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Loyalists and Baconians: the participants in Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia, 1676-1677

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Sprinkle, John Harold Jr., Ph.D.

The College of William and Mary, 1992

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LOYALISTS AND BACONIANS
THE PARTICIPANTS IN BACON'S REBELLION
IN VIRGINIA, 1676-1677

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

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

by
John Harold Sprinkle, Jr.

1992

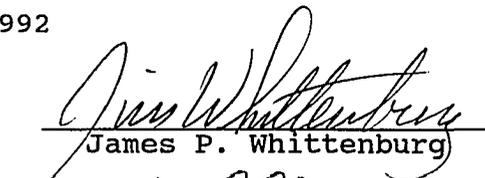
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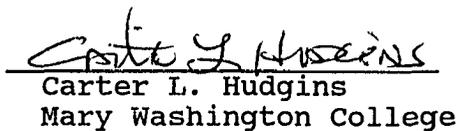
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This Dissertation is Dedicated to
Esther C. White.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
LIST OF TABLES.....	vi
ABSTRACT.....	vii
CHAPTER I. BEYOND BACON AND BERKELEY TO BACONIANS AND LOYALISTS.....	2
CHAPTER II. "TOO YOUNG, TOO MUCH A STRANGER THERE": CHARACTERISTICS OF REBELS IN BACON'S REBELLION.....	44
CHAPTER III. "SERVICES AND SUFFERINGS...MOST SIGNAL AND EMINENT": CHARACTERISTICS OF LOYALISM IN BACON'S REBELLION.....	115
CHAPTER IV. THE "SUBTLE INSINUATIONS" OF "SOME DISAFFECTED PERSONS": BACON'S REBELLION IN SURRY AND YORK COUNTIES, VIRGINIA....	160
CHAPTER V. THE CHARACTER OF BACON'S REBELLION.....	219
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	240

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In 1982 I left the University of Delaware with a bachelors degree in anthropology and headed to Williamsburg to begin graduate studies in historical archaeology. Ten years later I have completed my education at William and Mary. I can not think of a better place to study the history and archaeology of colonial America.

I wish to thank the members of the dissertation committee for their contributions to this research. The idea to study the participants in Bacon's Rebellion began in the classrooms of Professors Kelly and Selby and at symposia organized by Professor Tate at the Institute of Early American History and Culture. Professor Hudgins provided a model at William and Mary for dissertations on colonial society. In particular, I should acknowledge the committee's director, James P. Whittenburg, for his steadfast guidance and faith in my abilities. His support throughout my studies at William and Mary was invaluable.

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LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.	Baconian Leadership.....	52
2.	Inventoried Baconians.....	70
3.	Baconian Real Estate.....	75
4.	Baconian Servants and Slaves.....	85
5.	Baconian Livestock.....	88
6.	Baconian Credits and Debts.....	90
7.	Baconian Estate Bonds.....	92
8.	Baconian Estate Bonds (By Value).....	93
9.	Baconian Economic Means Index (EMI).....	99
10.	Amenities Index Comparison.....	102
11.	Participation in Bacon's Rebellion Among Virginia's Elites.....	139
12.	Age Distribution Among Loyalists.....	143
13.	Distribution of Loyalist Landholdings and Virginia Population Density.....	147
14.	Lawnes Creek Parish Uprising Participants...	188
15.	Plunder from Arthur Allen's Plantation.....	195
16.	Surry County Baconians.....	197

ABSTRACT

Previous interpretations of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia (1676-1677) have focused on either the competition between the two major participants, Governor William Berkeley or Councilor Nathaniel Bacon, or the social and economic causes of the uprising. This study presents a collective description of the participants from both sides of the rebellion: Loyalists and Baconians. Participant characteristics such as wealth, social status, officeholding, family life, and standard of living were compared in an attempt to distinguish individual reasons for rebellion or loyal service.

This research demonstrates that although all segments of colonial society were represented in the rebellion, both the Baconians and the Loyalists were primarily comprised of middling and elite Virginians. The study shows that the Baconians were well established farmers and were not poor farmers or ex-indentured servants. For individuals, participation in Bacon's Rebellion was influenced by three factors: a general frustration with the nature of colonial society; specific and personal grievances against the government of Sir William Berkeley; and accidents of family relations and geography. Bacon's Rebellion was thus an comprehensive, planned, personally and politically motivated upheaval that was well within the pattern of revolts established in the colonial Chesapeake.

LOYALISTS AND BACONIANS
THE PARTICIPANTS IN BACON'S REBELLION
IN VIRGINIA, 1676-1677

CHAPTER I

BEYOND BACON AND BERKELEY TO LOYALISTS AND BACONIANS

Many historians describe the rebellion of Nathaniel Bacon and his followers against the established government of Governor Sir William Berkeley in 1676-1677 as a watershed in the history of colonial Virginia. In fact, the most recent comprehensive histories of early Virginia each devote an entire chapter to the rebellion.¹ The story of Bacon's rebellion has provided controversy for generations of both professional historians and the general public, and among both, the question of causation has fostered a wide range of interpretive answers. The rebellion has been variously interpreted as the social and political precursor to the American Revolution; as a pivotal event in the shift from indentured to slave labor in the tobacco economy of the late seventeenth century; and as a revolutionary civil war between the propertied and unpropertied social classes.² Regardless of the interpretation, Bacon's Rebellion was "a turning point of no small consequence" in the history of Colonial America.³

Despite a wealth of historical research, questions about Bacon's Rebellion have always centered on its two

leaders, Councilor Nathaniel Bacon, Jr. and Governor William Berkeley. The purpose of this dissertation is to broaden the understanding of Bacon's Rebellion by expanding our knowledge of its participants. Who were they and why did they choose to rebel with Bacon or remain loyal to Berkeley?

II

Bacon's Rebellion began in April 1676 when Nathaniel Bacon was acclaimed as leader for some 300 to 500 colonists assembled at Jordon's Point, near present-day Hopewell, Virginia. The crowd of settlers, dissatisfied with Governor's Berkeley's handling of continuing Indian attacks, enlisted the young Councilor with cries of "A Bacon! A Bacon! A Bacon!"⁴ On April 27th, Bacon reported to Governor Berkeley that "the whole Country is much alarmed with the fear of a Generall Combination" of the Indians and that "none deserves less to be supported than hee that only aimnes at his owne defense and the Countrys safety and who desires ever to bee esteemed by your honor [Berkeley] as a loyal subject."⁵

For over a year, the Susquehannocks and other Native groups had been raiding peripheral English settlements in revenge for a brutal attack on their Maryland village during 1675.⁶ Newly arrived in the colony, Bacon wished that the colony would vigorously retaliate against these Indian incursions. In contrast, Governor Berkeley desired to maintain the system of tributary Indians, established in

1646 at the end of the second Anglo-Powhatan war, that served as a buffer between the English colony and the tribes of the Piedmont interior.⁷

Berkeley and Bacon had quarreled previously over relations between the English and their Native American neighbors. During September 1675, "when all the Country was all armed by a feare and Jelousie that all the Indians were conspired against us", Bacon, for some unstated reason, took several Appomattox Indians prisoner. Berkeley severely reprimanded the young settler, reminding him: "Sir, the King hath committed chiefly the care of the Country to mee and though you and diverse with you may thinke mee unable to manage soe greate a trust, yett whilst I hold this place I thinke all will say that some difference was to bee shewed to mee in so important an affaيرة of the Country." Governor Berkeley's long experience with Virginia's Indians made him "watchfull that nothing bee donne concerning them but by my knowledge."⁸

To colonists living on Virginia's periphery, Berkeley's centralized control over Indian relations was frustrating and inefficient. Support for Bacon's aggressive military option spread among frontier colonists "like a trayne of powder."⁹ However, as Thomas Matthew recorded, only 57 planters joined with Bacon in May on the expedition against the Occaneechees. Upon hearing of these unauthorized attacks upon the Indians, Governor Berkeley declared

Nathaniel Bacon a rebel for leading a militia without a commission from the royal governor. As a political inducement, Berkeley offered pardons for those persons who would lay down their arms and peaceably return to their farms.¹⁰

In early June, after an abortive march to Henrico County to capture the rebel Bacon, Governor Berkeley, supported by 300 followers, returned to Jamestown and called for new elections to the House of Burgesses. In Henrico, Bacon's home county, 30 to 40 persons prevented the sheriff from reading Berkeley's proclamations against the rebel Bacon. As the June Assembly got underway, Bacon and 20 to 50 of his followers were captured on board a ship in the James River by Thomas Gardiner.¹¹ Bacon returned to Henrico County after a compromise with the Governor and the House of Burgesses in which the wayward Councilor was granted a commission to command and raise a 1,000-person army. After Governor Berkeley delayed issuing Bacon's commission, on June 23 Bacon returned from the frontier at the head of 100 to 600 troops to force delivery of his commission as "general and commander-in-chief." Berkeley, able to muster only 4 ensigns and 100 men for the defence of the colonial capital, yielded to Bacon's demands and signed 30 blank commissions for subordinate officers in the Virginia militia.¹²

In July, Bacon and his army of 1,000 to 1,200 colonists rendezvoused at the falls of the James River in preparation for a campaign against the Indians. Hearing that Governor Berkeley was threatening to challenge his authority, Bacon and his force marched down the James-York peninsula and set up headquarters at Capt. Otho Thorpe's house at Middle Plantation. Put off in an attempt to gather the support of some 1,200 militiamen in Gloucester County, Governor Berkeley retreated to the Eastern Shore estate of Major General John Custis, where he was joined by at least 40 gentlemen "of the best qualitie."¹³

In August, Bacon called "all the prime gentlemen" of the colony to a meeting at Middle Plantation, later the site of Williamsburg. Here the rebel issued his "Declaration of the People" and required his followers to swear an oath of loyalty. Many Virginians, including two other of Berkeley's Councilors, were "seduced to rebellion" by Bacon's "illegal" oath at the Middle Plantation meeting.¹⁴ Later in the month, Bacon sent Giles Bland and Captain William Carver with 200 troops across the Bay in an attempt to capture Governor Berkeley. Bland and Carver were themselves captured by the Loyalists and the Governor offered a pardon to the troops that would support his attempt to retake the Virginia mainland.¹⁵

By early September Governor Berkeley crossed the Chesapeake with between 600 and 1,000 men loaded on about 16

ships. Fearful of a superior loyalist force, Thomas Hansford, commander of the 500-900 man Baconian garrison at Jamestown, abandoned the capitol and sought out Bacon who was on the frontier on yet another campaign against the Indians. Bacon returned to Jamestown with only 136 exhausted soldiers, although his numbers soon increased to 300 men, and found the Governor well encased within the town. As the rebels lay siege to the town, the Governor's troops deserted Jamestown and Berkeley was forced to retreat again to the Eastern Shore. On September 19, Bacon entered Jamestown and burned it to the ground. Soon after, another group of 1,000 loyalists, under the command of Giles Brent, marching from the Northern Neck towards Jamestown abandoned their attempt to rescue Governor Berkeley.¹⁶

Nathaniel Bacon died on October 26, 1676 at the home of Major Thomas Pate in Gloucester County near the head of the York River. Under the command of Joseph Ingram, the Baconians established small outposts at various points within the colony. Twenty men were stationed under Thomas Hansford at Colonel Reade's home and 30 to 40 individuals were placed with Major Whaley at Nathaniel Bacon's (the elder) home in York County. Captain Smith led 200 men at West Point, Captain Drew and 100 others held the Governor's Green Spring plantation, and approximately 600 troops remained at Major Pate's. In all, the Baconians numbered about 1,000.¹⁷

Governor Berkeley seized upon the death of Bacon to launch an amphibious campaign against the Baconian strongholds. Berkeley's raids included only 120 to 150 men transported on four ships. The smaller garrisons on the James-York peninsula were taken by force. Baconians fled to the frontier posts surrounding West Point or returned home trying to mask their rebellion. At the end of the rebellion on January 16, 1677, the West Point garrison held only 250-300 "freemen, servants, and slaves."¹⁸

Bacon's Rebellion ended in January 1677 with about 300 rebellious participants, approximately the same number it had begun with back in April of 1676. At its height, the largest gatherings of men from across the colony numbered just over 1,000 persons: Giles Brent's Northern Neck troops during their march from the Potomac, the Gloucester County men sought by both Bacon and Berkeley, and Bacon's Army gathered at the falls of the James River. Both sides of the rebellion had a core of participants that numbered around 50 Baconians and Loyalists.

Numerically and geographically the extent of the rebellion was widespread. Rebellion activities occurred in all sections of the colony, from the Eastern Shore to the western frontier and from the Northern Neck to the Southside. Much of the action took place within the counties bordering the York and James Rivers--the core of the colony. What began as a frontier meeting during April

1676, quickly expanded in scope and severity to engage the entire colony in a violent, disruptive uprising. In August 1676, Isaac Allerton described the state of Virginia: "Here is a generall defection among the Vulgar (to say nothing of some others) from Loyalty."¹⁹

III

Because of its scope, modern historians, beginning with Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker's Torchbearer of the Revolution, Virginia under the Stuarts, and The Planters of Colonial Virginia, have assigned a particular significance to the armed revolt of Tidewater planters and servants led by Nathaniel Bacon against Virginia's established government and its long-time Governor, Sir William Berkeley.²⁰ Wertenbaker saw Bacon and his followers as the heroic forefathers to the revolutionaries of 1776 who likewise sought to cast off the chains of colonial domination. As the precursor to the eighteenth-century American Revolution, Bacon's Virginia rebellion of 1676 was portrayed as the initial struggle of freedom-loving proto-democrats to overthrow an oppressive royalist and hierarchical government. According to Wertenbaker, Nathaniel Bacon was the greatest American figure of the seventeenth century, while Governor Berkeley is depicted as the guiding force behind a conspiratorial, patronage-based colonial government.

Wertebaker found the seeds of rebellion well nurtured in the post-Restoration Virginia soil. The landscape and its English inhabitants were worn from years of declining tobacco profits, savage Indian raids, excessive and unaccounted for taxes, and hostile weather conditions. The focus of all these ills was Governor Berkeley, whose domination of the colonial government gave him seemingly unlimited powers in Virginia.

When Nathaniel Bacon arrived in Virginia he was not disposed toward leading a revolution against his cousin-by-marriage, the Governor. In fact, Bacon landed in the colony with almost every advantage; he had the capital to purchase a large estate and was well connected with the powers that ruled Virginia. The future rebel was soon appointed to the Governor's Council.

What then drove Bacon to incite the people of Virginia to rise up against a Governor who had guided them since the 1640s? The initial spark was the "Indian terror" which had plagued the frontier areas of the colony since 1675. After his plantation overseer was killed in a raid, Bacon asked Governor Berkeley for a commission to lead a military reprisal against the Indians. When it was denied, Bacon raised a militia with which he led a successful attack on the Occaneechees and the Susquehannocks.

Bacon's reasons for rebellion eventually found expression in the 1676 "June Assembly" of the Virginia House

of Burgesses. Here Bacon's followers dominated the gathering of Virginia's representatives that, according to Wertebaker's interpretation, swept away a series of governmental abuses that had oppressed the colony under Governor Berkeley. Intimidated by Bacon's show of force at the Assembly, Berkeley reluctantly passed the reform legislation, believing he could nullify the proceedings after the Baconians had left Jamestown. Wertebaker saw the actions and grievances presented in the June Assembly as a prologue to the American Revolution.

The failure of Bacon's Rebellion to remove the tyranny of Berkeley's government was the final blow in the struggle between Virginia's yeoman farmers and its emerging great planters. Wertebaker envisioned Virginia prior to Bacon's rebellion as a democratic society of small, relatively self-sufficient tobacco farmers and indentured servants. Wertebaker depicted the yeoman farmers, comprising the majority of Virginia's settlers, with the hypothetical "Peter Bottom:" a intelligent, prosperous, self-respecting farmer whose future in the colony depended upon his ambition, strength, initiative, and hard work. This society was transformed after the rebellion into the hierarchical, gentry-dominated colony of great plantations built upon the backs of slave labor. The tragedy of Bacon's failed revolt was the subsequent decline of the small farmer, whom Wertebaker saw as the backbone of American society.

The irony of Wertenbaker's interpretation of Bacon's Rebellion is that the champion of the yeoman farmer, Nathaniel Bacon, and his adversary, Governor Berkeley, were both from the privileged class. Wertenbaker focuses the story of the rebellion as a competition between these two leaders. Bacon is described as an unwitting leader of a revolution; driven by the desperate situation of the frontier planters, he suddenly found himself the "Cromwell of Virginia." Berkeley, on the other hand is depicted as a once trusting and effective Governor, who, through time and experience, had grown to resent the influence and actions of young frontier upstarts such as Bacon. The Baconians justified their rebellion against the established government when they perceived that the Governor failed to meet the threat of increasing Indian attacks. Thus, according to Wertenbaker, the revolt was truly a prologue to the American Revolution because liberty and the rights of men came before the confining structures of government.

In a direct challenge to Wertenbaker's "torchbearer" interpretation of Bacon's Rebellion, Wilcomb Washburn's The Governor and the Rebel hailed the actions of Governor Berkeley and portrayed Bacon as the culprit in the revolt. However, in lowering the stature of Bacon to "rebel," Washburn uncritically raises the status of Berkeley to protector of the common good.²¹

Washburn's task was to dismantle the "democratic" myth surrounding Nathaniel Bacon's revolt constructed by Wertebaker's interpretation. Washburn's revision, based in part on newly identified manuscripts, presents Bacon's glorious military victory over the Indians during May 1676 as another example of typical English treachery against Indian allies during the seventeenth century. Bacon's defeat of the Occaneechees came not during a military confrontation, but rather during a dispute over the distribution of plunder from a previous attack.

Washburn's reinterpretation similarly diminishes the importance of the "June Assembly" and dismisses Bacon's role in shaping the actions of the Burgesses. Washburn correctly points out that for much of the Assembly, Bacon was not even in Jamestown. If reform was the goal of the rebellion, then why would Bacon allow a law to be passed regarding the appointment of Councilors that would have effectively denied him his position on the Council? Washburn stresses that throughout the crisis in governmental leadership, Governor Berkeley tried repeatedly to appease the rebel and his followers through offers of pardons and commissions.

After the June Assembly, Virginia was under the control of the Baconians. Governor Berkeley was forced to retire to the Eastern Shore, where he maintained the support of several prominent citizens. With the Baconians dispersed across the Tidewater and the Governor across the Chesapeake

Bay, Bacon began another march against the Indians. Berkeley took advantage of Bacon's absence to return to the mainland. The Governor and the rebel confronted each other at Jamestown, where Berkeley was again forced to retire to the Eastern Shore.

However, Bacon's Rebellion never really came to the expected climax, for Bacon died in October 1676 after having burned both Jamestown and Berkeley's plantation. With the chief rebel dead, the rebellion was disjointed and Governor Berkeley was able to conduct amphibious raids on rebel strongholds along the James and York Rivers. The conflict was over by the end of January 1677 when a royal commission arrived from England with a substantial body of troops to suppress the rebellion.

With the landing of the Royal Commissioners, Governor Berkeley's troubles were, in a sense, only just beginning. Controversy between the Commissioners and the Governor resulted in Berkeley's removal to England to plead his case before the Crown. Washburn describes this conflict in the aftermath of the rebellion as being between a elderly, experienced royal servant and three untrained, power-hungry, political appointees. In the end, the Commissioners blamed Berkeley's mismanagement of the Indian war as being the primary cause of the rebellion. Because of the post-rebellion disputes, Washburn believes that Governor Berkeley's position with regard to the nature and course of

the uprising was never accurately portrayed in the documentary record.

The contrasting interpretations of Bacon's Rebellion told by Wertenbaker and Washburn for the most part focused on the principal actors in the uprising: Nathaniel Bacon and Governor Berkeley. The rebellion is portrayed as a personal conflict between these two strong adversaries. Whether one sees Bacon as either a hero or villain; Berkeley as leader or tyrant; or the entire episode as either a mob action or a revolution, the central question that remains unanswered about the revolt in 1676 is who participated on both sides of the rebellion and why? This question is significant because it addresses fundamental concerns of a generation of Chesapeake historians with regard to the relative stability of seventeenth century colonial society.

Bernard Bailyn touched off this debate with his characterization of the seventeenth century as chaotic and disorderly when compared with eighteenth century order and stability.²² Bailyn described a new period of immigration lasting from the 1640s to the 1670s where the younger sons of important English families with extensive political and mercantile connections began to settle in Virginia. These sons were the progenitors of many of the first families of the eighteenth century planter aristocracy: Bland, Burwell, Digges, Mason, Culpeper, Fitzhugh, and Byrd.

With all the advantages brought with them from England, these new immigrants quickly became a part of Virginia's colony-wide "officialdom" expressed in the transformation of the Governor's Council. As county offices became increasingly occupied by leading local families, seats on the Council and other colonial positions were filled by the political appointees of Governor Berkeley. A distinction between local and central authority soon developed into a hierarchy of county and colonial elites. To counter the rise of the Council in colonial affairs, local magnates increased the power and role of the House of Burgesses.

"Thus by the eighth decade the ruling class in Virginia was broadly based on leading county families and dominated at the provincial level by a privileged officialdom."²³ Bailyn feels that this emerging political structure explains the crisis in government that was at the root of Bacon's rebellion. "This social and political structure was too new, too lacking in the sanctions of time and custom, its leaders too close to humbler origins and as yet too undistinguished in style of life, to be accepted without a struggle." For Bailyn, Bacon's rebellion was the "climatic episode" of a "period of adjustment" in the two level sociopolitical hierarchy.²⁴

Discontent rose in Virginia during the 1670s among substantial planters who resisted the "privileges and policies of the inner provincial clique led by Berkeley and

composed of those directly dependent on his patronage." Settlers such as William Drummond, Giles Bland, and Richard Lawrence, were dissatisfied, not with the principle of a privileged elite, but rather, that they had been excluded from these positions. Many held personal and specific grievances against the Green Spring faction. General grievances included the sweeping role of Berkeley's "unconfined sway over the provincial government" and his stabilizing policy of Anglo-Indian relations which included restrictions on land expansion necessary for continued growth among the newcomers.²⁵

At the same time, discontent was also on the rise among the common farmers in Virginia. Ordinary farmers who were locked out of county-level officialdom by the emerging local elites had the same grievances as those frozen at the provincial level. The "reforms" of Bacon's June Assembly can only be understood when viewed from "two levels of discontent with the way the political and social hierarchy was becoming stabilized."²⁶ According to Bailyn, Bacon's rebellion was thus the result of frustration at two levels in colonial society: provincial and local. By the end of the century, the founding fathers of Virginia's planter aristocracy had established their position as the leaders of the colony at both levels of power. Instability arising from the development of this new social and political system

gave leave to the relative stability of the eighteenth century.

Since Bailyn's synthesis, a host of historians have attempted to demonstrate that the seventeenth century Chesapeake developed and maintained a cohesive and viable society in the face of a variety of destabilizing forces.²⁷ These studies have focused on the patterns of adult morbidity, the cycles of boom and bust in the tobacco economy, and the development of functional governmental structures, such as the county court system. Conflicting interpretations on the nature of cultural stability in the seventeenth century Chesapeake can be represented by the views of John Rainbolt and Jon Kukla.

Rainbolt follows Bailyn's lead in describing how seventeenth century Virginia society was without the social deference characteristic of life in England.²⁸ Stability was built on the foundation of deference by the middling and lower ranks of society to the leadership and social guidance of the upper echelons. The discontent prior to Bacon's rebellion is explicable because, after the Restoration, the provincial elite centered around Governor Berkeley did not share the same social or political agenda, specifically policies regarding expansion of English settlement or diversification of agriculture and industry, as the common settler. This gap between the provincial elite and the local planters became a fissure under the stress of the

"Indian Proceedings" during 1675 when the Governor was accused of holding the interests of the natives more dear than those of his English subjects. In Rainbolt's view then, Bacon's rebellion was a turning point in the development of Virginia political society. After the rebellion the colonial elites began to listen to and incorporate the political and economic themes of the common planters in order to combat perceived challenges from an increasingly restrictive Crown as manifest in the Governor's General during the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

In a distinctly contrasting interpretation, Jon Kukla depicts Virginia at mid century as a basically stable society with well established political structures.²⁹ He points to the effective operation of the county court systems, with greater powers than in England, and to the thirty years of peaceful government under Berkeley prior to Bacon's Rebellion as evidence of "consociational stability." Had Governor Berkeley allowed the tributary Indians to be sacrificed during the confrontations of 1675-1676, then the growing social, political, and economic tensions of the period would have been diffused, as they had during the 1644-1646 war. For Kukla, Bacon's Rebellion was an aberration along the general pathway of colonial development. It had little lasting effect on the colony's institutions because by the 1680s, both the provincial and

local elites had joined forces to combat Stuart colonial practices in Virginia.

Kukla's interpretation of Bacon's Rebellion as evidence of the "basic solidity attained by Virginia's political institutions" stands alone among historians. Most viewpoints find the causes of the revolt in the instability of the Virginia colony. Warren Billings saw the causes of the Rebellion in "Virginias deplored condition."³⁰ Billings suggests that the true causes of the rebellion may be found in three historical trends which developed in the fifteen years before the uprising. The first trend was the "instability bred by a decentralized institutional framework and rapid, though uneven, political and social mobility" which characterized the period. Second, was the "gradually deteriorating economy which eventually made even subsistence living difficult" for Virginia's small planters. The third cause was Governor Berkeley's diminished colonial control which resulted from his declining personal prestige during the 1670s.

It was in the tremendous expansion of the colony after 1640 that the troubles inherent in a decentralized government developed. Local county courts were the prime source of authority throughout the colony. However, as the powers and membership of the county courts enlarged there was no similar increase in positions at the colony level. Rapid expansion of the colony also led to swift political

advancement on the frontier for recently arrived settlers. But by the 1650s in the Chesapeake, the established elites were also living longer, thus creating a shortage of colony-side offices. Billings suggests that Berkeley's strategy was to leave local politics alone while he maintained a steady control of colony policy through the appointment of friends and relatives to important positions. This policy of favoritism led to the rise of the Green Spring faction that was decried by the Baconians during the rebellion.

Billings' evidence for economic dislocation is a combination of high taxes and a depressed tobacco market coming at the same time as the trade-restrictive features of the Navigation Acts. Ironically, the greatest burden supported by Virginia's taxpayers came from their representatives in the House of Burgesses. Support of apparently ineffective fortifications and the drain of a special tax to pay for the removal of the Northern Neck proprietary grant added to the psychological effects of a seemingly never-ending cycle of debt, taxes, and falling tobacco prices.

Billings suggests the development of a credibility gap between Governor Berkeley and his subjects as a third cause of the rebellion. Berkeley's failure to adequately protect the colony from either the Indians or the Dutch lowered his status in the opinion of many colonists. Likewise, his support of the costly program of agricultural and industrial

diversification and of the unwanted Navigation Acts helped to deteriorate the Governor's authority across the colony.

Bacon's rebellion was not, in Billings' view, a popular revolt led by a proto-democratic revolutionary. In fact, in the so-called "Bacon's Assembly" in June 1676, the colonists continued the practice of previous legislatures by electing local Magistrates as representatives and by trying to reduce tension originating in local government grievances. Bacon's role in the uprising was as a practiced troublemaker who arrived on the Virginia scene at precisely the right time. Just as Bacon tried to portray any and all Indians as the enemies of the English, so to were the colonists able to hang all the troubles of the times about the shoulders of Governor Berkeley.

Bacon's rebellion has been historically tied not only to the American Revolution, but also the rise of slavery. Discontent with the post Restoration government of Sir William Berkeley is also at the heart of Edmund Morgan's interpretation of Bacon's rebellion.³¹ However, Morgan sees the consequences of the revolt as far reaching: he suggests that the development of slavery in the Virginia colony can be traced to the events surrounding Bacon's revolt.

In the aftermath of the rebellion, Virginia's gentry sought to remove one destabilizing element in Virginia society: the large numbers of young, unmarried, idle, recently-freed former servants who lived on the frontier

reaches of the colony. In the hard times of the 1670s, Virginia's leaders saw that they could not depend upon their indentured servants or the recently freed men for support in the face of Indian or Dutch attacks. Virginia's elites feared a servant rebellion from within the colony as much as any outside invasion. The obvious solution was to rid the colony of the idle servants. However, extensive labor was a requirement of the Chesapeake system, so the white English indentured laborer was replaced by the black African slave. Thus, led by the gentry, a revolution occurred in the Chesapeake labor force after Bacon's Rebellion as American freedom was purchased at the price of American slavery.

Bacon's rebellion was indeed a "revolution," according to the thesis presented by Steven S. Webb in 1676: The End of American Independence. Webb describes "Bacon's Revolution" as a civil war and a class struggle between divergent groups in the Chesapeake. The uprising began as a frontier expression of discontent with the colonial leadership but was transformed into a revolt against economic and political dependence on England. Webb's controversial return to the "torchbearer" themes of Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker is not without merit. He does shed light on the significant roles of Native Americans, women, and Chesapeake ship captains in the rebellion. However,

Webb characterization of the participants in the rebellion followed traditional interpretations.³²

IV

As with all rebellions, the central question behind each historical interpretation of Bacon's Rebellion focuses on the "who?" and "why?" of the episode. Most historians agree on the fact that Bacon's Rebellion was an important event in the history of colonial Virginia, but do they concur on the character and motivation of the participants? In most cases, how a historian viewed the rebels and the loyalists determined how the rebellion was interpreted.

The question of who participated requires some yardstick by which to measure the social position of Baconians and Loyalists. What were the social and economic strata in late seventeenth century Virginia society? One recent synthesis of early Virginia during the period prior to 1676, Warren M. Billings, John E. Selby, and Thad W. Tate's Colonial Virginia: A History, has characterized four levels in colonial society: the "underclass," "small farmers," "middling planters," and "great planters."³³

The underclass included the slaves, servants, and former servants who populated the colony's back roads and periphery. These persons were numerous, idle, and threatening to the layers of society above them. Small farmers included former servants who had succeeded to the ranks of landowners and small craftsmen. Generally, members

of this cohort were not officeholders and owned less than 200 acres of land. Small farmers provided a link between the underclass and higher status Virginians. Middling planters were more successful in the Chesapeake system. Many had left England with some capital to establish themselves in the colony. They participated in the operation of colonial government, usually in the county level offices. At the top of Virginia society were the great planters. Often the younger sons of well to do Englishmen, these planters had extensive ties to the mercantile and political community of London and other English cities. Great planters used their socioeconomic advantages to plant firm foundations within the colonial world by controlling access to land, labor in the form of servants and slaves, and lucrative colonial offices. Not surprisingly, all levels of Virginia society participated in Bacon's Rebellion. The question remains: which group precipitated the revolt?

Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker saw Bacon's Rebellion as the end of the "golden era" of the small farmer in Virginia. After 1676, the democratic yeoman farmer was replaced by the forefathers of the Virginia plantation aristocracy. Although led by members of the emerging great planters, Bacon's rebels were therefore primarily composed of the small and middling planters who, while living on the frontier were the most exposed to the attacks of neighboring

Indians and who suffered most from the frustrations of the post Restoration period. Berkeley's Loyalists then, were the Governor's political cronies among the great planters known as the "Green Spring faction," who allowed the common settlers to suffer at the hand of the marauding Indians.³⁴

Some historians have interpreted a broader role for the gentry in the machinations that led to Bacon's revolt. Wilcomb Washburn has suggested, following the lead of his historical sources, that the young and impressionable Bacon, eager to make his mark among his gentry peers, saw leadership in a frontier revolt against an aging Governor Berkeley as a quick road to success. Members of the "great planters" class, such as William Byrd, Henry Isham, William Drummond, Giles Bland, and Richard Lawrence, who were frozen out of elite colonial offices by Governor Berkeley, used the aborted Indian war in 1676 to push Nathaniel Bacon into the forefront of a local uprising that became a rebellion. The inspiration for the rebellion was thus from the top down.³⁵

In contrast, historians such as Edmund Morgan, have portrayed the rebellion as the culmination of discontent among Virginia's underclass. His chapter in American Slavery, American Freedom describing the period before Bacon's rebellion is titled simply: "Discontent." After the Restoration, Berkeley, through his policies on trade, Anglo-Indian relations, taxes, and economic diversification, had "forfeited his influence with the restless men" in the

colony.³⁶ This frustration among the lowest levels of Virginia settlers gradually crept up the ranks of society until it affected small and middling planters. Eventually, during the Indian crisis of 1675-6, the frontier gentry were confronted by large groups of angry armed men bent on venting their collective discontent upon the neighboring Indians. To Morgan, a rebellion among the underclass was assured as soon as a "great planter" was forced into a leadership role. That planter was Nathaniel Bacon.

Whatever the historical interpretation, most studies of Bacon's rebellion have focused intently on the major participants, and often only upon the two leaders, Bacon and Berkeley. Examinations of the other participants have been rare.³⁷

In his dissertation on the rebellion, Wilcomb Washburn, compared members of the Baconian and Loyalist leadership and found them to be remarkably similar.³⁸ Both groups included substantial members of the colonial elites and middling planters. Washburn used land as a measure of social, economic, and political influence. Among his sample, Baconians averaged 7,000 acres of land to the Loyalists' 10,000 acres. Significantly, neither Bacon nor Berkeley had as large landholdings as their chief associates.

The primary difference between these rival groups was sectional. For Washburn, Bacon's rebellion was a conflict between colonial elites living on Virginia's wild frontier

and its more thickly settled James-York peninsula.

Baconians generally owned large tracts on frontier areas of the colony, frequently had records of troubles with their Indian neighbors, and had occasionally been punished by Governor Berkeley for over-reaching their authority in Anglo-Indian relations. Thus the conflict in Bacon's rebellion reflected differing views on the expansion of English settlement into the Virginia frontier and the character of Anglo-Indian relations.

While Washburn compared the economic characteristics of the leadership of the Baconians and the Loyalists from a colonial perspective, the Baconians from Middlesex County have also been the subject of intensive analysis. In their book, A Place in Time, Darrett and Anita Rutman discuss the profiles of the 24 known Baconians from Middlesex County. This county-level analysis provided a more complete picture of the rebellion's participants.³⁹

The Middlesex rebels were not idle, young, brash, or wandering. Their average age was 30. They were mostly immigrants who had lived in the county for some time prior to the rebellion. These Baconians represented a cross section of Chesapeake society "encompassing men...from newly freed servants working as tenants and croppers, through the newly landed and the successful, and on to native sons." Several were ex-indentured servants and many owned lands

from 100 to 2,000 acres. Middlesex's Baconians were thus a "rather ordinary group" of settlers.⁴⁰

The Rutman's identified two distinctive characteristics among the Middlesex Baconians. First, these rebels showed a "tendency toward trouble making" beyond that of the average settler. Many of the rebels had been brought before the county court on charges of adultery, fathering bastard children, defamation of character, and embezzlement. Second, these Baconians were "not unknown to each other prior to their participation in rebellion." They were intertwined in a series of connections between family, friends and acquaintances that was common in the late seventeenth century.⁴¹

These interconnections between individuals who tended toward trouble-making may have been at the root of the rebellion in Middlesex. Confronted with the frustrating realities of the Chesapeake economy and the apparently growing threat to survival caused by Indian attacks in the 1670s, it was easy for colonial settlers to become frustrated with their meager existence. If most colonists had experienced a decline in standard of living, as James Horn has claimed, then discontent could have easily developed with the course of life in the Chesapeake. Thus, it is not surprising that disgruntled individuals who tended towards trouble-making flocked to Bacon's side. For the Rutmans, Bacon's rebellion was "neither a great cause nor a

traumatic uprising of 'losers against 'winners,' oppressed against oppressors, but simply a venting of frustrations and a release of tension, precipitated by events unrelated to the county's doings and, in the end, negligible in effect."⁴² Unfortunately, the Rutmans do not provide a similar analysis of the character and motivations of Middlesex's Loyalists.

V

The first step in a fuller understanding of the motivations and character of both Baconians and Loyalists is to identify specific participants in Bacon's Rebellion. Baconians were more numerous and easier to identify in the rebellion-specific contemporary records generated by public institutions and private sources. Twice as many Baconians were identified as Loyalists. In contrast, Loyalists were more fully documented in pre- and post-rebellion records than the Baconians. The discrepancy between number of documented Baconians and Loyalists was a function of both the nature of the documentary record and actual extent of participation in the rebellion.

Most of the primary documents that identify participants were recorded during the late winter and spring of 1677 after Governor Berkeley and the Loyalists had suppressed the Baconian uprising, only to have their authority challenged by the Royal Commissioners. Few records exist from the period of the height of the

Rebellion: colonial and county governments did not hold sessions from the summer of 1676 until February 1677. Thus, documentation of participation in the Rebellion came after the outcome of the revolt was known. Moreover, the documentary record of Bacon's Rebellion was created at a time when the Virginia political order was undergoing a transformation.

The arrival of the Royal Commissioners brought a new institutional power to Virginia politics, one that would shift pre-Rebellion alliances and change the nature of colonial government. After 1677, "Outsiders" would have greater influence in Virginia's affairs. "Baconian" and "Loyalist" would be transformed into "irreconcilables," "moderates," and "trimmers" as Virginia moved "toward a new order."⁴³

The records of the Royal Commissioners reflect the changing state of the Virginia political order. Documents collected by the Commissioners fulfilled their instructions from Charles II: to discover why so many Virginia colonists rebelled against the established government. From the moment they landed in Virginia, the Commissioners attempted to document what they saw as the primary cause of the Rebellion: Governor Berkeley's failure to keep the peace within his colony.

Baconians were easier to identify than Loyalists because the records of the Royal Commission were designed to

document rebellion, not loyalty. In collecting general and specific grievances from individuals in various counties, the Commissioners granted many former Baconians with the perfect platform to justify, deny, and apologize for participation in the Rebellion. In addition, the Commissioners accepted petitions describing the "personal grievances" of over twenty persons, mostly Baconians, against Governor Berkeley and the Captain of his personal guard, William Hartwell.

Records of the Royal Commissioners also focus on the Baconians for financial reasons. Through the action of the Grand Assembly in February 1677, about two dozen of the Baconian leadership, forfeited their personal and real estate to the crown. Recording confiscated property was one of the specific instructions Charles II gave to the Commissioners. The Commissioners appointed two trustworthy Virginians, Thomas Hone and George Jordan, to collect inventories from the estates of 23 Baconians.

The Royal Commissioners did produce one document that focused primarily on loyalists rather than rebels. More than fifty "great sufferers" were enumerated who deserved the crown's "royal remark" for their faithfulness and service to Governor Berkeley.⁴⁴ More than half of the documented Loyalists were identified from this document.

Significantly, the Commissioners never allowed Loyalists to present "personal grievances" regarding the

conduct of Baconian rebels during the uprising. Loyalists had to seek satisfaction for Baconian plundering through Virginian institutions. For example, Loyalist Ralph Wormeley sued Middlesex County rebels and Arthur Allen sued Surry County rebels for damage to their estates during the uprising.⁴⁵ Thus, the rebels looked to the Crown to redress their grievances against the Loyalists, whereas the Loyalists sought compensation in the local courts.

Like records of the Royal Commission, colonial documents were designed to record crimes and punishment not to reward loyal service. The records of the Grand Assembly and General Court contain long lists of Baconians exempted from the Governor's general pardon. County court records documented large numbers of former Baconians, like Arthur Long of Surry County, who appeared before his neighbors "with a cord about his neck" and begged to be pardoned for his rebellion. County and colonial records, then, focused on the rebels and not the loyalists.⁴⁶

The documentary record of Bacon's Rebellion focused on Baconians because the men who generated the documents were interested in recording rebellion not loyalty. This bias led to the identification and classification of 220 Baconian rebels compared to only 90 Loyalists. Obviously, not every person who participated in Bacon's Rebellion entered the written records of the uprising. A combined total of over 300 documented loyalists and rebels accounts for only about

two percent of Virginia's 13,000 tithables in 1676.⁴⁷

Although most colonists probably wished to remain neutral in the dispute between the Governor and the rebel, it is doubtful that so many succeeded, leaving the question, how representative is this proportion of Baconians to Loyalists with regard to participation as a whole in Virginia?

Governor Berkeley reported to the Royal Commissioners that out of the entire colonial population "there were not above five hundred persons untainted in this rebellion." The Royal Commissioners agreed with Berkeley's assessment of the high level of rebellion participation. Isaac Allerton said that such "an universall inclination to rebellion" was unprecedented and without "any parallel in History."⁴⁸

In many ways Bacon's popularity with Virginians was understandable. The charismatic rebel was championing an aggressive, popular cause: destroy the Indians before they destroy the English. Bacon's stature as one of the Governor's council and confusing orders from the Governor and the Grand Assembly regarding Bacon's status must have granted legitimacy to the initial stages of the uprising.⁴⁹ Governor Berkeley contributed to Bacon's popularity by retreating to the Eastern Shore, giving rise to rumors that he had abandoned the colony to the Indians.

Support for the rebel was certainly widespread: Bacon's illegal oath was both given and taken by some of Berkeley's trusted councilors. However, much of Bacon's support was

temporary. Upon Bacon's death, momentum in the uprising returned to the Governor and many Baconians abandoned the revolt. Most Virginians who had been "seduced to rebellion" by the excitement of the revolt later regretted participation in the "late distractions, tumults, and disturbances" and craved Charles II's "most gracious pardon and forgiveness."⁵⁰ Many post-Rebellion petitioners claimed to have been forced under threats of bodily harm to take Bacon's illegal oath of allegiance. Thus, Governor Berkeley's estimate of the comprehensive nature of the revolt was probably quite accurate. However, active participation -- in terms of armed conflict against the Governor's forces such as at the siege of Jamestown -- was probably limited to several hundred persons.⁵¹

Bacon's Rebellion was a widespread uprising of Virginia colonists with many more persons lending support to the rebel Bacon than to Governor Berkeley. Documented participants from both side of the rebellion number about 220 Baconians and 90 Loyalists. Because the proportion of rebels to loyalists reflects the apparent historic relationship, the documented rebellion participants probably provide an accurate sample of the total numbers of participants.

VI

At best, answers to the question of who participated in Bacon's Rebellion and why have been uneven and incomplete.

The goal of my research is to provide a more balanced answer by comparing the historical characteristics of the participants on both sides of the rebellion.

Chapters 2 and 3 attempt to place the Loyalists and Baconians into a historical context. The social, economic, and political characteristics of each group are outlined. Various measures are described to gauge the social status of the two sets of participants. As far as the documents allow, a general characterization of the participants for both sides of the rebellion is presented.

Chapter 4 examines the rebellion on the local level. It compares the participants from two counties, Surry and York, with an eye toward identifying the historical characteristics that set Baconian apart from Loyalist. The course of the rebellion in each county and its aftermath are presented in an effort to describe the motivations for both Baconians and Loyalists. Finally, in Chapter 5, the "typical" Baconian is compared to the "average" Loyalist in order to develop interpretations about the nature and character of Bacon's Rebellion.

For years, historians have stated that Bacon's Rebellion was a pivotal event in history of colonial America. Now with a further understanding of the nature and motivations of all its participants, perhaps the full character of this episode may be understood. Bacon's Rebellion was not the practical or ideological forefather to

the American Revolution that Thomas J. Wertenbaker claimed, nor was it the class that Steven S. Webb describes. Because of the demographic size and geographic spread of the upheaval, the participants in Bacon's Rebellion must have presented a cross-section of Chesapeake society: servants, small and middling farmers, and members of the colonial elite.

Many historians believe that Bacon's Rebellion was caused by a general mentalite of frustration that had grown in the minds of Virginia's settlers since the Restoration of Charles II in 1660. From this perspective, the upheaval has been described as a collective venting of cultural discontent with the nature of settlement and society or as a growth spasm that readjusted the political and social framework supporting Virginia society in the late seventeenth century.

Although the specific role for the various sectors of Virginia society in Bacon's Rebellion differs in previous interpretations, analysis of the collective description of the participants demonstrates that the Baconians were sprang mostly from middling settlers with some elite leadership while the Loyalists were predominately elite Virginians. In addition, this research shows that many Baconians had specific grievances with colonial institutions or with particular members of the Virginia elite that were totally unrelated to the ongoing Indian war, and that fostered their

decision to join Nathaniel Bacon in his rebellion against the established government.

Notes for Chapter I

1. Warren M. Billings, John E. Selby, and Thad W. Tate, Colonial Virginia: A History (White Plains, New York, 1986) and Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia (New York, 1975). The importance of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia history is demonstrated by a plaque dedicated to the rebel that is located behind the Speaker's chair in the House of Delegates, Richmond.
2. Thomas Jefferson Wertebaker, Virginia Under the Stuarts, 1607-1688 (New York, 1914); Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom; and Steven Saunders Webb, 1676: The End of American Independence (Cambridge, Mass., 1985).
3. Wesley Frank Craven, The Colonies in Transition: 1660-1713, (New York, 1968), 146.
4. Charles McLean Andrews, ed., Narratives of the Insurrections, 1675-1690 (New York, 1915), 1-141 contains reprints of Thomas Matthew's "The Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia in the Years 1675 and 1676" [1705]; the Royal Commissioner's (John Berry and Francis Moryson) account, "A True Narrative of the Rise, Progresse, and Cessation of the Late Rebellion in Virginia, Most Humbly and Impartially Reported by his Majesties Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Affaires of the Said Colony," [1677]; and "The History of Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion," commonly known as the Burwell manuscript. Mrs. An. Cotton's account of the rebellion, "An Account of Our Late Troubles in Virginia," is reprinted in Peter Force's Tracts and other Papers Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement and Progress of the Colonies in North America (Washington, 1836-1846), I, no. 9. These accounts provide much of the narrative description of the events and episodes of Bacon's Rebellion. The estimate that 300 Virginians gathered with Nathaniel Bacon at Jordon's Point is found in "Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion," 21, and "A True Narrative," 111. Ann Cotton's "An Account of our Late Troubles in Virginia," 5, states that the number of participants was closer to 500 persons.
5. Coventry Manuscripts, Volume 77, No, 73. Transcriptions on file, Department of Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.

6. For examples of settlers killed during the Anglo-Indian war of 1675-1676, see the transcriptions of the wills of Nathaniel Baxter, Thomas Dart, and John Godfrey in William M. Sweeny's Wills of Rappahannock County, Virginia, 1656-1692, (Lynchburg, 1947).
7. See Billings, Selby, and Tate, Colonial Virginia, 49-50 and Gary Nash, Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early America, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1974), 63-66 and 121-123, for a discussion of the 1644-1646 Anglo-Indian war and its aftermath.
8. Coventry Manuscripts Volume 77, No. 3 and 8.
9. William and Mary Quarterly, third series, XIV (1957), 406.
10. Thomas Matthew, "Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia," 21. Matthew noted that when Bacon and his followers were proclaimed as rebels, "whereupon those of estates obey'd" Governor Berkeley's call to return to their homes.
11. Governor Berkeley described how "this very factious assembly" was "al packt for" Nathaniel Bacon with "but eight of the Burgesses that were not for his faction and at his devotion." William and Mary Quarterly, third series, XIV (1957), 408.
12. Thomas Matthew, in "Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion," 23, records that 20 or more persons were captured with Bacon by Captain Gardiner. The "History of Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion," 12, describes how Bacon returned to Jamestown that June with 500 troops. "A True Narrative," 117, notes that Bacon demanded 30 blank commissions for his officers. Bacon's commission from Governor Berkeley and the Assembly was the source of considerable confusion among many Virginians, it was "no sooner signed but al his [Bacon] rabble veryly believed I [Berkeley] had resigned al my power to their new general." William and Mary Quarterly, third series, XIV (1957), 409.
13. "Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion," 34, and "A True Narrative," 118, document that Bacon met in July at the James River falls with 1,000 troops authorized by the House of Burgesses. William and Mary Quarterly, third series, XIV (1957), 409. For the most part, settlers on the Eastern Shore remained loyal to Governor Berkeley due to the influence of its leading citizens. For example, Major John West and 44 others were granted compensation for service to the Governor during Bacon's Rebellion. See Frank P. Brent, "Some Unpublished Facts Relating to Bacon's Rebellion on the

Eastern Shore of Virginia," Proceedings of the Virginia Historical Society, XI (1892), 179-189.

14. Cotton, "An Account of Our Late Troubles in Virginia," 5, and "The History of Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion," 16, discuss the involvement of many of "all the prime gentlemen" in the Middle Plantation meeting.
15. The Royal Commissioner's "A True Narrative," 36-38, document Bland and Carver's attempt to capture the Governor on the Eastern Shore.
16. "A True Narrative," 129, relates that Berkeley had about 600 men with him on his voyage to Jamestown. "An Account of Our Late Troubles in Virginia," 9, and "The History of Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion," 32, suggest that Hansford garrisoned between 700 and 900 troops at Jamestown. Only 20 of Hansford's troops were imprisoned after capture by the Loyalists.
17. "A True Narrative," 138-139, and "History of Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion," 36-38, records the number of Baconians entrenched at each garrison.
18. "History of Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion," 44.
19. Coventry Manuscripts Volume 77, No. 160.
20. Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, Torchbearer of the Revolution: The Story of Bacon's Rebellion and Its Leader (Princeton, 1940); Virginia Under the Stuarts (Princeton, 1914); and The Planters of Colonial Virginia (Princeton, 1922). The following discussion is derived from this research.
21. Wilcomb E. Washburn, The Governor and the Rebel: A History of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia (Chapel Hill, 1954). The following discussion is derived from this study.
22. Bernard Bailyn, "Politics and Social Structure in Virginia," in James Morton Smith, ed., Seventeenth-Century America (Chapel Hill 1959).
23. Bailyn, "Politics and Social Structure," 102.
24. Bailyn, "Politics and Social Structure," 102.
25. Bailyn, "Politics and Social Structure," 103-104.
26. Bailyn, "Politics and Social Structure," 105.

27. For example, see "Introduction" in Colonial Chesapeake Society, edited by Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo (Chapel Hill, 1988), 1-46, and Sigmund Diamond, "From Organization to Society: Virginia in the Seventeenth Century," American Journal of Sociology, LXIII (1958), 457-475.
28. John C. Rainbolt, From Prescription to Persuasion: Manipulation of Seventeenth-Century Virginia Economy. (Port Washington, New York, 1974).
29. Jon Kukla, "Order and Chaos in Early America: Political and Social Stability," American Historical Review, 275-298.
30. Warren M. Billings, "The Causes of Bacon's Rebellion: Some Suggestions," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, LXXVIII (1970), 409-435, and "'Virginias Deplored Condition,' 1660-1676: The Coming of Bacon's Rebellion. (Ph.D. Diss., Northern Illinois University, 1968).
31. Edmund Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia, (New York, 1975).
32. See Wilcomb Washburn's review: "Stephen Saunders Webb's Interpretation of Bacon's Rebellion," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 95, No. 3, (July, 1987), 339-352.
33. Billings, Selby and Tate, Colonial Virginia: A History (White Plains, New York, 1986), 58-59.
34. Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Virginia Under the Stuarts, 115-145.
35. Wilcomb Washburn, The Governor and the Rebel.
36. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom, 253.
37. For example, Hugh Buckner Johnston and Ransom McBride, "Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia and its Sufferers, 1676-1677," The North Carolina Genealogical Society Journal, IX (February, 1983), 2-13; Anon, "The King's Henchman," Virginia Cavalcade VII (Summer 1957), 34-37; and Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, "Richard Lawrence: A Sketch," William and Mary Quarterly XVII (1959), 244-248.
38. Wilcomb Washburn, "Bacon's Rebellion, 1676-1677," (Ph.D. diss, Harvard University, 1955). As this work is not generally available, Mr. Washburn graciously provided relevant sections from his dissertation.
39. Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, A Place In Time, Middlesex County, Virginia, 1650-1750 (New York, 1984), 79-93.

40. Rutman and Rutman, A Place In Time, 79-87.
41. Rutman and Rutman, A Place In Time, 69-87.
42. Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia, 1650-1750, 86.
43. Warren M. Billings, John E. Selby, and Thad W. Tate, Colonial Virginia: A History (White Plains, New York) 1986, 96-177.
44. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography V (1897-1898), 64.
45. See Rutman and Rutman A Place in Time, 69-87, and Weynette Parks Haun, Surry County Virginia Court Records, 1672-1682, Book III, (Durham, North Carolina, 1989) for descriptions of Loyalist suits against former Baconians.
46. William and Mary Quarterly first series, III (1894-1896), 125-6, and Virginia Magazine of History and Biography III (1894-1895), 126.
47. Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia (New York, 1974), 412-413.
48. Wilcomb E. Washburn, The Governor and the Rebel: A History of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia (New York, 1957), 155. Coventry Manuscripts Volume 77, No. 160.
49. William and Mary Quarterly, third series, XIV (1957), 409.
50. Colonial Office 5/1371, Survey Report 749 (850) Proceedings and Reports of the Commissioners for Enquiring into Virginian Affairs and Settling Virginian Grievances, 1677, 149-169, "A Repatory of the General County Grievances of Virginia...with the humble opinion of His Majesties' Commissioners annexed to the same... 15 October 1677." Hereinafter the Colonial Office Records will be referenced as C.O. 5/1371. These records are abstracted in John Davenport Neville, Bacon's Rebellion: Abstracts of Materials in the Colonial Records Project, (The Jamestown Foundation, n.d.).
51. Wilcomb E. Washburn, The Governor and the Rebel: A History of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia (New York, 1957), 80.

CHAPTER II

"TOO YOUNG, TOO MUCH A STRANGER THERE" CHARACTERISTICS OF BACONIANS

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the characteristics of identified Baconians. The first part of the chapter will document contemporary views of the rebels drawn from Baconian, Royal Commission, and Loyalist sources. Baconians, viewed as traitors and mutineers by the Loyalists and the Royal Commission, saw themselves as the defenders of their own lives and property in the face of "the indians proceedings."¹

The second part of this chapter will describe the membership structure of the Baconian rebellion and the primary leadership in the uprising. Approximately 100 Baconians were identified by contemporary sources as being the "principal actors" and the "great aiders and assisters" in the Rebellion.

The third part of the chapter will describe the material world of the Baconian leadership as documented in inventories of their attained estates. Inventories of 23 Baconians who had forfeited their estates through the Rebellion were taken during the aftermath of the uprising.

These documents illustrate the wealth and status of the Baconian leadership.

II

Contemporary descriptions of the Baconian rebels focus upon the general character of the Baconians, the personality and behavior of Nathaniel Bacon, and, to a lesser extent, the actions of other rebel leaders. As with the Loyalists, the composition of the Baconians was divided into two groups: the leadership, "those that were resolved to stir up the people to sedition," and the rank-and-file.²

Bacon's rebellion directly involved "the people" of Virginia. The number, constituency, and characteristics of "the people" during the upheaval depended upon the perspective of the observer. The "vulgar and most ignorant people" were estimated in one contemporary narrative as approximately two-thirds of Virginia's colonial population.³

The "poor inhabitants" of Virginia who supported Bacon were described as "unsatisfied," "jealous," "unquiet," "silly," "audacious," and "impatient." Bacon's "people" were called "the ruder sort," a "giddy-headed multitude," a "raging tumult," and a "rout."⁴

Who were "the people" of Virginia? From the unflattering adjectives used to describe them, they comprised the lower strata of colonial English society: indentured servants, former servants, and small landholders. According to some historians, "the people" consisted of the

ever increasing population of idle angry young men, living on the frontier, who had experienced the economic, social, and political frustration inherent in the declining opportunity environments of the 1670s. To members of "the better sort," the common people were rude, uneducated and potentially dangerous. Virginia's elite feared a servant revolt, such as the little-documented aborted Birkenhead revolt of 1663, in which an uprising of servants was compared to the possibilities of another Dutch invasion or attacks by renegade Indians.⁵

The "people" of Virginia were a powerful group whose services and allegiance were sought after by both the Governor and the Rebel. Both Bacon and Berkeley made popular appeals for military support from "the people" at several points in the Rebellion. To legitimize his position as a political usurper, Bacon stated that his authority to prosecute a war against the Indians was derived from his popular appeal. Munitions and other arms used by the Baconians were "raised for by the people" to campaign against the Indians. The rebel signed his "manifesto" with the title "General, by the Consent of the People."⁶

The people were not only a military force but a political one as well. The crowd at Jordan's Point pushed Nathaniel Bacon toward open rebellion with their popular outcry in April of 1676. The Rebel's "party" elected to the June Assembly comprised not freeholders, but rather "free

men that had but lately crept out of the condition of servants" who were "for faction and ignorance fit representatives of those that chose them."⁷

The allegiance of the "people" during Bacon's Rebellion was fickle. Giles Brent's 1,000 man force from the Northern Neck refused to march southward when it was rumored that they being mobilized to fight Baconians, not Indians. Governor Berkeley had trouble enlisting the aid of Gloucester County's citizens for the same reason. Berkeley's power of pardon for rebellion activities was insufficient motivation for many of "the people" to join his efforts to recapture Virginia's Western Shore.⁸

Even the "darling of the people," Nathaniel Bacon was hard pressed to control the "common cry and vogue of the vulgar."⁹ His attempt to influence Eastern Shore residents against the Governor was unsuccessful. As the rebellion progressed, Bacon's popularity among his "tired, murmuring, impatient, half-starved, [and] dissatisfied," army declined. After Jamestown was captured and put to the torch, the chief rebel confronted growing "insolence" and plundering by his troops against neutral Virginians. Bacon had to enforce "strict discipline" and pursue a "more moderate course" so that his popularity among "the people" would not wain.¹⁰ Thus, the constituency of "the people" of Virginia included Baconians, Loyalists, and "others" who wished to remain outside the violence of open rebellion. The role of "the

people" in Bacon's Rebellion, although under-examined by historians, cannot be underestimated in importance.

As Governor Berkeley was the focus of loyalism, so was Nathaniel Bacon the center of the Baconians. From the rally at Jordan's Point when "this prosperous rebel" was elevated to a leadership role, Nathaniel Bacon was titled the "hopes and darling of the people" who was the "only patron of the country and preserver of their lives and fortunes." After the tragedy in Jamestown, Bacon's "interest" began to call themselves "Baconians" as "a mark of distinction" to honor their leader.¹¹

As the leader of a popular uprising, Bacon's character and motivations were often commented upon by contemporary observers. No illustrations survive of the rebel, although we have several accounts of his character. He was described as about 34 or 35 years old, "indifferent tall, but slender, blackhair'd with an ominous pensive, melancholy aspect." His English lineage was from "of no obscure family." Through marriage, Bacon was related to Governor Berkeley and his elder Virginia namesake, York County's Nathaniel Bacon, was one of the colonial elite and a member of the Governor's Council. Apparently, the younger Bacon had traveled extensively before his "lost and desperate fortunes had thrown him into that remote part of the world" known as the Virginia colony.¹²

Soon after his arrival in Virginia, Bacon became entrenched within the colony's elite leadership. He bought "Curles" plantation in Henrico County from Thomas Ballard and was appointed to the Governor's Council. Nathaniel Bacon quickly became a "Gentleman" among Virginia's colonial elites. The honor of this sudden advancement through the Virginia hierarchy "made him more considerable in the eye of the vulgar and gave him advantage in his pernicious designs."¹³

Bacon's character was often described as conniving, deceitful, and frustrated by his fortune in life. Thomas Matthew sketched Bacon as "a thinking man...nicely honest, affable, and without blemish, in his conversation and dealings yet did he manifest abundance of uneasiness in the sense of his hard usages, which might prompt him to improve that Indian quarrel to the service of his animosities." The rebel had "a most imperious and dangerous hidden pride of heart, despising the wisest of his neighbors for their ignorance, and very ambitious and arrogant." Moreover, Bacon's true nature "lay hid in him till after he was a councilor, and until he became powerful and popular."¹⁴

Nathaniel Bacon was not the sole leader of this rebellion. The rebel was "of a disposition too precipitate, to manage things to that length those were carried" without help from other, more experienced Virginians. At every stage of the Rebellion, from the march against the

Occaneechees, to the siege of Jamestown, and the "great convention" at Middle Plantation, there were numerous "principal actors" who guided and assisted Bacon from his initial challenge to Governor Berkeley's authority into open rebellion.¹⁵

The character and personalities of Bacon's confederates are not as well documented as those of the chief rebel. For example, consider the "two rogues amongst us" that Governor Berkeley warned the June Assembly to be wary of: Richard Lawrence and William Drummond. Lawrence, was considered "Mr. Bacon's principal consultant" in the rebellion. He was an Oxford University graduate who "for wit, learning, and sobriety was equalled there by a few." Lawrence's motivation for rebellion against Governor Berkeley stemmed from an old legal dispute where he had been "partially treated at law, for a considerable estate on behalf of a corrupt favorite" of Berkeley's.¹⁶

William Drummond, a "sober Scotch Gentleman of good repute" and was the former Governor of North Carolina. Drummond and Lawrence were wealthy Virginians. Reportedly, they owned the two best houses in Jamestown prior to personally setting them on fire during October 1676. By the end of the rebellion the antipathy between Loyalist and Baconian had become distinctly personal. In January 1677, Governor Berkeley wrote: "But I soe much hate Drummond and Lawrence that though could put the Country in peace into my

hands I would not accept it from such Villaines as both those are in their nature.¹⁷

Governor Berkeley labeled the Baconians, like Drummond and Lawrence, as "rebels," "mutineers," and "traitors." However, Baconians thought of themselves as "wholly devoted to the King and the country...adventuring their lives and fortunes" against the "common enemy" of all colonists, the neighboring Indians.¹⁸ The contrast between these two positions with respect to the legitimate authority to prosecute an Indian war reflected the essence of the Rebellion.

Virginians, frustrated by their Governor's inability to defend the colony against incursions by raiding Indians, found representation of their feelings in Nathaniel Bacon. Bacon, in turn, was supported and pushed toward rebellion by his major followers.

III

The Baconian leadership was made up of about 100 individuals from across the Virginia colony (see Table 1). For the purposes of this analysis, the principal Baconians are defined as those participants who received punishment from Virginia's General Court and Grand Assembly during the winter and early spring of 1677. Penalties for involvement in Bacon's Rebellion ranged from execution and seizure of estates, to banishment from the colony, to fines, or public declarations of loyalty to the colonial government. At the

TABLE 1
BACONIAN LEADERSHIP

<u>NAME</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION OF OUTCOME</u>
Peter Adams	court appearance
Anthony Arnold	executed
Nathaniel Bacon	deceased
John Bagwell	ordered to beg pardon at court
Thomas Baker	finned
John Baptista	executed
Richard Barton	ordered to beg pardon at court
Col. Thomas Beale	pardoned member of Governor's Council
Char. Blanckeville	court appearance ordered
Giles Bland	executed
Thomas Blayton	court appearance ordered
Thomas Bowler	pardoned member of Governor's Council
John Browne	court appearance ordered
Stephen Carleton	court appearance ordered
William Carver	executed
Edmund Chisman	deceased
William Cookson	executed
James Crewes	executed
Charles Death	court appearance ordered
John Digby	executed
William Drummond	executed
George/John Farloe	executed
Richard Farmer	executed
John Forth	fled from justice
Henry Gee	finned
Henry Gooch	finned and pardoned
Benjamin Goodrich	court appearance ordered
Thomas Goodrich	finned, court appearance ordered
Thomas Gordon	court appearance ordered
Sarah Gordon	court appearance ordered
Thomas Hall	executed
Anthony Hartland	finned, court appearance ordered
Thomas Hansford	executed
Joseph Hardridge	court appearance ordered
William Hatcher	finned
Robert Holden	finned, court appearance ordered
Jeremiah Hooke	petitioned to be banished
William Hunt, Sr.	deceased
Joseph Ingram	barred from officeholding
John Isles	executed
John Jennings	court appearance ordered
Robert Jones	court appearance ordered
John Johnson	executed
William Kendall	finned
Sands Knowles	finned, pardoned
James Languester	fled from justice
Richard Lawrence	fled from justice
John Lawson	barred from officeholding

TABLE 1, continued

<u>NAME</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION OF OUTCOME</u>
Arthur Long	ordered to beg pardon at court
Thomas Lushington	court appearance ordered
Thomas Mathews	court appearance ordered
Stephen Mannering	court appearance ordered
John Milner	barred from officeholding
Thomas Maples	finned
Chris. Muschamp	ordered to beg pardon at court
Henry Page	executed
Edward Phelps	court appearance ordered
John Phelps	court appearance ordered
Richard Pomfrey	executed
William Potts	ordered to beg pardon at court
Dominick Rice	ordered to beg pardon at court
John Richens	banished
William Rookings	deceased
John Rutherford	imprisoned
Matthew Sadler	court appearance ordered
John Sanders	finned, pardoned
Charles Scarborough	finned, pardoned
William Scarborough	executed
George Seaton	finned
Robert Spring	court appearance ordered
Robert Stokes	executed
John Sturdivant	court appearance ordered
Col. Thomas Swann	pardoned member of Governor's Council
John Taylor	banished
James Turner	Baconian attorney
John Turner	escaped from prison
Richard Turner	executed
Richard Thomson	ordered to beg pardon at court
William Tiballs	barred from officeholding
Gregory Walklett	barred from officeholding
Thomas Warr	petitioned to be banished
John Watson	executed
Robert Weeks	court appearance ordered
Henry West	banished
John West	escaped from prison
Major John West	pardoned
William West	executed
Thomas Whaley	barred from officeholding
Nevett Wheeler	pardoned by King's proclamation
John Whitson	executed
Thomas Wilsford	executed
James Wilson	executed
John Wisdom	petitioned to be banished
Thomas Young	executed

Source: Hening Statutes II, 370-386, 544-556.

conclusion of the rebellion, Governor Berkeley held special military courts on January 11-24 to deal with the recently captured Baconian leadership. Records from these tribunals documented the trials, convictions, sentencing, and execution of twelve major Baconians. The court martials were overseen by the Governor and the chief Loyalists as the last Baconian rebels surrendered their garrisons or escaped into the frontier.¹⁹

Early in February 1677, Governor Berkeley proclaimed a pardon for all former rebels who would take an oath of obedience in front of a County Justice of the Peace before the end of the month. Forty-five Baconians, including three members of the Governor's Council (Col. Thomas Beale, Thomas Bowler, and Col. Thomas Swan), were exempted from this pardon. Many of Berkeley's exempted Baconians were described as "executed," "now in prison," or "escaped." Others were "to be brought before a court" to account for their rebellion and to receive sentencing.²⁰

On February 20th, the Grand Assembly met at Berkeley's Green Spring to reaffirm the rule of the established government and to punish the major rebels. A total of 59 Virginians were listed within four Acts that legitimized the Loyalist execution of the major Baconians during January. Interestingly, the three Virginia Councilors who had been enumerated among the Baconian leadership by Governor Berkeley only ten days before, were absent from the

indictments by the Grand Assembly. Bowler, Swan, and Beale must have returned to obedience prior to the Assembly's action.²¹

The Assembly confirmed the high treason convictions handed down by the Loyalist court martials. In all, 29 Baconians died, from execution or while in prison, as a result of their rebellion. Six of the leaders were still at large somewhere in the Virginia countryside. The real and personal estates of all but one of these rebels were attained by the Virginia Assembly, and thus forfeited to the Crown or his representative in the colony, Governor Berkeley. Specific penalties for other rebels remained undefined. Many "notorious actors" were to "suffer and undergo such pains, penalties, and punishments not extending to life."²²

Most of the specific Baconian penalties and punishments were set forth during March.²³ Six Baconians were banished for their involvement in the Rebellion. Thirteen received fines of tobacco, pork, or English pounds. William Hatcher was fined 8,000 pounds of "dressed" pork, representing approximately 800 individual animals, that was destined to supply the Crown's troops quartered in Virginia. In all, pork fines from five Baconians equaled some 18,000 pounds of tobacco in value.²⁴

Thomas Goodrich of Rappahannock County was fined 50,000 pounds of tobacco for his role in the rebellion. In place

of the commodity, Goodrich eventually gave the land that became the present town of Tappahannock on the Rappahannock River. Besides Goodrich's stiff fine, a total of 12,000 pounds in tobacco penalties were levied against three other Baconians. Finally, Colonel William Kendall and Captain Charles Scarborough were fined 50 and 40 English pounds respectively for slander against Governor Berkeley during the course of the Rebellion.²⁵

Four Baconians who had been commanders during the rebellion but who had "returned to obedience" at the conclusion of the uprising were barred from holding any county or provincial office. For example, Joseph Ingram, who had commanded the uprising after Bacon's death in October 1676, and another leader, Gregory Walklett, were barred from future officeholding. Disqualification from colonial or county offices was a serious punishment in a society that measured a person's status according to the level of his community service.²⁶

Exclusion from office also points toward the position of the Baconian leadership within Virginia society. The Loyalists would not have bared idle, frustrated, former indentured servants from potential political service. The Baconian leaders were apparently men with some standing in seventeenth century Virginia society--at least they were before the rebellion.

By keeping Baconians out of government, Governor Berkeley and the Loyalists attempted to smother any embers of discontent among the Virginia colonists. In a unique case, an apparently vocal Baconian, Thomas Gordon, was prevented from "officiating any of the ministerial functions in any parish within the colony." Gordon's wife, Sarah, was equally the rebel: she was charged with being among "great encouragers and assisters in the late horrid rebellion."²⁷

Including Thomas Gordon, eleven Baconian leaders were required to beg pardon for their "rebellious activities" at various county courts. Baconians humbly appeared across Virginia to acknowledge their unlawful uprising in the Surry, Westmoreland, Warwick, Rappahannock, Northumberland, and Elizabeth City County courts. Several of these rebels were made to appear upon their knees with nooses around their necks as a sign of submission to the established colonial government.

In Surry County, Arthur Long asked that "all bystanders" witness the "sincere repentance of my rebellion." Recognizing the hierarchy of seventeenth century society, he implored the pardon of God, King Charles II, Governor Berkeley, the Governor's Council and Magistrates for treason. The symbolism of public apologies also served to remind recalcitrant Virginians of the fate of many of the Baconian leadership.²⁸

Symbols of obedience were important in the aftermath of Bacon's Rebellion. Two former Baconians who tried to skirt the letter of their punishments by appearing with less than a "noose" around their necks were brought back to the General Court in the fall of 1677 and ordered to reappear at their county courts with the correct halters.²⁹ In the midst of internal conflicts between the Governor and the Royal Commissioners, an unsteady colonial government relied upon symbolic gestures from former Baconians to consolidate its power.

Other Baconians seem to have escaped even symbolic punishment by the Loyalists. The fate of about one-quarter of the 94 Baconians identified in General Court and Grand Assembly records of the winter and spring of 1677 remains uncertain. Nine of these rebels were ordered to "suffer penalties" but no specific punishment was noted. Eight were listed as "to be brought before a court" no record of an appearance survives. At least three Baconian sympathizers from the Governor's Council, Thomas Beale, Thomas Bowler, and Thomas Swann, were never called to account for their activities during the rebellion. In fact, by the time Charles II issued his final pardon in 1680 with regard to Bacon's Rebellion, the list of rebels excluded from the decree had shrunk from 54 to only 15.³⁰

The approximately 100 principal Baconian leaders can be easily categorized into two groups: 1) those who were

executed or fled the colony, and 2) those who survived the rebellion and remained in Virginia. Executed or escaped Baconians included 26 individuals, while the Baconian survivors comprised about 70 Virginians (Table 1).

The principal Baconians are primarily known to historians because of their participation in the Bacon's Rebellion. For most of the Baconians, the documentary record is otherwise generally limited; further description of the Baconians, including such basic information as their vital statistics, is unrecorded in the surviving colonial documents. Characterization of the Baconian leadership relies upon a compilation of information derived from many individuals.

Unlike their Loyalist counterparts, the principal Baconians appear to have represented a broad cross section of colonial Virginia society. Whereas the Loyalists were primarily members of the Virginia elite, the leading Baconians included both elite and common Virginians. Baconians were young and old, servants and masters, rich and poor, landed and landless, settled and unsettled, established Virginians and strangers to the colony.

Although the data with regard to vital statistics is not as complete as for the Loyalists, it appears that the Baconians comprised both the young and the old. Edmund Chisman was only 28 when he was executed for his rebellion. Richard Pomfrey was 34 and Thomas Lushington was 45 at the

time of the uprising. By 1681, five years after the rebellion, one former Baconian, Thomas Baker, was considered "decrepit and not able to work for his living" due to his age.³¹

Many of the principal Baconians were family men. At least 18 were married, most with children. Often, the Baconians were the second husbands of Virginia widows. Baconian wives, like their husbands, came from all stations in society. About 1650, John Taylor married the widow of William Tyman. William Carver was married twice and had a son named Richard. Transported to Virginia in 1655 for crimes in England, Charles Blanckeville married Henry Moore's widow in 1673. Dominick Rice married the relict of Northumberland County Justice Charles Ashton sometime between 1672 and the rebellion. Charles Scarborough married the daughter of former Virginia Governor Richard Bennett.³²

Baconian wives played an important role in the Rebellion. Although Sarah Gordon, wife of Thomas, was the only female mentioned in the post rebellion accounting of the principal rebels, other wives were equally involved in their husbands' revolt. Sarah Gordon was accused of promulgating the spread of discontent by her vocal support of Bacon's cause. Lydia Chisman begged Governor Berkeley to spare her husband from the gallows by confessing that she instigated Edmund to rebel. Anthony Hartland's wife was known to have actively supported the rebellion. After the

rebellion, many Baconian widows fought to recover portions of their husbands' estates confiscated by Governor Berkeley and the Grand Assembly. Sarah Bland was able to bring the case of her husband William's plundered estate before Charles II's Privy Council and the Lords of the Plantations.³³

Bacon's rebellion was a family affair both before and after the uprising. Brothers William and Henry West were both implicated in the rebellion: Henry was banished to England where he fought to gain a pardon for his brother and leave to return to the colony for himself. Baconians Edmund Chisman, John Scasbrooke, and George Farloe were interrelated. Chisman and Scasbrooke married Lydia and Elizabeth Bushrod who were also Farloe's nieces. After the Rebellion, William Drummond's daughter Sarah married the son of sometime Baconian Thomas Swann. William Hunt's granddaughter married the grandson of James Minge.³⁴

Family and friends were the foundation of Virginia's immigrant society. Most Baconians, like the rest of the colony were immigrants. Few Baconians can be documented as native Virginians. William Rookings' parents arrived in Virginia on the Bona Nova during 1619. The future rebels arrived in the colony throughout the 1650s, 1660s, and into the 1670s. Charles Blanckeville, Richard Lawrence, and Thomas Young arrived in the 1650s. The West brothers, William and Henry, arrived in 1656 with their family and

settled in Isle of Wight county. Richard Pomfrey immigrated to Maryland in 1669 and was settled in Somerset County by 1673, before becoming involved in the rebellion three years later. In fact, several rebels, such as Giles Bland, Jeremiah Hook, and Bacon himself, were relatively recent arrivals to the Chesapeake. Bacon, Bland, and Joseph Ingram were each described as "strangers" to Virginia.³⁵

Many of the newcomers to the colony in the period before 1676 were refugees from the English Civil War. The future Baconians included both former Royalists and Parliamentarians. Robert Jones was a Royalist soldier who "bore the marks" of his service to the King. George Farloe, who commanded the York County militia immediately prior to the rebellion, was one of Cromwell's troops. Thomas Wilsford was described as the second son of one Knight who had lost his estate during the Civil War. Thomas Young reportedly served under General Moncke during the English Rebellion.³⁶

Ethnically, Baconians were a diverse lot. These new arrivals to the Chesapeake included not only Englishmen but also individuals of Scottish, French, Dutch, and Irish descent.³⁷ Many of the rebels were literate, even well educated. William Drummond and Nathaniel Bacon were graduated from English colleges. Charles Blanckeville and William Scarborough both had several books in their estates. William Kendall had a full library. William Rookings and

Dominick Rice provided for the education of their children in their wills.³⁸

Religion is difficult to assign to participants. At least two Baconians were probably Quakers and one was possibly a Puritan. Several Baconians were also influenced by the occult. Overcome by an evil spirit, Baconian William Carver once killed a man in church. Later, Carver charged a neighbor's wife with witchcraft against him. William Rookings was involved in a false witchcraft charge, for which he was made to pay compensation to the accused woman's husband. Finally, in 1654, while in the House of Burgesses, future Baconian William Hatcher charged future Loyalist Edward Hill of atheism. Hatcher was ordered to apologize for his insult by the Assembly.³⁹

The Baconian leadership was more broadly representative of Virginia's entire population than the leading Loyalists. Baconians comprised elite Virginians, yeoman farmers, recent freemen, and indentured servants. Nathaniel Bacon, Giles Bland, William Carver, William Drummond, and William Kendall represented elite Baconians. Individuals like John Bagwell or Thomas Hansford symbolized the middling sort of rebel. At least two indentured servants were documented leaders in the uprising. John Digby and Henry Page were advanced out of servitude in Bacon's service. Page was "for his violence against the loyal party" made a Colonel and Digby was ranked as a Captain.⁴⁰

Military titles, such as Captain or Colonel, were important indicators of status in the late seventeenth century. Several Baconians were elevated in rank during the course of the Rebellion. Thomas Young and William Cookson were Captains while Thomas Whaley and William Rookings were Majors under Bacon. Thomas Hansford began the revolt as a Captain in the York County militia but was promoted to Colonel for valiant service to Bacon. Richard Lawrence and Thomas Goodrich were both identified as Colonels during the Rebellion. The ranks of Colonel and Captain accorded an individual a "high middle" status.⁴¹

Prior to Bacon's Rebellion Lt. General Gregory Walklett was addressed only as "Mister Walklate." Such honorifics also had special significance in a relatively new colonial society that was without a resident aristocracy as was found in England. Thomas Baker, William Hunt, Thomas Lushington, Stephen Mannering, and John Sanders were each called "Mister" before the uprising, which has been classified as a "middle" status designation. Participation in the revolt improved, at least temporarily, the social standing of many Baconians.⁴²

The third indicator of status among seventeenth century Virginians was service in public offices. Prior to the uprising, Baconians held a diverse variety of elected and appointed positions. John Bagwell was a jury foreman during a land dispute in Rappahannock County. In York

County, Thomas Hansford served on grand and petit juries.⁴³ William Carver served as a Justice from Lower Norfolk County in 1663-1665 and after 1667; sat in the House of Burgesses during 1665 and 1669; maintained public highways along the Elizabeth River in 1669; was High Sheriff in 1670; and recorded tithables in 1672. George Seaton and Edmund Chisman were Justices from Gloucester and York counties, respectively. Thomas Hall was New Kent County Clerk and Escheater General at the time of the Rebellion. William Drummond, former Governor of North Carolina, had also served on the local level, as James City County Sheriff in 1660.⁴⁴

Those Baconians who survived the revolt and were pardoned for their rebellion were quickly entrusted with new offices. In 1677, Sands Knowles was serving as Vestryman in Gloucester County. Appointed to the Northampton County bench in 1673 as a new Justice, Charles Scarborough sat in Grand Assemblies through the 1680s and was appointed to the Governor's Council in 1691 when he also became a trustee for the College of William and Mary.⁴⁵

The diversity of Baconian governmental service was matched by the range of their occupations and trades. Anthony Arnold and Edmund Chisman operated grist mills, while Henry Page was a carpenter. A surprising number of Baconians had ties to merchant traders. As was common in the late seventeenth century, ship Captain William Carver was also a merchant. James Crewes had ties to a London

merchant named John Beauchamp and William Hunt was a Virginia factor for Alderman Booth of London. As an interpreter, Thomas Wilsford was involved in the Indian trade. Thomas Lushington had merchant ties but also practiced law. William Kendall argued cases before Virginia's General Court. Many Baconians, whose occupations went unrecorded, were probably tobacco farmers. Henry and William West simply called themselves "planters."⁴⁶

The "sot weed" tobacco was the primary source of wealth on the Tobacco Coast, and its cultivation required constant sources of fertile lands. At the time of Bacon's Rebellion, approximately half of the documented Baconians were landholders. The typical Baconian held patents to approximately 1,800 acres of land, a little over half as much as the average Loyalist. Only three Baconians held over 5,000 acres of land compared to 17 Loyalists. The most propertied Baconians were William Drummond (9,013 acres), Charles Scarborough (19,425) and William Kendall (35,899). Three Baconians each controlled between 2,500 and 5,000 acres and nine individuals each held title to between 1,000 and 2,500 acres. At least 20 rebels lived on recorded patents of less than 1,000 acres. Robert Weeks held the smallest recorded amount of property, 50 acres "near the palisade" on the border between James City and York counties.⁴⁷

Baconian landholdings were concentrated on the James-York peninsula, the Southside, and in frontier counties. Almost one-third of the rebels resided in the frontier: Stafford, Rappahannock, New Kent, Charles City, or Henrico Counties. Another quarter lived on the James-York peninsula while almost 20 percent lived in both the settled and frontier portions of the Southside. In all, only about 25 percent of the Baconians came from the Northern Neck, the Middle Peninsula and the Eastern Shore. Similarly, landless Baconians, whose residence were revealed by other sources, were also concentrated on the frontier, the James-York Peninsula, and the Southside.⁴⁸

Extensive landholdings were essential to success in the Virginia colony. But in a close world of face-to-face contact, real estate was not a practical symbol of social importance or economic condition. The material world of the Baconians also depicted their relative status in Virginia society. William Kendall's place in the hierarchy of Virginia society was certainly demonstrated by his occupation as a lawyer practicing before the Colony's General Court. His social position was equally illustrated by his personal possessions: 31 books, 7 muskets, 4 pistols, 3 bayonets, and 2 silver-handled swords.⁴⁹

IV

An analysis of the estates of many prominent Baconians provides an interesting perspective on the material world of

Bacon's Rebellion. Inventories of the "real and personal estates" taken in the spring of 1677, soon after the suppression of the Rebellion provide direct evidence of Baconian plantations, housing, personal possessions, servants, slaves, and livestock. The inventories of their estates provide a unique opportunity to appraise the material and cultural world of these rebels. The evidence of the inventories may be used to draw interpretations regarding Baconian wealth, status, occupation, and standard of living.

After Bacon's rebels had been pacified in January, 1677, Governor Berkeley convened the "Grand Assembly" at Green Spring on February 20, 1677, to reestablish institutional government in the Virginia colony. The first act the House of Burgesses passed provided for the pardon of all persons involved in acts of rebellion since April 1, 1676. The Governor and the Assembly exempted certain individuals--rebel leaders and others who had been active in the Rebellion--from this general pardon. The second action of the House of Burgesses was an act of attainder against those persons excepted from the Governor's general pardon. Attainder meant that the enumerated Baconians had been by law convicted of high treason and thus forfeited their estates to the Crown. The Baconian estates were "only to be inventoried" and "security taken" against embezzlement until

the King's "further pleasure" towards their final distribution was "signified".⁵⁰

On May 1, 1677 the King's Commissioners ordered Col. George Jordan and Maj. Theophelius Howe [Hone] to inquire into the Baconian estates confiscated during the late rebellion. Jordan and Hone were charged with the task of assembling inventories of these estates so that the property seized by Governor Berkeley in the name of the King could be properly accounted. During May and June the estate inventories of twenty-six Baconians were gathered and the information was turned over to the Commissioners. These inventories are preserved in the Colonial Office records: "Proceedings and Reports of the Commissioners for Enquiring into Virginian Affairs and Settling Virginia Grievances, 1677."⁵¹

Table 2 presents a list of those Baconians whose inventories Hone and Jordan recorded with the Virginia Commissioners. Inventories for three of the twenty-six individuals listed, Giles Bland, Richard Lawrence, and Richard Pomfrey, are not included in the Colonial Office records. Notations beside the names of Bland, Lawrence, and Pomfrey suggested that no accounting of their estate was possible in the aftermath of Bacon's Rebellion.⁵² For example, Richard Lawrence's estate was not inventoried because his household goods were "plundered" or destroyed during the fire at Jamestown. Lawrence had removed his

TABLE 2
INVENTORIED BACONIANS

<u>Name</u>	<u>Residence</u>	<u>Rebellion Outcome</u>
1. Anthony Arnold	New Kent	executed
2. Nathaniel Bacon Jr.	Henrico	natural death
3. Capt. William Carter	Lower Norfolk	executed
4. Mr. Edmund Chisman	York County	natural death
5. William Cookson	York?	executed
6. Captain James Crews	Henrico	executed
7. Mr. William Drummond	James City Co.	executed
8. William Grove	Isle of Wight	?
9. Mr. Thomas Hansford	York	executed
10. Thomas Hall	New Kent	executed
11. Mr. William Hunt	Charles City	natural death
12. John Isles	Isle of Wight	executed
13. Robert Jones	New Kent	sentenced to die
14. Richard Lawrence	James City	fled away
15. Henry Page/Pope	James/York	executed
16. William Rookings	Surry	died in prison
17. William Scarborough	Surry	executed
18. Robert Stokes	Isle of Wight	executed
19. John Turner	?	broke prison
20. William West	Isle of Wight	executed
21. Capt. Thomas Whaley	York	fled away
22. John Whitson	Surry	executed
23. Thomas Wilsford	?	executed
24. Thomas Young	James City	executed
25. Mr. Giles Bland	James City	executed
26. Mr. Richard Pomfrey	Maryland	executed?

Source: CO 5/1371, 219.

account books and bills prior to the fire making it "impossible to give any further account of his estate."⁵³ according to Jordon and Hone.

The Baconian estates were appraised by a variety of individuals. By their authority from the Virginia Commissioners, Jordan and Hone ordered that the person or persons to whom the estates had been entrusted make an inventory. Often the inventory was taken with the help of the Baconian's widow or other relative. William Drummond's inventory was "taken upon the oath of Sarah his relict"⁵⁴ while William Hunt's estate was described by his wife and son who retained possession of the goods. Neighbors also contributed to the inventories. Robert Jones' estate was evaluated by his wife and "the information of others well knowing them."⁵⁵ James Crew's inventory was made "by the information of those that lived in his house and the most knowing and rational of his neighbors."⁵⁶

The Baconians whose estates were appraised were some of the most important participants in the Rebellion. First among them was the "chief of all the late rebels," Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., followed by Thomas Hansford, "accounted next under Bacon" as a leader of the revolt. The estates of "a stout rebel," "a violent rebel," a "malignant rebel," are also recorded. Robert Stokes was "found very high and resolute in the rebellion" and William West was "one of the last rebels that stood out" against the established

government of the Virginia colony.⁵⁷ Thus, while these individuals do not make up a statistically representative sample of all Baconians, they do comprise a roster of the principal leaders and supporters in Bacon's Rebellion.

For some Baconians the reward for their support of the rebellion was death or exile. At least 14 of these men were tried, condemned, and executed under the provisions of martial law imposed by Governor Berkeley during the winter of 1676-1677. Anthony Arnold was "tried and condemned for rebellion and treason and hung in chains."⁵⁸ Others, like Bacon himself, faced death through natural causes during or after the Rebellion. Edmund Chisman "died a natural death in his rebellion"⁵⁹ while William Rookings died in prison at Green Spring before the day appointed for his execution. Richard Lawrence, John Turner, William West, and Thomas Whaley escaped the hangman's noose by breaking prison and fleeing to the Virginia frontier. Whether by execution or flight, twenty-three Baconians left behind their estates "as well real and personal" that were confiscated at the end of the "late, dangerous rebellion" as compensation for the colony's expenses in restoring order within Virginia.⁶⁰

At their most basic level, the Baconian inventories are simple lists of the material possessions of the condemned individuals. The worldly goods of the rebels: their homes, lands, personal possessions, debts, livestock, crops, servants, and slaves were enumerated by the appraisers.

These items form categories of information which taken together document the material condition of the lives of this special group of seventeenth century Virginians.

The inventories were structured by the appraisers to reflect these categories of material culture. Nathaniel Bacon's inventory first listed his personal possessions in a room by room account. Special notice was reserved for Bacon's linens and silver plate. Next, the inventory turns to Bacon's English servants and black slaves. The appraisers next moved "without doors" to account for Bacon's livestock (cattle, horses, swine, and sheep). Plantations owned by and debts owed to Bacon were tallied at the end of the inventory.

The Baconian inventories are unique in that they record not only the personal estate but also the real estate of the participants. Most seventeenth century probate inventories do not contain a record of a person's land holdings. In the Baconian inventories individual farms held by a particular individual were listed along with generalized descriptions of the quality of the holdings. This record provides a fuller view of the participant's world than can usually be gathered from inventories. Nathaniel Bacon's "ancient seat" at "the Curles" of the James River was described as totaling 1030 acres with his farmstead comprising "a small brick house with much other very good wooden buildings."⁶¹

An individual's entire estate was recorded because by order of Governor Berkeley the Baconians had forfeited all their property; both real and personal. Unfortunately, the inventories did not include an appraised value for each of the lands, housing, goods, servants, or livestock enumerated, although bonds for many of the estates were posted by those persons in whose possession the real and personal property was entrusted by the colonial government.

The structure of the Baconian inventories reflects an emic expression of material culture classes. The categories outline what the appraisers held as important divisions in the Chesapeake's material world. The internal organization of the inventories can be used to guide analysis and interpretation of these documents. Inventories provide two types of information: direct and indirect. The inventories contain direct evidence of the Baconian's land holdings, homes, personal goods, servants, slaves, livestock, debts and credits, and estate value. From this data, evidence of the Baconian's standard of living, occupation, wealth, status, and character may be indirectly interpreted. In general terms, the inventories reveal where the Baconians lived and what it was like there, as well as what they did and how much they owned at the time of their unexpected demise.

Many of the Baconian inventories begin with a description of the individual's landholdings. Table 3

TABLE 3

BACONIAN REAL ESTATE

<u>NAME</u>	<u>ESTATE DESCRIPTION</u>
Anthony Arnold	3000 acres in 5 plantations
Nathaniel Bacon	1730 acres in 3 plantations
Capt. Wm. Carter	2061 acres in 3 plantations
Edmund Chisman	250 acres in 1 plantation
William Cookson	no real estate inventoried
Capt. James Crews	541 acres in 1 plantation
William Drummond	Elizabeth River and James City Plantations
William Grove	no real estate inventoried
Thomas Hansford	1515 acres in 4 plantations
Thomas Hall	no real estate inventoried
William Hunt	no real estate inventoried
John Isles	no real estate inventoried
Robert Jones	two leased plantations listed
Richard Lawrence	estate plundered and burned
Henry Page/Pope	no real estate inventoried
William Rookings	600 acres in 1 plantation
William Scarborough	180 acres in 1 plantation
Robert Stokes	no real estate inventoried
John Turner	no real estate inventoried
William West	160 acres in 1 plantation
Capt. Tho. Whaley	York River plantation
John Whitson	1500 acres in 1 plantation
Thomas Wilsford	400 acres in 1 plantation
Thomas Young	400 acres in 1 plantation

Source: C.O. 5/1371, 220-250.

presents a list of Baconian real estate. Of the 23 inventories, eight have no lands recorded and three estates have no acreage listed. These persons may have leased land, as in the case of Robert Jones, that went unrecorded by the appraisers.

With 3,000 acres spread across five plantations, Anthony Arnold owned the largest and most diverse lands among the Baconians. The smallest holding was Williams West's 160 acres of "ordinary land."⁶² Land ownership seems to have broken into three groups. The first consists of those persons with over 1,000 acres: Anthony Arnold, William Carter, Nathaniel Bacon, Thomas Hansford, and John Whitson. The second group comprises those individuals with between 600 and 400 acres: William Rookings, James Crews, Thomas Wilsford, and Thomas Young. The final group includes Edmund Chisman, William Scarborough, and William West, who each owned around 200 acres of farm land.

The dwelling plantations of the executed Baconians were concentrated in eight southern Virginia counties. At least six Baconians lived on the James-York peninsula in the heart of the colony. Eight Baconians hailed from Southside counties of Surry, Isle of Wight, and Lower Norfolk. Six rebels maintained homes in the frontier counties of Charles City, New Kent, and Henrico. Significantly, none of the executed rebels lived in the Middle Peninsula, the Northern Neck or the Eastern Shore. At its height, Bacon's Rebellion

was widespread across the Virginia colony, but it began along the shores of the James and York Rivers. The Virginians who suffered the most for their revolt all lived in the birthplace of rebellion.

Baconian plantations were described with a variety of adjectives. The quality of Anthony Arnold's farms ranged from 400 acres of "good land," to 300 acres of "poor land" near a swamp and included 1200 acres of "indifferent and good land."⁶³ Where Robert Jones' leased plantation was "well seated"⁶⁴ and William Drummond left his widow with a "considerable tract,"⁶⁵ Thomas Hansford lived on a "most commodious seat of land."⁶⁶ Other landscape features of several Baconian plantations included woodlands and orchards.

The "dwelling plantations" of the Baconians were more fully characterized by the appraisers. Descriptions varied from James Crews' "very good plantation with a formal dwelling house with brick chimneys" ⁶⁷ to Thomas Young's plantation with a "small old dwelling house."⁶⁸ Besides the general setting of the plantation, housing, tobacco barns, outbuildings, orchards, mills, and landings were considered worthy of mention by the appraisers. In general, Baconian estates represented substantial investments in "farmbuilding".⁶⁹

Baconian housing was an important part of these inventories. William Carter and James Crews lived in

"formal" dwelling houses with brick chimneys. Special notice was made of Crews' four fireplaces. Nathaniel Bacon lived in a "small new brick house." William Rookings had lived in a "new framed dwelling house covered with shingles" while William Scarborough had died before his "new framed dwelling house" could be completed. Thomas Whaley's home was characterized only by its length: 35 feet. Other, less detailed descriptions; "much housing," "good housing," and a "good dwelling house" were used when the Baconian home conformed to the typical "Virginia house." Housing descriptions focused on characteristics that set a dwelling apart from the norm, usually brick as opposed to frame construction. Most of the Baconian housing was at least "good" in the judgment of the appraisers. Out of 12 dwelling descriptions, only Thomas Young's home was termed as being "small and old." Housing age was also important in a region of "impermanent" architecture. Nathaniel Bacon, William Hunt, Robert Jones, and William Rookings each had "new" additions to their homes.

Home for most Baconians generally conformed to the typical seventeenth century Chesapeake settler's dwelling.⁷⁰ The structural foundation of the building were wooden posts set into the ground at the principal corners. Walls were made of riven wood clapboards with mud and brick nogging. In shape the typical home was rectangular and contained two rooms with dirt floors and a total area of about 800 square

feet (20 by 40 feet). Most homes had only one story with a loft for sleeping placed under the roof rafters. Usually one room was unheated. The chimney was made of wattle and daub (clayey mud held together with sticks) framed by wooden posts.

Thomas Hansford lived in the typical house comprised of a hall and parlor with chambers above both rooms. Seven of the inventories referenced a "hall" as the principal room in the house. Only two "parlors" are recorded, but other rooms may have served the same function, such as Bacon's "brick house," which certainly contained his most formal rooms. Parlors were more private spaces within the Chesapeake home and were found in homes of only the wealthiest individuals.⁷¹

Above, below, and adjoining the Baconian's hall and parlor were an assortment of recorded cellars, garrets, and chambers. Thomas Hall and William Scarborough's homes contained a "room above stairs." William Hunt's "old hall" had a "room adjoining," as did Robert Jones' kitchen. These informally defined spaces were probably additions to the original structure and provided additional sheltered space for the full range of farm household activities.

Housing was not the only concern of the Baconian appraisers. Plantation outbuildings, especially tobacco barns, were considered an important part of an estate's value. Baconian plantations contained "very much other very

good wooden buildings" or "other housing" in "large and good condition." Thomas Hansford's housing was called "all new." Tobacco barns were often recorded by length. Thomas Hansford owned 2 "new tobacco houses of 40 foot each" and Thomas Whaley's farm had tobacco houses of 50, 30 and 20 foot lengths. Tobacco houses varied in quality from John Whitson's "old" house to Thomas Young's "very good tobacco house."

Besides "tobacco houses" a variety of outbuildings "suitable to the plantation" were recorded within the houselots of the Baconian farmsteads. Found on at least seven estates, "kitchens" were the most common structure mentioned. James Crews' kitchen even had a brick chimney. Three "quarters" were recorded for the housing of servants and slaves. Dairy-related structures, such as a milkhouse or a buttery, were not unusual. Two trade-related structures were noted. One plantation contained an "office" while William Rooking's farm included a "store for merchants at the landing" along the James River. Together with William Hunt's kitchen, buttery and milkhouse was a "smith's shop, well furnished with good bellows, forges and nine hammers."

A Baconian's "real estate" was made up of land, houses, and outbuildings: his "personal estate" comprised the second part of the inventories. Personal property included not only household items like furniture and clothing but

also an individual's indentured servants, bound slaves, and livestock. This Baconian property was inherently "portable" and the appraisers attempted to note who had possession of various "parcels" of goods in order to give a full accounting of an estate. The appraisers recorded property legitimately held by other Virginians and that "plundered" during the Rebellion.

The inventories often mention that some item were "in the hands of" another Virginian, referring both to business transactions, neighborly borrowing, and inheritance practices. Thomas Agtall(?) and his wife claimed a part of the William Carter's estate for the "charges and troubles" undertaken in the care of Carter's widow, who had died soon after her husband. Joseph Whitson and family received three gold rings from the widow Carter "upon her death bed." Thomas Walks received a horse from the Carter's estate "in part of a just debt of 1700 pounds of tobacco." Thomas Chisman was in possession of several items borrowed from his brother Edmund's estate.

Many of the inventories record that portions of an estate had been removed during the Rebellion, usually on the orders of Governor Berkeley, for the service of the colony. Fourteen of inventories contain specific references to goods "carried away in war." Baconians immediately lost whatever possessions they carried when captured "in rebellion" and these goods were often offered by Governor Berkeley to his

supporters as a reward for services. When taken by the "loyal party," James Crews and William Drummond both lost their horses. Daniel Clarks received Drummond's captured pistols. Several inventories note that Loyalists had confiscated various guns and horses during the Rebellion.

As the King's representative in Virginia, Berkeley exercised his authority to distribute the confiscated estates. Tobacco, the cash crop of the Chesapeake, was often taken on the Governor's orders to pay the costs of suppressing the Rebellion. James Crews' estate lost 6600 pounds of "new tobacco and cask." Nine hogsheads of Henry Page's "sweetscented" was removed while William Hunt lost ten hogsheads to the colony. As the major source of agricultural labor, indentured servants were also subject to confiscation. The estates of Anthony Arnold, Edmund Chisman, James Crews, William Drummond, Thomas Hansford, and John Turner each lost servants to the Colony. Once carried away, servants were distributed by Governor Berkeley to his supporters and then sold to various farmers for their labor.

Items most commonly taken by the Loyalists also included everyday household goods. Anthony Arnold lost 6 red leather chairs. About half of Edmund Chisman's personal estate was taken "in time of war" by William Beverley, including various linens, some silver plate, a large looking glass, a new set of brass andirons and a featherbed with hangings. In contrast, a Mr. Welden removed two large hogs,

two old mares, and a cross cut saw from Henry Pages' home during the Rebellion.

The Baconian estate appraisals include little evidence of outright plundering. Only Richard Lawrence's Jamestown estate is referred to as "plundered and gone" after the Baconians set fire to the colonial capitol. Late in the Rebellion, the Governor sent of force of 38 men, under the command of Mr. Awborne and Capt. Potter to "reduce" the Baconian who "kept a guard at [Thomas] Hall's house" in New Kent County. One "parcel of goods" appraised at over 40 English pounds was removed from the house by the Loyalists. These items were delivered to William Beverley, who sold them for the Colony "with no gain himself." Another case involved goods removed by the Surry County sheriff, Thomas Barlow, from the estate of William Rookings for a debt that apparently existed between Rookings and John Salway(?) prior to the Rebellion. Here, the county court ordered that the estate be restored until a full hearing was arranged. William Hunt had two hogsheads of tobacco "stolen out of the house...by two outlaws" who were not associated with the suppression of the Rebellion. Remarkably, the estate of the chief rebel, Nathaniel Bacon, was not plundered by the Loyalists.

The "personal estate" that remained after the Rebellion was also enumerated by the local appraisers. Baconian estates presented an impressive array of personal

possessions. Practical necessities, such as clothing, bedding and kitchen equipment, were common. James Crews slept on a "very good English square bedstead, colored and sized with good [fabric] and red ballions framed with large featherbed and a red worsted rug." William Drummond's featherbed included a bolster, white blankets, four pillows, a large colored rug, and a bedstead "hung about with yellow bayse." Moreover, luxuries, like mirrors, spices, and books, were not uncommon. Most items were simply listed as being within a particular room, but linens and silver plate were often separated for special accounting. Thomas Hansford's silver plate included a tankard, a small bowl, six spoons, two "thin" fish cups and two small dram cups.

A seventeenth century Virginian's personal property also included the English, Indian, and black servants. Inventory of English indentured servants included their full name with remaining years of service. Blacks were listed with only their first name and their ages; suggesting that they were considered as slaves and not servants. Nathaniel Bacon and James Crews also had Indians tallied among their possessions. Indians were enumerated in the same manner as black slaves, suggesting that they were similarly bound for life. Not surprisingly, Indian slaves were either old women or young children.

Table 4 presents a list of Baconian servants and slaves which numbered 84 men, women, and children. Most of the

TABLE 4
BACONIAN SERVANTS AND SLAVES

	English		Black		Indians		U	Total		T
	M	F	M	F	M	F	?	M	F	
Arnold	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Bacon	1	-	4	2	5	1	-	10	3	13
Carter	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	2
Chisman	-	1	4	3	-	-	-	4	4	8
Cookson	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Crews	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	6
Drummond	4	1	2	1	-	-	1	6	2	9
Grove	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Hansford	3	1	-	-	-	-	2	3	1	6
Hall	4	1	-	-	-	-	?	4	1	5
Hunt	3	-	8	7	-	-	2	11	7	20
Isles	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Jones	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3
Lawrence	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Page	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Rookings	-	-	2	3	-	-	-	2	3	5
Scarburgh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stokes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Turner	1	-	-	-	-	-	?	1	-	1
West	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Whaley	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Whitson	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Wilsford	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Young	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	25	5	22	18	6	2	6+	53	25	84

Notes: M=male, F=female, U?=uncertain account, T=total of male and females.

Source: C.O. 5/1371, 220-250.

Baconian estates contained some form of bound labor. Only seven of the twenty-three inventoried estates had no mention of indentured servants or slaves. The 40 enumerated slaves were concentrated within seven households while the 30 white servants were distributed among twelve. The average population of black slaves per estate was 5.7 while the average for servants was only 2.1.

Characteristically for the seventeenth century Chesapeake, the twenty-five male English servants greatly outnumbered the five female servants inventoried. Most of the English servants were older with only a few years left to serve their Baconian masters. Only one familial relationship is suggested by the inventories: Thomas Hall's servant boys Richard and Roland Brooks were probably brothers. The lack of families among the servants is not unusual, for servants generally had to delay the formation of family groups until the end of their indenture. Beyond their labor as fieldhands, English servants were noted for special skills. Nathaniel Bacon's Dutch servant Peter Goudown was a blacksmith and William Hunt's servant John Arnold was a gunsmith. William Drummond's estate included a tailor named Hugh Jones.

Baconians held more black slaves (40) than English servants (30) and the proportion between the sexes among the slaves was more balanced (22 men to 18 women). Three family groups are enumerated among the slaves. William Hunt's

estate included the "young negroes" "Hunter and wife Mary" and "Henry and wife Frances." No children are specifically mentioned but several black youngsters were present in the Hunt household. The inventory of William Rookings' plantation contained "Toney and wife Maria," each 40 years old, and their three children. Only two mulatto children are recorded in the estate appraisals. William Hunt owned an eleven year old mulatto slave named "Nancy." Nathaniel Bacon's household included his black slave Kate's one-year-old mulatto daughter in 1677.

When the Baconian estate appraisers finished counting red slaves, white servants, and black slaves, he began enumerating swine, horses and cattle. Livestock made up a considerable portion of the typical Baconian estate with an average of 34 animals per household (see Table 5). Cattle were the most numerous ($n = 434$) with swine a distant second ($n = 244$) and horses third ($n = 83$). Only a few sheep ($n = 33$) from two estates were noted. Every estate had at least one animal: John Whitson's inventory lists only two horses while in contrast John Isles's estate contained 64 animals. Horses were included in every estate save one (Thomas Young's), cattle were present in all but two inventories, and swine were absent in only six estates.

The appraisers were careful to precisely describe the condition of livestock, especially in terms of age and fertility. Livestock was a valuable investment among

TABLE 5
BACONIAN LIVESTOCK

	<u>Swine</u>	<u>Horses</u>	<u>Cattle</u>	<u>Total</u>
Arnold	48	3	12	63
Bacon	24	11	14	49
Carter	6	6	32	44
Chisman	11	6	33	50
Cookson	-	1	4	5
Crews	13	1	24	38
Drummond	-	5	-	5
Grove	12	3	10	25
Hansford	12	3	48	63
Hall	16	8	28	52
Hunt	11	4	42	57
Isles	13	4	38	55
Jones	20	4	28	52
Lawrence	-	-	-	-
Page	8	2	25	35
Rookings	-	1	7	8
Scarburgh	10	1	17	28
Stokes	-	5	16	21
Turner	9	3	6	18
West	20	1	9	30
Whaley	6	6	18	30
Whitson	-	2	-	2
Wilsford	5	3	7	15
Young	=	=	<u>16</u>	<u>16</u>
Totals	244	83	434	761

N.B. John Isles and Nathaniel Bacon, Jr. owned 9 sheep and 24 sheep, respectively.

Source: C.O. 5/1371, 220-250.

Chesapeake farmers, often serving as a source of inheritance for unmarried daughters and minor children.⁷² Livestock was also one part of a person's estate that changed during the probate process because of animal births and deaths. The first and last portion of a Baconian's personal estate were his private debts. A list of "certain debts claimed by diverse persons out of the estates contained in this book" were presented at the beginning of Jordan and Hone's report to the Virginia Commissioners. Other personal debts were accounted for at the end of most of the individual inventories. The colonial Chesapeake economic system was based on personal, long term credit relationships and every tobacco farmer held and carried his own share of credits and debits.⁷³

Table 6 presents a summary of the debts and credits tallied for the inventoried Baconians. Six persons had no debts or credits recorded. In general, Baconians were owed (about 181,000 pounds of tobacco) much more than they owed (approximately 56,000 pounds of tobacco). However, ten of the participants were net debtors while only seven were net creditors. Moreover, the creditors were owed an average of 25,000 pounds of tobacco each while the debtors only owed an average of 5,600 pounds of tobacco per person. Credits owed Baconian estates ranged from 1,500 to 54,000 pounds of tobacco, although at least some of these accounts were considered "desperate" or "uncertain" by the Commissioner-

TABLE 6
BACONIAN CREDITS AND DEBTS

<u>Name</u>	<u>Debts</u>	<u>Credits</u>
Arnold	9,113 & *	-
Bacon	-	5,767
Carter	480	32,584
Chisman	3,000	-
Cookson	-	-
Crews	-	1,592
Drummond	1,427	51,076 & **
Grove	-	-
Hansford	734	-
Hall	11,000	65,000
Hunt	-	46,025
Isles	-	-
Jones	-	-
Lawrence	1,774	-
Page	400	-
Rookings	1,650	-
Scarburgh	9,000	-
Stokes	-	-
Turner	1,700	1,000 & ***
West	4,000	-
Whaley	-	-
Whitson	2,455	-
Wilsford	1,400	7,000
Young	11,480	-
Totals	56,013	181,714

Notes: Debts and credits were recorded in pounds of tobacco; * = Arnold also owed for 1/2 of a sloop; ** = Drummond was also owed 13 English pounds from John Rout; *** = Turner was also owed 4 barrels of corn.

Source: C.O. 5/1371, 220-250.

appointed appraisers. Baconian debts generally fell between 700 and 11,000 pounds of tobacco. Thus, although more Baconians were debtors than creditors, their debts were not huge.

Many Baconian debts came from the claims filed with Jordan and Hone just prior to the presentation of the inventories to the Virginia Commissioners. In fact, Hone and Jordan were two of the largest Baconian creditors with 10,400 and 5,027 pounds of tobacco owed each respectively from several of the participants. William Sherwood and George Thompson also made claims against the Baconian estates. Most of the Baconian debts were a result of transactions made before the Rebellion, although some were "by order of the court" and may represent compensation for property lost during the "late war." Out of a total debt of about 56,000 pounds of tobacco, more than half, 27,000 pounds, was claimed in the "list of certain debts" inserted in Jordan and Hone's report between the preamble and the table of contents.

Although the specific value for each inventoried item was not recorded in Jordan and Hone estate appraisals, many of the estates were secured by posted bonds of various values. Bonds were presented for 15 of the 23 inventoried estates (Table 7). Often the bond was offered by the widow of the condemned rebel, either alone or together with a relative or neighbor. Lydia Chisman, wife of Edmund

TABLE 7

BACONIAN ESTATE BONDS

<u>Bond</u>	<u>Description of the Bond</u>
40	from James Barron for the estate of John Turner.
100	from Mary Young (wife) and William Williamson for the estate of Thomas Young.
300	from Nicholas Wyatt and George Middleton for the estate of William Rookings.
?	from Lemuel Taylor and Robert Bray Commissioners for Lower Norfolk County for the estate of Captain William Carver.
200	from Naomy Scarburgh (widow) and Robert Lee of Surry County for the estate of William Scarburgh.
500	from Lidia Chisman (wife) and John Scasbrooke for the estate of Edmund Chisman.
150	from Robert Spencer and Thomas Jordan for the estate of John Whitson.
500	from James Willis and Esameb? Douglaser? (Charles City County) for the estate of Robert Jones.
200	from Elizabeth Hansford (widow) and Charles Hansford for the estate of Thomas Hansford.
100	from Charles Wilsford (brother) for the estate of Thomas Wilsford.
100	from James Whaley and Bryan Smily for the estate of Thomas Whaley.
200	from Francis Isles (widow) and John Watts of Isle of Wight County for the estate of John Isles.
500	from Elizabeth Bacon (widow), Thomas Grendon, and John Pleasant? for the estate of Nathaniel Bacon, Jr.
100	from Margaret Page and Robert Springer for the estate of Henry Page/Pope.
200	from Eleanor Groves and Thomas Barlow of Isle of Wight County for the estate of William Groves.

N.B. Bond values are in English pounds.

Source: C.O. 5/1371, 220-250.

TABLE 8
BACONIAN ESTATE BONDS
(by bond value)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Bond Value</u>
Nathaniel Bacon	500
Edmund Chisman	500
Robert Jones	500
William Rookings	300
William Scarburgh	200
Thomas Hansford	200
John Isles	200
William Groves	200
John Whitson	150
Thomas Young	100
Thomas Wilsford	100
Thomas Whaley	100
Henry Page	100
John Turner	40
William Carver	no value

N.B. Out of the 23 recorded Baconian inventories eight estates have no recorded bonds. Estates without bonds are those of: Anthony Arnold, James Crews, William Drummond, Thomas Hall, William Hunt, Richard Lawrence, Robert Stokes, and William West.

Source: C.O. 5/1371, 220-250.

Chisman, and her brother in law, John Scasbrooke posted a bond for 500 English pounds for the Chisman estate. Mary Young, Naomy Scarborough, Elizabeth Hansford, Francis Isles, Elizabeth Bacon, Margaret Page, and Eleanor Groves also prepared bonds for their husband's estate. In one case, the Commissioners for Lower Norfolk County offered a bond for the estate of William Carver (no value listed).

The values of the Baconian estate bonds probably did not represent the true value of the inventoried estate. These sums were offered as security to the courts that the full estate would be held intact by the trustees until such time as its final disposition was arranged. However, the bond values presented a relative valuation of the various estates (Table 8). Bonds ranged from 500 to only 40 English pounds. Edmund Chisman, Nathaniel Bacon, Robert Jones, and William Rookings each maintained estates worth between 300 and 500 English pounds. William Scarburgh, Thomas Hansford, John Isles, William Groves and John Whitson's estates were bonded for between 150 and 200 English pounds. Thomas Young, Thomas Wilsford, Thomas Whaley, Henry Page, and John Turner's estates were valued at less than 100 English pounds.

V

Analysis of the Baconian inventories yields more information about the participants than a simple list of the material possessions. Through study of the material world,

interdisciplinary researchers have documented a relatively low standard of living for most colonists in the seventeenth century Chesapeake. Poor living conditions, combined with the likelihood of early adult mortality, led to the development of a "mentality of transience" among colonial settlers.⁷⁴ Analysis of the material world of the major Baconians can be used to place the individuals within an appropriate cultural context. Viewed from the perspective of land, labor, livestock, housing, and personal possessions, the Baconian inventories reveal that the rebel leadership were relatively better off than most of their neighbors.

These inventories yield clues to the occupation, wealth, and economic standing of a particular Baconian. The range of occupations in the seventeenth century Chesapeake was generally limited: most men were tobacco farmers. However, many of the Baconians had expanded beyond farming to include involvement in merchant stores, Atlantic and coastal trading, grist milling, blacksmithing, gunsmithing, innkeeping, and carpentry. Roughly one half of the Baconians had economic interests beyond farming.⁷⁵

Economic diversification was one of the strategies supported by Governor Berkeley in order to reinforce Virginia's position in the British imperial world. However, these Baconians were not involved in the exotic enterprises of glassmaking or silk growing. Rather, Baconian

occupations and economic interests represented practical and needed activities within the established Chesapeake tobacco economy. Numerous Baconians were involved in merchant trading. James Crewes, William Carter, and Thomas Hall each had a ship landing or a merchant store. William Rookings' plantation contained "a store for merchants at the landing." Baconian economic diversification was designed to achieve "competency" within colonial society.⁷⁶

Economic competency in the seventeenth century could be measured in terms of wealth. Generally, scholars have used three indicators to describe wealth in the colonial Chesapeake: estate value, number of servants and slaves held, number of acres controlled.⁷⁷ The Baconian inventories provide evidence regarding each of these variables.

The value of the Baconian estates was expressed only in relative terms by the bonds posted at the time of the inventory for the security of the estates. Actual values were not assigned to individual items within most of the inventories and no total estate value is listed. Three groups of Baconians were discernable from the relative comparison of estate bonds: 300 to 500; 150 to 200; and less than or equal to 100 English pounds. In at least one case, however, an estate received a more precise evaluation. Thomas Hansford's estate, bonded for 200 English pounds in

1677 and sold by auction in August, 1679, had a total value of 29,779 pounds of tobacco.

Darrett and Anita Rutman's work in Middlesex County provides a yardstick with which to measure the bond values assigned to the Baconian estates. For males born during the second half of the seventeenth century the average inventory evaluation was 118 English pounds.⁷⁸ Nine out of 14 Baconian estates were bonded for greater than 100 English pounds, and thus above the norm for the period.

Wealth as represented by the number of servants and slaves was a less precise measurement. William Hunt's 20 servants and slaves was certainly an statistical outlier. For comparison, in Middlesex County, the mean number of servants and slaves in 1668 was 5.1 persons and in 1687 it was 3.8 persons.⁷⁹ Most Baconians controlled the labor of fewer than five persons. Those persons with more than five laborers (n=7) were considered in the uppermost group, those persons with from 2 to four laborers (n=4) in the middle, and those with only 1 or fewer servants (n=11) in the last group. Evaluation of wealth based on labor was also less precise because many servants ran away or were taken away during the Rebellion.

The final measure of wealth in the seventeenth century was land. Baconians controlled between 3000 and 160 acres of land with the average holding being about 1000 acres.⁸⁰ The average landholding for the 100-member Baconian

leadership was 1,800 acres; however, this figure includes several substantial estates of individuals whose participation in the rebellion was limited. For a comparison, the average acreage in Middlesex county in 1668 was 900 acres. Nine years after the rebellion it had fallen to only 417 acres.⁸¹ Thus, the major Baconians held above average landholdings when compared to their Chesapeake neighbors.

Land, labor and livestock can be used to calculate a "economic means index" (EMI) through which to gauge an individual's relative position in along the Tobacco Coast.⁸² The EMI is calculated using average figures for real estate, slave and indentured labor, cattle, and horses for the 100 wealthiest individuals in late eighteenth century Virginia as a baseline. The relative economic means of an individual is then compared to these average figures.⁸³ An EMI value of 100 would indicate that an individual had economic means equal to the average for wealthy late eighteenth century planters. The EMI was developed as a technique for measuring the economic means of farmers and thus is limited in its validity for merchants and other non-farmers.

Although this statistic was developed from analysis of eighteenth century wealth and its specific period of relevance begins only in the 1690s, as a method of evaluating relative economic means, the EMI is sound for comparison of the executed Baconians (Table 9). In fact,

Table 9

Baconian Economic Measure Index (EMI)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Land</u>	<u>Labor</u>	<u>Stock</u>	<u>Horses</u>	<u>EMI</u>
Arnold	33.33	0.71	7.5	9.38	12.73
Bacon	19.44	9.28	8.75	34.38	17.96
Carter	22.99	1.42	20.0	18.75	15.79
Chisman	2.77	5.71	20.63	18.75	11.96
Cookson	-	-	2.5	6.25	4.38
Crewes	6.01	2.14	15.0	3.12	6.57
Drummond	-	6.42	-	15.63	11.25
Grove	-	0.71	6.25	9.38	5.45
Hansford	16.84	4.28	30.0	9.38	15.12
Hall	-	3.57	17.5	25.0	15.36
Hunt	-	14.28	26.25	12.5	17.68
Isles	-	1.43	23.75	12.5	12.56
Jones	-	2.14	17.5	12.5	10.71
Page/Pope	-	0.71	16.63	6.25	7.86
Rookings	6.67	3.57	4.38	3.12	4.43
Scarburgh	2.0	-	10.63	3.12	5.25
Stokes	-	-	10.0	15.62	12.81
Turner	-	0.71	3.75	9.38	4.61
West	1.78	-	5.63	3.12	3.51
Whaley	-	-	11.25	18.75	15.0
Whitson	16.67	0.71	-	6.25	7.88
Wilsford	4.45	-	4.38	9.38	6.07
Young	4.45	-	10	-	7.22
Average	11.45	3.57	12.94	10.23	10.09

Source: C.O. 5/1371, 220-250. Eric G. Ackerman, "Economic Means Index: A Measure of Social Status in the Chesapeake, 1690-1815," Historical Archaeology 25 (1991), 26-36.

preliminary results suggest that the EMI may be applicable to earlier periods. For example, the EMI of Thomas Pettus, a successful James City County planter, was 19.7, a figure that is not too different from the EMI values of several Baconians in 1676.⁸⁴

EMI values for the executed Baconians (Table 9) ranged from Nathaniel Bacon's high of 18 to a low of 3.5 for William West. The average Baconian leadership EMI was 10.09, or one-tenth of the value of the wealthiest Virginians during the late eighteenth century. In all, six Baconians had EMI values over 15. Seven Baconians had values from 10 to 15 and 10 individuals registered values under 10. These three grouping can be described as high, medium, and low economic means.

Comparison of EMI values with the bonds given as security for an estate suggests that other factors besides an estate's relative value may have played a role in assigning security bonds. For example, Nicholas Wyatt and George Middleton gave a 300 English pound bond for the estate of William Rookings which had an EMI value of only 4.4. The Rookings' estate bond was the fourth highest recorded, however, his EMI was the second lowest. Rookings' primary occupation as a merchant may explain this discrepancy between bond value and EMI. However, William Scarborough's 200 English pound security bond and corresponding low EMI value cannot be explained by a non-

farmer occupation. It seems probable that while the EMI statistic measures an individual's ability to farm; the bond value for Baconian estates may also have been related to the trustworthiness of the person offering security for an estate, or other factors.

Statistical analysis of landholdings, control over labor, and agricultural husbandry present only one picture of the life of Baconians in the late seventeenth century. Researchers concerned with the relationship between the material standards of living and the stability of colonial culture have developed an "amenities index" with which to study growing consumerism.⁸⁵ The amenities index (AI) consists of thirteen variables: coarse earthenware, bed or table linens, table knives, table forks, fine earthenware, spice or signs thereof, religious books, secular books, wigs, watches or clocks, pictures, and silver plate. The percentage of estate inventories containing these classes of material culture were calculated for several estate values ranges: 0-49, 50-94, 95-225, 226-490, and greater than 491 English pounds.

Table 10 presents a comparison for the AI values calculated from rural Anne Arundel County, Maryland in 1665-1677 with those from the Baconian estates. Baconian estates contained no table knives or forks, wigs, or time pieces. However, except for table knives, which were found in between 11 and 47 percent of Anne Arundel households, none

TABLE 10
AMENITIES INDEX. COMPARISON

Household Item	Anne Arundel Co.	Baconian
coarse earthenware	34-67%	14%
bed or table linen	24-93%	95%
table knives	11-14%	0%
table forks	0%	0%
fine earthenware	0-7%	14%
spices or signs thereof	4-67%	54%
religious books	23-100%	22%
secular books	2%	18%
wigs	2%	0%
watches or clocks	0-100%	0%
pictures	4-67%	4%
silver plate	4-67%	36%

Source: C.O. 5/1371, 220-250. Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Standard of Living in the Colonial Chesapeake," William and Mary Quarterly, third series, XLV (1988), 135-159.

of the other classes of material culture were found in any appreciable amount prior to 1677. Besides table knives, Baconians also scored low when comparing the presence of coarse earthenwares, religious books, and pictures. The rebel estates contained relatively high percentages of linens, fine earthenwares, spices, secular books, and silver plate. The high percentages of Baconians who owned secular books and fine earthenwares was especially important in that hardly any contemporaries had such belongings.

With spices to flavor their food; linens on their tables and beds; books for entertainment and education; and silver vessels to demonstrate their success; Baconians clearly had the economic means to possess many of the amenities that made life in the seventeenth century Chesapeake more bearable. Charted against the Anne Arundel data, the Baconian leadership were materially well off. Their personal possessions were the material cultural signposts that distinguished them from their less successful neighbors. As defined by Carr and Walsh, many of the Baconian leadership had taken the first steps toward "gentility."⁸⁶

A trans-Atlantic perspective on the standard of living among the leading Baconians in the Chesapeake follows from comparison with contemporary English standards. As James Horn has documented, most Virginians and Marylanders experienced a substantial decrease in housing when they

emigrated to the colonies. Where in England the average house would contain 5 to 7 rooms; in the Chesapeake the typical house had only 2 rooms. English houses were also more durable and of a better quality than the "impermanant" architecture of earthfast housing of Virginia and Maryland.⁸⁷

Most Baconian housing was clearly superior to the Chesapeake norm with regard to quality and size.⁸⁸ Nine of the inventoried Baconians lived in houses with 3 or more rooms. Of these, five occupied dwellings comparable in size to average English homes. William Hunt's house contained a total of at least eight rooms. Baconian houselots were generally described as having "much housing," or "good and new" and houses as "new framed." William Carter and James Crewes lived in "formal" houses with brick fireplaces and chimney stacks. In all, two out of three Baconians lived in above average housing.⁸⁹

Horn's comparison of standard of living in England and the Chesapeake went beyond architecture and included "household items" from inside the farmhouse.⁹⁰ As with the "amenities index" developed by Walsh and Carr, the Baconians scored high when measured against data from St. Mary's County, Maryland, and Northumberland and Lancaster counties, Virginia. Although, the Baconians probably experienced a decline in their standard of living upon migration to the Virginia colony, their material world in terms of household

furnishings and quality of housing appears to have been substantially better than other settlers.

In fact, analysis of the Baconian inventories suggests that the leaders of the rebellion were relatively well established within the colony. These Baconians had diversified their livelihood as tobacco planters to include practical trades such as smithing and milling, as well as operating merchant stores. Measured in terms of estate value, acres of farmland, and control of servant and slave labor, most of the leading Baconians appear to have had a higher "economic means" than many of their neighbors. Baconian standard of living was also above the average for the Chesapeake.

VI

To their contemporaries, the Baconians were made up of the "vulgar and most ignorant people" Virginia who were "unsatisfied" and "impatient" with Governor Berkeley's attempts to control Anglo-Indian conflict on the colony's frontier. "The ruder sort" of Virginians were led into rebellion against Berkeley and the Loyalists by "the darling of the people," Nathaniel Bacon, and an approximately 100-member core of followers. The Baconian leadership was described as "free men that had but lately crept out of the condition of servants." Viewed by the Loyalists as traitors and rebels, the Baconians saw themselves as defenders of their lives, fortunes, and colony against Indian aggression.

Analysis of available records suggests that the principal Baconians represented a broad cross-section of individuals within the Virginia Colony. Baconians exhibit a diversity of characteristics that probably describes the general nature of the colony's inhabitants. The Baconian leadership consisted of a Parliamentarian, a Royalist, a Quaker, and a Puritan. Like the rest of Virginia, most were immigrants, many were literate and several were well educated. Many Baconians were married and had families. Only two Baconians could be documented as former indentured servants.

In fact, despite their characterization as "the ruder sort," Baconians seem to have drawn their leadership from the "middling sort" or better. Baconians included some of Virginia's local and colonial elites. As measured by land ownership, control of labor, and total estate value, the Baconian leadership were seated above the norm for Virginia at the time of the rebellion. The Baconian leader's material world, in terms of housing and amenities, was also better than many of his neighbors.

The contrast between the description of Baconians as a "giddy-headed multitude" and the reality of their material, social, and economic status as "middling" farmers is important for understanding the motivations that underlay the causes of the rebellion. Although indentured servants, and recently freed servants certainly participated in the

revolt, it was led by a cadre of elite Virginians who were supported by many other yeomen farmers.

Notes for Chapter II

1. "History of Bacon and Ingram's Rebellion."
2. William and Mary Quarterly, third series, XIV (1957), 406.
3. "A True Narrative," 111.
4. "A True Narrative," 106-111, 113, 116, 118, and 131.
5. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom, 235-249, discusses the growing discontent among "the people" of Virginia. He argues that during the late seventeenth century it was fear of a rebellious class of recently freed indentured servants that forced the elite planters of Virginia to turn towards a "racial consensus" and shift the dominant labor force from indentured whites to enslaved blacks.
6. "A True Narrative," 131; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 1 (1894), 55-58.
7. See Billings, Selby and Tate, Colonial Virginia: A History, 77-78 and "A True Narrative," 131, for a discussion of the rally at Jordon's Point. For the composition of the June Assembly, see Billings, "Virginias Deploured Condition."
8. Morgan, American Freedom, American Slavery, 265-266.
9. "A True Narrative," 113, 121, 125-126, 137-138.
10. "A True Narrative," 113, 121, 125-126, 137-138.
11. "A True Narrative," 106-7, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 115, 116, 130, and 131; Cotton, "An Account of Our Late Troubles in Virginia." 6-7.
12. "A True Narrative," 109-110; Matthew "Beginning, Progress and Conclusion," 40-41.
13. "A True Narrative," 110. Thus, "the people were willing to follow Bacon because of his high social and economic status.
14. "A True Narrative," 110; "Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion," 40-41.

15. "Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion," 40-41; William Waller Hening, The Statutes at Large... 13 Vols. (Richmond, 1809-1823), II, 370-386.
16. Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, "Richard Lawrence: A Sketch," William and Mary Quarterly, third series, XIV (1959), 244-248.
17. "Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion," 23-24 and 27; Coventry Manuscripts, Volume 78, No. 170.
18. "A True Narrative," 106-7, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 115, 116, 130, and 131; Cotton, "An Account of Our Late Troubles in Virginia," 6-7.
19. Hening, Statutes II, 544-547.
20. Neville, Abstracts, 61.
21. Hening, Statutes II, 370-386.
22. Hening, Statutes II, 370-386.
23. Hening, Statutes II, 548-556.
24. Henry Miller, Director of Archaeological Research, St. Mary's City, Maryland (personal communication). Dr. Miller reported that on average a dressed pig would have produced about 100 pounds of meat per individual.
25. Hening, Statutes II, 548-556.
26. Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, 128-163.
27. Hening, Statutes II, 548-556.
28. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography III (1895-1896), 126.
29. Hening, Statutes II, 557-8.
30. Hening, Statutes II, 370-380, 544-558; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography X (1902-1903), 151-152. Although the colony records do not record the specific punishment for about one-quarter of the named Baconians, this information may be noted in the various county records.
31. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills, Volume 6, 80, 302; Pumphrey Press (January 1979).

32. Nell Marion Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants I, 203; Lower Norfolk County, Virginia Antiquary II, (1898), 48-50; Cavaliers and Pioneers II, 124; William and Mary Quarterly, first series, VII (1898-1899), 118; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography XX (1912), 2.
33. Hening Statutes II, 370-373; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography I (1894), 90; "Bacons and Ingram's Rebellion," 81-81; William and Mary Quarterly first series XV (1906-1907), 41; Neville, Abstracts, 47-48, 50, 105-106, 132-133, 161.
34. Cavaliers and Pioneers I, 339; Tyler's Quarterly I, 248-255; William and Mary Quarterly first series, XXIV (1915-1916), 200; "Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion," 82-83; William and Mary Quarterly first series VI (1897-1898), 259; Tyler's Quarterly VII (1925-1926), 207.
35. William and Mary Quarterly first series V (1896-1897), 191; Cavaliers and Pioneers I 331, 339, 367; York County Deeds, Orders and Wills, Volume 3, 66; Pomphrey Press (January 1979). Bacon, Bland, and Ingram were described as "strangers" to Virginia in, "The Beginning, Progress and Conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion, 1675-1676," 41; Neville, Abstracts, 47-48, 313.
36. Neville, Abstracts, 96-97, 274; "A True Narrative of the Late Rebellion in Virginia," 138 footnote; Tyler's Quarterly I (1919-1920), 248-255.
37. Citations for individual participants were collected into files that became the Bacon's Rebellion Biographical Data Base. William Drummond was Scottish, John Baptista was French, John Johnson was from Holland, and William Rookings' family was Irish.
38. Bacon's Rebellion Biographical Data Base. Rookings' will stated that his sons were "'to be brought up to good education,'" and that his daughters were to receive "'what education may be fitting for them.'" Rice asked that his son Stephen be sent to his grandfather's estate in Ireland for his education (Bruce, Institutional History I, 302, 320).
39. Charles Scarborough married the daughter of Interregnum Governor Richard Bennett and was fined during the 1680s for anti-Catholic statements against Charles II. Thomas Goodrich was arrested for breaking the Sabbath because he was a Quaker. Lower Norfolk County, Virginia Antiquary II (1898), 48-50; Bruce, Institutional History I, 277, 279.

40. Neville, Abstracts, 274-275.
41. Rutman and Rutman, Explicatus, 133-164.
42. Bacon's Rebellion Biographical Data Base. Neville, Abstracts, 59-60.
43. York County Records, Deeds, Orders and Wills, IV, 142, 217, 219, 296-297; Cavaliers and Pioneers II, 167.
44. Tyler's Quarterly II (1920-1921), 48-50; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography I (1894), 479; York County Records, Deeds, Orders, and Wills IV, 296; Volume III, 97; Neville, Abstracts, 274; Cavaliers and Pioneers I 63.
45. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography XX (1912), 2; XXIII (1915), 150-151.
46. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography XVI (1918), 192-193; Neville, Abstracts, 61, 64, 70, 78, 81, 118, 146, 274; York County Records, Deeds, Orders, and Wills IV, 258; Bruce, Institutional History I, 692.
47. Bacon's Rebellion Biographical Data Base.
48. Bacon's Rebellion Biographical Data Base.
49. Bruce, Institutional History II, 57.
50. Hening, Statutes II, 377.
51. C.O. 5/1371, Survey Report 749 (850); Neville, Abstracts, 134-148.
52. C.O. 5/1371, 219.
53. C.O. 5/1371, 247.
54. C.O. 5/1371, 231.
55. C.O. 5/1371, 223.
56. C.O. 5/1371, 225. In 1685, Edmund Jennings wrote to the Henrico County court that confiscation of the rebel estates had been avoided by "leaving the estates of such persons in the hands of their nearest relatives and in other ways." Jefferson Wallace, "Bacon's Rebellion: Notes from the Records of Henrico County--Now First Published," The Virginia Historical Magazine, I (July, 1891), 20-23.
57. C.O. 5/1371, 220-250.

58. C.O. 5/1371, 240.
59. C.O. 5/1371, 238.
60. C.O. 5/1371, 220.
61. C.O. 5/1371, 227-230.
62. C.O. 5/1371, 248.
63. C.O. 5/1371, 240.
64. C.O. 5/1371, 223.
65. C.O. 5/1371, 232.
66. C.O. 5/1371, 243.
67. C.O. 5/1371, 227.
68. C.O. 5/1371, 249.
69. Cary Carson, Norman F. Barka, William M. Kelso, Gary Wheeler Stone and Dell Upton, "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies," Winterthur Portfolio Vol. 16, (Summer 1981), 135-196.
70. Carson, et al., "Impermanent Architecture."
71. James P. P. Horn, "'The Bare Necessities:' Standards of Living in England and the Chesapeake, 1650-1700." Historical Archaeology, Vol. 22 (1988), 78.
72. Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, 116-120.
73. See John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, The Economy of British America, 1607-1789, 117-143, for a discussion of the Chesapeake tobacco economy.
74. James P. P. Horn, "'The Bare Necessities:' Standards of Living in England and the Chesapeake, 1650-1700," Historical Archaeology Vol. 22 (1988), 89.
75. Baconians were involved in the Indian, coastal, and trans-Atlantic trade. They operated inns, grist mills, and merchant stores, while having access to the skills of blacksmiths, gunsmiths, carpenters and coopers. C.O. 5/1371, 220-250.
76. Daniel Vickers, "Competency and Competition: Economic Culture in Early America," William and Mary Quarterly XLVII, No. 1, (January 1990), 3-29.

77. Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, Explicatus, 117-132.
78. Rutman and Rutman, Explicatus, 122. The standard deviation for estate values of males born during 1650-1699 was 219 English pounds. Estates bonded for 500 English pounds were close to designation as statistical outliers: the mean value (118 English pounds) plus twice the standard deviation (438 English pounds) equals 556 English pounds.
79. Rutman and Rutman, Explicatus, 123. The standard deviation for servants and slaves in 1668 was 9.0 individuals, for 1687, it was 12.5 persons.
80. The average land holding by the executed Baconians was calculated by taking the figures given in the Jordan and Hone inventories. For individuals without listings in these inventories, any acreage listed in other sources was added into the calculation. C.O. 5/1371, 220-250.
81. Rutman and Rutman, Explicatus, 124.
82. Eric G. Ackerman, "Economic Means Index: A Measure of Social Status in the Chesapeake, 1690-1815," Historical Archaeology 25 (1991), 26-36.
83. As defined by Ackerman, the calculations for the EMI are as follows:
- | | | |
|-----------|---|---------------------------------|
| Land | = | (acres * 100)/9000 |
| labor | = | (servants and slaves * 100)/140 |
| livestock | = | (livestock * 100)/160 |
| horses | = | (horses * 100)/32 |
- EMI = (Land + Labor + Livestock + horses)/N
- N = number of variables with data
84. Although horses and cattle were accounted for in Ackerman's EMI calculations, sheep and swine were not. In the Baconian data, swine were obviously an important economic investment, with an average of 11.6 animals per household. Further refinement of the EMI for seventeenth century data should probably include swine in calculation of economic means.
85. Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Standard of Living in the Colonial Chesapeake," William and Mary Quarterly, third series, XLV (January 1988), 135-159.
86. Carr and Walsh, "The Standard of Living in the Colonial Chesapeake," 137.

87. James P. P. Horn, "'The Bare Necessities:' Standards of Living in England and the Chesapeake, 1650-1700." Historical Archaeology 22 (1988), 74-91.
88. Archaeological investigations over the last two decades have given physical expression to the verbal description of housing and living conditions in the seventeenth century. Carson, et al., "Impermanent Architecture."
89. Only five Baconians lived in typical Chesapeake housing. Anthony Arnold owned a "Virginia house" and John Whitson's home was described as "small and old." C.O. 5/1371, 220-250.
90. Horn, "Standards of Living," 86.

CHAPTER III

"SERVICES AND SUFFERINGS...MOST SIGNAL AND EMINENT:" CHARACTERISTICS OF LOYALISM IN BACON'S REBELLION

Understanding the loyalists in the story of Bacon's Rebellion is as important as understanding the rebels. Governor Berkeley and his "loyal party" were the defenders of the established colonial government in Virginia and symbolic of cultural stability within the Chesapeake region. If Bacon's Rebellion marked a turning point in Virginia's colonial history, then the collective nature of loyalism in the "Chesapeake system" is as a significant research theme as the nature of rebellion.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine two fundamental questions with regard to the supporters of Governor Berkeley during Bacon's Rebellion: who were the Loyalists and how were they viewed by their contemporaries? The answer to the first question is descriptive: How old were the Loyalists; what families did they come from; and where did they live? The answer to the second question is highly subjective and must be deduced from a close analysis of the contemporary observer's perspective.

Loyalism in Bacon's Rebellion has received relatively little attention from Chesapeake historians. For example, a recent analysis of Bacon's Rebellion in Middlesex County by

Darrett and Anita Rutman presented a specific description of the character and motivations of the County's Baconians but not for its Loyalists.¹ Representing institutional stability and the political and social status quo, the Loyalists were inherently less interesting and exciting subjects for historical investigation. Virginia's history of leadership in American rebellions, the American Revolution in the eighteenth century and the Civil War in the nineteenth century, has made Nathaniel Bacon and his followers the romantic heroes of the seventeenth century. Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker has portrayed Nathaniel Bacon, Thomas Hansford, and William Drummond as the forefathers of the American Revolution. If the Baconians were the "torchbearers of the Revolution" then were the Loyalists of 1676 precursors to the Tories of 1776?

The political machinations of the period immediately after Bacon's ill-fated rebellion have clouded the legitimacy of the "loyal party." From the arrival of the Royal Commission, the Loyalists had to defend their actions in suppressing Bacon's uprising. Several Loyalists, including Governor Berkeley, were charged with plundering the estates of honest colonists in retaliation for Baconian raids. In fact, Loyalists were blamed by the Royal Commissioners for continuing general discontent among Virginia's colonists during the summer and fall of 1677. The transformation of the colonial government after Bacon's Rebellion was so complete that by the 1680s, Clerk of the House of Burgesses, Robert

Beverley, a major figure in the suppression of the rebels of 1676, was removed from office as the leader of the "tobacco cutting" riots. The conditions that formed the Loyal party prior to 1676 no longer existed in the new order of politics in Virginia after 1677.² The coherence of the constituency that stood with Governor Berkeley during the crisis of Bacon's uprising was short-lived.

Who Were the Loyalists? More than 90 persons have been identified in the documentary record pertaining to Bacon's Rebellion as being supporters of Governor Berkeley. Identification of Loyalists was possible from three major types of primary sources: contemporary narrative accounts of the Rebellion, the list of "sufferers" prepared by the Royal Commissioners, and the numerous post-Rebellion court cases between Loyalists and rebels.

Who were the Loyalists? The first section of this chapter presents the contemporary view of Loyalism from three sources: Baconians, the Royal Commissioners, and the Loyalists themselves. According to the Baconians, the Loyalist elite were self-serving political and business associates of Governor Berkeley who were uninterested in the welfare of the Virginia Colony. In contrast, the Royal Commissioners identified only a few overzealous Loyalists who, following the example of Governor Berkeley, took their revenge upon Baconians and neutral colonists alike. Loyalists saw themselves as steadfast and honest Virginians who were subject

to gross charges of misuse of authority by the Baconians in order to explain their aborted rebellion.

II

Understanding loyalism during Bacon's military challenge to Governor Berkeley's institutional authority requires a fuller description of the individuals that stood with the Governor. Although they focus primarily on the rebels, contemporary accounts of the Rebellion contain a great deal of information on the Loyalists. Not surprising, Baconian portrayal of the Loyalists was less than complimentary. The Royal Commissioner's account, culled from the petitions and reports of the "most knowing credible and indifferent persons in Virginia," was more balanced, but was still critical of certain individuals.³ Rebellion-era documents include enlightening descriptions of the conduct, character, and motivations of Loyalists.

What were the supporters of Governor Berkeley called? To distinguish themselves from the "Baconian" rebels, supporters of Sir William Berkeley titled themselves either "the Governor's Party," "the Loyal Party," or "the Royal Party."⁴ Berkeley's supporters used the term "loyal" to emphasize their role as defenders of institutional rule in the colony; they used the term "royal" to document their continued support of Charles II. At times the Baconians referred to the Governor's supporters as the "Greenspring faction" after the Berkeley's plantation in James City County.

To their contemporaries, the "Loyal Party" consisted of two groups. First were "the Gentlemen of the Governor's Party" who represented members of Virginia's colonial elite. Baconians were disparaging in their descriptions of the "Governor and the Grandees." "That party," commented Nathaniel Bacon, was "as perfidious as cowardly" and undeserving of any trust, to the point that "it would be no treachery by any wayes to suppress them."⁵ Soon after the beginning of the Rebellion, the rebel leader described the Governor's chief advisors as the "wicked, and pernicious Councilors, Aiders and Assisters against the Commonality in these our Cruel Commotions."⁶

The second component of the "Governor's Party," were "the Forelorne" men who were "compelled to serve" as the troops in the Governor's forces. Like their elite leadership, Berkeley's common troops were considered to be "intent on plunder." They included the "Accomackians," whom he brought with him upon his first return to Jamestown from the Eastern Shore. According to Nathaniel Bacon, the Accomackians had "pretenses of valor, courage, and resolution," but proved unreliable, demonstrating "signal testimonies" of their cowardice, disaffections, and stupidity, especially in military service.⁷

The "forelorne" also included the 24 members of the Governor's personal escort. Established after the 1622 Powhatan Indian Uprising, the bodyguard was designed to

protect the Governor from attacks by Native Americans, European foreigners, or Parliamentarians. Membership in the Governor's guard was an elite position for men-at-arms. After the Restoration, Berkeley was allotted up to 24,000 pounds of tobacco per year for the accommodation of his bodyguard at Green Spring. The commander of Berkeley's guard during Bacon's Rebellion was William Hartwell, brother of Henry Hartwell, who was a member of the Governor's Council. The Governor's Guard was probably the "select company of soldiers" sent to capture Bacon on his first campaign against the Native Americans.⁸

The Baconians had little respect for Governor Berkeley, the "Grandees," or the "forelorne" troops that supported the established government. "What a pitiful enemy we have to deal with," remarked Nathaniel Bacon in describing the military conflict with the Governor's party. Baconian contempt for the Loyalists in battle reflected their general opinion of their opponent's character. For example, consider the Baconian description of the Governor's forces during an attack on "Bacon's Trench" along the narrow isthmus connecting Jamestown Island with the mainland. When Berkeley sent the "Accomackians" to attack the earthworks, the common troops "like scholars going to school went out with heavy hearts but returned home with light heels." The elite Loyalists charged Bacon's trench in a tight formation behind the common troops so "that the forlorne might be their shelter" from the "storm"

of the Baconian defenses. Bacon's forces "received them so warmly" that the Loyalists "retired in great despair."⁹

Contemporary accounts remarked on the weak character and evil motivations that were typical of the Loyal party. As its leader, Governor Berkeley's character was subject to most of the contemporary criticism. Baconians held Governor Berkeley in contempt for his apparent inaction with regard to recent Native American attacks against frontier plantations, while also fearing his wrath. Colonists complained that they were "equally exposed to the Governor's displeasure and the Indians bloody cruelties."¹⁰

Since his restoration to the governorship in 1661, Governor Berkeley had lost the trust of many settlers. During the course of the Rebellion, Berkeley's numerous offers of pardon were ignored by colonists who feared meeting with some "after-claps of revenge." For example, Baconian William Carver refused to believe Berkeley's promise for his "peaceable return" from an Eastern Shore meeting. Through his aborted attempt to meet the Native American threat in 1675, Berkeley had lost "that repute he always had, in the peoples judgement, for a wise man."¹¹

Contemporary accounts of the rebellion are especially critical of the motivations of the Governor and his party. The "Grandeess" who advised Governor Berkeley were portrayed as scheming and self-interested politicians who put their personal welfare ahead of the colony's and that of the typical

tobacco farmer. Governor Berkeley was accused of caring more for the lives of his Native American trading partners than for his English colonists. Instead of leading his colony against the "enemy Indians," as he had in the 1644-1646 war, Berkeley placed his faith in frontier forts and "flying troops."¹²

According to the Baconians, "the Grandees" cared only for their profits from tobacco and the Indian trade. The safety of the colony from foreign attacks, whether European or Native American, was secondary. Many believed that the colonial government's taxes for forts against the Indians were in fact, "merely a design of the Grandees" who had "expectation of profit" from building forts. Collected in tobacco, taxes for the average colonist had risen prior to Bacon's Rebellion to between 1/4 and 1/2 of the average household's crop. Many colonists cared little for Governor Berkeley's expensive vision of Virginia as the Crown's "fortress, mart, and magazine."¹³

The Loyalist elite were accused of duplicity at the beginning of the Rebellion because of their jealousy of Nathaniel Bacon. Prior to the rebellion, Bacon had been counted among the Governor's favorites. Soon after Bacon's arrival in the colony in 1674, Berkeley placed the future rebel on his "privy council" and granted him and William Byrd valuable trading rights and privileges with the Native Americans of Henrico County.¹⁴ Bacon's future as a member of

Virginia's ruling elite seemed assured until the "indian troubles" drove the relative newcomer toward rebellion.

The social and political alienation between the Governor and the Rebel was apparently designed by other members of Virginia's colonial elite. By 1676, some of the Greenspring faction had become jealous of this rapid advancement and began "to have Bacon's merits in mistrust," fearing that the young Councilor "threatened an eclipse" to their own "rising glories." Bacon's support for publicly popular campaigns against the Indians might "steal away that blessing" of the gubernatorial favoritism and might "undo them in the affections of the people." Berkeley's advisors sought to "breed bad blood between Bacon and Sir William" and urged, during the late spring of 1676, that the Governor declare Bacon a rebel.¹⁵

The most serious charges against the Loyal party came from Nathaniel Bacon, who was both Berkeley's cousin and a member of the Governor's Council. In his "manifesto" Bacon appealed to the Virginia populace to document "what nature their oppressions have bin" from "those whom we call great men." The rebel reflected on the "sudden rise of their estates composed [compared] with the quality in which they first entered the country." He questioned the Loyal party's "reputation" among "wise and discerning men" and described their "extractions and education" as "vile." Clearly, after two years in the Virginia colony, Nathaniel Bacon was not

impressed with the character or qualifications of the leadership in his adopted home.¹⁶

Members of the Governor's party were similarly, but less seriously, criticized in the various county grievances filed with the Royal Commissioners during the spring of 1677. These grievances attempted to document misuse of power and public funds by members of the Loyal Party. In general, however, the concerns of the citizens dealt with practical matters of government and did not address the character of specific members of the colony's leadership.¹⁷

The negative tone of the Baconian view of Loyalism is not unexpected. Baconians used these unfavorable characterizations to justify their rebellion, illustrate the Loyalists' abuses that fostered revolt, and support their own claim to political legitimacy.

Baconians took care to describe the ineffectiveness of the Loyalist troops in military confrontations to demonstrate the unsteadiness of Governor Berkeley's followers. Governor Berkeley's failure to protect the colony from the Native Americans was matched with his inability to control an unlawful frontier upheaval--thus justifying the Baconian claim to leadership. Berkeley's initial military and political failures coupled with his retreat to the Eastern Shore added to his diminished stature in the eyes of many Virginians.

Criticism was leveled at the Governor and his Council and not at the House of Burgesses because the rebels had

considerable support within the Burgesses. The Governor and Council were politically safe targets for attack because their lifestyle placed them so far above that of the typical Virginia planter. Baconians noted the poor background and limited education of many Loyalists to demonstrate that they did not have a legitimate claim on leadership positions within the colony.

The Baconian anti-Loyalist message was directed at all levels of colonial society. Complaints about the Governor's party wasting the settler's hard earned taxes was attractive to middling--tax paying--farmers. Highlighting the Governor's failure to protect homes and families from Indian attacks was important not only to middling planters, but also to servants and slaves. Emphasis on Berkeley's monopolistic control over the Indian trade was significant to both middling and elite Virginians. Thus, the Baconian message was an calculated, elite-derived presentation that incited and gained approval from all levels of Virginia society. Its purpose was to justify the Baconian extra-legal seizure of political and military power in the colony.

III

Only one contemporary document contained a generally favorable description of the Loyal party membership. On October 15, 1677, more than a year after the Baconians had burned Jamestown, the Royal Commissioner Sir John Berry assembled a list of "worthy persons" who had supported

Governor Berkeley during the aborted rebellion. The preamble to this list of approximately 50 individuals reads:

A List of the names of those worthy persons, whose services and sufferings by the late Rebell Nathaniel Bacon, Junior, & his party, have been Reported to us most signal and Emminent, during the late unhappy troubles in Virginia, And Particularly of such, whose approved Loyaltie, constancy and courage hath rendered them most deserving of his Majestie's Royal Remark.¹⁸

Appropriately, the list is headed by Governor Sir William Berkeley followed by the names of many of Virginia's colonial elite and the Queen of the Pamunkey Indians. Unrecorded were the identities of the "diverse other poor inhabitants of Jamestown" who were left homeless and their meager property destroyed after the Baconian occupation in 1676. Commissioner Berry also counted Thomas Ludwell, Secretary of the Virginia colony, and David Parks, the colony's treasurer, neither of whom were in Virginia during the Rebellion, as members of the suffering Loyalists.¹⁹

With some detail, Berry recorded the sufferings in person and estate of the major Loyalists, while also describing their loyalty and service to the Governor and occasionally something of their personalities and character. However, while praising the constancy of the Governor's followers, Berry also noted individual cases where Loyalist abused their positions of authority during the course of the Rebellion and its suppression and aftermath.

Somewhat surprisingly, two former Baconians were included among the Loyalists recorded ten months after the conclusion

of the rebellion. Col. Thomas Ballard "lost considerable" portions of his estate to the Baconians after his return to obedience to Governor Berkeley. Loyalist Otho Thorpe, a "great sufferer by both sides" was pardoned by Berkeley for "signing a paper extracted by menaces, and obtained by [Baconian] Giles Bland, when Thorp was by drink bereaved of his common reason." By switching allegiances, or by claiming that their disobedience was forced and not truly felt, Ballard and Thorpe were able to retain their status as loyal subjects.²⁰

Most of the Loyalists deserving of the King's notice were unfaltering in their support of Governor Berkeley during the crisis of Bacon's Rebellion. Eight Loyalists -- Philip Ludwell, William Cole, Ralph Wormeley, Edward Hill, John West, Charles Moryson, William Diggs, and John Lear -- were singled out for remaining "all along constant" or in "constant adherence" with the troubled Governor. Others were noted for their active roles in suppressing the rebels, such as Joseph Bridger who was "very active and instrumental in reducing to their obedience the south part of the James River."²¹

However, according to Commissioner Berry, several of the Loyalists had prosecuted the rebels, as well as innocent or neutral Virginia settlers, beyond their legal authority during the waning days of the Rebellion. Governor Berkeley's role in the persecution of active or suspected Baconians was questioned. After noting that Berkeley had "suffered very

much by the Rebel Bacon and his complices," the Royal Commissioner referred to the personal grievances brought against the Governor as evidence that he was overzealous in his revenge against the Baconians. Similarly, Lt. Col. Edward Hill "always adhered" to Governor Berkeley, "though in some things too much," resulting in the numerous charges of misuse of authority against Hill contained in the Charles City County grievances.²²

Likewise, although Major Robert Beverley was praised as being "very active and serviceable in surprising and beating up of quarters and small guards about the country," he was also criticized for "plundering without distinction of honest mens estates from others." The clerk of the Royal Commission, Samuel Wiseman, reported that Beverley had said that, "he had not plundered enough, soe that the Rebellion had ended too soon for his purpose." Berry's opinion of Beverley was influenced by his post-rebellion dealings with the outspoken Clerk of the House of Burgesses. Beverley was "the evil instrument that fermented the ill humours" between the Commissioners and Governor Berkeley and was "a great occasion of their clashing and difference."²³

Excepting Beverley, Commissioner Berry had a relatively high opinion of the character of most Loyalists. Typically, the Governor's supporters were described as the "most steadfast, loyal subjects," or as the "most loyal sufferers." Arthur Allen was singled out for his modesty in not reporting

his losses at Bacon's Castle in Surry County. Several Loyalists were referred to as "very honest" or "very resolute" gentlemen. Richard Lee, "a loyal, discrete person," who was appointed to the Governor's Council after the Rebellion, was considered "worthy of the place to which he was lately advanced."²⁴

Commissioner Berry's highest praise for a Loyalist was perhaps saved for Major Robert Bristow, who was a rebel prisoner while his plantation and store was plundered. "A gentleman of a good estate," Bristow was a merchant who had returned to London after the Rebellion. Berry said that Bristow, a man of "integrity and moderation," had a "general knowledge of most passages relating to the late unhappy troubles" and a "good understanding of the Virginia affaires."

Commissioner Berry recommended that Bristow be consulted by the Royal government with regard to any questions on the late Virginia insurrection.²⁵

In sum, the picture of the Loyalists from the perspective of the Royal Commissioners was generally favorable. Sir John Berry's list of those with "constancy and courage" illustrates the small number of Governor Berkeley's supporters and by extrapolation, demonstrates the relatively larger size of the Baconian following in Virginia. As a political document designed for an English audience, Berry noted the role of Virginians in England during the rebellion as well as an Indian queen and two former Baconians. Only passing credit

was granted to the contributions of the common people of Virginia; all of the enumerated Loyalists were members of the colonial or local elites.

But for a few opportunists, such as Robert Beverley and Edward Hill, who took advantage of the crisis in Virginia to redress old scores or to advance their own causes, the Loyalists were looked upon as honest and loyal subjects who stood fast with the established colonial government during the "late troubles." Commissioner Berry was critical of those Loyalists who plundered the estates of both Baconians and innocent colonists. And he especially faulted Governor Berkeley, who by his ruthless revenge upon the Baconians, set a poor example for his subjects. Because Virginia rebelled under his tenure as Governor, Sir William Berkeley became the scapegoat for explaining the revolt, regardless of his true culpability in causing the rebellion.

IV

How did the Loyalists see their own role in Bacon's Rebellion? Thus far only the biased voices of Baconians and the Royal Commissioners have been reported in this review of contemporary views of Loyalism in Bacon's Rebellion. Statements by Loyalists are relatively rare from the Rebellion. Generally, the Governor and his supporters spoke only through the official documents of the Virginia government, not in private petitions, as did the Baconians. Loyalist attitudes about themselves and the Rebellion remain

somewhat hidden by the context of the documents that survive with regard to the Rebellion.

Loyalists found Bacon's rebellion to be beyond their understanding: "We that in March Last were a flirishing Country Even to the envy of all the plantations in America are now for our sinns under 2 threatening clowd so destructive consequence the one by a warr with the Indians the other by Bacon Junior: an instrument of hell for sedition and rebellion." The uprising was also unexpected. Governor Berkeley reported that Virginia was "in a most serene calme none suspecting the least suspicion of any troubles" when Bacon "infused into the People the great charge and uselessnessse of the forts which our Assembly had most wisely provide to resist the enemy and it is wonderful what a monstrous number of the basest of the People declared for him in lesse than ten days in all parts of the country." Ultimately, Berkeley believed that the revolt was God's punishment of the colony for submitting to Parliamentary rule during the English Civil War.²⁶

Whatever its ultimate cause, the Loyalists quickly recognized that the legitimacy of the established government was in peril. When the June Assembly gathered in Jamestown, George Jordon noted that "now any of friendship with the Honorable Governor" were put "out of the house" of Burgesses. Although the rebel's cause was well supported among the Burgesses, especially those representatives from the southern

counties, the Assembly was apparently "mastered by some gentlemen of reason until Bacon appeared with his sword." The rebel's threats to cut the throats of the Burgesses forced the Governor, the Council, and the Assembly to grant Bacon his commission to attack the Indians.²⁷

After the Rebellion, and with the arrival of the Royal Commissioners, several Loyalists found themselves defending their actions both from before and during the uprising. During 1677, Lt. Col. Edward Hill addressed his petition to Governor Herbert Jeffreys and Commissioners Sir John Berry and Francis Moryson "in answer to diverse false scandalous articles" presented to the Commissioners by the "base, mallicious, envious, and ignorant" Baconians, James Minge and Thomas Blayton.²⁸

Hill first defended Governor Berkeley, "who by the judgement of the most wise of the country...hath thought to have governed this thirty odd years with the moste candor, justice, wisdom, and integrity, that was possible for a many to governe, and more especially considering whome he had to governe." Hill's praise for Berkeley was not unexpected because the Governor was "bound up with me in the same book" of Baconian charges of misuse of authority.²⁹

As for the charges against himself, Hill continued: "I must pray that just favor to look upon me, as I truly am, a naked, unlearned, and unskilled Virginian born and bred." Although he did not "have not the dress and learning of

schools, nor have I the skill to cloath vice like vertue, nor find such excuse as my most malliceous enemyes have done for their faults." Hill believed that the post-rebellion charges against himself and the Berkeley government were a complex maneuver by the former Baconians to pass blame for their rebellion onto an "oppressive" colonial government. Hill would not give the new Governor or the Commissioners any "excuses" for his behavior or actions during his twenty years in colonial service. Instead, Hill stated that he would answer the charges brought against him "with that unskilled Virginia nakedness, so in truth and innocency" that he would "not abscond one truth."³⁰

The Loyalist self-view was shaped by the assumption that the rebellion was somehow connected to the English Civil War. Governor Berkeley and others had a certain fatalist opinion about the rebellion. They felt that the revolt was the manifestation of God's wrath against Virginia for submitting to the Parliamentarians during the 1650s. As evidence for this interpretation, several divine signs of impending troubles were reported in the narratives of the rebellion.³¹

Despite this prognostication, the rebellion arrived unexpectedly. Assigning part of the causation to divine machinations allowed Virginians to be surprised and unprepared when the revolt escalated during 1676. It also permitted a certain resignation to the inevitability of upheaval and fostered the belief that, like Charles II, Governor Berkeley

and Virginia's legitimate government would be returned to power after a Baconian "interregnum."

Contemporary documents provide three contrasting views of the Loyal Party during Bacon's rebellion: Baconian, Commission, and Loyalist. The Baconian portrayal of the Governor and his party was, not surprisingly, extremely negative. Bacon, in his "manifesto" and other documents, describes the membership of the Governor's party as ineffective, self-interested, and unqualified for their positions of authority. Bacon's opinion was especially critical since it came from a member of the Virginia elite.

Unlike the Baconian criticisms, records generated by the Royal Commissioners sent to study the rebellion indicted only a small number of Loyalists who, following the example of Governor Berkeley, were overzealous in their persecution of Baconians or suspected rebels.

In contrast, Loyalists, like Edward Hill, steadfastly defended their record of government and their actions in the face of open rebellion. Charges of misconduct in office were a post-rebellion attempt by the Baconians to explain their own disloyalty to the Governor, the Colony, and the Crown.

What then, was the true face of Loyalism during Bacon's Rebellion? Were the Loyalists in fact, "against the commonality" as asserted by the rebel Bacon? Or, were the Loyalists, as Edward Hill suggested, "naked, unlearned, and unskilled" Virginians, "born and bred," who were defending

their colony against "base, mallicious, envious, and ignorant" rebels?

v

Examination of the social, political, and economic history of individual Loyalists provides a composite picture of loyalism during Bacon's Rebellion. Most of the 90 known Loyalists in Bacon's Rebellion were members of the upper echelons of colonial Virginia society. Consequently, they were not, as a group, a reflection of the entire spectrum of colonial Virginia society. Documented Loyalists included members of the colonial elite, county elite, and Yeomen farmers. The contributions of slaves, indentured servants, and many yeoman farmers to the Loyalist cause were not recognized in the documentary record.

The Loyalists we do know about were settled and established, middle-aged and educated, office-holders and land-holders, and wealthy. They were the backbone of political stability in the colony and they had much to loose in the face of Bacon's violent upheaval. Loyalists exhibited characteristics typical of Virginia's social, economic, and political elite during the late seventeenth century.

Known Loyalists were not representative of the whole of Virginia society. As described by historians, the approximately 32,000 Virginians in the late seventeenth century were divided into five groups: the colonial and county elites, yeoman farmers, indentured servants, slaves, and

Indians. Colonial society was layered, hierarchical, and patriarchal. The strata of status in Virginia society was measured and evidenced by public service and landholding.³²

Intertwined in a great chain of being, colonial society was headed by the Governor, Sir William Berkeley, as the chief representative of the Crown in the colony. The Governor's first level of institutional support came from the "colonial" elites: those "grandeess" who held political and military offices with colony-wide importance. Scholars have used membership in the Governor's Council or House of Burgesses as indication of colonial elite status. Berkeley's favorites among the colonial elite, the "Green Spring faction," held most of the important political and military posts in the colony. The colonial elites were also well seated with real estate. On average, Middlesex members of the colonial elite controlled about 2,225 acres of land.³³ The colonial elite were the "grandeess" or "great men" reported in the Baconian grievances.

Beneath the colonial elite were members of the "county" elites, who generally held positions as county court Justices or served as sheriffs. These local officers maintained the colony's institutional stability on a day to day basis. Local elites from Middlesex County held about 825 acres of land on average.³⁴

Below Virginia's elites were the yeoman farmers. These small landholders consisted of "the middling sort" of

householders and freedmen who often held the minor local offices, such as jurors and appraisers, in county governments. In Middlesex County, yeomen farmers held about 300 acres of land. Only 11 individuals identified among the Loyalists had as little as 300 acres. However, many additional small farmers probably served in Governor Berkeley's military operations to reclaim authority in Virginia. Yeomen were also probably included among "those diverse other poor inhabitants" of Jamestown "whose particular names and losses" in the Baconian fire of October 1676 were not recorded by the Royal Commissioners.³⁵

Indentured servants and slaves represented the lowest rungs of English society in Virginia. No slaves or indentured servants were specifically identified in contemporary accounts of Berkeley's Loyalists, although the unnamed and unenumerated servants of Col. Charles Moryson were commended for their active service to Governor Berkeley during the rebellion. Probably, the Loyalist elite ordered many of their indentured servants to serve as the "forlorn" members of Berkeley's army. The role of slaves was probably small: only about 2,000 slaves were in the Virginia colony at the time of the upheaval.³⁶

Only one Native American was recognized as a Loyalist, the Queen of the Pamunkey. Cockacoewe was counted as a "a faithful friend and love of the English" who had suffered at the hands of the rebels. The King's Commissioners recommended that, although rewards to English sufferers might be delayed,

reparations in the form of a "present of small price" be immediately presented to the Pamunkey Queen.³⁷

The loyalist contributions by slaves, servants, and Indians were subsumed under the roles of their social betters, the Virginia elites. The documentary record of loyalist participation in Bacon's Rebellion is highly biased towards the wealthy and the powerful. Although the upheaval touched the lives of every Virginian; slave and free, landed and landless, Native American and English, the record of the participation of only specific elite Loyalists and a few yeomen farmers has been preserved.

How representative were the Loyalists of Virginia's colonial and county elites? Table 11 presents evidence of known participation culled from Warren Billings' dissertation on Bacon's Rebellion. Billings collected the vital statistics of members of the Governor's Council, the House of Burgesses, and the county courts from 1660 to 1676. Lists of elite officeholders were compared to lists of documented participants in Bacon's Rebellion.³⁸ Two points are evident.

First, the loyalty of more than half of the Virginia elite officeholders alive during Bacon's Rebellion went unrecorded in the available documentary record. Second, almost three quarters of Virginia's elite for whom participation was documented, were Loyalists.³⁹

The distribution of officeholding among Berkeley's elite supporters was centered on the central regions of the colony

Table 11

PARTICIPATION IN BACON'S REBELLION
AMONG VIRGINIA'S ELITES

<u>Offices</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>U</u>	<u>T</u>
Councilors (n)	10	4	8	22
% of all	46	18	36	100
% of known	70	30	-	100
Justices and Burgesses (n)	44	15	78	137
% of all	32	11	57	100
% of known	75	25	-	100
All Elites (n)	54	15	86	159
% of all	34	12	54	100
% of known	74	26	-	100

L=Loyalist; B=Baconian; U=Uncertain; T=Total
 % of all=percentage of all elite officeholders
 % of known=percentage of all elite officeholders with
 known participation in Bacon's Rebellion

Source: Billings, "Virginia's Deplored Condition,"
 Appendix 4.

which were thickly settled. Forty-six percent of the documented Loyalists held political offices in either Middle Peninsula or James-York Peninsula counties. Only 10 percent of Loyalists hailed from the frontier counties of Stafford, Rappahannock, New Kent, Charles City and Henrico. Thus, although known Loyalists were not representative of Virginia's population as a whole, loyalism was common among the colony's elite officeholders.⁴⁰

Because of the previous emphasis by Wertenbaker, Washburn, and others on Berkeley and Bacon, many of the Loyalist names are almost forgotten in the annals of Virginia history. For example, Arthur Allen was a steadfast Loyalist who suffered for his support of Governor Berkeley. Yet, we refer to Allen's home in Surry County, one of the few surviving seventeenth century structures in Virginia, as "Bacon's Castle" because during the rebellion a band of rebels plundered Allen's estate. The plantation is remembered more for its association with the rebels than its loyalist owner.

Loyalist Arthur Allen was in many ways typical of the county elites who supported Governor Berkeley. Allen's family immigrated to Virginia in 1649. In 1670, Allen inherited his father's estate that included the large brick house and about 500 acres between Lawne's and Chippoakes Creeks in Surry County. Prior to 1676, Allen served as a Justice of the Surry County Court, possibly serving since 1668. During Bacon's Rebellion, Allen's plantation was seized and occupied for

nearly four months by a rebel garrison under the command of Robert Burgess. The Royal Commissioners reported that Allen had lost at least 1,000 English pounds during the occupation, "though his modesty lets him say nothing himself of it." For his loyalty to the Governor and the Crown, Allen was admitted to the quorum of Surry County Justices in May 1677. Later that year, Allen used his new position to bring suit against those who occupied and plundered his estate.⁴¹ Allen's stature in Surry grew in the years after Bacon's Rebellion. In the 1680s he demonstrated his entrance into the elite by constructing an elaborate garden adjacent to his imposing brick "castle."⁴²

Sir Henry Chicheley, too, was typical of Loyalism among the colonial establishment. English born in 1615, Chicheley graduated from University College, Oxford, in 1635. A royalist during the English Civil War, he sought refuge in Virginia in 1649. In 1652, he married Agatha Eltonhead, the widow of Ralph Wormeley, and moved into the Wormeley estate Rosegill, a 3,000 acre Middlesex County plantation. Four years later he was elected to the House of Burgesses and in the early 1670s he was appointed Lt. General of the Virginia militia and Deputy Governor of the colony. Because Chicheley was appointed to Berkeley's Council during the crisis of Bacon's Rebellion, he was accounted among Berkeley's "wicked and pernicious counsellors, aiders, and assisters" by Nathaniel Bacon. Described by the Royal Commissioners as a

"worthy person," Chicheley was "barbarously imprisoned" and "treated" by the Baconians. Chicheley was accounted second after Governor Berkeley in the Commissioner's list of persons who suffered during Bacon's Rebellion.⁴³

In contrast, York County's Robert Cobb was apparently a yeoman farmer. Cobb, the son of immigrants Ambrose and Ann Cobb, was born in 1627 and migrated to Virginia with his family sometime prior to 1639. By the 1650s, Robert Cobb was living in York County, where he served as a churchwarden, juror, and appraiser. Cobb's estate contained an uncertain amount of land in York County as well as 100 acres he controlled through a guardianship. No record exists of his activities during Bacon's Rebellion. However, in 1677, during the aftermath of the rebellion, Mr. Robert Cobb and two others "reported as honest and loyal subjects" were confirmed by Governor Berkeley as new Justices on the York County court.⁴⁴

Whether a member of the "grandeens," the county elite, or a simple yeoman farmer, the typical Loyalist among those identified was older than the general population (See table 12). In 1676, the known Loyalists averaged 41 years in age and had lived in the colony for 18 years. By contrast, Virginians in their 40s and older made up only about 7 percent of the colony's adult male population in 1676. At the time of the Rebellion, approximately 80 percent of Virginia's adult males were in their 20s. Only about 20 percent of the identified Loyalists were in their 20s. The oldest Loyalist

TABLE 12

AGE DISTRIBUTION AMONG KNOWN LOYALISTS

<u>Age</u>	<u>(n)</u>	<u>(%)</u>
20s	9	21
30s	10	24
40s	16	38
50s	3	7
60s+	4	10
Total	42	

Source: Billings, "'Virginia's Deployed Condition,'" Appendix 4.

was the stouthearted William Claiborne, who at 89 had been first appointed to public office in Virginia in 1626. The youngest known Loyalist was the 22 year-old William Dudley. Sixteen others were in their 40s, 7 were over 50, and 19 were in their 20s and 30s.⁴⁵

Virginia's Loyalists seem to have had long experience in the colony. Most of those identified had arrived in the colony by the late 1650s. Most were young men, only on average 23 years old, when they settled in the colony. Others, like Charles City's Edward Hill, were Virginia "born and bred". About 20 percent of the Loyalists whose birth place can be determined, 13 out of 64 individuals, were native Virginians. This percentage is comparable to Martin Quitt's assertion that approximately 80 percent of Virginia's pre-rebellion elite were immigrants.⁴⁶

Loyalists were typically well established in the Virginia institutional hierarchy. One-third of the known Loyalists served as either a Councilor, Burgess, or Justice prior to 1676. Another third became Councilors, Burgesses, or Justices after the Rebellion. These elite Loyalists had served in elite offices for more than 11 years prior to the Baconian upheaval with almost 80 percent of elites having been elected or appointed to their positions since the Restoration in 1660. Most officeholders identified as Loyalists had lived in the colony for 7 to 11 years before being called to public service. As the Baconians charged, Loyalists certainly

represented Virginia's established institutional government.⁴⁷

The typical Loyalist, among those identified, was also well established economically, holding, on average, 3,300 acres of land. This high average conforms to the 2,225 acres the Rutmans' found as characteristic for the colonial elite in Middlesex County. Governor Berkeley's Councilors patented an average of 3,912 acres during the period from 1660 to 1676. However, members of Sir William's Council of 1676 patented, on average, only 2,063 acres. Thus, at the onset of Bacon's Rebellion, Council members held significantly less real estate than in previous years and only slightly over 200 acres more than the Baconian leadership (n = 1,800 acres).⁴⁸

Most known Loyalists were large landholders. Of the 91 documented Loyalists, 27 had no recorded landholding; 17 persons had 1 to 1,000 acres; 15 had 1,001 to 2,500 acres; 15 had 2,501 to 5,000 acres; and 17 had over 5,000 acres. Prior to Bacon's Rebellion, 63 of the known elite Loyalists patented a total of over 318,000 acres of land. Middlesex County's Robert Beverley had the largest real estate holdings totalling over 40,000 acres prior to Bacon's Rebellion; William Edwards of Surry County the smallest tract, only 200 acres.⁴⁹

Loyalist real estate was distributed across the Virginia Colony. All counties from each of Virginia's six regions were represented in the holdings: the James-York Peninsula; the Middle Peninsula; the Southside; the Eastern Shore; and the Frontier. Table 13 compares the distribution of Loyalist

landholding with the Virginia's population density during the late seventeenth century. Forty-five percent of Loyalists patents came from the core of Virginia settlement in the late seventeenth century: the James-York and Middle Peninsulas. One fifth of the patents were for tracts on the frontier. A third came from peripheral areas: the Eastern Shore, the Southside, and the Northern Neck. Over half of the known Loyalists patented lands in more than one county.

The distribution of Loyalist real estate differed from the general population density in Virginia at the time of the Rebellion. The percentage of patents for the James-York peninsula was 8 percent greater than the percentage of the colony's population in the area predicted. Conversely, Loyalist patents were under represented in both the Southside and the Frontier counties in relation to the population distribution. Compared to other Virginians, Loyalists' lands appear to have been more centrally located, on the James-York peninsula, close to Jamestown and the center of government.

The extensive landholding of leading Loyalists was only one measure of their relative wealth in seventeenth century Virginia. The personal estates of many Loyalists demonstrated their economic success in the tobacco economy of the "Chesapeake system." From Governor Berkeley's rambling plantation at "Green Springs" to Henry Chicheley's "Rosegill" in Middlesex County, or Arthur Allen's "brick

TABLE 13

DISTRIBUTION OF LOYALIST LAND PATENTS
AND VIRGINIA POPULATION DENSITY IN 1676

<u>Area</u>	<u>Patents</u>		<u>Population</u>
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
James-York	34	27	18.6
Southside	14	11	17.8
Middle Peninsula	22	18	15.8
Northern Neck	17	14	11.5
Eastern Shore	11	9	7.6
Frontier	26	21	28.2

N.B. n = number of land patents issued to known Loyalists within a region during the period prior to 1676.

Source: Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers and Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom.

house" in Surry, Loyalists took pride in exhibiting the fruits of their labors.

Virginia's Loyalists thus had much to lose when confronted by Bacon's armed challenge to the authority of the established colonial government. The insurrection was not only an affront to the institutions and structure of colonial society, as represented by the Loyalists, but was also a physical attack on the material world of the elite and their supporters. As a result of Bacon's Rebellion, Loyalists suffered attacks on their authority, their persons, and their estates. Richard Lee noted that "I am forced to leave my estate to his [Bacon's] mercy by reason of the zealous inclination of the multitude to him and his design." Isaac Allerton stated that "my Loyalty compels mee at present to be expecting Bacon and his crew to bee hourly at my house."⁵⁰

Many Loyalists physically suffered at the hands of the Baconians. Ten of the enumerated Loyalists were "barbarously" imprisoned by the rebels. Loyalist Major Richard Lee was held prisoner for seven weeks at a site more than 100 miles from his home in Westmoreland County and "received great prejudice to his health by hard usage." Sir Henry Chicheley was a captive for "many months." To escape capture, Col. Joseph Bridger was forced to "fly from the heat of the war" in Isle of Wight County. Yet, only one Loyalist is known to have been injured in a rebellion-related military engagement: Major Powell received a leg wound at Jamestown.⁵¹

The personal estates of many Loyalists suffered at the hands of the Baconians. At least 40 Loyalists were "plundered" by the rebels and their estates "greatly impaired" or "much worsted and ruined." A few estimates for the value of property taken or destroyed were enumerated in sterling: Col. Nathaniel Bacon, the elder, lost 1,000 English pounds; Col. Daniel Parks, 1,500 English pounds; Col. Christopher Wormeley, 500 English pounds; and, Arthur Allen, 1,000 English pounds.⁵²

Because they were portable and could be used as foodstuffs for the rebel forces, cattle and other livestock were particularly subject to plunder. Nine Loyalists noted the loss of livestock. Joseph Bridger was "plundered of his cattle &c to a good value." Although he was in England on the Colony's business, Thomas Ludwell's livestock was "utterly ruined and taken away by the late Rebel." While a Baconian prisoner, John Price was ordered to round up several of Arthur Allen's cattle and slaughter them for the benefit of the garrison at "Bacon's Castle."⁵³

Other Loyalist estates suffered more serious damage. Charles Roane "had his dwelling house and other houses burnt down to the ground, and most part of his goods and provisions destroyed and carried away by a party of the rebels commanded [by] Gregory Walkate." Among the "most eminent" who lost their houses and goods in the Jamestown fire were Col. Thomas Swann, Major Theophilus Hone, and Mr. William Sherwood. There

were "diverse poor inhabitants whose particular names and losses" were not enumerated by the Royal Commissioners "that were great sufferers by this calamity that befell James City."⁵⁴

Despite their suffering at the hands of the Baconians, the Loyalists were the winners of Bacon's Rebellion. After the insurrection was suppressed in January 1677, the Loyalists went about recovering losses suffered at the hands of the former rebels. Several Loyalists were later charged by the Royal Commissioners with being overly zealous in their revenge, by taking from both rebel and loyal estates. Loyalists found assistance in their recovery from the colonial government and the county courts.

During the Grand Assembly begun on February 20, 1677, the House of Burgesses passed an act "for the relief of such loyal persons as have suffered losses by the late rebels." Among other provisions, the law required that a list of plundered Loyalist property be provided to the General Court and that Loyalists would receive restitution from the estates of executed Baconians for stolen goods. Loyalists were also permitted to recover debts owed them from the estates of executed Baconians. In addition, items taken by Loyalists in the service of Governor Berkeley were to be returned to their rightful owners.⁵⁵

Loyalists also used the county courts to gain restitution from the Baconians. Extensive records exist from suits in Middlesex and Surry Counties. In Middlesex, Christopher

Wormeley brought suit against several persons who had attacked and plundered his house at Rosegill. Arthur Allen brought suit in Surry County court against the Baconians who had kept a garrison at his home during the rebellion and caused at least 1,000 English pounds in damage.⁵⁶

In sum, the documented Loyalists in Bacon's Rebellion were an special group of Virginians. Comprising at least one-third of the colony's elite, the Loyalists were hardly representative of Virginia's society as a whole. Instead, they were illustrative of those colonists who had prospered in the social, political, and economic world of the Chesapeake and the English colonial system. As successful colonists, the Loyalists had the political will and pragmatic motivation to resist the Baconian call to revolt. Loyalists had the economic stamina to survive Baconian plundering and to gather, equip, and feed Loyalists forces against the rebels.

VI

Documented characteristics of the known Loyalists contrasts with contemporary views held by the Baconian rebels. Nathaniel Bacon suggested that "those whom we call great men" were recent immigrants, who because of their vile "extractions and education" and "sudden rise of their estates" were undeserving of their public offices and authority.⁵⁷ Moreover, the Baconians accused the "Loyal Party" of being wholly self-interested and unconcerned for the welfare of the colony.

Available information with regard to the characteristics of known Loyalists counters this Baconian description. In contrast to the rebel leader, Nathaniel Bacon, who had only arrived in Virginia during 1674, Loyalists were not recent immigrants to the Virginia colony. The typical Loyalist had lived in the Chesapeake for at least 18 year prior to Bacon's Rebellion. Nor had most Loyalists witnessed a rapid and recent rise in their estates. Loyalists, often the sons of immigrants, had benefitted from the hard work and luck of their parents and other relatives in establishing an economic, political and social foothold on Virginia's shores. They enjoyed the advantages of established capital and English trading contacts. Loyalists utilized the mechanisms of family connections, astute marriages, officeholding, and education to increase their estates. Not representative of the entire colonial population, most of the known Loyalists were members of Virginia's colonial and county elites. Settled and established at the time of the Rebellion, they were the successful survivors of the "Chesapeake System" who had a great deal to gain and even more to lose in the face of Bacon and his challenge to institutional authority.

Confronted with the confusing political events of the summer and fall of 1676, Loyalists chose to support Virginia's established government. One third of the Loyal party were either Councilors, Burgesses, or Justices at the time of Bacon's Rebellion. Membership of the Loyal Party was defined

along institutional lines. Loyalists supported their governor and the government that provided what little social, political, and economic stability was possible during the troubled times of the 1670s. Anglo-Dutch wars, a depressed tobacco market, and several natural disasters had weakened the Virginia colony and were compounded by the "Indian proceedings" during 1675 and early 1676. During this crisis, Loyalism's self-interest was centered in maintaining the institutional authority of the established governmental offices.

The known Loyalists were praised for their steadfast support of Governor Berkeley and the Crown. Loyalty to one's friends and officers were held high in the immediate, personal and face to face world of the Virginia colony. Respect for established authority was also expected. The Royal Commissioners remarked on the "signal and eminent" suffering of many Loyalists who endured personal "hard usage" and the plundering of their estates. In the face of the most serious rebellion in the first century of English colonization, the Loyalists of Bacon's Rebellion had served the Virginia establishment well.

Thus, many Loyalists were members of the "privileged officialdom" described by Bernard Bailyn in his discussion of Virginia's politics and social structure.⁵⁸ Hand-picked by Governor Berkeley for their government positions, these men represented the provincial sector of colonial institutions.

During the early 1670s, according to Bailyn, these colonial officials began to come into conflict with local authorities as manifested in the House of Burgesses. Frustrations grew as Virginia grew crowded with more and more persons who had the economic standing to enter colonial and county government, but who found access to positions limited by entrenched elite. Bacon's Rebellion resulted from this conflict at both the colonial and provincial levels of Virginia's emerging post-Restoration socio-political order.

Notes for Chapter III

1. Darrett and Anita Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County Virginia, 1650-1750. (New York 1984), 79-93.
2. See Billings, Selby, and Tate, Colonial Virginia: A History (White Plains, New York, 1986), 97-117.
3. "A True Narrative of the Rise, Progresse, and Cessation of the Late Rebellion in Virginia," 105.
4. Harry Finestone, Bacon's Rebellion: The Contemporary News Sheets (Charlottesville, Virginia, 1956), 21, notes the "Royall party" while "A True Narrative," 132, 139-140, refers to the "loyal party" and "the Governor's Party."
5. "A True Narrative," 131.
6. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, I (1894), 55-58.
7. "A True Narrative," 132-135 describes the common membership of the Governor's party. "The History of Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion," 67-68, outlines the character of the Loyalists.
8. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, 352-357, describes the history of the Governor's bodyguard. Virginia's Governor was allowed to appoint the captain of his personal escort. The guard commander was also exempt from prosecution or suit without permission from the Governor. See, Harry Finestone, editor, Bacon's Rebellion: The Contemporary News Sheets (Charlottesville Virginia, 1956), for a description of the force used to capture Bacon.
9. "A True Narrative," 133-134.
10. "History of Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion," 66.
11. See Billings, "Virginias Deplored Condition," for a description of the erosion of Governor Berkeley's authority in Virginia since the Restoration. "A True Narrative," 36, and "History of Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion," 66, demonstrate Berkeley's decreasing status and repute.
12. Bacon's "Manifesto" describes how Governor Berkeley favored Indians over Englishmen prior to the rebellion. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography I (1894), 55-61.

13. "A True Narrative," 108, speaks to the issue of the Grandees and forts. Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County Virginia, 1650-1750, 79-80, describes levels of taxation in Virginia before the Rebellion.
14. "A True Narrative," 108, describes how Bacon and Byrd were two of Berkeley's "friends" who received monopolies on Indian trading.
15. "History of Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion," 53.
16. Bacon's "Manifesto" has been reprinted in Virginia Magazine of History and Biography I (1894), 55-58.
17. Billings, Warren E., The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century: A Documentary History of Virginia, 1606-1689, (Chapel Hill, 1975), 267-280, discusses the discontent among Virginia's settlers during the period leading up to Bacon's Rebellion.
18. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, V (1897-1898), 64-70.
19. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, V (1897-1898), 64-70.
20. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, V (1897-1898), 64-70.
21. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, V (1897-1898), 64-70.
22. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, V (1897-1898), 64-70.
23. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, V (1897-1898), 64-70.
24. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, V (1897-1898), 64-70.
25. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, V (1897-1898), 64-70.
26. Coventry Manuscripts Volume 77, No. 103, No. 138.
27. Coventry Manuscripts Volume 77, No. 138, No. 160.
28. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, III (1895-1896), 239-252.

29. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, III (1895-1896), 239-252.
30. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, III (1895-1896), 239-240.
31. "The Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion."
32. Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, 128-163, describes the structure of Virginia society during the late seventeenth century. They suggest that the two surest signs of status were the extent of an individual's officeholding and the size of his real estate holdings. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom, 395-432, estimates Virginia's population in 1674 as being 31,900 persons.
33. Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, 128-163, estimated the average landholding for each level of colonial society.
34. Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, 128-163.
35. Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, 128-163; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography V (1897-1898), 64-70.
36. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, V (1897-1898), 64-70, describes the contributions of Charles Moryson's servants to the Loyalist cause. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom, 420-423, estimates the 1674 Virginia slave population at between 1,000 and 3,000 persons. By the end of the century their population had grown to between 6,000 and 10,000 persons.
37. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, V (1897-1898), 64-70 describes the contributions of the Queen of the Pamunkey to the Loyalist cause.
38. Each elite officeholder was classified with regard to his participation in the uprising: either as Baconian, Loyalist, or "uncertain."
39. Billings, "Virginia's Deplored Condition," Appendix 4.
40. The distribution of elite Loyalist office holding:

<u>Area</u>	<u>Justices</u>	<u>Councilors</u>	<u>Total n/%</u>
James/York	6	6	12/23
Southside	8	1	9/17
Middle Pen.	12	0	12/23
N. Neck	6	2	8/15
E. Shore	6	0	6/12
Frontier	4	1	5/10

41. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography V (1897-1898), 64-70.
42. Nicholas Lucketti, "Archaeological Excavations at Bacon's Castle, Surry County, Virginia," In Earth Patterns: Essays in Landscape Archaeology edited by William M. Kelso and Rachel Most, (Charlottesville, Virginia, 1990), 23-42.
43. Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, 87-93, 159-161; L. G. Tyler, Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography (New York, 1915), Vol. I, 50-51; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography V (1897-1898), 64-70.
44. York County Records, Deeds, Orders, and Wills, Volume 6, 9. On file, Department of Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.
45. Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, 77, presents the age distribution for Middlesex County in 1668 and 1687.
46. Quitt, Virginia House of Burgesses, i-iii.
47. Quitt, Virginia House of Burgesses, 14-15, describes how prior to Bacon's Rebellion most immigrants had lived in Virginia for about a decade before election to the House of Burgesses.
48. Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers I and II; Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, 128-163.
49. Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, I & II.
50. Coventry Manuscripts Volume 77, No. 160.
51. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography V (1897-1898), 64-70.
52. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography V (1897-1898), 64-70.
53. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography V (1897-1898), 64-70, 368-373.
54. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography V (1897-1898), 64-70.
55. Hening, Statutes II, 381-406.
56. Rutman and Rutman A Place in Time, 87-93 describes Wormeley's suit in Middlesex County. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography V (1897-1898), 369-378; William and Mary Quarterly first series, V (1896-1897), 189-190; Haun, Surry County

Virginia Court Records, 1672-1682, 63-64, describe Allen's suit in Surry County.

57. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography I (1894), 55-58.
58. Bailyn, "Politics and Social Structure," 102.

CHAPTER IV

THE "SUBTLE INSINUATIONS" OF "SOME DISAFFECTED PERSONS" LOYALISTS AND BACONIANS IN YORK AND SURRY COUNTIES

Historians have studied Bacon's Rebellion primarily from a colony-wide perspective. The spotlight of history has always remained upon the Governor and the Rebel. Yet the rebellion was also an intensely localized event. The whole of the colonial upheaval was made up of an collection of individual county uprisings. The decision to rebel or to remain loyal to the government was a personal question. Understanding the individual reasons for rebellion or loyalty depends upon a detailed examination of individuals within the context of their local environments. The purpose of this chapter is to examine Bacon's Rebellion at the local level.

Surry and York Counties were chosen for this intensive study because of the availability of records and because of their importance during the revolt. The York County court records from the seventeenth and eighteenth century have been the subject of an exhaustive study by the Department of Research at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Records of this court for the seventeenth century have been transcribed and cross referenced by individual names. Surry

County's records from the seventeenth century also survive and a number have been transcribed. Settlement patterns in Surry County have been the subject of extensive research by Kevin P. Kelly.¹ The identification and characterization of York and Surry participants was facilitated by these information resources.

In the 1670s York was one of the few thickly settled Virginia counties. Its position adjacent to James City County and Middle Plantation placed it at the political center of the Virginia colony. In the early 1660s, discontent among York's citizenry almost became a revolt.² It was also the scene of several important events within Bacon's Rebellion: Bacon convened an assembly of leading Virginians at Middle Plantation and coerced them to sign an oath of allegiance to the rebellion and its leader. Baconians kept an armed guard at the plantations of the elder Nathaniel Bacon and of George Reade in York County. Several York residents regretted their service to the rebel; at least four individuals were leading Baconians and were executed for their involvement in the rebellion. Thus, York County was seated at the core of the colony and the rebellion.

In contrast, Surry County was located on the seventeenth century colonial frontier on the south side of the James River. Scene of a tax revolt in 1673, Surry county was the setting for the Baconian occupation and

plundering of Arthur Allen's and Robert Caufield's plantations. Surry was home to a large number of Baconians. After the rebellion, the county court pardoned more than 50 individuals for their rebellion and fined several others. Moreover, three Surry County Baconians were counted among the leaders in the Rebellion: William Rookings, William Scarborough, and John Whitson.

Thus, York and Surry counties offer an interesting contrast: settled vs. frontier and core vs. periphery. Was the nature of loyalism and rebellion the same in both counties, or were differences in settlement reflected in the character of the uprising? If Bacon's Rebellion was a collective venting of cultural frustration with the characteristics of life in the late seventeenth century Chesapeake, then evidence of this building social discontent should be visible in the documentary record of both counties. How were Baconians different from or similar to Loyalists in York and Surry Counties? Could you identify a future Baconian or Loyalist through knowing his personal history prior to the events of 1676?

II

On April 24, 1677 the York County court convened for the first time since the beginning of Bacon's Rebellion. By the spring of 1677, the rebel Bacon was dead, his followers in jail or returning to their homes, Governor Berkeley was again in control of the government, and the King's

Commissioners and troops had arrived in the colony. Virginia had entered the aftermath of the Rebellion.

On that April morning the York County court's first four actions were designed to reestablish the foundations of institutional stability in the county. By finding a building in which to hold court, filling vacancies caused by the rebellion, and seeking confirmation from Governor Berkeley for the authority of the Justices, the York Court took the first steps toward redefining a normal and regular existence for its constituency. Moreover, the court's healing actions at this time illustrated the relationship between Baconians and Loyalists in York County.

The court's first concern was for shelter; a need for which it had a ready answer. The Justices "being destitute of a house to keep Court in" confiscated "the house lately belonging to Thomas Hansford, whose estate for his [rebellion] and treason" was forfeited to the Crown and for the use of the County. Hansford's estate on Felgates Creek in York County was large and would serve the court well as a temporary residence.³

In the spring of 1677, York County was also "destitute" of persons to fill several important county offices. Major John Page, a leading Loyalist, was confirmed as high sheriff by Governor Berkeley in place of Mr. William Aylett who had recently sailed for England on the Martin. More seriously, the court noted that there were vacancies among the justices

caused by Bacon's Rebellion. One justice, Edmund Chisman, died in prison earlier in the new year while awaiting trial for his rebellion against Governor Berkeley. Because York County was "of large extent but few Magistrates to officiate, some being lately dead," its surviving Justices petitioned Governor Berkeley to appoint Mr. William Booth, Mr. Edward Moss, and Mr. Robert Cobb as Justices for the county. On March 23, 1677, the Governor approved the choice of these men "reported as honest and loyal subjects" and ordered that they be sworn in at the next county court.⁴

Lastly, but most significantly, the Justices sought to reconfirm their own status as the heads of institutional government within York County. The legitimacy of their positions in the York Court had been compromised by their "administering the oath Nathaniel Bacon Junior imposed on the people" in August of 1676 at Middle Plantation. Recognizing this, John Page, John Scasbrooke, James Vaulx, Otho Thorp, and Isaac Clopton, "your honor's most humble servants," petitioned the Governor on March 23, 1677 "to declare who shall be Justices of the Peace" for York County. Of these men, only John Scasbrooke was exempted from confirmation until Berkeley and his Council could "consider thereof" Scasbrooke's true role in the rebellion. Scasbrooke remained off the York Court until 1678 when he was returned by Governor Chicheley.⁵

The York Court's attempt to reestablish institutional order within its jurisdiction presents questions about the nature of rebellion in this well-settled county. What made William Booth, Edward Moss, and Robert Cobb such "honest and loyal subjects" that a weary Governor Berkeley would entrust the continuing justice and peace of York County into their hands? Was Berkeley rewarding these men for their support during Bacon's Rebellion? Likewise, was Berkeley punishing John Scasbrooke for his role in the rebellion by denying his petition to continue as a Justice? Was Scasbrooke a Baconian like his fellow Justice Edmund Chisman or neighbor Thomas Hansford? What motivated established leaders of York County to flirt with rebellion against the institutions they represented? Can anything in their lives prior to the rebellion explain their individual choices in the summer of 1676?

The causes of Bacon's Rebellion in York County developed from the individual motivations and character of those who participated as rebels and loyalists. The uprising was symbolized by one man, Nathaniel Bacon, but it could not have started or continued for almost nine months if others of like mind did not join Bacon's cause. Intertwined choices made by individuals such as Chisman, Scasbrooke, Hansford, Moss, Cobb, and Booth form the foundation on which the rebellion was built.

The analysis of Bacon's Rebellion in York County focused on Edmund Chisman, Thomas Hansford, and John Scasbrooke as typical Baconians, with Edward Moss, William Booth, and Thomas Cobb representing the Loyalists. The assumption behind this comparison is that participation in Bacon's Rebellion might have been predicted by an individual's pre-uprising activities. From the records of the York County court, each individual's family, wealth, status, and relationship to the established institutions of Virginia's government were examined in order to illustrate patterns of behavior and to facilitate comparisons between participants.⁶

What developed from this analysis is, to a degree, paradoxical. Significant differences between the Baconians and the Loyalists were expected. However, the range of similarity between the participants testified to the commonality of experience in the seventeenth century Chesapeake. Differences between the life histories of the Baconians and Loyalists may explain individual choices when faced with Bacon's rebellion. In only one case, that of Thomas Hansford, could a specific incident be identified that suggested a motivation for rebellion or loyalism. For Chisman, Scasbrooke, Moss, Cobb, or Booth, it would be hard to label them as future rebels or loyalists based on their pre-rebellion activities.

Most of all, Bacon's Rebellion was a turning point in the lives of the York County participants and for most Virginians. The rebellion ended the lives of Edmund Chisman and Thomas Hansford. It probably shortened John Scasbrooke's life: he died in 1679, shortly after being restored as a York magistrate. For Edward Moss, William Booth and Robert Cobb the rebellion also heralded great changes in their lives. These loyalists were elevated from relative anonymity to positions of extensive power and influence within the county. The revolt was both a beginning and an ending: but was it an aberration or a culmination in the history of Virginia?

III

As was true for Virginia generally, the York County participants represented ordinary members of late seventeenth century Chesapeake society. These men were farmers and merchants, millers and boatwrights, fathers and husbands, brothers and sons. Both Loyalists and Baconians went to church, planted tobacco, and went to court to resolve their disputes. Although not a statistically representative or significant sample of participants within the county, these six individuals were typical of colonists in the Chesapeake system. Ordinary men prior to the rebellion, the York participants were made extraordinary to the historian because of their involvement in Bacon's Rebellion.

Loyalists in York County were older than the Baconians. Loyalist Robert Cobb, the oldest participant, was born in 1627. Born about a decade later, William Booth (b. 1636) and Edward Moss (b. 1637) were contemporaries with Baconian John Scasbrooke (b. 1635). The two executed Baconians, Thomas Hansford and Edmund Chisman were born a decade later still, in 1645 and 1648 respectively. By comparison, John Page, Otho Thorp, and James Vaulx, the Justices reconfirmed by Governor Berkeley during the spring of 1677, were each born prior to 1645. It appears that York County's leading Baconians, like Nathaniel Bacon, were relatively young and had only recently reached maturity in the eyes of their fellow Virginians.⁷

Baconian youth may have been an important factor in the causes of the rebellion. Thomas Matthew described Bacon as "too young and too much a stranger there." Newly arrived on the Virginia political scene, either by accident of birth or by immigration, Baconians did not have the experience with Indian affairs that Governor Berkeley had gained from his successful campaigns during the last Anglo-Indian war of 1644-1646.⁸

Justices Thorp, Page, and Vaulx were mindful of age when they nominated Edward Moss, William Booth, and Robert Cobb to fill the vacancies created on the York bench by Bacon's Rebellion. These three "honest and loyal" men were each contemporaries of the sitting magistrates. In choosing

older men to reaffirm the legitimacy of the York Court, the Justices were probably looking for symbols of stability to counter the images of violence and rebellion that were current in the minds of York County residents.⁹

Chisman's youth may have contributed to his rebellion but his wife, Lydia, claimed that it was her "provocations" that made "her husband joyne in the cause that Bacon contended for."¹⁰ Pleading for her husband's life before Governor Berkeley, Mrs. Chisman exclaimed that if her husband "had not been influenced by her instigations" he would not have joined the rebellion. Both Chisman and Thomas Hansford had young wives at the time of the rebellion; 27 and 24 years old in 1676. Moreover, John Scasbrooke's wife Elizabeth was Lydia Chisman's sister. Possibly it was not only the husbands but also the wives who were "too young" when confronted by the growing rebellion.

Both the Baconians and the Loyalists were family men. At the start of the uprising, all of the York participants, except William Booth, had young children at home. None were unfamiliar with the ravages of early adult mortality that characterized the lives of seventeenth century colonists. Booth had been married twice, his first wife was previously widowed, and his daughter would marry three times before the 1670s. Scasbrooke lost his first wife and began a new family with Elizabeth Bushrod in 1664. Edmund Chisman's father, mother, and son each died in the period from 1674 to

1679. Thomas Hansford lost his father in 1661. His mother remarried soon after, only to die in 1676. York Baconians were indeed younger than the Loyalists but they were not unmarried or without family attachments at the time of the rebellion.¹¹

York County's Baconians and Loyalists apparently provided well for their families. Wealth, as expressed in estate value, landholdings, and control of labor, was one of the major components of social status within seventeenth century Chesapeake society. As was demonstrated in Chapter 2, many of the Baconian leadership, including Charles Hansford and Edmund Chisman, were moderately well seated economically. In addition, York's Loyalists also seem to have been economically stable.¹²

Chisman lived on a 250 acre plantation in York County, had an interest in three grist mills, and owned seven slaves. His wife, Lydia, was waited upon by a female English indentured servant. Chisman's farms contained 31 cattle, 11 swine and 6 horses. In 1670, Chisman's York County Mill was constructed for the sum of over 21,000 pounds of tobacco. A 500 English pound bond was given as security for the executed rebel's estate which included two feather beds and bed hangings, 15 silver spoons, and a great quantity of spices.¹³

Thomas Hansford owned four plantations containing a total of 1515 acres in several counties. His York County

farm was a "most comodius seat of land where he lived being 75 acres with a very good dwelling house." Hansford's household included the service of four English men and women. His estate included three feather beds with hangings and several pieces of silver plate. The rebel's estate was sold at public auction in 1679 bringing 9,620 pounds of tobacco in livestock and 9,084 pounds of tobacco for household goods. A total of 22,145 pounds of tobacco were owed to the estate, of which only 8,735 pounds of tobacco were considered active bills and potentially redeemable.¹⁴

By Chesapeake standards, John Scasbrooke was also quite wealthy, as evidenced by an 1679 estate inventory. His dwelling plantation in York County contained over 400 acres and he held lands in Gloucester and Warwick counties. Scasbrooke's house comprised at least eight rooms, including a hall, a new room, a kitchen, and "his own chamber." Scasbrooke slept in a feather bed, sat in leather chairs, drank from silver cups, combed his hair in a looking glass, and counted the hours with his clock.¹⁵

In contrast to the Baconians, relatively little is known about the wealth of York's Loyalists, Cobb, Moss, and Booth. William Booth owned about 340 acres in York County before Bacon's Rebellion. In the late 1650s, he was able to pay an 886 pounds of tobacco lawyer's fee to fellow York resident Thomas Ballard and collected a total of over 2,000 pounds of tobacco in debts owed to him prior to the

Rebellion. When he died in 1692, Booth left two rings and a silver hatband to his grandson as part of a total estate valued at over 170 English pounds.¹⁶

Robert Cobb apparently owned lands in Henrico, Isle of Wight and York counties prior to Bacon's Rebellion, but his York county residence comprised only about 20 acres. He received an 850 pounds of tobacco bounty for killing wolves in 1659. While serving as guardian for John Huberd's estate, Cobb was paid over 5,000 pounds of tobacco for his services. However, no record survives of Cobb's own estate upon his death in 1682.¹⁷

By 1682, Edward Moss owned over 750 acres in York county and 380 acres across the York River at Tindall's Point. Moss was a second generation boatwright and served as York County agent for the London merchant firm of Bennett & Bailey. From 1667 to 1676, Moss presented claims for over 22,000 pounds of tobacco owed to the London drapers before the York Court. Moss's wealth and standing within York County came not from his ability as a tobacco planter, but rather as a merchant's agent and shipbuilder.¹⁸

Thus, although more details survive about the rebels, both York County's Baconians and Loyalists appear to have been relatively well seated financially. Neither the future rebels nor their adversaries were heavily in debt, nor were they speculating on the development of western frontier lands. Conclusions with regard to the relative wealth of

York's Baconians and Loyalists are probably biased by the fact that only rebel estate inventories survive from the period immediately after the rebellion.

As with all of Virginia, economic survival and success in York County during the late seventeenth century was a product of both family and friends. Given early adult mortality in this period, friendship as well as kinship was an important social linkage. Friendship or "social relationships" were measured publicly through reciprocal interaction in the county courts.

Analysis of Baconians in Middlesex County by Darrett and Anita Rutman has shown that the rebels "were not unknown to each other" prior to the uprising.¹⁹ However, pre-rebellion contact between Baconians in York County was less common. Only five examples were recorded in the York court records for the entire period before 1676. No interaction was noted between the Baconians Edmund Chisman and Thomas Hansford who were the leaders of rebellion in York County. John Scasbrooke served on a jury that decided a case involving Hansford's father John in 1658.²⁰

Interaction between the Baconian brothers-in-law, John Scasbrooke and Edmund Chisman, was not surprising, but it was less extensive than expected. Justice Scasbrooke appointed Edmund Chisman to divide the estate of Richard Watkins in 1669 and Scasbrooke provided nails worth 54 pounds of tobacco for Chisman's mill built in 1670. After

the rebellion, Scasbrooke provided security for Chisman's estate.²¹

Similarly, pre-rebellion contacts between York county's Loyalists were not recorded in court records. In fact, there was apparently more interaction between Baconians and Loyalists than within the two groups. John Scasbrooke and Edmund Chisman both appointed Edward Moss to appraise estates in four separate occasions from 1670-1672.²² Moss served as a juror with Thomas Hansford twice (1667 and 1671).²³ Robert Cobb also sat with Hansford on a jury in 1669.²⁴ In April 1676, Cobb and Chisman were appointed to list tithables for separate areas of York County.²⁵ In all, there were 12 cases of interaction between future Baconians and future Loyalists dating from 1667 to the Rebellion. Interestingly, none of these pre-rebellion contacts between future participants involved confrontation between individuals.

Documented interaction between Loyalists and Baconians was a function of the relative social status of each individual. Status in York society was signified by the honorific titles, military positions, and governmental offices obtained by settlers.²⁶ York's future participants served as jurors, appraisers, constables, levy collectors, and justices. For both Baconians and Loyalists, the uprising represented a status revolution. Four of the six future participants were elevated from "middle" to "high

"middle" status as a result of the uprising. Of course, for Baconians Hansford and Chisman, this rise in social position was short-lived. In general, both Baconian and Loyalist had "middle" status within York County society before the uprising. The sphere of their social, political and economic interaction was local not colonial.

However, Baconians followed shorter career paths than the Loyalists. Baconians achieved "high middle" status at an age 10 years younger than their Loyalist counterparts; "middle" status 8 years earlier; and "low middle" status 3 years earlier. At 31 years of age, John Scasbrooke was close to the average age (33 years old) for nomination as a Justice when appointed to the York court in 1667.²⁷ Edmund Chisman's arrival on the York political scene was meteoric. Supported by his brother-in-law, Edmund Chisman was only 22 when he was appointed to the York bench. In contrast, Loyalists Moss, Booth and Cobb were 39, 40, and 49 years old respectively when nominated to the York court after Bacon's Rebellion.

Public service was a indication of trust and respect by one's fellow Virginians. Generally, Baconians appeared before the York Court more often than Loyalists: almost twice as often in the 1670s. Baconian court dates were concentrated in the years just prior to the Rebellion, whereas Loyalist appearances were mostly in the 1650s and 1660s. Edmund Chisman was in court 51 times from 1671 to

1675. During 1676, the Baconians were at court a total of 25 times, compared to the Loyalists' 4 appearances.²⁸

However, in terms of government service, the Loyalists were entrusted with more positions than the Baconians. The three future loyalists were called upon a total of 51 times to undertake nine different tasks. The Loyalists appeared in court as estate administrators, overseers, witnesses, jurors, appraisers, and deponents. They provided security for estates, viewed dead bodies, and took tithables. Baconians occupied only 6 different positions and were asked to serve only 35 times.²⁹ Thus, while the future Baconians were in court more often than the future Loyalists, the Loyalists participated in a greater number of government services.

Justice and Baconian John Scasbrooke was a powerful influence on the York County Court. Appointed to the bench in 1667, Scasbrooke was in many ways, the model public servant. He had served in a variety of lesser positions prior to his appointment (estate guardian, juror, and appraiser) and had risen steadily through the ranks of government.³⁰

In contrast, Scasbrooke's brother-in-law, Edmund Chisman followed a path of rapid advancement. Prior to his appointment as Justice in 1670, the 22 year-old Chisman had only served as the administrator of an estate.³¹ Chisman's rise to the bench came at an age a full decade earlier than

typical justices. Chisman must certainly have been well seated within York County society to receive such an important position so early in his adulthood.

On the other hand, Thomas Hansford spent a great deal of time before the York court. He was a litigious person. Before his execution for rebellion, Hansford had appeared in court at least 21 times on his own behalf. Hansford's appearances in court dealt with a variety of issues: his father's estate, bills owed to him and to others, trespass, and a number of nonsuits. To his credit, Hansford had served on grand and petit juries at least 7 times before 1676. He had also administered an estate and provided security for another person's service as bailiff.³²

By comparison with these Baconians, York County's Loyalists were apparently less remarkable with regard to public service and appearances before the local court. Among the Loyalists, Robert Cobb was the most distinctive: he served as a witness to 31 documents presented before the York court before 1676. Edward Moss most remarkable had served as a juror and estate appraiser five times each. William Booth made only four recorded appearances before the court before being appointed to the county bench. York's future Loyalists were community servants, but they were not incessantly before the county court on their own behalf.³³

IV

What factors differentiated York County's Baconians from Loyalists prior to Bacon's Rebellion? Were the future Baconians distinguishable from their neighbors before 1676? When compared to Loyalists, did York's rebels "show in some way a tendency toward trouble making;" were they men who "transformed personal frustration into political discontent[?]" Was an individual's "potential for frustration" the cause of Bacon's rebellion in York County?³⁴

York's Loyalists and rebels shared a variety of characteristics prior to the rebellion. Each of the participants were family men, economically comfortable, and householders. Neither Baconians nor Loyalists had served as indentured laborers. They were all intertwined in the Chesapeake system of settlement, and participated in an emerging "tobacco culture" that would dominate Virginia society through the American Revolution. They were solidly members of the "middling sort" that made up a large proportion of Virginia's colonists.

The primary difference between York's Baconians and its Loyalists appears to be generational. Each of York's Loyalists had come of age prior to the Restoration in 1660, when Sir William Berkeley was returned as Royal Governor and set about establishing Virginia as the Crown's "fortress, mart, and magazine" in the New World. York's Loyalists were about 10 years older than Baconians. Older Loyalists shared

the experiences and society of the pre-restoration Virginia society.

In contrast, York's Baconians were members of the post-Restoration generation. Baconians Edmund Chisman and Thomas Hansford became adults during one of the most economically and socially difficult periods of Virginia history. Indian incursions and Dutch wars combined with proprietary grants, the Navigation Acts, a declining tobacco economy and other factors to make the post-Restoration period challenging to Virginia's settlers.³⁵

Can frustration with the "what if" questions of life alone explain the reasons for Bacon's Rebellion? Were not the Loyalists equally challenged by the economic, social, and political changes during the 1660s and 1670s? Edward Moss suffered the denial of his inheritance from his father, William Booth had no family to pass his estate to, and Robert Cobb's family was saddled with scandalous rumors.³⁶ If "frustration" was the underlying cause of the rebellion, and it was distributed equally among all members of York society, why did some individuals rebel and other remain loyal? Did the "frustration" with life in Virginia build to a point that it became rebellion in 1676? What specifically caused Edmund Chisman and Thomas Hansford to side with the rebel Bacon, and what about John Scasbrooke's behavior made Governor Berkeley deny him his seat on the York bench after the Rebellion?

Thomas Hansford's reason for rebellion appears to have been dissatisfaction with the legal system of York County. Hansford was often before the York County court arguing cases of debt and inheritance. He was involved in six separate cases concerning his own or his wife's estates as well as 21 other debt cases. The rebel was an astute navigator of the local court system. He used various legal devices to get cases continued to later dates and he cut deals immediately prior to court appearances. However, Hansford did express frustration with the local court system.

Some time before 1667, Thomas Hansford married Elizabeth Jones, who was the relict of one Richard Jones. In April 1667, Hansford requested his wife's portion of Jones' estate from its guardian, John Roberts. By July, according to a report delivered to Virginia's General Court, Hansford was ordered to pay Roberts over 800 pounds of tobacco for the costs of administering Jones' estate. However, Roberts still had not delivered Elizabeth (Jones) Hansford her widow's portion.³⁷

By March 1668, Hansford was again before the York Court requesting Mr. Robert Huberd, who acted as guardian John Roberts' security, to deliver Elizabeth Jones' estate. The case continued into the next decade, when in March 1674, Hansford petitioned the court to attach a lien on the estate of Mrs. Mary Huberd, wife of Robert, now deceased. The

court ordered three persons, including Hansford's brother Charles, to go to Mrs. Huberd's and examine the portion of Richard Jones' estate that remained in the possession of the guardian's wife. By early 1676, Hansford was dissatisfied with the accounting of Richard Jones' estate and disappointed in the ability of the York court to secure his wife's inheritance. Confronting the court-appointed appraisers, Hansford declared that "he did not value any order of York Court" and the case was thereby referred to the General Court. In April 1676, Virginia's highest court appointed Isaac Clopton and Martin Gardner to review the case and to make recommendations.³⁸

The outcome of Hansford's suit is unknown. However, within three months the colony was in open rebellion and Hansford was one of its leaders. Having waited almost a decade for the settlement of his wife's inheritance, Hansford was clearly frustrated with the colonial legal system. If the General Court decided against Hansford's case during the spring of 1676 was this verdict enough motivation for a relatively successful planter to join a revolt against the established Virginia government?

Other Baconians were motivated by personal grievances against Governor Berkeley and his Loyalist comrades. Baconians Giles Bland, William Drummond, and Richard Lawrence each had both private and public disputes with the Governor and his party. Drummond's motivation was a

unfavorable General Court decision that supported one of Berkeley's "corrupt favorites" over the former North Carolina Governor. Clearly, Thomas Hansford's personal justification for rebellion may have been judicial frustration that came in the spring of 1676, immediately prior to Bacon's rise as "the darling of the people."

Edmund Chisman's motivation for rebellion appears also to have been a personal grievance towards the Virginia government. In 1661, when Edmund was 13 years old, his parents were censured by the York Court for conducting Quaker religious services. Chisman's mother, Mary, was accused of holding "unlawful meetings" in the woods to spread Quaker "schismaticall and hereticall doctrines & opinions" among several slaves. Edmund's father (also named Edmund) was ordered to "restreyne his said negroes & whole family from repairing to the said unlawful assemblyes at his perill."³⁹

Quakerism was strongly held in other York County families. Upon hearing of the order to suppress the Chisman family's Quaker meetings, Thomas Bushrod, another York County resident and Quaker, challenged the authority of the Anglican Church in Virginia and the personal character of several leading Virginians. Bushrod called two ministers "Episcopal knaves," "blind priests," and the "Anti Christ." Furthermore, Bushrod titled Mr. Augustine Warner, one of the Governor's Councilors, a "rogue and a dog." Bushrod was

brought before the York Court for his statements but the outcome of this case is unknown.⁴⁰

The connection between the suppression of Quakerism in York County during the 1660s and Bacon's Rebellion of 1676 developed from the marriage of the elder Edmund Chisman's son, Edmund, to Thomas Bushrod's daughter, Lydia. Although the younger Chisman's religious beliefs were not documented in the records, it seems probable that both he and his wife believed strongly in the Quaker faith. Chisman's rebellion may well have been reaction against a religious repression by the Virginia government.⁴¹

Moreover, given the Chisman family's supposed Quakerism, the role of Lydia Chisman in Bacon's Rebellion must be readdressed. After Edmund Chisman was captured by Loyalists, he was brought before Governor Berkeley who asked the reason for his rebellion. Before Chisman could answer, Lydia stated that "it was her provocations that made her husband joyne in the cause that Bacon contended for; adding, that if he had not bin influenc'd by her instigations, he had never don that which he had don." Kneeling before Governor Berkeley, Lydia Chisman begged for her husband's life saying that "since what her husband had don was by her meanes, and so, by consequence, she most guilty, that she might be hang'd and he pardon'd." Lydia Chisman's pleas went unanswered and her husband later died while in prison awaiting execution.⁴²

Thus, it seems that Lydia Chisman, the daughter of a stout Quaker, pushed her husband, the son of another Quaker family, towards a revolt against the Virginia government that suppressed their religious practices. Bacon's Rebellion was more than an venting of collective frustration with the ills of post-Restoration Virginia. It was also an avenue to redress a variety of long-held insults and grievances against the established government of Virginia.

John Scasbrooke's involvement in Bacon's Rebellion is thus easily explained. Related by their marriage to the Bushrod sisters, Edmund Chisman and John Scasbrooke were linked in Rebellion. Chisman was certainly an important actor in the revolt: he was "a violent rebel who died a natural death" awaiting execution.⁴³ Scasbrooke's only crime may have been being Chisman's brother-in-law and perhaps his political patron in York county. No documentary sources place Scasbrooke behind any activities during the rebellion nor do they refer to Quakerism. York County records portray Scasbrooke as a competent and conscientious member of the York bench who was simply tainted by an accident of kinship.

For individual participants, Bacon's Rebellion in York County was primarily the product of personal grievances related to family ties, religion suppression, and frustration with the Virginia legal system. Specific personal reasons directed individual colonists to choose

rebellion over loyalty to the Virginia colony. In general, the rebellion may have been based on the different experiences of pre and post-Restoration generations. Thus, Thomas Mathew's observation that Nathaniel Bacon was "too young, too much a stranger" may hold for most of the rebels.

V

Compared to the revolt in York, Bacon's Rebellion in Surry County was more extensive than bloody. More than 50 participants can be documented from Surry County, yet apparently only three residents, William Rookings, William Scarborough, and John Whitson, paid for their rebellion with their lives. Surry County, with its large population of poor, idle, and frustrated ex-servants and small farmers was apparently a natural crucible of revolt.

Discontent with the Virginia government and politics was not unknown in Surry County prior to Bacon's Rebellion. On December 12, 1673, according to county court records, a "'company of rude and disorderly persons'" who lived in Lawnes Creek parish met in a unlawful assembly with the "intent to alter the late levy, or not to pay the same."⁴⁴

Francis Taylor, an indentured servant who was "unconcerned" with the outcome of the meeting, said that the attenders complained that "several officers [were] to be paid tobacco out of the levy, which they knew no reason for.'" For example, Col. Thomas Swann was to receive 5,000 pounds of tobacco for his unexplained "trouble and charge."

It was also rumored that tobacco for the officers and the colonel were to be imposed only upon Lawnes Creek Parish.⁴⁵

The meeting lasted about an hour. Although only 14 men were present, one of the dissidents, John Grigory, told Francis Taylor that "'a great part of the parish" was expected at the meeting but had not come due to bad weather. A second meeting was scheduled for the next Sunday at which "a greater number" of residents was expected to attend.⁴⁶

During the week, the meeting was reported to Justices Robert Spenser and Lawrence Baker who considered the event "against the peace" of the county. The Justices confronted the dissident leaders who "demeaned themselves of great stubbornness and contempt, and were bound out by the magistrates to answer their offenses" before the county court. Baker and Lawrence ordered Sheriff William Sherwood to put a stop to the planned second meeting.⁴⁷

On January 6, 1674, the Surry Court met to discuss the case. The dissidents were subject to a "long serious admonition of the dangerous and mischievous effect of such unlawful and factious proceedings." The court asked the "cause of their grievance and the intent of their meeting." They replied that the levy was "unjustly laid upon them, and they met with intent to remedy that oppression." The court explained the "justness and reasonable-ness" of the levy and how "careful" the Justices had been in applying the tax, which amounted to only three pounds of tobacco per tithable.

Some of the dissidents "answered that they were exceedingly well satisfied in the case, and were heartily sorry for what they had done." Other participants were not convinced by the Court's explanation: "the rest were stubborn and silent and went out in the sheriff's custody"⁴⁸ (See Table 14).

The Surry court punished the participants in this aborted tax revolt. The "satisfied" dissidents, who confessed that they were "sorry for their offence," were ordered only to present security for their future good behavior. The major participants in this "unlawful" meeting of householders had to give a bond for their behavior and were fined for their disrespect. Matthew Swann, John Sheppard, William Hancock, and John Barnes, who organized the first meeting, were each fined 1,000 pounds of tobacco. "Although he was no ring leader in the faction," Roger Delke was ordered to give bond and pay 1,000 pounds of tobacco for his statement that "if one of them suffered they would burn all."⁴⁹

More punishment awaited Matthew Swann, "the chief projector of the design," who was "not convinced" of his offence and said that "the court had unjustly proceeded in the levy." Swann was ordered to appear before the General Court, "for his dangerous contempt and unlawful project and his wicked persisting in the same." In April 1674, the General Court fined Swan an additional 2,000 pounds of

TABLE 14
LAWNES CREEK PARISH TAX REVOLT PARTICIPANTS

<u>Name</u>	<u>Outcome of Participation.</u>	<u>Number of 1668 Tithables</u>
John Barnes	bond & 1000# fine	-
James Chessett	bond & costs	-
Thomas Clay	bond & costs	1
Roger Delke	bond & 1000# fine	1
John Green	bond & costs	1*
John Grigory	bond & costs	1
William Hancock	bond & 1000# fine	2
Robert Lacy	bond & costs	1
William Little	bond & costs	1
George Peters	?	1
John Sheppard	bond & 1000# fine	-
Mathew Swan	referred to General Court	1
William Tooke	bond & costs	3
Michael Upchurch	bond & costs	1

* a Jarrett Greene was listed as one of 5 tithables with Mr. Pitway.

Source: Billings, The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century, 263-267, and Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, V (1897-1898), 368-373.

tobacco and court costs. Swan's fine was to go towards building the fort at James City.⁵⁰

Later that year, Governor Berkeley decided to be lenient in prosecuting this embryonic revolt. Swan's fine and those of the "other poor men" were canceled by Berkeley during September 1674, "provided that they acknowledge their fault" in the Surry court and pay court charges.⁵¹ The Governor would be satisfied if the participants returned to being quiet, productive, citizens.

Who were the Lawnes Creek Parish dissidents? What motivated that "certain company of giddy headed and turbulent persons" who gathered in Lawnes Creek parish "factiously and in contempt of Governor and contrary to the peace" with the "intent and design to oppose not only the just and lawful order of this court but also the sheriff in the due execution of his office[?]" Were they the "torchbearers" of Bacon's Rebellion in 1676?⁵²

Located at the eastern border of Surry County along the James River, Lawnes Creek Parish was one of the first three nodes of settlement on the Virginia Southside. In 1673, Lawnes Creek was not the colonial frontier where rebellions were supposed to gestate. Ten of the fourteen participants (seventy percent) were living in Surry County in 1668, five years before their "unlawful assembly." They were apparently all householders, not indentured servants, and thus were "at risk" for public taxation. About 10 percent

of the households from Lawnes Creek were represented at the first meeting. Complaints about taxation were widespread through Lawnes Creek Parish given that "a great number" were expected to attend the second "illegal" meeting.⁵³

Given the proximity of this event to Bacon's Rebellion it might be expected that the Lawnes Creek dissidents would become the Baconians of 1676. The complaint of ill-advised taxes was shared by the Baconian grievances from several counties in 1677. However, the Lawnes Creek participants were not comprised of frustrated ex-servants and small farmers. Like the participants in Bacon's rebellion, the Lawnes Creek dissidents appear to be representative of the "middling sort" of farmers. Moreover, none of the 1674 Lawnes Creek participants appears among the over 50 Surry County residents fined or pardoned for their revolt in 1676.

The strongest linkage between the Lawnes Creek meeting with Bacon's Rebellion is the institution that stood as the object of tax-payer opposition. While in its formative stage, the Lawnes Creek "rising" was discovered and suppressed by two Justices from the Surry County court, Lawrence Baker and Robert Spensor. The Lawnes Creek men who were "unsatisfied" with the explanation offered for the application of tobacco taxes may have harbored some resentment against the Justices of the Surry court. Among the Justices who calculated the tax levies in 1673 and fined the Lawnes Creek participants were Justices Robert Caufield

and Arthur Allen. During Bacon's Rebellion, Allen and Caufield's homes were occupied and plundered by the rebels.

The relationship between the Lanes Creek uprising and Bacon's Rebellion suggests several questions of inquiry. Why the Lawnes Creek conspirators not participate in Bacon's Rebellion? Why were Allen and Caufield singled out as the subject of Baconian plundering? Why was Bacon's Rebellion so wide-spread in Surry County?

VI

Bacon's Rebellion exploded onto the landscape of Surry County early in the summer of 1676. During August, while by default, coercion, and popular acclaim, Nathaniel Bacon held the rank of "General" in the Virginia militia, Surry's residents were twice ordered by the County Court to provide provisions for their proportion (30 men serving for 1 month) of the armed force. Each head of household was first required to provide 4 pounds of biscuit (later raised to 5 pounds) and 2.5 pounds of dried bacon or beef per tithable. To speed the delivery of these foodstuffs to certain designated militia officers, local millers were restricted to grinding only flour destined for the troops.⁵⁴ After these August 1676 orders, the Surry Court was silent during the rest of Bacon's Rebellion until February 1677.

The Surry Court apparently had no trouble mustering the troops in support of a popular expedition against marauding Indians. The orders for provisions were issued by several

of the county Justices and Bacon's cause had the tacit approval of Surry's colonial elite, including Thomas Swan and George Jordan. In addition, for many middling farmers, military service in an expedition against the Indians could be financially lucrative in terms of soldier's pay and plunder, as well as a break from the constant labor of tobacco farming. Bacon's anti-Indian crusade had a broad following among all socioeconomic layers of Southside English society.⁵⁵

However, when Governor Berkeley again retreated from Jamestown in late September of 1676, the Surry Baconians turned their attention from raiding Indians to plundering the plantations of the local gentry. Fresh from the torching of Jamestown, Baconian rebels, under the leadership of William Rookings and several others, occupied the plantation of Justice Arthur Allen for almost 4 months. Other Baconians attacked the dwelling plantation of Allen's fellow justice Robert Caufield and caused damage valued at 500 English pounds. Ironically, both Allen and Caufield had fostered Surry's support of the Rebel Bacon less than 1 month before their homes were raided. Apparently, Allen and Caufield had run afoul of the Baconian cause between August 1676 and the burning of Jamestown on September 23, 1676.

Why did the Baconians turn from Indian-fighting to occupying and plundering Loyalist plantations? Did the Baconians pillage Allen's estate simply because he was a

Loyalist and with the Governor on the Eastern Shore, or were they attempting to redress past grievances against the Justice? Evidence of possible motivations for the Surry Baconians can be found in the episodes of plundering at Arthur Allen's plantation.

Baconians used Allen's farm as a fortified encampment for over a month during the fall of 1677. Located inland of the James River, the plantation provided some protection from amphibious incursions by the Loyalists. Moreover, the brick structure, with its narrow casement windows provided the best protection from either Indian or English attacks. Finally, since Allen was with Governor Berkeley on the Eastern Shore, there was no one present with authority to guard against the rebels.

Allen's plantation also provided the Baconians with a ready supply of provisions for the assembled troops that numbered approximately 70 persons. In the post-rebellion suits, John Price and Thomas Gibbons testified to the slaughter of Allen's livestock to feed the Baconian guard. Rebel leader Arthur Long was quoted as saying that "if one was not enough they should kill two" and projected that many cattle would be needed to feed the Baconians. In addition, Loyalist Allen's stockpiles of wheat were commandeered to support the rebel troops. Military supplies, guns, shot, and ammunition were also taken by the Baconians.⁵⁶

But the Baconians went beyond taking provisions from Allen's estate. Household servant Elizabeth Beesley remembered that after occupying the house, the rebel Joseph Rogers "several times afterwards...was very inquisitive after the sd Mr. Allen's plate, very earnestly importuning" her "to tell him where it was hid." Allen's plate apparently remained hidden, but many other items of his personal estate were taken by the Baconians. Table 15 presents a list of those items that Elizabeth Beesley recounted were taken from Allen's plantation. Walter Tayler saw Robert Burgess, William Simmons, and John Rutherford "putt up several books into a pillow case" along with "table lining [linen], Canvis & other things."⁵⁷

Taking Allen's livestock, grain, and munitions to supply the rebel troops was logical and practical, but what use were books and table cloths, towels, and aprons to the Baconians? While garrisoned at Allen's plantation, the Baconians ate "all they could finde," ransacked the farm and made "what havock they pleased both within doore & without."⁵⁸ Clearly, Allen's brick house was the object of more than pragmatic martial considerations to the Surry Baconians. The purpose of Baconian plunder was not only practical and destructive, but also acquisitive. After the Rebellion several rebels tried to appease the Loyalists by returning portions of the purloined estates. The wealth and opulence of "Bacon's Castle," as it came to be called in the

TABLE 15

PLUNDER FROM ARTHUR ALLEN'S PLANTATION

3 new pewter basins
14 new pewter plates
2 porringers
3 mustard pots
11 diaper napkins
1 pr. diaper sheets
22 pr. fine dowlas sheets, mostly new
6 pr. new Hollan sheets
46 pillow cases, mostly new
24 fine napkins
2 table cloths
20 flower Holan & fine Dowlas Aprons
36 towels, mostly fine Dowlas
16 women's shifts of Hollen and fine Dowlas, new
1 new large bedstead and bolster
a great deal of small linens
several pairs of sleeves

Source: Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, V
(1897-1898), 368-373.

early nineteenth century, symbolized Governor Berkeley's Loyalist party. Allen's presence on the Eastern Shore with the Governor made justifying and accomplishing the occupation of the plantation easier. In plundering Loyalist estates, the Baconian leadership may have been seeking to redress perceived abuses, as expressed in the county grievances, by the Surry County elite.

These episodes of Baconian plundering in Surry county provided significant clues to the identity and motivations of the local rebels. According to post-rebellion petitions for pardon from, and suits against, former Baconians, over 50 participants were from Surry County (Table 16).⁵⁹ With only 383 tithables recorded in 1674 for the county, Surry's confirmed Baconian population probably represented about 13 percent of the tithable households.⁶⁰

The Surry Baconians were led by about 10 individuals. Although not pardoned by the local court, the most prominent Surry rebel was Thomas Swann, a member of the Governor's Council. During February 1677, Swann's name was included and for some unexplained reason removed from the Grand Assembly's list of Baconians. Swann was one of the colonial elite who had appeared to openly support the rebel Bacon.

As late as November 1677, Swann's true role in Bacon's Rebellion was the topic of discussion among Surry's common citizens. Katherine Witherington testified that during the upheaval "the great ones went all away & left the poor ones

TABLE 16

SURRY COUNTY BACONIANS

Stephen Allen	Richard Atkins
Henry Baker	Jonas Bennett
William Blunt	Robert Bridges
Richard Browne	John Clements
Cornelius Cardenpaine/Cordonpaine	Edward Davis
Frances Evans	Robert Evans
James Forbes	John Garvett/Tarvett
Thomas Gibbons	George Harris
William Heath	Thomas High
Edmund Howell	John Hunnicutt
John Ironmonger	Nicholas Johnson
William Jones	Robert Judkins
Samuel Judkins	Thomas King
Stephen Lewis	Arthur Long
Mathew Magnus	William Newitt
Samuel Pearce/Plowe	Edward Pettway
William Pettway	John Phillips (Sr)
Thomas Pittman, Sr.	George Proctor
John Pulestone/Pulystone	Elizabeth Regan
John Rogers (Sr)	Joseph Rogers
William Rookings	William Rugbye/Bugby
John Rutherford	Thomas Senior
John Shelton/Skelton	John Skinner (Mary)
Alex Spencer	Richard True/Green?
Walter Vahan	George Williams

Source: Haun, Surry County Records, 59, 63-64, 66-69, 71-73, 77.

& they were forced to do what they did.'" Her neighbor Thomas High disagreed, saying that Colonel Swann, "'the great Toad,'" was an "'old Rebell or Traytor.'" "

Witherington had heard that Swann "'did not medle or make in the late troubles,'" but High stated that the Colonel had attempted to "rase men & come down with them to stop the Governor's men'" and that he had sat "'in the council of war for burning the [James]town.'" Thus it appears that Swann was certainly well-integrated in the Baconian leadership. After the rebellion, Sarah Drummond, wife of the rebel William, gave Colonel Swann power of attorney over her Virginia possessions. Swann, because of his political prominence and his "return to obedience," did not suffer greatly from his foray into rebellion.⁶¹

Three Surry rebels--William Rookings, William Scarborough, and John Whitson--were executed for treason against crown and colony. Other Baconians were the object of post-rebellion suits by Arthur Allen and Robert Caufield. These defendants are assumed to have been the leaders of the rebellion in Surry County.

In July and September 1677, Allen brought suit against William Simmons, Robert Bridges, Joseph Rogers, Arthur Long, John Clements, and John Rogers Sr., John Ironmonger, and Richard Browne for participating in the plundering of his plantation. Allen claimed that goods valued at 500 English pounds were taken from his estate. He was awarded a total

of 13,700 pounds of tobacco from the eight defendants.⁶² Robert Caufield sued John Clements, John Rogers, Richard Atkins, and John Rutherford for damaging his estate during the rebellion. Caufield received 5,400 pounds of tobacco from the Baconians as compensation for his losses.⁶³ John Rutherford paid the greatest penalty: 4,000 pounds of tobacco. These large fines and court awards indicated the well-off financial status of the Surry Baconians.

Other Surry residents were cited for their rebellious activities by the county court. Richard Lawrence's estate in Surry was seized by Robert Caufield to cover a debt amounting to over 2,100 pounds tobacco. Elizabeth Regan, the wife of Baconian Daniel Regan, was brought before the court to account for having "several times & in several places formented many malignant & rebellious words tending to sedition." For her speech, Elizabeth Regan received 10 lashes from Constable Samuel Judkins. Joseph and Mary Skinner were both indicted by the Surry court for making statements "tending towards sedition." Mary received 20 lashes for her crime and her husband was bound over to the next court for sentencing.⁶⁴

However, most Surry Baconians took advantage of Charles II's royal pardon during a session of the County Court on February 6, 1677. At one time, forty "distressed subjects of this late disloyal and rebellious colony" acknowledged their guilt before the sitting justices. Noting that the

"general destructions" of the revolt "have in so great a measure involved the most part of the seduced people of this country," the petitioners, "humbly & submissively" threw themselves at the feet of Governor Berkeley for "mercy and pardon." Baconian Arthur Long appeared before the court with a rope about his neck.⁶⁵

Who were the Surry Baconians? As with Baconians in general, the rebels from Surry appeared to have represented individuals of the "middling sort." They were planters, tanners, blacksmiths, and even attorneys. They served the county as witnesses, jurors, appraisers, and guardians. Several of the rebels were called "mister," thus, signifying the respect they held among their neighbors. Like many of the other Baconians, the Surry participants appear on the surface to have been ordinary Virginians caught up in the extremes of extraordinary times.

Richard Atkins, who was fined 600 pounds of tobacco for his involvement in the plundering of Justice Robert Cauffield's plantation, was typical of the Surry Baconians. Apparently, Richard Atkins' father, also named Richard, arrived in Surry County during 1621 on board the Abigail. Described as a "planter" in 1632, Atkins, for his own and his wife's "personal adventure," was granted 100 acres along Skiff's Creek by Governor Harvey. Richard Jr. was born before 1644, when his father was listed as deceased.⁶⁶

In 1644, the native-born minor Richard Atkins was willed a 200-acre farm in Isle of Wight county. By the mid 1660s Richard had reached his maturity, when he served as a juror in Surry court. His household had 3 tithables in 1673 when he was paid 200 pounds of tobacco bounty for a wolf's head. Atkins' one distinctive court appearance before the rebellion came in 1670s when he was accused of being a "hog stealer" by Lt. Thomas Busby. In March 1674, Atkins brought suit against Busby for defamation of character. The case was referred to the next court several times and was finally decided in May 1675. Busby was ordered to apologize to Atkins and to pay all court costs.⁶⁷

Bacon's Rebellion came to Atkins' doorstep. In March 1676, under the "Act for the Safeguard and Defence of the Country against the Indians," the 40-member Surry garrison was ordered by Captain Roger Potter to assemble at the "fort or defenceable place" near Richard Atkins' plantation on the "black water."⁶⁸ Presumably, portions of this garrison were incorporated during the summer into the 300-member Baconian army. Was the "fort" placed near Adkins' farm because it already had been attacked by the Indians, or was it centrally located in case of a surprise raid? Situated on Surry's frontier in the 1670s, Richard Atkins' plantation was a prime candidate for Indian attacks. Otherwise an ordinary Chesapeake farmer, Richard Atkins' involvement in

Bacon's Rebellion was as much an accident of geography as personal conviction.

In contrast, Baconian Joseph Roger's motivation for rebellion probably came from previous interaction with neighboring Native Americans and his frustration with the Berkeley government's Indian policy. In 1671, Rogers, a shoemaker and tanner, was brought before the Surry Court for entertaining, harboring, and employing several Indians at his home. Rogers was apparently trading for leather (deer skins) with the Indians, which was illegal without a license from Governor Berkeley and was a "disturbance and danger to the neighbors and breach of the peace." Rogers, along with William Marriott and Edward Warren, had previously posted a bond for 10,000 pounds of tobacco to secure the shoemaker's "good behavior towards all and every" of the Crown's subjects, which presumably included the "tributary Indians." Governor Berkeley required similar bonds from individuals who had created conflicts between the English and their Indian neighbors.⁶⁹

Like their cohorts in Middlesex County, some Surry Baconians did display a tendency towards "troublemaking" and others appeared to be financially "delinquent." The tanner Joseph Rogers also had unsuccessful business dealings with the English during the 1670s: he confessed judgment for debts (both in shoes and tobacco) and was fined for both nonsuits and nonappearance in court.⁷⁰ Stephen Allen was

before the Surry bench four times during 1673 to settle accounts with several of the county elite, including Arthur Allen.⁷¹ During the summer before the Rebellion, John Skinner and William Simmons were both fined 50# tobacco for not attending church. At the same time, Skinner was committed to the Surry Sheriff for another unspecified "misdemeanor."⁷²

However, the majority of pre-rebellion activities by the Surry Baconians appeared within the norms of colonial Chesapeake society. Arthur Long administered estates, provided security for an orphan's guardian, served as a juror on a case of accidental death, witnessed several land sales, and traded in real estate.⁷³ Many of the confessed Baconians were long-time Surry residents. Most appear to have been householders and family-men: not indentured servants or recently freed servants. Over 40 percent appear on the 1668 tithables listing.⁷⁴ Before the Rebellion, the lives of most Surry Baconians, excepting Joseph Rogers and Stephen Allen, were perfectly ordinary.

In the aftermath of the Rebellion, Surry's Baconians were quickly re-integrated into colonial society. After confessing their transgressions before the county court, many former rebels again served as estate appraisers, jury-members, or provided other services to their community. Samuel Judkins, who on February 6, 1676, stood with his fellow conspirators and was pardoned for his rebellion,

appeared ten days later as Constable Judkins in the arrest and punishment of Elizabeth Regan for "rebellious words." Surry's Baconians stayed in the County: at least seven of the Baconians were listed as members of the County militia in 1687. Moreover, in later years wills were recorded in Surry Court for at least twenty of the rebels. Ordinary colonists before the rebellion, the Surry Baconians returned to their simple lives after the upheaval in 1676.⁷⁵

Indeed, it would have been hard to predict who among Surry's citizens would have joined Bacon's Rebellion in the early 1670s. The best guesses would have placed the Lawnes Creek residents who continue to hold tax complaints at the forefront of insurrection in 1676. However, none of the Lawnes Creek participants became Baconians. What then were the motivations of ordinary citizens from Surry County, and from York County, as the Indian War of 1675 was transformed into Bacon's Rebellion of 1676? Evidence from the pre-rebellion personal histories of the Surry and York Baconians suggest that geography, family ties, and personal grievances may have been the primary causes.

VII

Fortunately for the historian, the numerous participants in Virginia's Bacon's rebellion attempted to explain, justify, and apologize for their abortive upheaval through a series of written grievances. Requested by the Royal Commissioners in the spring of 1677, these grievances

survive from 18 counties, along with the answers provided by the Crown's representatives. The county grievances from York and Surry counties were particularly revealing about the specific causes and character of Bacon's Rebellion.⁷⁶

Surry County's Baconians recounted four reasons for their rebellion. First, they declared that the confusion surrounding Nathaniel Bacon's legal, yet forced, commission from the June Assembly resulted in their initial obedience to the rebel leader. Governor Berkeley's delayed contradiction of Bacon's commission transformed persons who were following what appeared to be the direct orders of the Governor and the Assembly into rebels overnight. Because of the Governor's repudiation of the initial commission, many participants who were de facto loyalists became de jure rebels.⁷⁷

Other Baconians identified that the "erecting of forts" that were useless in the defence of the colony; the general "slackness of prosecuting the Indian War;" and "the subtle insinuations of Nathaniel Bacon's pretences" as the "chiefe cause of the late unhappy war." The Royal Commissioner's thought that the Surry account of the causes of the rebellion were such "material justification" of officially-authorized narrative that it was included "in their owne words."⁷⁸

York County's explanation of the rebellion was less specific. The rebellion "proceeded from some disaffected

persons, spurning against authoritie; and that the pretence of the dilatory proceedings against the Indians, was onely taken up for a cloake." The York grievances referred to the efforts of the Berkeley-led Assembly of March 1676 to show the effectiveness of the government in combatting the Indians.⁷⁹

In their comments, the Royal Commissioners agreed that certain dissatisfied persons were the cause of Bacon's Rebellion, noting that before the Indian war, there had been "no considerable grievance arising from the Governor, to give the people any just cause of complaint of his management." However, in disagreement with the York account, the Commissioners found "fatal errors committed in the management of the Indian Warr by both the Assembly and Governor." The Commissioners felt that Berkeley's failure to diligently prosecute the Indians war was a valid cause because "all other countys" had presented this grievance.⁸⁰

Thus, York and Surry counties disagreed on the role of the Indian war as a fundamental cause of Bacon's Rebellion. Yet, in other areas the counties agreed. As recorded by the Commissioner, Surry County posted 19 grievances to York's 12. Of these, the two counties had only four grievances in common. They both complained of the high cost and frequency of Assembly meetings; the royal tax of 2 shillings per hogshead of tobacco; the 60 pounds of tobacco levied per

tithable for the purchase of the Northern Neck proprietary grants; and the high cost of sheriff's and clerk's fees.

The Surry and York county grievances can be divided into three types: colonial, county, and rebellion-related. Colonial grievances were those, such as complaints about taxes, defensive forts, or tobacco laws, that operated Virginia-wide. County level grievances were specific to an individual locality, such as Surry's request that disputes involving less than 450 pounds of tobacco be decided by one Justice rather than at greater expense by the full court. Both Surry and York counties filed 7 complaints in the category of colonial grievances and 4 and 5 county grievances respectively.

Surprisingly, rebellion-related grievances were relatively few. York county asked that tobacco seized during the rebellion and marked for personal debts prior to the uprising, remain liable for those debts. As noted previously, the county also requested that a 70 acre parcel belonging to convicted rebel Thomas Hansford's estate be used as a court house. Surry's requests were more diverse. Surry's residents complained that several estates had been illegally seized by Loyalists prior to the owner's legal conviction. At the same time, they requested that rebel estates be attached for just debts owed prior to the rebellion. In addition, Surry's Baconians, having accepted the Crown's pardon, asked that "no person may be injured by

the provoking names of Rebel, Traytor & Rogue." In both counties, rebellion-related complaints did not dominate the county grievances.⁸¹

The county grievances from York and Surry demonstrated a fair amount of economic self-interest. Many of the grievances requested a fiscal accounting of taxes, expenses, and expenditures authorized by the colonial or county governments. Since Jamestown was in ashes, York county requested that the colonial capital be moved to Middle Plantation. York also hoped for a loosening of the restrictive Navigation Acts, by allowing free trade (except for tobacco) with the Azores. Harking back to the Lawnes Creek complaints, Surry county asked that county levies be defined in public rather than private meetings of the Justices. In addition, Surry's residents begged to delay private suits for debts "till the next crop" because of their "extreme poverty" as a result of Bacon's rebellion.⁸²

Pragmatic self-interest was probably the motivating factor behind most of the county grievances recorded in the aftermath of Bacon's Rebellion. The question remains: what portion of the colonial population defined these complaints? Were the grievances of 1677 those of indentured servants, recently-freed servants, yeomen farmers, the county elites, or the colonial elite? Because of their emphasis on local and colonial issues, the source of the Surry and York county grievances appears to have been the small yeomen farmer who

made up the "the middling sort" of Virginia's hierarchy. Complaints about the high cost of assembly by the House of Burgesses, the excessive fees required by the county courts, and the requests for accounting of taxes were generated by the center of Chesapeake society, not those on its edges. Thus, the nature of the county grievances was congruent with the portion of Virginia society identified as the majority of the Baconians: tax-paying, middling farmers.

VIII

Who would have believed that the newly-arrived gentleman, Nathaniel Bacon, whose path into Virginia society was well prepared with both capital and social connections would become the leader of a armed insurrection within two years? Why would Edmund Chisman, who was tied to the Virginia status quo by his rapid rise in York County government, betray his colony and court in rebellion? It would have been next to impossible to predict, in 1674, who among Virginia's population would become active rebels in Bacon's uprising.

Intensive study of the recorded Baconians and Loyalists from York and Surry counties has demonstrated that these cohorts were populated by members of Virginia's "middle class." Both Loyalists and Baconians were settled, established, married, and active participants in the colonial systems of government and society. One of the few substantial differences between the two groups was that

Baconians were slightly younger on average than the typical Loyalist.

It may be that Baconian youth contributed to the rash reaction of the rebels to the Indian attacks in 1675 and 1676 that led to the rebellion. Certainly, younger members of a society are more subject to frustration with the "what if" questions of life. However, in many cases it was an individual's immediate circumstances that shaped the choice to rebel or remain loyal. Virginians, such as Thomas Hansford, who faced legal or economic difficulties in the spring were more likely to rebel than others. For certain individuals, such as Hansford, specific incidents can be enumerated that fostered their rebellion.

During the 1670s, the potential for social frustration existed within the Virginia system. All colonists noticed the challenges to their security made by Indian incursions, Dutch naval adventures, and proprietary land grants to Crown favorites. If "frustration" was present in all layers of society, then why did the yeomen farmers join with the elite Baconians in rebellion? In fact, while the potential for frustration was present throughout the colony, specific incidents occurring in 1675 and 1676 were often the triggers of upheaval.

Three factors, more specific than just a general frustration with colonial life, influenced the choice for rebellion in York and Surry counties. First of all,

geography played an important part. Settlers living on the sparsely settled frontier of Surry county were more at risk to Indian attacks than those in York county. Those persons who had witnessed the war were certainly more apt to follow the rebel Bacon. Second, kinship and other social networks influenced the rebellion. Without his family ties to Edmund Chisman, York County's John Scasbrooke would probably not have been implicated in the rebellion. Finally, specific and personal grievances with the Governor or others in the Virginia elite were an significant factor and contributed to general feelings of frustration. Several of the Baconian leadership, Bacon, Bland, Drummond, Hansford, Chisman, Rogers, and others, had specific complaints against Governor Berkeley or the Virginia system that pre-dated the upheaval of 1676.

Given this range of factors that influenced the choice of rebellion, the discrepancy between the explanations of York and Surry County becomes enlightening. Was the Indian War and Berkeley's aborted attempts to defend the colony the true cause of the rebellion, or was it really caused by certain disaffected persons who used the Indian disturbances as a "cloak" to hide their true intentions?

Notes for Chapter IV

1. Portions of the Surry County records have been transcribed in Elizabeth Timberlake Davis' Surry County Records, Surry County, Virginia, 1652-1684 ([Smithfield, Virginia] 1957, reprinted 1980) and Wills and Administrations of Surry County, Virginia, 1671-1750, (Smithfield, Virginia 1955, reprinted 1980), as well as Weynette Parks Haun's Surry County Virginia Court Records, 1652-1663 (Durham, North Carolina, 1986), Surry County Virginia Court Records (Deed Book I) 1664 thru 1671, Book II, (Durham, North Carolina, 1987), and Surry County Virginia Court Records, 1672-1682, Book III, (Durham, North Carolina, 1989). Kevin P. Kelly, "'In dispers's Country Plantations': Settlement Patterns in Seventeenth Century Surry County, Virginia," In The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society and Politics, edited by Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, (New York, 1979), 183-205.
2. William and Mary Quarterly, first series, XI (1902-1903), 34-37.
3. York County Records, Deeds, Orders, and Wills, Volume 6, 9. These transcribed records are on file at the Department of Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.
4. York County Records, Deeds, Orders, and Wills, Volume 6, 9.
5. York County Records, Deeds, Orders, and Wills, Volume 6, 9.
6. This investigation, which was designed to study the rise of urbanization, was funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities.
7. Bacon's Rebellion Biographical Data Base.
8. To even the oldest of York's Loyalists the violence of an Indian war was only a memory of youth: Robert Cobb and John Page were barely seventeen years old when the war began. Of all Virginians, Governor Berkeley, who thirty years before had personally led troops on a forced march against the Indians, remembered the terror of an Indian war.

9. During January 1677, several Baconian leaders had been hanged in York County and the 28 year old Justice Edmund Chisman had died awaiting trial for his rebellion.
10. "History of Bacon and Ingram's Rebellion," 81-82.
11. Bacon's Rebellion Biographical Data Base.
12. Bacon's Rebellion Biographical Data Base.
13. C.O. 5/1371, 238-239.
14. C.O. 5/1371, 243, contains the inventory of Hansford's attained estate while York County Records, Deeds, Orders, and Wills, Volume 6, 123-125, describes the sale of his personal property at public auction.
15. John Scasbrooke's estate inventory is found in York County Records, Deeds, Orders, and Wills, Volume 6, 599-600.
16. Information with regard to William Booth's life history before Bacon's Rebellion is found in York County Records Deeds, Orders, and Wills, Volume 1, 240; Volume 3, 5, 24R, 25, 29-30, 32, 40, 43, 45, 66, 170; Volume 4, 137-139, 173, 195-6; Volume 5, 33, 78; and Volume 6, 9. His inventory is in Volume 9, 205.
17. References to Robert Cobb's appearances in York Court before Bacon's Rebellion are found in York County Records, Deeds, Orders, and Wills, Volume 1, 54, 155-6; Volume 3, 6, 16, 25, 31, 33-35, 37-39, 44-46, 49-50R, 53-54, 57, 65, 73, 81, 92-93, 95, 108, 119, 127, 132, 143, 149; Volume 4, 54, 121-122, 140, 144, 151, 165, 168, 178, 179, 212, 219-220, 225, 228, 239-243, 338, 350; Volume 5, 2, 53, 67-68, 70, 76, 78, 112, 122, 161, and Volume 6, 9.
18. Pre-rebellion data on Edward Moss in York Court are found in York County Records, Deeds, Orders, and Wills, Volume 1, 235; Volume 3, 26, 29R, 42L, 44-45, 60, 63R, 181; Volume 4, 129, 142, 146, 149-150, 152, 159, 163, 169, 177, 183, 186, 221, 240, 280, 312, 325, 351, 360, 365-368, 372, 377, 379; Volume 5, 2, 5, 7, 18, 28, 32, 48, 62, 101, 109, 133, 149-150, 153; Volume 6, 9, 10, 19, 139-146.
19. Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, 83.
20. York County Records, Deeds, Orders, and Wills, Volume 3, 30.
21. York County Records, Deeds Orders, and Wills, Volume 4, 244; Volume 6, 35.

22. York County Records, Deeds, Orders, and Wills, Volume 4, 280, 312, 365, and Volume 5, 5.
23. York County Records, Deeds, Orders, and Wills, Volume 4, 142 and 351.
24. York County Records, Deeds, Orders, and Wills, Volume 4, 219.
25. York County Records, Deeds, Orders, and Wills, Volume 5, 161.
26. Rutman and Rutman, Explicatus, 133-164. For this analysis, the rules defined for status groups and status assignment were to used to compare York county's Loyalists and Baconians.
27. Rutman and Rutman, Explicatus, 145. The average age for Justices appointed to the Middlesex County court from 1680-1750 was 33.1 years.
28. York County Records, Deeds, Orders, and Wills, Volumes 1-6.
29. York County Records, Deeds, Orders, and Wills, Volumes 1-6.
30. York County Records, Deeds, Orders, and Wills, Volume 4, 124A.
31. York County Records, Deeds, Orders, and Wills, Volume 4, 296.
32. York County Records, Deeds, Orders, and Wills, Volumes 4 and 5 contain references to Thomas Hansford's specific court cases involving William Townsend, John Lole, Thomas Holder, Edward Folliott, William Major, Abraham Ray, Richard Reade, Thomas Walker, Abraham Wheelock, William Weatherall, Elizabeth Keith, James Moore, John Manier, Elizabeth Peters, Abraham Bateman, Gideon Macon, Franciscus Gower, and Henry Rewcastle.
33. York County Records, Deeds, Orders, and Wills, Volumes 1-6.
34. Rutman and Rutman, A Place In Time, 82-87.
35. See Warren Billings, "The Causes of Bacon's Rebellion: Some Suggestions" Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, LXXVIII (1970), 409-435, for a description of the troubled times in post-Restoration Virginia.
36. While serving as a Churchwarden, Cobb's wife was accused of being a mirkin-maker in a note left in the nave of the

church, York County Records, Deeds, Orders, and Wills, Volume 3, 38.

37. York County Records, Deeds, Orders, and Wills, Volume 4, 128, 187, 149.
38. York County Records, Deeds, Orders and Wills, Volume 4, 149 and 226; Volume 5, 101, 133, 142, 160.
39. York County Records, Deeds, Orders, and Wills, Volume 3, 125. Edmund Chisman was 13 years old when his father and mother were ordered by Governor Berkeley to stop holding Quaker meetings in the forests of York County.
40. William and Mary Quarterly, second series, II (1902-1903), 29-33 contains documents related to the suppression of Quakerism in Virginia.
41. At least one other Baconian was a Quaker. Richard Jordan, one of the authors of the Isle of Wight County grievances, was the son of Thomas Jordan, who migrated to Virginia in the 1620s. The Jordan family were "the leading family of Quakers in Isle of Wight and Nansemond." John Bennett Boddie, Seventeenth-Century Isle of Wight County, Virginia, (Chicago, 1938), 115-116.
42. "History of Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion," 34.
43. C.O. 5/1371, 238.
44. Billings, The Old Dominion the Seventeenth Century, 263-267.
45. Billings, The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century, 263-267. Rumors were an important fuel for local discontent in a face-to-face, and mostly oral world of personal interactions. Local issues, such as the disproportionate application of a tax on an individual parish, was an event worthy of public outcry.
46. Billings, The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century, 263-267. Neighborhoods were an important social structure in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake. Communication within the Lawnes Creek parish was sufficient to organize a meeting of discontented tax-payers. Local networks also informed the local magistrates that an "illegal" meeting had been held.
47. Billings, The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century, 263-267.
48. Billings, The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century, 263-267.

49. Billings, The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century, 263-267.
50. Billings, The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century, 263-267.
51. Billings, The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century, 263-267.
52. Billings, The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century, 263-267.
53. Kevin Kelly's article in the Tate and Ammerman edited volume The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century ("In dispers's Country Plantations": Settlement Patterns in Seventeenth-Century Surry County, Virginia," 183-205.) discusses the growth of Virginia's Southside. The 1668 list of tithables from Surry survives and was printed in Virginia Magazine of History and Biography VIII (1900-1901), 161-164.
54. Haun, Surry County, Virginia Court Records Vol. III, 59.
55. Col. Thomas Swan and George Jordon were among the Surry residents who met with Bacon at the Middle Plantation conference during early August 1676. After Bacon's defeat of the Occaneechees, "the base Rabble...were resolved to approve al he did." William and Mary Quarterly, third series, XIV (1957), 408.
56. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, V (1897-1898), 368-373.
57. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, V (1897-1898), 368-373.
58. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, V (1897-1898), 368-373.
59. According to the act of the June Assembly, approximately 30-40 persons were drafted from Surry's population to serve in Bacon's militia. With over 50 documented participants, the Baconians in Surry County were made up of more than former militiamen turned into rebels by Governor Berkeley's proclamations canceling Bacon's commissions. Hening Statutes II, 328.
60. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography XI (1903-1904), 79-87; William and Mary Quarterly, first series, VIII (1899-1900), 161-164; Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom, 395-432.

61. William and Mary Quarterly, first series, VIII (1899), 161-164; XI (1902), 80-81; Davis, Surry County Records, II, 107.
62. Haun Surry County, Virginia Court Records, 1672-1682 Book III, (Durham, North Carolina, 1989), 59, 63-64, 66-69, 71-73, 77.
63. Haun Surry County, Virginia Court Records, 1672-1682, Book III, (Durham, North Carolina, 1989), 59, 63-64, 66-69, 71-73, 77.
64. Haun Surry County, Virginia Court Records, 1672-1682, Book III, (Durham, North Carolina, 1989), 59, 63-64, 66-69, 71-73, 77.
65. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, III (1895-1896), 126.
66. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, II (1894-1895), 77; XI (1903-1904), 150-151.
67. Haun, Surry County Virginia Court Records, 1672-1682, Book III, (Durham, North Carolina, 1989), 18-19, 29, 40, 43; Surry County Virginia Court Records, 1652-1663 (Durham, North Carolina, 1986), 16 and 67; and, Surry County Virginia Court Records (Deed Book I), 1664 thru 1671, Book II, 7 and 67.
68. Hening, Statutes II, 328.
69. Haun, Surry County, Virginia Court Records, 1664-1671, Book II, (Durham, North Carolina, 1989), 74, 81, 89.
70. Haun, Surry County Virginia Court Records, 1672-1682, Book III, (Durham, North Carolina, 1989), 6, 25-26, 41, 45, 48-49, and 115.
71. Haun, Surry County, Virginia Court Records, 1672-1682, Book III, (Durham, North Carolina, 1989), 13-14.
72. Haun, Surry County, Virginia Court Records, 1672-1682, Book III, (Durham, North Carolina, 1989), 46.
73. Haun, Surry County, Virginia Court Records, (Deed Book I), 1664 thru 1671, Book II, (Durham, North Carolina, 1987), 1.
74. William and Mary Quarterly, first series, VIII (1899-1900), 160-164.

75. William and Mary Quarterly first series XI (1902-1903), 79-87; Haun, Surry County, Virginia Court Records, 1672-1682, Book III, (Durham, North Carolina, 1989), 59.
76. Surry County grievances are found in C.O. 5/1371, 151 reverse and the York County grievances are in C.O. 5/1371, 163 reverse.
77. C.O. 5/1371, 151 reverse.
78. C.O. 5/1371, 151 reverse.
79. C.O. 5/1371, 163 reverse.
80. C.O. 5/1371, 163 reverse.
81. C.O. 5/1371, 151 reverse and 163 reverse.
82. C.O. 5/1371, 151 reverse and 163 reverse.

CHAPTER V

THE CHARACTER OF BACON'S REBELLION

The purpose of this dissertation is to approach the question of causation with regard to Bacon's Rebellion through a collective description of the characteristics of its documented participants. What emerged from this analysis was the identification and illustration of two distinct groups--the Loyalists who included several members of the colony's sociopolitical elite, and the Baconians, who were predominately middling farmers. In summarizing the results of this research, this chapter seeks to address one final question: What were the motivations that guided both the Baconians and the Loyalists?

To understand the motivations behind loyalism and revolt in Bacon's Rebellion, the uprising must be placed in an appropriate historic context. Was Bacon's Rebellion typical of other late seventeenth century uprisings? Does it follow patterns established by Tudor-Stuart uprisings or was this English colonial rebellion distinctive from those in the homeland? What characteristics were shared between rebellions in England and her colonies? In short, does Bacon's Rebellion diverge from its historical precedents?

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, rebellion against established authority, such as the Crown or its representatives, was ultimately considered a religious offence. Christian English culture presumed that God had created a "Great Chain of Being" that linked all parts of society together in an intertwined web of interdependence and authority. Obedience to their social betters and acceptance of the status quo was considered the duty of all citizens, whatever their station in life.¹

And yet, the Tudor-Stuart period was marked by a number of major rebellions, uprisings, and revolts, culminating in the English Civil War during the mid-seventeenth century. These rebellions shared two important characteristics that are important in placing Bacon's Rebellion within an appropriate historical context.

First, the natural leaders of society--the English gentry--retained their leadership role, even in times of rebellion. If it was obligation of the common people to obey, society expected that the elite would provide guidance during upheavals. Thus, as Anthony Fletcher has noted, "rebellion needed a gentleman of reputation and personality to have any chance of success." In fact, "a popular rising planned as part of a wider conspiracy...was potentially the most serious menace a Tudor [or Stuart] government might have to face."²

Second, until the Civil War, English rebellions were predominately provincial in character: "the responses of local

communities to local grievances." Relatively non-violent, the uprisings were generally provoked by local complaints against changes either in the tax structure or in religious practices, as imposed by a distant, outside authority. Although all upheavals contained some spontaneous elements, most were pre-planned conspiracies that had locally-important pragmatic political motivations.³

Provincialism was also important in the onset of the English Civil War.⁴ Lawrence Stone described the causes of the Civil War in terms of "preconditions" and "precipitants." The primary precondition was that in the twenty years prior to the revolt, England was "was moving into a condition of disequilibrium, or multiple dysfunction."⁵ Stone concluded that a "crisis of confidence" in the social, religious, and political institutions created a sense of insecurity among the leadership of the Parliamentary revolt. This leadership was not comprised of the poor of English society: its leaders were drawn from successful businessmen, well-off farmers, and Puritan religious leaders.

England's Chesapeake colonies experienced their share of overt provincial uprisings prior to Bacon's revolt in 1676. Documented plans for revolts exist from York County (1661), Gloucester County (1663), and Surry County (1674).⁶ In York County, servants complained about their treatment and rations; in Gloucester County the grievance was length of indentures;

and in Surry County the issue was taxes. Each of these revolts never got beyond the planning stages.

Historians have pointed to these episodes of social dysfunction as evidence for the inherent instability of colonial Chesapeake society. However, these cases of local discontent among servants and yeoman farmers were not supported by members of the county elite, and when they were discovered, the plotters were called before the magistrates for punishment. As in England, unplanned rebellions without the support and guidance of the gentry were quickly suppressed in Virginia.⁷

Virginia also experienced several demonstrations of pragmatic gentry-led political machinations. Two particular episodes provided historical precedents for events within Bacon's Rebellion. First, the Baconian plan to capture Governor Berkeley during his Eastern Shore exile and ship him to England to stand trial for his crimes against the colony had direct parallels to the expulsion of Governor Harvey in 1635. Harvey was forcibly removed from Virginia when he refused to share power with his councilors. Harvey's successor, Governor Berkeley, quickly learned that support of the Council was vital for the smooth operation of the Virginia colony. The lesson from Harvey's forced departure was that without the support of Virginia's colonial elite, a governor's political future might be precarious.

Appointed in 1641, Governor Berkeley ingratiated himself with Virginia's elites by "his willingness to share authority and his careful cultivation of their sensibilities."⁸ Berkeley utilized his reliance on the Council and the Assembly when defending his actions in response to the 1675 Indian attacks and Bacon's capture of the "Appamacake." Countering charges of despotism, Berkeley remarked that although he alone held responsibility for relations between the English and the Indians, he did "nothing without the advice of the Council."⁹

Governor Berkeley rigorously protected his royal commission to control Anglo-Indian relations. However, Bacon's 1676 challenge to his authority in these affairs was not without precedent in Virginia history. For example, in 1662, a group of elite Virginians from the Northern Neck, Giles Brent, Gerard Fowlke, John Lord and George Mason, illegally imprisoned Wahanganoche, the King of the Potomac Indians, by falsely accusing him of protecting an individual who had allegedly murdered an English colonist. Holding the Indian king was contrary to the expressed instructions of Governor Berkeley and the system of Anglo-Indian relations established after the 1644-1646 war. Called before the Grand Assembly to answer for their crime, the Northern Neck conspirators were removed from all civil and military offices and were fined 44,000 pounds of tobacco, provide reparations to Wahanganoche in the form of ten matchcoats, and post a bond ensuring their good behavior towards all Indians.¹⁰

Perhaps not ironically, it was the unauthorized actions of yet another group of Northern Neck colonists, headed by George Mason and George Brent (the son of the earlier colonist), who in 1675 prosecuted the military expedition across the Potomac River into Maryland, that resulted in the murder of several Susquehannock leaders and precipitated the revenge attacks that led to Bacon's Rebellion.¹¹ Moreover, while the Susquehannock fort was under siege by the Virginians, Nathaniel Bacon was admonished by Governor Berkeley for illegally holding several Appomattox Indians.¹² Local frontier dissatisfaction with the state of Anglo-Indian relations was a constant irritant to Governor Berkeley, his Council, and the House of Burgesses from the 1660s through Bacon's Rebellion.

The open revolts, civil unrest, political upheavals in Virginia during its first seven decades were consistent with the historic patterns of English revolts. Virginia's uprisings were planned, provincial, and centered on pragmatic issues. To be successful, these episodes had to be elite-led. With Bacon's position as a member of the Governor's Council and with the support of several county Justices, Bacon's Rebellion was certainly led by members of Virginia's elite.¹³

As was the case for English revolts, Bacon's Rebellion was forecast by preconditions of growing frustration and discontent with the Chesapeake system. Warren Billings has outlined how governmental instability due to decentralization

and social mobility, a deteriorating economy and Berkeley's declining credibility combined to create Virginia's deplored condition in the 1670s. Bacon's Rebellion was widespread because these local issues of discontent were commonly felt across the colony.¹⁴

The rebellion's immediate "precipitants" were the continuing series of Indian attacks on frontier settlements in 1675 and 1676. Even challenges to the Governor's role as commander-in-chief in Anglo-Indian affairs and the removal of a Governor who went against the wishes of the Virginia populace had precedent in colonial history. The foundations for Bacon's Rebellion were well set in both the Virginian and English experience.

II

What motivated Baconians and Loyalists during the rebellion? In seventeenth century Virginia, the motivation both to rebel or remain loyal was built from a mixture of pragmatic self-interest and ideological principles. Bacon's rebellion required many Virginians to make an immediate, intimate, and important choice in the course their lives would take. In the late summer of 1676, upon hearing that Bacon's forced commission had been revoked by Governor Berkeley, every member of the Baconian militia and the rest of Virginia society had to decide either to continue to support the now-rebel or to return home in obedience to their Governor.

The decision to rebel or to remain loyal was full of the paradox of suffering and gain. Were the Baconians those persons who had the most to gain through rebellion? Were the Loyalists wholly individuals who had the most to lose? Both Loyalists and Baconians faced great losses through Bacon's challenge to Berkeley's authority over Anglo-Indian relations. Both Loyalists and Baconians suffered as result of the rebellion. Over twenty rebels lost their lives and their estates as result of the rebellion. Several Loyalists were plundered in purse and person by the Baconians and others expended considerable amounts of money and material in defense of the Governor. At the end of the rebellion, loyalism's rewards were compromised by the shifting political situation in Virginia, as a stronger royal presence in the colony transformed political allegiances in the colony. Faced with the dangers inherent with both loyalism or rebellion, Virginians were forced by events in the summer of 1676 to choose between principle and pragmatism.

The rebellion began as practical concerns were expressed in ideological statements promulgated by the Baconian leadership. With his call for an active, aggressive, military campaign to reduce the neighboring Indians, Nathaniel Bacon stuck a responsive chord within frontier Virginia society. The Indian revenge-oriented attacks on peripheral settlements during 1675 provided a focus for growing social, economic, and political frustration among many Virginians.

In principle, it was the function of Virginia's government to protect its citizens from attack, either from the neighboring Indians or from outside forces, such as the Dutch. Many Virginians felt as if the "Greenspring faction" that ruled the colony had failed in its responsibility to defend its frontier settlements and that plans for a series of frontier forts were simply a design to profit the Governor's associates. Pragmatically, a new series of martial actions against the neighboring Indians would have resulted in the opening of new lands for settlement, as well as helping to establish trade relations with natives from further within the interior of the Continent.¹⁵

The relationship between pragmatism and principle as well as preconditions and triggers is important for understanding why specific individuals chose either to rebel or to remain loyal. All of Virginia's planters experienced, in some fashion, the economic and social frustrations of the post-Restoration period. Everyone felt the burden of a declining tobacco economy, higher taxes, and the ravages of the Dutch invasions. If frustration was the precondition for rebellion, then was success in the Chesapeake world the prerequisite for loyalism?

As members of the colonial and county elites, the Loyalists were certainly motivated by political self-interest. The structure of social authority in Virginia depended upon the political institutions established in the 50 years since

the demise of the Virginia Company. Cultural stability in the colony was based upon general obedience to the rule of Governor, Councilors, Burgesses, Justices and other officials. The Governor and his supporters attempted to use this institutional framework to deal with the series of Indian expeditions during 1675-1676.¹⁶

Recognizing the discontent within the colony, Governor Berkeley used the mechanism of new elections for the House of Burgesses to address grievances from the frontier colonists. Through threats of violence during the June Assembly, the Baconians challenged the institutions that provided the Loyalists with their authority and political power throughout the colony. By forcing the Governor, Council, and Burgesses to approve blank commissions for militia officers, the Baconians denied these elected and appointed officials the ability to decide the colony's policy regarding Anglo-Indian relations and to determine the nature and extent of military preparations within the colony.

Faced with this aggressive Baconian challenge to their authority during the June Assembly, many members of Virginia's political elite were confronted with a pragmatic choice over loyalty. On principle, Virginia's elite should have supported Governor Berkeley's decision to revoke Nathaniel Bacon's commission as militia commander. In practice, confusion over the legitimacy of Bacon's commission to raise a militia resulted in many of Virginia's elite and ordinary citizens

being declared part of the rebellion.¹⁷ Many Virginians, such as Thomas Ballard, Ortho Thorp, and others, took advantage of Governor Berkeley's offers of pardon and returned to the Loyalist fold prior to the conclusion of the revolt. As this research has shown in Chapter 3, three-quarters of Virginia's political elite, for whom documentation exists, supported Governor Berkeley and the Loyalists.

The dilemma over loyalty was best illustrated by the case of Burgess Thomas Matthew of Stafford County. Matthew, upon hearing that Bacon was to receive his commission as head of the Virginia militia, met with the Baconian leadership to ensure that the "most northern frontier" would receive equal protection as Bacon's home county, Henrico. Thus, Matthew became involved with the Baconians, eventually suggesting individuals for rebel commands and drafting part of at least one letter from the Baconians to King Charles II.¹⁸

Matthew realized the danger of his position between the Baconians and the Governor's party. He confessed to the other Stafford Burgess, George Mason, that "the case require sedate thoughts [and] reasoning." Caught between the Governor and the soon-to-be rebel, Matthew was shocked "into a Melancholy consternation, dreading upon one hand, that Stafford County would feel the smart of his [Bacon's] resentment, ...and on the other hand fearing the Governor's displeasure." "What seemed most prudent at this hazardous dilemma," noted Matthew, "was to obviate the present impending peril." The reluctant

Burgess assisted the Baconians by completing the blank militia commissions forced from Governor Berkeley.¹⁹ Paralleling the decision of many Virginians, Thomas Matthew chose pragmatism over principle.

However, as this analysis has shown, the Baconian decision to rebel against Governor Berkeley was fostered by factors other than frustration with Governor Berkeley's handling of Anglo-Indian confrontations. As described in Chapter 4, three distinct forces were at play in the decision to rebel: historical accidents such as the geography of settlement or the serendipity of family relations; general discontent with the nature of colonial society as expressed in the tendency toward troublemaking; and specific, personal grievances against the members of the colonial elite.

Across Virginia, the reasons for rebellion were as distinct as the individuals involved. In York County, Edmund Chisman's discontent was directed towards Governor Berkeley's suppression of Quakerism, not his handling of Anglo-Indian relations. Justice John Scasbrooke's rebellion was caused wholly by his kinship to his brother-in-law Chisman. A litigious citizen, Thomas Hansford's rebellion was probably caused by his dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the York County Court and the General Court during the spring of 1676. On the southside, Richard Atkins' involvement in the upheaval was fostered by the decision of the Surry County Court to place its frontier fort near his plantation. Joseph Rogers

was angry with the Greenspring government for disrupting his profitable Surry County deerskin trade with the Native Americans. One important conclusion of this research has been that Bacon's Rebellion was caused by a diversity of motivations at a variety of levels.

Even among elite Baconians, the causation of this revolt was not entirely based upon Berkeley's mishandling of the Indian conflict. William Drummond, Giles Bland, and Richard Lawrence each had longterm grievances against Virginia's Governor that had nothing to do with the Anglo-Indian aggression of 1675-1676. Nathaniel Bacon's motivations were probably related more to Governor Berkeley's canceling his and William Byrd's apparently secret Indian trade commission, than any concern for the welfare of the frontier colonists.²⁰ As expressed in the York County grievances, for many Baconians, the "pretence of the dilatory proceedings against the Indians, was only taken up for a cloake" to explain their rebellion.²¹

III

What was the character of Bacon's Rebellion? Previous investigations of the upheaval have focused on either the specific controversy between the Nathaniel Bacon and Governor Berkeley, or on documenting the general cultural frustration that plagued Chesapeake society during the years after 1660. This investigation has endeavored to describe the general characteristics of both the Baconians and the Loyalists; their

age, families, standard of living, wealth, governmental service, and personalities.

Neither the rebels nor the Loyalists were found to be exactly as described by contemporary historians. Baconians, as the "poor inhabitants" of Virginia, were portrayed as the underclass of colonial society: poorer farmers, ex-servants and indentured servants. The "people" who made up the Baconians were pictured by the Virginia elite in ways similar to rebellious groups in England, as "fickle, irrational, and stupid."²²

Analysis of the Baconian leadership suggests that this description of the rebels was inaccurate and motivated by the needs of the Loyalist elite to explain disloyalty. The Baconians were led by an elite member of the Governor's Council, described by Governor Berkeley as a gentleman of such quality as was rarely seen in Virginia.²³ At the other end of the spectrum, very few indentured servants can be positively identified as participating in the rebellion.²⁴

In fact, most of the documented rebels were comprised of members of the middling group of farmers within Virginia society. They were neither extremely rich, nor extremely poor. They were generally married with families and were well settled and established in the tobacco economy of the Chesapeake. Many participated in local government, serving as jurors, appraisers, and witnesses. For a number of Baconians, their standard of living was well above that for the average

Virginian. In many ways, the Baconians appeared to be representative of the broad middle portion of colonial Chesapeake society during the late seventeenth century.

Similarly, previous historical interpretations have characterized the Middlesex Baconians as a rather ordinary cross-section of Chesapeake society. Several of the major Baconians from York and Surry counties, such as Thomas Hansford or Joseph Rogers, were indeed prone to troublemaking in court or among the Indians, as was found in Middlesex. However, in York County, unlike Middlesex, pre-rebellion contact among the Baconians was not prevalent. Moreover, in Surry County there were no connections between the participants in the Lawnes Creek Parish tax revolt of 1674 and the Baconians of 1676.

In contrast, the Loyalists were portrayed by the Baconians as being privileged men of little character, motivated by political and economic gain without regard to its effect upon the rest of society. Berkeley's followers, the "great men" of Virginia, were described by the rebel Bacon as "wicked and pernicious" and "against the commonalty" of Virginians.

Certainly the Loyalists comprised many members of Virginia's colonial and county elites. Vastly out-numbered by the Baconians, the most prominent Loyalists were wealthy, long-term settlers, who held the colony's highest political and military positions. Many were well educated and had

social, political, and economic ties throughout the colony and in England. But, as Wilcomb Washburn has noted, when measured in terms of wealth and landholding, the Baconians and Loyalists were remarkably similar.²⁵

Following the lead of contemporary descriptions, it was expected that the Baconians and the Loyalists would have vastly different characteristics. However, one important result of this study is the documentation that the Baconians and the Loyalists were remarkably similar; both groups contained a cross section of Virginia's elite and middling population.

The participants on both sides of Bacon's Rebellion came from a broad section of Virginia society in the late seventeenth century. Immediately prior to the Rebellion, Virginia's society comprised, according to Governor Berkeley, approximately 45,000 men, women, and children. This figure included about 2,000 (4.4%) black slaves and 6,000 (13.3%) white indentured servants.²⁶ Of the remaining 37,000 (82.2%) free white citizens, approximately 8 percent (2,960) represented the wealthy elite, while 60 percent (22,200) were of middling wealth, and 32% (11,840) were poor.²⁷ For the most part, the documented participants in Bacon's Rebellion came from the middling and elite portions of Virginia's population, comprising approximately 25,160 persons or 56% of the population. The widespread nature of upheaval across the Virginia colony should not have been surprising, given the

large portion of the colonial population from which participants were drawn.

The documented role of Virginia's servants, slaves, and the poor farmers in Bacon's Rebellion was relatively minor. Only a few members of the underclass can be identified on either side of the revolt: of the thirteen executed rebels recorded by Governor Berkeley, only one was an indentured servant who had been promoted because of his service during a military engagement with the Loyalists.²⁸ As was traditional, the lower classes in Virginia society were primarily the followers of gentry leadership in the course of the rebellion. Some of Virginia's lower classes were probably represented among the "forelorne" men who were "compelled to serve" as the common troops of both the Loyalists and the Baconians.²⁹

The principal role of Virginia's underclass in the revolt was as a presumed threat to cultural stability. Virginians were equally fearful of a servant revolt as they were of an Indian insurrection, or an foreign invasion.³⁰ As Thomas Matthew explained, if "satisfactory gentlemen" would not serve the rebel, the Baconians would "be constrained to appoint commanders out of the rabble" the result of which would be that "the Governor himself with the persons and estates of all in the land would be at their dispose, whereby their own ruine might be owing to themselves." Thus, even the threat that Bacon might have to place "the rabble" in positions of command in his militia was sufficient to force compliance with

Baconian demands. Historical tradition dictated that both Baconian and Loyalist Virginians "either command or be commanded" by their socioeconomic inferiors, the rude, idle, and poor underclass. Both Baconians and Loyalists chose to command the lower classes in the political and military confrontation that became Bacon's Rebellion.³¹

Thus, disadvantaged, idle, unmarried, armed, ex-indentured servants living on Virginia's frontier did not play the formative role in causing this uprising. Although comprehensive in its involvement of Virginia's settlers, Bacon's Rebellion was an elite-led uprising that was primarily supported by tax-paying middling farmers. On the whole, the rebellion was a combination of county-level uprisings, where the goals of specific and pragmatic grievances against the colonial status quo were stirred up by the machinations of Nathaniel Bacon and his most intimate followers, who took advantage of Governor Berkeley's uncertain response to the Indian attacks of 1675 and 1676.

Notes for Chapter V

1. Anthony Fletcher, Tudor Rebellions. (Essex, England, 1983), 1-5.
2. Fletcher, Tudor Rebellions, 7.
3. Fletcher, Tudor Rebellions, 97-102. Fletcher suggests that many of the Tudor uprisings may be viewed as "the opposition of a conservative and pious society to the English Reformation."
4. William Hunt, The Puritan Moment: The Coming of Revolution in an English Community (Cambridge, Mass., 1983).
5. Lawrence Stone, The Causes of the English Revolution, 1529-1642. (New York, Harper Torchbooks, 1972), 114.
6. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom, (New York, 1975), 246.
7. See Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom, 249.
8. Billings, Selby, and Tate, Colonial Virginia, (White Plains, New York, 1986), 70.
9. Coventry Manuscripts, Volume 77, No. 3. Governor Berkeley compared his troubles with to those of Charles I who "chose often rather to be led by them [the Privy Council] than to leade them," William and Mary Quarterly, XIV, (1957), 408.
10. John H. Sprinkle, Jr., "A Prelude to Rebellion: Indian-White Relations on Virginia's Northern Neck, 1660 to 1676," Northern Neck of Virginia Historical Magazine XXXV (1985), 3990-4004, describes the imprisonment of the Potomac King.
11. "Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion," 16-19, contains one account of the expedition into Maryland.
12. Coventry Manuscripts Volume 77, No. 3, 6, and 8. The correspondence between Bacon and Berkeley suggests that the Governor had agreed to allow Bacon and William Byrd certain exclusive rights to trade with the Indians. However, because of the rumors of a conspiracy among the Indians to attack the colonists across the Chesapeake, Berkeley thought it best not to announce this new trade agreement at the present time. The Governor was "likely to accept of yours and my Cousin Birds

profer but believe me Sir this must be done with prudence and conduct and these rumors must be over before it bee put in execution."

13. Justice Edmund Chisman from York County and Clerk of the New Kent Court, Thomas Hall were among the Baconian leadership. Russell Menard notes in "Maryland's Time of Troubles: Sources of Political Disorder in Early St. Mary's," Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. 79, (Summer 1981), 124-140, that "there was no confusion over the nature of leadership, no uncertainty about the identity of leaders," in Maryland or Virginia.
14. Billings, "The Causes of Bacon's Rebellion," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, LXXVIII (1970), 409-435.
15. Governor Berkeley described how he was accused of a "crime and neglect of duty," by the Baconians. William and Mary Quarterly, third series, XIV, (1957), 406.
16. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom, 247 and Kukla, "Order and Chaos in Early America," 275-298 discuss the development and structure of institutional stability within Virginia.
17. The Surry County grievances specifically mention confusion with regard to the legitimacy of Bacon's commission as a reason for the wide extent of rebellion in the county. C.O. 5/1371, 151 reverse.
18. "Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion," 30.
19. "Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion," 33.
20. The existence of a trade agreement between Bacon, Byrd and Berkeley was discussed in Coventry Manuscripts, Volume 77, No. 6.
21. C.O. 5/1371, 163. Several Baconians presented specific grievances to the Royal Commission against Governor Berkeley for his conduct during the rebellion. See C.O. 5/1371, 171-178.
22. Fletcher, Tudor Rebellions, 7.
23. Coventry Manuscripts, Volume 77, No. 8.
24. For example, in the York County Records, Deeds Orders, and Wills, Volume 6, 88, only one servant, William Baker, was ordered in 1679, as per act of the Grand Assembly, to serve an extended term as a result of his involvement, as a "soldier," in Bacon's Rebellion. If servant participation had been

large, then more masters would have petitioned for the extension of indentures. Russell Menard suggests that instability in early Maryland was caused by the ambitions of ordinary settlers rather than indentured servants. Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol 76, (Summer 1981), 134.

25. Washburn, "Bacon's Rebellion, 1676-1677," (Ph.D. diss, Harvard University, 1955).
26. In answer to inquiries by the royal government, Governor Berkeley estimated Virginia's population of slaves, indentured servants, and free white colonists in 1671. He noted that approximately 1500 servants arrived in the colony each year while "not above two or three ships of negroes" had landed in seven years. The Virginia Historical Register III (1850), 6-13.
27. The proportions of wealthy, middling, and poor individuals within the Virginia population were derived from Middlesex County data generated by Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, 155.
28. Sir William Berkeley's, "A List of Those That Have Been Executed for the Late Rebellion in Virginia," is found in Neville, Abstracts, 398.
29. "A True Narrative," 132-135; "History of Bacon and Ingram's Rebellion," 67-68.
30. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom, 241-242, discusses Governor Berkeley's fear of servant disloyalty and insurrection.
31. Matthew, "The Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion," 31. Note that the Baconians, although clearly members of the middling and elite status groups, were described with the same disparaging adjectives as typical descriptions of the arrogant and ignorant underclass.

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