of one to three loads at a time. Many of the entries were multiple entries strung out in a line. For example, a December 15, 1743 entry for William Dearing reads: "To 1 D<sup>o</sup>. [load of wood], the 19 To 1 D<sup>o</sup>., the 20 To 2 D<sup>o</sup>."<sup>95</sup> This entry recorded one load to Dearing on the fifteenth, one on the nineteenth, and two on the twentieth, but only one total price was given. This method indicates one of two things: first, that Bray had a separate book for wood or had the overseer in charge keep daily totals for later transfer to the ledger; or second, that Bray just put down the number of loads each time until he had several, then wrote in the total price for those loads and started another entry on the next line. Bray's prices were generally five shillings sixpence to six shillings per load for this wood.

In 1743 Bray allowed William Bryan £2 6s in credit for Bryan's share of "Wood Money" from late June to November of that year.<sup>96</sup> Many entries for unfinished wood were specified "from Bryan," and Bryan also handled a good deal of the money paid for wood. Benjamin Tureman also received some payments for loads of wood, and the estate's executors gave him £3 14s credit for his share "of Wood Carted to Williamsburg."<sup>97</sup> Tureman supervised Tutter's Neck or possibly Utopia,

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<sup>95</sup>Ibid., fol. 50.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., fol. 37.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., fol. 80.

but Bryan's location is not known. One entry for wood to Thomas Bray records a load of wood "from Little Town."<sup>98</sup>

While clearing land and using wood from it was a common plantation activity, Bray's ability to market 850 loads of unfinished wood represents a fairly large amount of timber land and of labor, perhaps in several areas of his estates. In addition, Bray's properties turned out finished wood in several forms. Planking of various dimensions, lathing, clapboards, scantling, siding, heading, fence rails, fence posts, "fraimeing," and even coffins were all produced at Littleton or its secondary quarters. Coopers' products, a specialized form of wood use, were also part of Bray's outflow. These included "piggins," a type of pail or ladle, hogsheds, casks of several types, "wine pipes" or barrels, tubs, and hoops. The cooper at Littleton may well have been a slave; Bray hired his cooper out to Alexander Spalding for twelve shillings sixpence for five days' labor.<sup>99</sup> Coopers' wares appeared in the accounts from 1736 on into 1744. Other finished wood products, such as the planking, the posts, and so on, all seem to have been distributed in the 1740s, except for one entry which may date to 1739.

Wood production requires certain tools, and several manifestations of such a material pattern are associated with

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<sup>98</sup>Ibid., fol. 60. There was also a sale of 52 loads at once from "Rich Neck," which was owned by the Ludwells, not the Brays; see fol. 65 and "Appraisement of the Estate of Philip Ludwell Esqr.," Virginia Magazine, XXI (1913), 395-416.

<sup>99</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 11.

Littleton. One archaeologically recovered feature at Littleton-Utopia consisted of a pair of large rectangular pits tentatively identified as sawpits.<sup>100</sup> The inventory of James Bray II included a "steel Whipsaw, rest and File." A whip saw was a type of pit saw, and two of them, one labelled as "old," were sold from the estate of James Bray III. Other woodworking tools included two augers, a draw knife, and thirteen axes recorded as debits by Bray during the period of his accounts. In addition to the two whip saws, Bray's executors sold a crosscut saw, an "X Saw," which was probably the same thing, thirteen axes of various descriptions, a dozen wedges, a hand saw, two augers, a round shave, a spoke shave, and two bunches of carpenter's tools.<sup>101</sup> Some of the axes and wedges may have come from the property on the Chickahominy. One distinctive article associated with wood production is evidenced by Bray's entries for "Work with the Carry-Logg," referring to a specialized vehicle used for hauling timber.<sup>102</sup>

In debit entries in his ledger James Bray III recorded 1009 gallons of cider. All but five of the entries were for 1743 and 1744, although one of the five may date as early as

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<sup>100</sup>Personal communication from William Kelso. See Henry C. Mercer, Ancient Carpenters' Tools (Doylestown, Pa., 1960), 17-25, and Tryon, Household Manufactures, 238-239, for descriptions of sawpits and the associated types of saws.

<sup>101</sup>Will of James Bray, Nov. 18, 1725; Bray Ledger. See Mercer, Carpenters' Tools, 31-34, for a description of a crosscut saw. A spoke shave at Littleton reflects the activity of a cooper or wheelwright.

<sup>102</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 64.

1736. Two quarts of the cider were "Syder Royal," an imported variety, 79.5 gallons were "Hueses apple" cider, 366 gallons were "white apple" cider, and the remainder was unspecified. Brandy debits amounted to 345.5 quarts. Tureman, Green, and Rosararo, Bray's tenant and overseers, received 120 quarts of that total, Rosararo alone getting 87 quarts over several years. Tureman received shares of cider and brandy. Most of the brandy entries were for 1743 and 1744, but there were twenty-one entries for brandy in the 1730s.<sup>103</sup> At the time of Bray's death in 1744 there were on hand fifty gallons of brandy, 211.5 gallons of unspecified cider and seventeen "dozen," perhaps referring to the number of bottles, of "Cyder Royal." Augustine Brown also certified that another cask of cider was distributed among the overseers after Bray died. Brown's statement indicates that the cider was kept in the cellar of the Bray house, and archaeological excavation has shown that one room of the basement was tiled and fitted with a drain sump for food or beverage storage.<sup>104</sup> Both James Brays owned stills, which were used to make distilled liquors such as brandy.<sup>105</sup> The large number of bottles owned by both Brays and the casks made by the Little-town cooper are other signs of beverage manufacture on the plantation.

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<sup>103</sup>Bray Ledger. For cider and cider making see Tryon, Household Manufactures, 229-231; Carter, Diary, 179.

<sup>104</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 100-121; Burwell v Johnson, 141; and Kelso, "The 1972 Season," fig. 4.

<sup>105</sup>Will of James Bray, Nov. 18, 1725; Bray Ledger, fol. 107. Cider was made in a press.

Wine and rum were also included in the ledger accounts, but they were imported, not made on the estate. They were part of what was in effect merchandizing activity on the part of James Bray III. Basically Bray acted as an importer or distributor of goods for other persons. His connections as a planter to the external economic system, involving credit and transportation ties with merchants, allowed him to do this. Also involved were other persons' credit ties to him, for he could order goods for them on the basis of an expected cash crop or other anticipated return. Such activity on Bray's part is shown in his accounts through entries for such articles as rum, tea, wine, sugar, molasses, coffee, snuff, chocolate, oranges, salt, cheese, and large amounts of several kinds of cloth, including linen and Welsh cotton.<sup>106</sup> There were entries for these kinds of items throughout the ledger period, with the majority for the 1740 to 1744 period. Both James Brays owned money scales and steelyards, which were balance beam scales, the basic measuring instruments necessary for this and other plantation activity.<sup>107</sup>

Now that all of the major activities included in the Bray ledger have been described it is possible to approach the problem of why certain of them seem concentrated in the period of 1740 and after. The answer could lie in James

<sup>106</sup>Bray Ledger.

<sup>107</sup>Will of James Bray, Nov. 18, 1725; Bray Ledger, fol. 106, 108, 119, 120. Partridge, Farm Tools, illustrates a type of beam steelyard on p. 188.

Bray III's recordkeeping. Most of the entries in his ledger are for the 1740s, especially 1743 and 1744. Perhaps Bray became more systematic or thorough in his accounts and simply recorded more of what went on as he grew in experience.

Even granting a probable increase in the thoroughness of Bray's accounts, the concentration of entries in the years following 1739 or so could reflect a true change of emphasis on the plantation. Some types of items such as brandy have several entries for the 1730s while others like meal have few or none before the 1740s. Certain known Littleton personnel, including Green, Heighns, Robert Roberts -- if he was indeed connected to the plantation -- and John Brown, did not appear in the accounts before 1739 or 1740. The first entries for Green and Brown make it fairly clear that they had just arrived in 1740 and 1741, so Bray's accounts could not have simply failed to notice them in the 1730s.<sup>108</sup> Manuell Rosararo was in the accounts from 1736 on. So it appears that some new people were added from 1739 to 1741, and their appearance was not due to increased accounting ability on Bray's part. Repairs on the mill, some ditching, the building of a chimney and wall, and work on a well were also concentrated in 1743 and 1744. Brick production would indicate an earlier building period also, one ending by 1742 if Bray's sales of bricks tell anything about brickmaking for his own use. An increase in other activities on the

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<sup>108</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 15, 16.

plantation could be tied to the same causes responsible for the building activity.

Bray may have deliberately expanded or begun some of his operations around 1740 in order to cope with the possible debt problems mentioned earlier, or as a response to a depressed tobacco market. It is also possible that Bray's marriage to Frances Thacker in 1740 had a direct effect on affairs at Littleton.<sup>109</sup> Alterations may have been required to bring the house and dependencies into order as a family home again, and Bray may not have resided at Littleton full time before his marriage. In addition, Bray acquired from his wife and father-in-law a certain amount of capital in the form of land and slaves, which could have been a direct impetus to increased activity on Bray's lands.<sup>110</sup>

Also, Bray only took over the plantation's operations in 1736, and for several years before then it had been a secondary estate rather than a home plantation. It may have taken him a while to settle into his role as plantation manager, to acquire the capital, experience, and confidence needed to carry on full-scale activity on his estates. In this sense both the stepping up of plantation activity and Bray's wedding could be indicative of a "settling down" on his part. Whatever the explanation, about 1740 there does seem to have been an increase in those activities at Littleton for which records survive.

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<sup>109</sup>See n 15 for chap. II above for "Marriage Bonds in Middlesex County."  
<sup>110</sup>Burwell y Johnson, 140.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

The description given in these chapters shows that Littleton is an informative case study of an eighteenth-century Tidewater plantation. It provides a contained unit for study since it existed as a home plantation for only the first half of the eighteenth century, and really had only two periods of intensive activity under resident planters: from shortly before 1700 to 1725, and from 1736 to 1744. The written and archaeological evidence yields information on several aspects of Littleton, including plantation operations, material life, servants and slaves, the physical plantation itself, the family that owned it, crops, livestock, and ties to the external economy. While the amount of detail required for a truly complete examination of each of these specific areas may be lacking, the breadth of the view provided by the information at hand is rewarding.

One of the most interesting aspects of the Littleton example is the information it provides about nontobacco production activities on the plantation. The variety of products sold by Littleton to the local area is more impressive than the actual quantity of each item that was sold. While sizeable amounts of some items were sold, such as the



12,000 pounds of pork and 850 loads of wood, other products such as milled wheat had very little surplus available for sale. Yet sales were made of such various kinds of goods as fodder, corn, wood, coopers' products, labor services, wheat, pork, beef, mutton, bricks, and shoes.

There are indications that some of the products sold by James Bray III were surpluses beyond his own needs as opposed to deliberate market products. He apparently used much more corn on his properties than he sold, for example. The lot sizes of beef and mutton may well show that he only sold meat that was extra and on hand after butchering for his own plantation needs. Other items, such as bricks, cider, brandy, flour, and wood, could have been intended initially for home use and sold only after domestic needs were met. The sale of products intended primarily for the plantation's use would tend to show that Littleton's activities were a part of traditional plantation self-sufficiency patterns as opposed to deliberate diversification. The Littleton example shows how self-sufficiency and diversification were really linked, however. Traditional plantation activities provided the planter with operations that could be used to diversify production as soon as local markets allowed it. Thus James Bray III may have used time honored activities of a self-sufficient estate--brickmaking, wood cutting, milling, shoemaking, meat raising--to bring in money to alleviate debt, as a response to poor tobacco markets, because of depleted soil, or as investment ventures into a diversified

economic sphere.

None of the economic pursuits of the Brays was unusual for a Tidewater Virginia plantation. The question is one of emphasis, for every plantation activity required resources that could be used for other things. The ideal of the self-sufficient plantation called for "diversity," since the property had to provide for most of its own needs, but did not necessarily call for market surpluses in several non-staple areas of production.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately there are no sets of figures that could say that a particular pattern of diversity, or a particular amount of surplus, was or was not a step beyond self-sufficiency or "normal" plantation production within a local economy. Perhaps a thorough reappraisal of the concept of self-sufficiency is needed. The Littletown example demonstrates how a plantation could appear "diversified" to some degree before the middle of the eighteenth century. An examination of the nontobacco activities of tobacco plantations from 1620 to 1790 may be necessary in order to see what self-sufficient activity actually was, and to discover when it became a basis for diversification.

Any increased diversification of the plantation was tied to growing diversification and interdependence within the local economy. Within his local area the planter could sell in small quantities to suit his own needs, something

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<sup>1</sup>Tryon, Household Manufactures, 241; Gray, History of Agriculture, 453.

that would be impossible for an isolated planter tied only to export markets of major cash crops. Without local markets, especially Williamsburg, the Brays would not have been able to market such varied items as meat, shoes, wood, and bricks. Even if the marketable surplus of such articles was small, a greater market existed for them in 1725 or 1750 than there would have been in 1650 or 1675.

Perhaps the entire chronology of diversification should be reappraised. The agricultural and economic situation in which plantations operated was changing gradually through the eighteenth century, and generalizations from late eighteenth-century sources should not necessarily be applied over the entire century. For example, among the accounts of James Bray III there are three diagrams that represent someone's attempts to plan field use. The diagrams consist of horizontal rows of blocks filled from left to right with crop names. The two more complete of the three read, "tobacco, tobacco, wheat, clover, clover, clover," and "tobacco, tobacco, wheat, clover, clover, corn" across the rows.<sup>2</sup> The first response to the scribblings is to say that they must have been the work of Nathaniel Burwell, who used the second portion of the ledger, left blank by Bray, to keep his own plantation accounts later in the century. The handwriting of the abbreviated crop names does not pinpoint the notations as Burwell's, and they appear well to the

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<sup>2</sup>Bray Ledger, fol. 2. Crop names are abbreviated in original.

front of the book among Bray's accounts. Yet attribution for the diagrams should go to someone later than Bray, the stock answer holds, because "well-defined systems of rotation were rarely employed in the tobacco colonies before the close of the colonial period."<sup>3</sup>

The diagrams could, however, be Bray's. "Well-defined systems of rotation" are attributed to the later portions of the eighteenth century because by then well known planters such as Thomas Jefferson were recording them and had developed relatively thorough rotation schemes for their large farms.<sup>4</sup> The use of fodder crops to rest or restore land was known long before the eighteenth century.<sup>5</sup> Landon Carter was planting clover by 1757, if not earlier. James Bray III certainly used fodder from his corn plants and had numbers of livestock to feed. He may well have known how to employ clover to restore fields, for he read Richard Bradley, an English author on farming.<sup>6</sup> The particular book of Bradley's that Bray owned may not have mentioned clover, but as early as the 1720s Bradley was discussing the use of clover in his published works.<sup>7</sup> So James Bray indeed could have

<sup>3</sup>Gray, History of Agriculture, 197.

<sup>4</sup>Jefferson, Farm Book, 314-317.

<sup>5</sup>Mingay, English Landed Society, 168; Braudel, Capitalism and Material Life, 75.

<sup>6</sup>Carter, Diary, 146. Dr. Peter Hay bought "Bradley's Book on Gardening" from Bray's estate in 1744: Bray Ledger, fol. 104. At the same time Hay got the only other of Bray's books mentioned by author or title: Patrick Gordon's Geography Anatomiz'd: or the Geographical Grammar (London, 1741).

<sup>7</sup>Richard Bradley, A General Treatise of Husbandry and Gardening; Containing a New System of Vegetation (London, 1726), I, 175-188; G.E.Fussell, The Old English Farming Books

sat at his desk in the late 1730s or early 1740s and scribbled plans for field use involving combinations of wheat, clover, and tobacco.

Unfortunately a view of the actual process of change through time is lacking in the Littleton example. There is simply too little information. James Bray III grew wheat, but judging from the evidence at hand his grandfather did not, perhaps indicating a change from 1725 to 1740. However, both men raised similar kinds of livestock and the differences in their stock populations, except possibly for that of sheep, are minor. To confuse the picture even more, there is simply no evidence to say whether James Bray II did or did not run a mill, grow corn in any quantity, sell bricks, employ a shoemaker, or market pork. The lack of evidence on this point makes the motive for any Bray diversification hard to pinpoint. Since the process of change itself is so vaguely defined for Littleton, it is impossible to say whether it came out of economic forces pushing for diversification, the individual debt of the Bray planters, entailment of their lands, a desire to escape the fluctuations of the tobacco market, or some other cause. Any conclusions about diversification or change must be quite tentative, and taken as suggestions only, if based on the Littleton evidence.

Littleton and the Brays show signs of what at the time was stability: local family status and power, land,

slaves, a planter home as the center of an active plantation, and connections with the surrounding economy through a firm grounding in tobacco cultivation. Yet Littleton was a secondary estate or quarter by mid-century and never again served as a central family estate. The two tenures of James Bray II and James Bray III were not enough to establish the permanency of Littleton as a Bray family seat. Previous chapters have pointed out the entailment of much of the family's acreage and the subsequent concentration of those estates under Thomas Bray and James Bray III. That entailment itself may have financially hurt those men. What dealt the blow to Littleton, however, was the fact that James died in 1744 leaving no heirs and Thomas died in 1751 with no male heirs. So regardless of its relationship to the external world the plantation ceased to exist as a home estate. Circumstances simply caused a dispersion rather than a concentration of Bray resources despite the workings of outside economic forces.

Writing on a subject not strictly related to Virginia plantations, F.T. Wainwright stated that "however pleased we are with some of our syntheses, we should do well to remember that we cannot at best achieve more than a rough approximation to the truth, a simplified version of events and conditions to a great extent beyond recall. After every conclusion we should do well to write 'It was more complicated than

that."<sup>8</sup> This caveat must be kept in mind when studying Littleton, for the plantation was certainly "more complicated" than the view provided by that evidence which survives. However, a great deal may now be said about the plantation based on the available information. As a whole Littleton presents a surprisingly complete picture of a plantation that operated in an important period of the eighteenth century, and as such it contributes to an understanding of that period in Virginia's history.

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<sup>8</sup>F.T. Wainwright, "Archaeology and Place-Names," in H.P.R. Finberg, ed., Approaches to History (Toronto, 1962), 220-221.

## APPENDIX A

Domestic Items from Inventory of James Bray II, 1725  
 (Source: Will of James Bray, Nov. 18, 1725--  
 inventory taken Jan. 3, 1725/26)

Furnishings/Accessories:

5 feather beds	brass fenders
4 dozen leather chairs	2 silver candlesticks
6 silk camlet chairs	1 pair silver snuffers
1 clock	2 brass candlesticks
several pictures	1 pair brass snuffers
2 bureaus	2 silver candle cups
4 walnut tables	1 pair money scales
3 pairs of andirons	5 looking glasses
2 pairs of tongs	

Linens/Textiles:

3 quilts	2 large tablecloths
2 rugs	2 small tablecloths
5 blankets	1 dozen diaper napkins
3 pair household sheets	1 dozen coarse napkins
3 pair coarse sheets	

Table/Kitchen Items:

1 dozen pewter plates	1 copper kettle
1 dozen deep pewter plates	12 60-gal. cider casks
6 small dishes	1 large still
6 large dishes	2 quart silver tankards
3 gross "& odd" quart bottles	2 dozen silver spoons
other bottles	2 silver salvers
12 gallon stone/ware/ jugs	2 bell metal skillets
3 iron pots	1 dozen maple handled knives
	1 dozen maple handled forks
	1 chocolate pot
	1 coffee pot



## APPENDIX A (Cont.)

Personal Items:

1 saddle and bridle  
1 pair silver spurs  
1 pair silver shoe buckles  
1 silver headed cane  
1 amber headed cane  
1 silver hilted sword and belt  
2 razors with case  
2 coats of arms

## APPENDIX B

Domestic Items from Estate of James Bray III, 1744-1746  
 (Source: Bray Ledger, fol. 100-123)

Furnishings/Accessories:

1 desk and bookcase	1 iron back band
1 trunk	1 pair brass candlesticks
3 chests	1 old candlestick
14 leather chairs	1 old sundial
1 old spinning wheel	3 looking glasses
14 walnut chairs	1 tea chest with pot and pail
1 walnut tea table	1 old tea table with tea kettle
2 field beds	3 iron trivets & heaters
6 maple chairs	1 pair andirons
2 old oval tables	2 candlesticks
4 old broken chairs	1 old box iron and heaters
3 beds "& furniture"	1 old warming pan
1 large table	
1 old brass fender	

Linens/Textiles:

1 new bed tick, bolster, and pillows  
 1 port manteau  
 9 pairs sheets  
 1 pair fine sheets  
 9 table cloths  
 3 diaper table cloths  
 napkins  
 10 towels

Table/Kitchen Items:

1 marble mortar	1 gridiron
2 dozen "hard-mottle" plates	6 candle molds
2 stout jugs	3 pair bellows
2 chafing dishes	1 brass kettle
5 piggins	1 water pot
30 milk pans	1 dozen pewter plates
1 cold still	4 small wine glasses
1 plate stand	16 wine glasses
	2 decanters

## APPENDIX B (Cont.)

6 earthen plates	1 parcel of old china
2 earthen dishes	1 butter boat
1 gallon pot	1 butter dish and salt
1 large funnel	1 counterpin
1 China tea pot	1 large iron mortar and pestle
5 China cups	2 old chocolate pots
1 spice mortar and pestle	1 watering can
cruets and stand	1 frying pan
4 stone/ware/ chamber-pots	1 old grindstone
5 pewter dishes	1 old pot
6 pewter plates	1 quart pot
4 iron pots	1 pot rack
5 tin cannisters	1 pair tongs and shovel
1 leaden milk stand	1 bell metal skillet
6 tin dish covers	1 hand mill

Other:

1 pair garden shears	other books
8 books	1½ gross of pipes
"Bradley's book on gardening"	80 oz. silver
"Gordon's Geographical Grammar"	2 old wigs
1 new Common Prayer Book	1 powdering tub

## APPENDIX C

Domestic Items from Trash Pits at Littleton:  
A Partial List, from Pits KM9, KM10, KM33-35  
(from the 2nd quarter of the 18th century)

(Source: Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission)

Ceramics

stoneware: tankards, jugs, and bottles in brown stoneware; chamberpots, jugs, and tankards in blue and grey Rhenish-type stoneware; table dishes and mugs in white saltglazed stoneware.

Chinese porcelain: tea dishes with underglaze blue and/or overglaze gold decoration.

delftware: chamberpots, drug and ointment jars, porringers, plates and bowls in plain white, blue on white, and polychrome delftware.

coarse earthenwares: jars of English Buckleyware; milk pans and jars of Rogers (Yorktown) ware.

other: small agateware bowl; slipware dish; tea bowls of red Astbury type ware.

Glass

window glass, wine bottle glass, one glass tankard, wine glasses (at least 4 types), glass bowl, goblets, and decanters.

Miscellaneous:

forks  
 spoons (pewter and  
   copper alloy)  
 lock parts  
 copper pins  
 corking wires  
 buckles (iron and  
   copper alloy)  
 button parts

tacks  
 jew's harp  
 decorative bosses  
 bone comb  
 pipe stems  
 hinge  
 lead window casing  
 folding knife with bone handles  
 iron pintle

## APPENDIX D

Livestock in the Estate of James Bray II  
 (Source: Will of James Bray, Nov. 18, 1725--  
 inventory taken Jan. 3, 1725/26)

at "Little Town":

25 cows	4 draft oxen
6 3 and 4-year old steers	3 cart horses
8 cow yearlings	2 saddle horses
2 bulls	1 young horse
	1 young mare

at Debb's Quarter:

10 cows "young and old"  
 10 steers "about 7 years old"  
 12 hogs, sows, barrows  
 16 young pigs

at Jacko's Quarter:

18 steers "about 14 years old" (?)	24 shoats, "about 1 year old"
2 "old" bulls	5 "breeding sows"
13 cows and 2-year olds	2 boars
45 sheep "young and old"	5 barrows "about 2 years old"
	"30-odd pigs"

"in Chickahominy":at Rogers' Quarter:

5 "large" steers	2 "Yearling colts"
15 cows and heifers	5 barrows
5 2-year olds	2 sows
7 calves	10 "pigs"
2 mares	4 shoats

## APPENDIX D (Cont.)

at Bridges Quarter:

5 "large" steers	10 barrows
9 cows and heifers	7 sows
3 "small" steers	7 shoats
1 bull	<u>15</u> ? pigs

at Dubblerum's Quarter:

3 "young" steers	1 mare
9 cows and heifers	1 colt
6 calves	5 barrows
5 2-year olds	2 "Sows from shoats" (?)
1 bull stagg <u>a</u> gelded	5 pigs
bull	

at Nero's Quarter:

2 sows  
3 barrows  
6 pigs

at New Kent Quarter

4 "large" steers	2 sows
6 cows	4 shoats
5 2-year olds	6 pigs
4 yearlings	1 mare
6 barrows	

at Rockahock Quarter:

25 cattle "young and old"  
30 hogs "young and old"

TOTALS:

227	Cattle
14	Horses
225	Swine (approx.)
<u>45</u>	Sheep
511	(approx.)

## APPENDIX E

Livestock in the Estate of James Bray III  
 (Source: Bray Ledger, fol. 100-123)

Cattle:

128	cows	
73	steers	
29	calves	
10	bulls	
7	heifers	
44	yearlings	
16	oxen and draft steers	
9	"young cattle"	
41	2-year olds	
8	3-year olds	
7	4-year olds	
<u>372</u>	total	372 Cattle

Swine:

29+	hogs and boars	
1	shoat	
8	sows	
18+	pigs	
1	"barren sow"	
<u>57+</u>	total	57+ Swine

Sheep:

192	unspecified sheep	
9	"Muttons before Appraisement"	
<u>201</u>	total	201 Sheep

Horses:

8	mares	
3	colts	
4	stallions and geldings	
2	unspecified or other	
<u>17</u>	total	<u>17</u> Horses

Total: 647+

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