NORTHERN VIRGINIA, A PLACE APART: BOUND LABOR IN VIRGINIA'S UPPER NORTHERN NECK, 1645-1710

by

Steven A. Harris-Scott
A Dissertation
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of
Doctor of Philosophy
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Date: _____ Summer Semester 2016
George Mason University
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Northern Virginia, A Place Apart: Bound Labor in Virginia's Upper Northern Neck, 1645-1710

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DEDICATION

For Pearl, Mosbey, and Bonny—my family.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It may be cliché to say how many people there are to thank when completing a project such as this, but when it lasts as long as mine has, it is a completely true statement. First and foremost is my master's advisor, Warren M. Billings, who put me on this path over a decade ago. My dissertation committee has also been instrumental in my development as a scholar and writer. My adviser, Randolph Scully, was very patient with my many changes of direction throughout this process. Rosemary Zagarri was a guiding force in my continued, if slow progress toward completion. Cynthia Kierner probably gave me the best piece of actionable feedback of anyone: to clean up and standardize my usage of "servant" versus "indentured" and "unindentured" servant. The former is now my generic term for all servants, both those with contracts (indentured) and those without (unindentured). No other single change has been more effective at simplifying my language and making the dissertation clearer.

Many others deserve thanks for helping me throughout this lengthy adventure. First, my various writing partners have been invaluable, I only wish we could have written together ten times more often than we did! In particular, Royce Gildersleeve, George Oberle, and Lynn Price formed the core of my main writing group for two-plus years of this process, even though by the end, we all lived an hour or more away from each other. Katy McQuiston was also instrumental in keeping me going with numerous writing sessions. George Mason itself also provided me with several opportunities to write in a quiet space, share challenges and snack on free food. Specifically, the Graduate Student Write-In days organized by my friend, Julie Choe Kim and Grad Student Life were wonderful, I only wish they could have happened monthly instead of once a semester. Also, the Faculty Writing Retreats put on by Mason's Writing Across the Curriculum and Center for Teaching and Faculty Excellence contributed greatly to getting me close to the finish line over the last two years.

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Several institutions helped and assisted me greatly throughout this process. First and foremost, Mason's library, especially the Interlibrary Loan department, were instrumental in getting me my microfilm records from Richmond in a timely manner and I just hope I did not annoy them too much. And thank you to the Library of Virginia for providing those records. Thanks to the Fairfax and Stafford County libraries, especially the Fairfax City Library and their Virginia Room for providing extended access to the many transcriptions I used. I am particularly grateful to the Huntington Library in San Mareno, California, and to the Rockefeller Library in Williamsburg, Virginia, for awarding me fellowships to conduct research at their facilities for this project. Their assistance was invaluable and my time there was most enjoyable. Specifically, Taylor Stoermer at Colonial Williamsburg was amazing in his support of my project and spurring me to look into the Fairfax Proprietary as an angle I had not considered previously.

Other scholars, conferences and colleagues have been important to me over the last decade. My presentations at the Virginia Forum, the William and Mary Graduate Conference, at Bangor University in Wales have been instrumental in helping me to continue developing my project. Scholars such as John C. Coombs, Douglas Bradburn, Brent Tarter, Ed Ragan, and Elodie Peyrol have engaged me in thoughtful discussions about my project and early Virginia more generally, for which I am grateful. The Omohundro Institute has also been a guiding force in my development as a scholar of early Virginia providing numerous opportunities to attend conferences, symposia, talks and workshops over the years.

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Last but in no way least, my friends and family who have supported me all along the way. Matt and Ayako Miller are some of the best friends I could ever have and their distractions were (almost) always welcome. My New Orleans friends always made me feel back at home every time I visited, which was always less than I would have liked. Many thanks to my mom, my aunt and cousins, and my late father and grandparents who have provided me with the inspiration I needed to complete this immense task. And even a strange thank you to Hurricane Katrina, which after the destruction it caused to my life, my city and my house, spurred me on to pursue my doctorate at George Mason. Finally, thank you to the love of my life, Pearl, who has been my rock throughout the ups and many downs of this process. I can't wait to be your rock four or five years from now when you are writing your own dissertation.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Northumberland County Order Books ..... NCOB
Northumberland County Record Books ..... NCRB
Westmoreland County Order Books ..... WCOB
Westmoreland County Record Books ..... WCRB
Pounds of Tobacco ..... pt.

MAP OF THE NORTHERN NECK AS PART OF VIRGINIA

Source: Map edited by Rebecca P. Harris-Scott. Adapted from Christopher Browne. *A new map of Virginia, Maryland, and the improved parts of Pennsylvania & New Jersey* (London?: Christopher Browne, ca, 1685), retrieved from Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2004633785/ (accessed July 7, 2016).
Note: The highlighted portion of this map shows the Northern Neck, the focus of this study. The main area focused on is the northernmost part of the Northern Neck, Northumberland and Westmoreland counties. Lancaster, Rappahannock and later, Richmond and Essex counties are also mentioned throughout the study at various points.

ABSTRACT

NORTHERN VIRGINIA, A PLACE APART: BOUND LABOR IN VIRGINIA'S UPPER NORTHERN NECK, 1645-1710

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George Mason University, 2016

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Bound laborers such as white servants and African slaves were essential in early English Virginia, supplying the necessary labor to produce profit from tobacco for the colony's landowners. This was even more important in Virginia's "upper" Northern Neck region—specifically, Northumberland and Westmoreland counties along the Potomac River—given that a less desirable strain of tobacco, oronoco, was grown there. This had significant implications for the types of bound laborers employed and exploited in that region. In particular, those northern Virginia counties continued to rely heavily on servants into the first decade of the eighteenth century, unlike most of the counties to the south that had transitioned mostly or fully to slavery by the late-seventeenth century. In fact, the years around 1700 saw an unprecedented number of young uncontracted laborers—several hundreds of them who had not signed indentures prior to leaving England—immigrate to the entire Northern Neck region, even to areas like Lancaster

County that had already transitioned to slavery. For those few years, as peace descended upon the Atlantic World, servants poured into the Northern Neck. The era of servants was not over yet, it had been interrupted by the first of several imperial wars England would fight in the decades after its Glorious Revolution.

Furthermore, tobacco growers in northernmost Virginia also used apprentices in ways that were unrecognizable to its English predecessor in their unending quest for more labor. While this subgroup of unfree laborers has been overlooked in most of the prevailing historiography, apprentices actually toiled in significant numbers and for much longer than the average servant with little to no extra benefits for most of them. And while some apprentices did receive training in a trade, most did not and likely could not avoid working in the tobacco fields. As such, the bound labor picture in the upper Northern Neck was exceedingly more complex than it was elsewhere in colonial Virginia. These landowners found labor wherever and from whomever they could, which had significant implications for the formation of racial ideas in early Virginia.

This dissertation aims to be part local history and part Atlantic history, part comparative work and part analytical study. To do so, all extant court records from Northumberland and Westmoreland counties were reviewed for any instance where bound laborers appeared. This data was then collected and analyzed to formulate the conclusions presented in this study. In particular, apprenticeship contracts, inventories, wills, and age judgments were examined for the purpose of charting servants, slaves, and apprentices in the upper Northern Neck over time. Only by bringing that region and its

more diverse and whiter unfree labor force into the discussion can the bound labor picture of the Old Dominion be fully completed.

The full transition to African slave labor did, of course, finally occur in Northumberland and Westmoreland counties around 1710, albeit decades after historians have generally claimed Virginians experienced it. From there, successive generations of Lees, Carters, Masons, and Washingtons would amass huge enslaved labor forces to work their sprawling plantations in the decades leading up to the American Revolution. Three-quarters of a century earlier, no one would have predicted such a development in Virginia's upper Northern Neck.

NOTE ON SOURCES

Primary sources are the most important items historians use to try and reconstruct the past and they are never perfect. Historians of all eras have challenges with their sources: too few or too many, not enough from the oppressed and downtrodden, etc. Scholars who work with colonial American records are used to having much fewer records than they would like and very few if any from the oppressed but some regions of early America made out better than others with regards to sources that have survived. By far the most available and reliable records for historians of early Virginia are county court records—other records such as personal papers and correspondence do exist, but often for periods starting in the late seventeenth century. The condition of some of those court records can be terrible, however, making the words written so long ago nearly unintelligible.[1] Generally, the regions of colonial America and Virginia in particular that have records in the worst shape have been passed over by historians in favor of those regions with better records like the Eastern Shore counties. In reality, the Eastern Shore is

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[1] Warren M. Billings has surveyed the condition of all Virginia colonial records from most of the seventeenth century and found that

> Of the 23 counties which the General Assembly erected between 1634 and 1692, only six have virtually intact records, five have no surviving records, and the remaining twelve have records which range from a few fragments to fairly complete runs but for brief intervals. Not only have these local records suffered frightful damage, but the archives of the colony's provincial government for the period before 1680 have been largely destroyed.

Billings, "The Cases of Fernando and Elizabeth Key: A Note on the Status of Blacks in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3d. Ser., 30, no. 3 (1973): 467-74.

mostly an outlier when compared to the much larger and more diverse western shore, but the Eastern Shore has often led the conversation about colonial Virginia due only to the luck of history keeping their records in such good shape.

The records from the counties of the Northern Neck of Virginia, conversely, are not in the best of shape. There are huge gaps in the records, like the loss of Northumberland County's Record Books from 1672 to 1705—which contained, among other important county court records, the county's wills and inventories from that period—that burned up in a 1710 fire.[2] Otherwise, Northumberland County has a good run of sources from its beginning in 1648 to the end of this study in 1710. Westmoreland County, on the other hand, only has a few losses to its records between its beginning in 1653 and 1710 but many of those records are unintelligible or in very bad shape.[3]

Therefore, the task of reconstructing the bound labor picture for those counties along the Potomac River was a difficult one. Beyond what records remain extant, certain individual or groups of records are more quantitatively helpful than others, while those others provide necessary qualitative evidence to support—or occasionally contradict—the quantitative information. In this study, the main sources used for a variety of purposes were headrights, or land certifications; inventories and wills; age judgments of young

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[2] According to the Library of Virginia in Richmond, Virginia: "numerous Virginia localities, most of them in the eastern part of the state, have suffered tremendous losses of their early records because of intense military activity (predominantly during the Civil War), courthouse fires, and/or natural disasters." In particular, Northumberland suffered "some losses" including the loss of this Record Book "in a fire in the clerk's office on 25 October 1710." "Lost Records Localities: Counties and Cities with Missing Records," Library of Virginia, 1, 6, last accessed 29 July 2016, https://www.lva.virginia.gov/public/guides/rn30_lostrecords.pdf.

[3] Based on a survey of all available transcriptions from genealogists. See Bibliography for full details on those.

white and black bound laborers immigrating into the colony; and contracts agreed to in court by apprentices (and/or their parents) and their masters.

First, headrights were used in early colonial Virginia to encourage migration by granting planters and merchants fifty acres of land for each person they brought into the colony. Headrights are risky as a method of charting the movement of unfree peoples for several reasons, however. For one, land certifications could be withheld for several years until multiple patents could be strung together to create larger landholdings. Also, persons often appeared in the records with little description other than their name, which may or may not be spelled correctly or duplicated and rarely indicated whether they were a free person or a bound laborer. For these and other reasons, headrights cannot be depended upon as overly useful sources of quantifiable information, although it will still be useful to discuss them for qualitative purposes.[4]

Inventories—and wills to a lesser extent—occupy a middle ground in terms of quantifiable reliability between headrights and age judgments. Sources such as wills and inventories are incredibly useful as qualitative and quantitative snapshots of planters' holdings, including their bound labor forces, but are less dependable when attempting to chart growth over short periods of time. This is especially true when trying to follow servants, given their finite term lengths. For example, a planter whose unfree labor force numbered ten in the year before his death—say, six servants and four slaves—but had two servants complete their indentures the year of his death would appear to have a

[4] For a fuller account of the problems in using headrights to gauge immigration, see Edmund S. Morgan, "Headrights and Head Counts: A Review Article," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 80 (1972), 361-71.

bound labor force reduced by 20%. Furthermore, that labor force would have gone from a three-to-two ratio of servants to slaves to one equally split. This type of undocumented change—most servants did not appear in court when their terms were ending unless their masters were attempting to keep them longer or refused to pay their "freedom dues"—can prove very problematic for a study such as this. Still, the qualitative data provided by both inventories and wills are invaluable for giving content to the lives of servants and slaves.

Age judgments, meanwhile, have immense quantitative value, even if their qualitative importance is lacking. This process was a legal requirement put in place in 1660 throughout Virginia where planters brought into court any young servants who had recently arrived in Virginia to have their ages judged by the county magistrates. This was done to determine how long those laborers would serve—they had all arrived in the colony without a contract, or indenture, already signed—and when they would become taxable. It should be noted, however, that age judgments are not without problems as sources. While age judgments were the most reliable quantifiable sources for the purpose of charting the growth of servants—and slaves to some extent since young African laborers were also adjudged by the courts in this manner, although only for taxing purposes since they did not have a fixed length of service—the system did not begin until 1660. Also, these sources only provide a portion of the total numbers of servants and slaves at any particular time, the younger ones. Ideally, using inventories to determine the ratios of younger servants to older ones, and younger slaves to older ones, then compiling all age judgments together to arrive at exact counts of slave and servant children and

adolescences, will lead to the best quantitative data possible as this study has attempted to accomplish for the Northern Neck region of Virginia along the Potomac River.

Finally, apprenticeship contracts are very useful when they are detailed, which is unfortunately only part of the time. When apprenticeship contracts contain a fair amount of information—like whether the apprentice being bound out was to receive training in a trade, or a gift either during their term of service or after their term ended, or education, or in the rare cases when it was detailed in what ways the apprentice could be used by their masters—their quantitative and qualitative value is immense. Other times, when the information provided is sparse, the usefulness of the contracts is severely limited. Nonetheless, by the 1680s enough apprenticeship contracts were detailed in Northumberland County especially to provide for some actionable data collection, although throughout the entire period this study covers, some useful qualitative data has been extracted to discuss apprenticeship in both counties from their earliest days.

There are also a few different ways to access county court records from early Virginia: (1) go to the Library of Virginia to look at the original order and record books; (2) request microfilm copies of the records though my own University's Interlibrary Loan department; and (3) find and use the numerous transcriptions of the records by genealogists who goal was at least somewhat different from my own. While all three were employed for this study in one way or another, the most common access points for me were microfilm copies of Northumberland County's court records and genealogist transcriptions of Westmoreland County's court records. In fact, I completed almost all of my research on Northumberland County before even finding out there were so many

transcriptions available. Therefore, when I decided to add Westmoreland County to my project—both as a way to broaden it from a local study of one county to a more regional study of two, and to at least partly make up for Northumberland's missing Record Book—I decided in the interest of time and getting the dissertation done to rely heavily on transcriptions for data on Westmoreland County. This mixed approach, I believe, was the best of both worlds: for Northumberland County, I was able to immerse myself in the court records completely and thoroughly whereas for Westmoreland County, I was able to make significant progress in a much shorter amount of time—immensely beneficial as I started a full-time teaching position and needed to finish this project.

INTRODUCTION

In the final three years of the seventeenth century, over 300 children[1]—almost all English and all under the age of twenty years old—arrived in Virginia's "upper" Northern Neck region[2] in order to become servants for the following decade or so. Those "unindentured" servants immigrated to the Old Dominion without previously signed contracts and were therefore ordered by the various county courts throughout Virginia to serve "according to law" or to the "custom of the country," which by the 1690s was until

[1] NCOB, 1678-1698 and 1699-1713 (for Northumberland County); WCOB, 1698-1705 (for Westmoreland County). In total, 325 young servants arrived in Northumberland and Westmoreland counties in the year or so immediately before and after 1700. Specifically, 166 unindentured laborers had their ages adjudged in Northumberland's county court from 1698 to 1700, resulting in an average of over 55 per year as opposed to the roughly 12 that did so annually over the last decade of seventeenth and first decade of eighteenth centuries. Westmoreland County's magistrates, meanwhile, judged 159 servants from 1699 to 1701 for an average of 53 versus their broader average of 11.6 per year during the decade before and after 1700. Furthermore, a very quick scan of other parts of the Northern Neck revealed that those counties had over 200 uncontracted laborers arrive there as well around 1700. Lancaster County's court judged the ages of 59 in 1698 and 1699; see Russell Menard, "From Servants to Slaves: The Transformation of the Chesapeake Labor System," *Southern Studies* 16 (1977), 363. Richmond County's court presided over 85 age judgments in 1699 and 1700; see Richmond County Order Books, 1694-1699 and 1699-1704. And Essex County planters brought 76 unindentured servants to their county court in 1699 and 1700; see Essex County Order Books, 1695-1699 and 1699-1702.

[2] This study will treat the Northern Neck region of Virginia as having two parts: the "upper" portion is made up of those counties along the Potomac River, most notably Northumberland and Westmoreland counties. The "lower" portion of the Northern Neck consists of the counties along the Rappahannock River, such as Lancaster County. Also, from 1656 to 1692, the "lower" portion included Rappahannock County until that county was dissolved into two new counties, Richmond County on the north side of the Rappahannock River and Essex County on the south side. See map of this region in the Front Matter of this dissertation.

twenty-four years old.[3] These hundreds of young uncontracted laborers had not signed formal indentures—agreements trading labor for transportation and living expenses in the colonies—prior to disembarking from England. Instead, they were subjected to having their ages judged in local county courts within a few months of their arrival in the colony. Almost all of those servant children were forced to labor for nine or ten years on average, about double the four or five years already-contracted laborers served.[4]

As has been well outlined by many previous historians, bound laborers were essential in early Virginia to supply the needed labor to tend the cash crop of tobacco. The cultivation of tobacco broadly required significant labor to provide profit for the colony's landowners, but this was even more critical in the upper Northern Neck given a different strain of tobacco, oronoco, was grown there.[5] Oronoco tobacco—as opposed to the sweet-scented version of the "weede" grown in the lower Northern Neck and further south—was less profitable as it was only in demand on the European Continent and not in England, so more oronoco had to be grown to compete with sweet-scented growers. Therefore, the influx of unindentured servants into the upper Northern Neck at the end of

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[3] As will be seen throughout this study, the custom of the country changed multiple times during the 1640s and 1650s, finally being codified in law by the 1660s at twenty-four years of age.

[4] Furthermore, these young servants made up only a portion of the total number of servants who immigrated to Virginia during the seventeenth century. According to Christopher Tomlins, unindentured servants may have made up only 20 to 40% of the total servant importation on average so the overall number of servants may have been twice or even three times as many as those who arrived in Virginia without contracts. See, in particular, chapters four and five of this study for much more on this.

[5] Actually, oronoco was the first type of tobacco grown by the English in the Chesapeake when John Rolfe brought the strain from Bermuda after he had been shipwrecked there in 1609. See Lorena S. Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit: Plantation Management in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1607-1763* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 36.

the seventeenth century was especially important for this labor-starved area due to its geographic and economic position that was still on the periphery of Virginia's settlements. Slaves—more plentiful by the 1690s throughout the colony—disproportionately went to the sweet-scented regions of the Old Dominion as well. As such, those northern Virginia counties along the Potomac River still relied heavily on servants into the early-eighteenth century, unlike most of the counties along the York, James, and Rappahannock rivers that had transitioned mostly or fully to slavery by the late-seventeenth century.

This difference between oronoco tobacco-growing regions of the Chesapeake and areas that grew the sweet-scented strain actually forms the foundation of this work, upon which the difference in bound labor systems stands. By the 1640s, Chesapeake planters had learned that "different soils yielded quite different finished products" with the sweet-scented variety being discovered to only grow along the York, James, and Rappahannock rivers. This vastly improved the "fortunes" of tobacco growers in the sweet-scented areas given that it was milder—and as such, more palatable to the English—and also denser, meaning it was cheaper to ship since shipping costs and export duties "were charged by the hogshead [barrel of tobacco] rather than the weight." Sweet-scented tobacco also absorbed fewer nutrients from its soil than oronoco did, which meant that it could be cultivated on the same soil for twice as long.[6] By the 1670s, these differences and the English preference for sweet-scented tobacco led to a marked divergence between the

[6] Walsh, *Motives of Honor*, 147-49. For more, see David S. Hardin, "'The Same Sort of Seed in Different Earths': Tobacco Types and Their Regional Variation in Colonial Virginia," *Historical Geography* 34 (2006): 137-58.

economies of the two regions. As tobacco prices stagnated and fell in oronoco regions over much of the late 1600s, growers countered falling prices by increasing their output-per-labor yields to "about one and a half times that of…the sweet-scented region."[7] Even though oronoco-producing areas amounted to one-third of the total Chesapeake population, the region "produced about half of the tobacco exported. Oronoco growers countered the lower prices this ordinary leaf commanded by making larger crops."[8]

Tobacco growers in oronoco areas of northern Virginia were therefore in need of even more laborers than their neighbors to the south and were also probably more attuned to overseas market fluctuations than their sweet-scented-growing neighbors—like those caused by imperial wars England engaged in during the decades surrounding 1700. As such, planters in northernmost Virginia were much more varied in their choices of unfree workers, both due to these differences between it and areas to its south but also due to less access to enslaved workers especially.[9] This translated to a heavier reliance on younger, unindentured servants—into the early years of the eighteenth century—and the use of apprentices in ways that were unrecognizable to the English system of apprenticeship. While both of these subgroups of unfree laborers have been minimized in much of the prevailing historiography, apprentices have been especially "neglected by

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[7] Lorena S. Walsh, "Summing the Parts: Implications for Estimating Chesapeake Output and Income Subregionally," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3d. Ser., 56, no. 1 (1999): 55.

[8] Ibid., 59.

[9] Jean B. Russo and J. Elliot Russo claim that "larger slavers generally avoided the remaining tidewater areas" like the upper Northern Neck through the early eighteenth century. See Russo and Russo, *Planting an Empire: The Early Chesapeake in British North America* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 145.

historians…despite [their] widespread usage in early America."[10] This study aims to correct that.

In particular, when apprentices have been considered at all, they have been characterized as completely tangential to the main two bound labor subgroups of slaves and servants, even though in the upper Northern Neck they sometimes numbered between 10% and 20% of the bound labor force. And, as this study shows, apprentices toiled in significant numbers and for much longer than the average servant—up to 50% longer, making them rather ubiquitous in the population—with little to no extra benefits like gifts of livestock. While about one-quarter of apprentices received training in a trade during their term of service, the rest did not and likely also did not avoid laboring in the tobacco fields, at least part of the time. A few unlucky souls even had clauses in their contracts allowing their masters to put them to work "in any lawful way" that their master wished. Therefore, the bound labor picture in the upper Northern Neck was exceedingly more complex and the transition from white servants to black slave more uneven and messier than it was elsewhere in colonial Virginia. Only by bringing that region and its more diverse and decidedly younger and whiter unfree laborers into the discussion can the bound labor picture of the Old Dominion during the seventeenth century be fully completed.

The end of the seventeenth century was especially important to the entire English Atlantic World as well, for reasons that had direct influences on the trade in bound

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[10] Ruth Wallis Herndon and John E. Murray, "'A Proper and Instructive Education': Raising Children in Pauper Apprenticeship," in *Children Bound to Labor: The Pauper Apprentice System in Early America*, eds., Ruth Wallis Herndon and John E. Murray (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), 2.

laborers to northern Virginia and the rest of the colony. In particular, the Royal African Company lost its monopoly over the English portion of the African slave trade in 1698 at the same time as King William's War ended, the first Anglo-French war for empire in the Atlantic and the Americas. Both events, especially the end of the Royal African Company monopoly, would have significant ramifications for American slavery, as pointed out by many scholars.[11] Those events also had important impacts on servitude. An interesting, if tangentially related theory for this pattern of migration has been offered by Douglas Bradburn. Specifically, Bradburn concentrates on the sweet-scented tobacco growing regions of Virginia and characterizes England's trade policy during wartime as a "convoy and embargo regime." This meant that all shipments of tobacco from the colonies were made to travel in convoys with Man-of-War ships, which were at a premium during those sea-heavy conflicts, to protect England's tobacco trade during King William's War (1688-1697) and Queen Anne's War (1702-1713). Bradburn's work focuses only on the tobacco trade and the sweet-scented tobacco industry more specifically, though, given that it was most privileged by English tobacco merchants during the few precious convoys that voyaged during wartime.[12]

Other scholars have noted Bradburn's oversight in discussing only the sweet-scented regions of the Chesapeake. Paul G. E. Clemens in particular, in a direct response to Bradburn, begs him to explore further how these early imperial wars—and the

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[11] For instance, see William A. Pettigrew, "Free to Enslave: Politics and the Escalation of Britain's Transatlantic Slave Trade, 1688–1714," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3d. ser., 64, no. 1 (2007): 3-38.

[12] Douglas Bradburn, "The Visible Fist: The Chesapeake Tobacco Trade in War and the Purpose of Empire, 1690-1715," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3d. ser., 68, no. 3 (2011): 366, 371-72.

intervening interwar years—affected regions outside the sweet-scented areas of Virginia. Clemens wonders what happened during the interwar period at the end of the seventeenth century and beginning of the eighteenth, especially with regards to unfree laborers. First, Clemens asks if "for those few years, planters again had access to large numbers of indentured servants?" The answer is definitively yes when the oronoco-growing Northern Neck is the focus. Clemens also questions whether those servants went "overwhelmingly" to those oronoco-producing regions like the upper Northern Neck as a "consolation prize for those on the margins of the Chesapeake economy."[13]

This wartime convoy system had a significant chilling effect on the trade in unfree laborers, especially servants, as the numbers coming into the Northern Neck and elsewhere slowed to a trickle. Clemens' notion of a "consolation prize" of greater access to servants came to pass in the upper Northern Neck counties during the interwar years, but was also even partly seen in a lower Northern Neck county, Lancaster, despite its increased access to slave labor.[14] Whether this brief but massive flood of servants was a consolation prize or a preference unique to that area—or perhaps both since the former may address the supply side and the latter, the demand side—those interwar years loom large in the history of bound labor in England's Chesapeake colonies. This largely unexamined migratory pattern even helps explain, as this study will show, "how the

[13] Paul G. E. Clemens, "Reimagining the Political Economy of Early Virginia," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3d. ser., 68, no. 3 (2011): 395-96.

[14] Notably, Lancaster County also mostly grew sweet-scented tobacco, likely accounting for the earlier transition from a reliance on servitude to one on slavery. See Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," 355-90 and James Horn, *Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 1994).

conversion to slavery took place" in "economically stagnant oronoco areas" like the northern Virginia counties of Northumberland and Westmoreland.[15]

Historiography

While this study attempts to complicate and expand the existing scholarship around bound labor in the colonial Chesapeake—and by extension, in the broader Anglo-Atlantic World—it will also engage existing historiography that has roots at least three-quarters of a century old. Because of the large number of works already written on the subject of indentured servitude, slavery and their beginnings in the Atlantic World broadly and the Chesapeake specifically, this project will fit into a multitude of distinct yet overlapping historiographies. In particular, the first and oldest debate among historians of the Chesapeake will be most important. That discussion—over the "origins" of African slavery in early Anglo-America, along with the corresponding unfree labor transition debate, charting the reasons for the switch from servitude to slavery—has been a topic of disagreement among historians for one hundred years and shows little sign of letting up. Also, the historiography of non-traditional unfree labor, including the use of Native Americans as servants or slaves in early America, has had a much more recent scholarly history while other bound laborers such as apprentices have gotten little or no attention at all.[16] This project aims to change that.

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[15] Clemens, "Reimagining the Political Economy of Early Virginia," 397.

[16] The other important historiography to note is the study of the onset of slavery in the English Atlantic World more broadly. This trend is a relatively new direction in the study of American slavery, only exploding as a subfield in the last quarter-century or so. In part, this study attempts to reclaim some scholarly territory ceded in this trend toward Atlantic history, although with that larger world in mind.

Starting first with the oldest debate among early American historians, concerning the origins of African slavery in early English America and the transition from white servitude to black slave labor in the Chesapeake especially, notable and groundbreaking works abound, especially over the last half-century or so. As historian Richard Dunn notes, before World War II, historians of colonial America generally "took little interest in the topic" of unfree laborers in the Chesapeake region—or anywhere else for that matter—during the first decades of English colonization.[17] This lack of attention improved slightly over the years immediately after World War II with works like that of Eric Williams, one of the first scholars to connect to connect the rise of the West and even industrialization to the riches created by slavery.[18] Still, when many of those scholars discussed the early history of slavery in the North American colonies, it was largely focused on questions like whether the first blacks to arrive in colonial Virginia were actually slaves at all, or whether they were instead servants, laboring under contracts with defined end dates.

With little resolved after two decades of what Alden T. Vaughan called "historical wrangling,"[19] Winthrop Jordan's monumental 1968 study *White over Black* altered the origins debate dramatically. Instead of the previous arguments that offered largely benign, economic reasons for explaining the shift in bound labor systems, Jordan

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[17] Richard S. Dunn, "Servants and Slaves: The Recruitment and Employment of Labor," in *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era*, eds., Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 157.

[18] Eric E. Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1944).

[19] Alden T. Vaughan, *Roots of American Racism: Essays on the Colonial Experience* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 146.

introduced the notion that planters' racism and prejudice paved the way for the transition to slavery in the colonial Chesapeake—their so-called "unthinking decision." Still, this was hardly a "definitive conclusion" as even Jordan himself admitted, when he complicated his own theory by noting that "rather than slavery causing 'prejudice' or vice-versa, they seem rather to have generated each other."[20]

Then, in the 1970s, the floodgates opened with numerous studies of indentured servitude, slavery, and race in the early Chesapeake appearing. While these works were wide-ranging, mainly they focused around economic, demographic and quantitative analyses of servitude and slavery, along with the evolution of societies based upon racial classifications and hierarchies.[21] The most notable of the multitude, however, was Edmund S. Morgan's 1975 classic *American Slavery, American Freedom*, which truly changed the course of study on race and bound labor in the colonial Chesapeake. While Jordan largely focused on intellectuals and their perceptions of Africans, Morgan and others in the 1970s began to pour over county court records in the hopes of discovering more about the mundane day-to-day existence of servants and slaves in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Chesapeake. For Morgan, then, economics—both internally within Virginia, and externally in the greater English then British Atlantic World—were

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[20] Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Baltimore, MD.: Pelican Books, 1969), 80.

[21] There were many other studies on race during the 1970s and 1980s, especially T. H. Breen, "A Changing Labor Force and Race Relations in Virginia 1660-1710," *Journal of Social History* 7, no. 1 (1973): 3-25; Ira Berlin, "Time, Space, and the Evolution of Afro-American Society on British Mainland North America," *The American Historical Review* 85, no. 1 (1980): 44-78; T. H. Breen and Stephen Innes, *"Myne Owne Ground": Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640-1676* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); and Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1986).

the impetuses for the transition from servants to slaves. Racial prejudices developed too, but more in concert with the change than having preceded it. Most significantly, Morgan places Bacon's Rebellion in 1676 at the center of the transition, arguing that planters saw the social implications for making the switch after that calamitous event—social stability for whites based on the subjugation and enslavement of blacks. White planters, therefore, made a distinctly thinking decision to transition to African slavery, according to Morgan, by championing white solidarity in response to the possibility of slaves and poor and indentured whites rebelling together.[22]

Russell R. Menard and David W. Galenson, meanwhile, contributed to the growing debate by reasserting but also complicating the economic justification for the labor switch.[23] Menard, in particular, showed the challenges and opportunities Chesapeake planters possessed in procuring labor by the late-seventeenth century by highlighting factors within England like decreasing birthrates and rising wages, along with external considerations such as an increased involvement by the English in the Atlantic slave trade. Furthermore, fewer servants were supposedly available at the exact same time more slaves were coming into the region more steadily than ever, both by legal trade and illegal smuggling. These processes joined other internal factors like less

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[22] Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1975).

[23] Most notably, see: Menard, "From Servants to Slaves"; and Galenson, "White Servitude and the Growth of Black Slavery in Colonial America," *The Journal of Economic History* 41, no. 1 (1981): 39-47. Also see: Menard, "The Maryland Slave Population, 1658 to 1730: A Demographic Profile of Blacks in Four Counties," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3d. Ser., 32, no. 1 (1975): 29-54; Galenson, "The Market Evaluation of Human Capital: The Case of Indentured Servitude," *The Journal of Political Economy* 89, no. 3 (1981): 446-67; Galenson, *White Servitude in Colonial America: An Economic Analysis* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1981); and Galenson, "The Rise and Fall of Indentured Servitude in the Americas: An Economic Analysis," *The Journal of Economic History* 44, no. 1 (1984): 1-26.

profitable land available for recently freed servants and crashes in tobacco prices, to create the necessary market for acquiring African slaves in significant numbers. Therefore, the historiography of the labor transition in Virginia and Maryland seemed to refocus almost explicitly around economic factors, but in a much different fashion from the previous interpretations that only considered the Chesapeake's economy, previewing the Atlantic turn of the 1990s. Menard and Galenson continued Morgan's work to some degree, concluding that the actual reason for the labor switch was the drying up of the servant trade due to economic forces in England. That then led to a concerted, but not always purposeful, transition from white servants to black slaves based on the simple law of supply-and-demand in the late-seventeenth-century Chesapeake.

Meanwhile, legal arguments provoked a slightly different take by scholars such as Warren M. Billings and Kathleen Brown, in particular expanding explanations of how the transition actually took place, especially on a colony-wide level. First, Billings charted the statutory transition in the status of Africans in Virginia through the 1660s and concluded that the inventiveness of the laws' authors concerning servants and slaves showed there was forethought and calculation in the labor switch.[24] Brown then furthered Billings' legal argument as she both expanded the argument to include gender and placed the emphasis several decades earlier. Brown points to Virginia's 1643 law taxing black women, which placed them in opposition to untaxed white, female servants, because of

[24] Billings, "The Law of Servants and Slaves in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 99 (1991): 45-62. Notably, Billings also found an "explicit comprehension" of blacks as slaves in the General Assembly from 1671. Billings actually began pursuing this avenue years before in his 1672 article for *William and Mary Quarterly*, "The Cases of Fernando and Elizabeth Key."

their supposed fitness for difficult, agricultural labor. And while female servants certainly remained employed in tobacco fields throughout the seventeenth century, the change in statutory status is notable for what it implies about white women versus black women. The latter were meant for hard labor and it hurt planters economically to not use them as such; white female servants, meanwhile, came with a financial penalty if used as menial laborers so planters were encouraged by law to employ them in domestic settings or to hide their usage in agricultural work.[25]

Another important development in the historiography of the colonial Chesapeake during the 1980s and early 1990s was the trend toward local studies of portions of the Chesapeake—in the vein of earlier New England community studies—acknowledging that there were at least some differences between one region and another. Looking at one county, or a group of somewhat related counties as this current project does, in immense detail has proven valuable. Works like Darrett and Anita Rutman's *A Place in Time* provide the demographic and statistical analysis, and attention to quantitative detail more synthetic works require. The Rutmans' history of Middlesex County between 1650 and 1750 was masterful for a variety of reasons—most particularly due to its impressive

[25] Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

narrative and immensely detailed, companion, quantitative tome—and is one of the most significant inspirations for this current study.[26]

That and other local studies of the Chesapeake were largely usurped by the new wave of Atlantic histories that appeared starting in the 1990s, changing the study of the colonial Chesapeake more broadly and the origins debate specifically in dramatic ways.[27] Most notably for this project, the history of slavery in particular has grown to be more Atlantic-oriented and comparative in nature,[28] which naturally filtered down to more pointed studies that focus mainly on the Chesapeake. The last two decades in the study of a "black Atlantic"[29] have seen works build on the older, more hemispheric monographs and incorporate Africa ever more into them. John Thornton wrote one of the earlier studies in this wave to take a wider geographic view of colonial slavery. Thornton pointed out that English and Dutch colonists doubtlessly had significant exposure to Spanish laws concerning the status of slaves well before Africans arrived in their North

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[26] Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, *A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia 1650-1750* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1984) and *A Place in Time: Explicatus* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1984). Also, see James Horn, *Adapting to a New World*, which focused significantly on lower Northern Neck county Lancaster, and James R. Perry, *The Formation of a Society on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1615-1655* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), for these types of local studies. Horn's is also notable for his proto-Atlantic World focus.

[27] The field of Atlantic history is very broad and, of course, goes well beyond bound labor. Some of the many notable book-length studies and edited collections include David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, eds, *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); Bernhard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005); Alison Games, *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); and Jack P. Greene and Philip D Morgan, eds, *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009). There were numerous articles as well, too numerous to list here.

[28] Describing this as a completely "new" phenomenon is, of course, incorrect. Important works such as Philip D. Curtin's *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1969) and Orlando Patterson's *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982) predate these significantly.

[29] Term popularized by Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double-Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).

American colonies in any significant numbers. The earliest settlers therefore "certainly understood" that the Africans they purchased were "legally different from the indentured servants they bought from Europe."[30]

Following Thornton in a myriad of ways, David Eltis and several others continued the trend toward framing slavery through a more Atlantic-focused lens. Eltis, interestingly, channels Winthrop Jordan to some degree, whose focus was similarly expansive, in noting another important "unthinking decision" by Europeans to reject enslaving other Europeans, a decision Eltis claims allowed for the acceptance of African slavery. Eltis also reversed Morgan's contention that desire for social control of "unruly and propertyless whites" was what led to the transition to slavery in Virginia. The need and increased reliance on slave labor actually caused Europeans to stress their commonalities with one another in opposition to the African "others." Then, as the English planter class became more diverse, so too did African laborers, leading to a division by skin color and the corresponding solidarity between peoples of the same "race."[31]

Other comparative works on slavery brought about a scholarly sea change with regards to the study of slavery, with books such as Ira Berlin's *Many Thousands Gone* and Philip Morgan's *Slave Counterpoint* altering the nature of the origins debate substantively. Berlin, in particular, introduced the term "Atlantic Creoles" to describe some of the first often mixed-race slaves available to Europeans in the initial years of

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[30] John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 146-47.

[31] David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 242.

settlement in North America. For Berlin, then, race did not play a significant role in North American slavery until the "Plantation Generation" of the late-seventeenth century when slaves started pouring into the Chesapeake and elsewhere in much higher numbers.[32]

Even more importantly, Berlin and Morgan began a trend that has continued through today—and it is one that this study most fits into—the treatment of some forms of slavery as being distinguishable and different from other forms of slavery. For Berlin and Morgan, "slave societies" like that of South Carolina differed significantly from "societies with slaves" such as early colonial Virginia. Furthermore, slavery in those various places did not remain static; instead, it changed significantly throughout the colonial period—and afterward—due to many factors, with contributions to its alterations from both whites and blacks. Peter Kolchin points out several changes that this new wave of slavery studies have initiated. First, there has been "a lengthening chronological focus [and] a widening spatial focus, with new considerations of the ways in which geographical variation shaped slavery," especially its origins throughout the Atlantic

[32] Ira Berlin, "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3d. Ser., 53, no. 2 (1996): 251-88 and *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1998), 17, 24; and Philip Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998). A decade later, an update to "Atlantic Creoles" was offered by Linda M. Heywood and John K. Thornton, who slightly altered but mostly confirmed Berlin's argument in the face of some criticism. Berlin's thesis that Atlantic creoles made up a decent percentage of North America's Charter Generation is essentially correct, Thornton and Heywood posit, making those early slaves less exotic and much closer culturally to Europeans than later generations of Africans. Their main disagreement with Berlin is in the homeland of those creoles—Berlin claimed West Africa while Thornton and Heywood argue it was West-Central Africa. This important distinction is then brought to bear on the "origins debate" by the authors. Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Foundation of the Americas, 1585-1660* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 236, 293-301.

World and the transition to dependencies on African slave labor in the various colonies. Secondly, the recent trend has seen "an expanding comparative framework" for studying slavery and recognizing "the extraordinary variability of slavery and the diversity of slave experiences" throughout the Atlantic World.[33]

There have also been new perspectives on bound labor generally and in the colonial Chesapeake more specifically, arguing for an earlier transition from white servants to black slaves as early as the mid-seventeenth century. Arguments have been made that great planters were able to consolidate their plantations earlier than previously thought—well before their poorer neighbors—around the 1660s, and thus, were able to buy slaves from Barbados, which had a surplus by the 1670s due to the Royal African Company's increased activity in the slave trade.[34] Anthony S. Parent, Jr., furthermore, also suggests that Edmund S. Morgan erred in his view of Bacon's Rebellion as racism's watershed in Virginia. Parent claims Virginia's early big planters actually had a choice in their search for more labor in the years leading up to Bacon's Rebellion and could afford substantial numbers of black slaves as early as the 1660s. Those great planters, therefore, opted for Africans over still plentiful white servants on an increasingly large scale during

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[33] Peter Kolchin, "Slaveries in the Atlantic World Introduction: Variations of Slavery in the Atlantic World," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3d. Ser., 59, no. 3 (2002): 551. Other notable works in this vein are David Turley, *Slavery* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 2000); Stanley Engerman, "Slavery at Different Times and Places," *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 2 (2000): 480-84; David Brion Davis, "Looking at Slavery from Broader Perspectives," *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 2 (2000): 452-66; Patrick Wolfe, "Land, Labor, and Difference: Elementary Structures of Race," *The American Historical Review* 106, no. 3 (2001): 866-905; and Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[34] For more on the intercolonial slave trade that benefitted seventeenth-century Virginia planters, see Gregory E. O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage: Slave Migration from the Caribbean to North America, 1619–1807," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3d. Ser., 66, no. 1 (2009): 125-72.

the 1670s and into the 1680s. For Parent then, opportunity actually existed first and motives were much more complex than Morgan or Menard acknowledged.[35]

Another recent criticism of the prevailing arguments of Morgan, Menard and others have found fault with the sources they used and the methodology behind their findings, especially concerning Virginia. Most of the scholarship to this point has revolved around the reasons why the labor transition occurred, downplaying how it actually happened. John C. Coombs has criticized this lack of concern for the "process of conversion,"[36] and notes that much of this research has been confined to areas with more complete records—such as Maryland and the Eastern Shore—hardly representative of the entirety of the Old Dominion. Coombs, like Parent, argues for an earlier transition when looking more exclusively at the trend-setting "major planters."[37] In opposition to Menard in particular, Coombs, like Parent, claims those big planters even preferred slaves by the 1660s, much earlier than previously thought and at a time when servants were still plentiful.[38]

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[35] Anthony S. Parent Jr., *Foul Means: The Formation of a Slave Society in Virginia, 1660-1740* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003). Also, April Lee Hatfield has recently attacked Morgan on the motive front as well from an Atlantic perspective. She contends that Virginia planters, with their direct connections to Barbados via intercolonial trade, "knew that many Caribbean colonists were growing rich using enslaved African laborers." Hatfield directly criticizes earlier historians for paying "little attention to the relationship between the previous existence of slavery elsewhere in the Americas and its evolution in the Chesapeake." *Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 141.

[36] Coombs, "Building 'The Machine': The Development of Slavery and Slave Society in Early Colonial Virginia" (PhD diss., College of William and Mary, 2004).

[37] For my distinctions between "major planters" and "middling" or "minor" planters, see chapter one.

[38] Coombs, "Building 'The Machine'."

Coombs's argument has since evolved to one concerned about the diversity of transitions to slavery "with multiple overlapping phases and significant sub-regional diversity, in which the timing and extent of planters' investments in slave labor varied widely according to their wealth, location, and economic need." As such, this complex "conversion to slavery in Virginia did not unfold as a widespread shift confined largely to the last third of the seventeenth century." Instead, Coombs describes four phases of the transition: an initial phase before 1650 when all but the richest of the rich planters could acquire a few slaves. Then, a second phase existed during the 1660s and 1670s when a significant expansion of slave ownership occurred among "county-level gentry, the majority of whose bondspeople now also were enslaved." A third phase existed to about 1700 when "fully enslaved labor forces" emerged and non-elite Virginians gained significant access to slaves, especially in the sweet-scented region. The final phase started with the end of the Royal African Company's monopoly in 1698, which—most important and resonant for this current project—saw slavery spread "to the mass of ordinary, labor-owning planters, though the oronoco counties still lagged considerably behind the other sub-regions and would not fully catch up until the 1730s."[39] This study will chart several of these phases in the Northern Neck region, mostly completing the other side of Coombs's phases: the decline but not disappearance of white servants in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries.

Indentured servants have gotten some renewed attention recently, in particular in the work of Christopher Tomlins. In a sweeping study of both the historiography of

[39] Coombs, "The Phases of Conversion: A New Chronology for the Rise of Slavery in Early Virginia," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3d. Ser., 68, no. 3 (2011): 360.

servitude and migration to the North American colonies, Tomlins argues that servants were a smaller presence in the colonies—including in the colonial Chesapeake—than previous historians have claimed. Actually, for Tomlins, bound laborers were dwarfed by both free labor such as was provided by family members and slavery relatively early on in the development of the English colonies. Tomlins even goes so far as to argue that the increased focus on bound labor in recent decades has led to misperceptions about how important bound labor more generally was in the colonies, and in particular how crucial indentured laborers were to early colonial households.[40] This study will push back on that notion, especially when looking at the northern Virginia counties along the Potomac River.

African slaves and English servants were of course not the only unfree laborers in the English Atlantic World. Landowners looked to Native workers, non-English servants, wage laborers and apprentices of many different types to fill part of that need. The use of these alternative sources of labor is mentioned on occasion throughout the historical literature, but often done so anecdotally and with little indication as to whether the practice was institutionalized in any way. The one notable exception has been a number of recent studies on Native laborers, especially the slave trade of Indians in southeastern

[40] Tomlins, "Reconsidering Indentured Servitude: European Migration and the Early American Labor Force, 1600–1775," *Labor History* 42.1 (2001): 5-43. Tomlins continues and expands on this arguments in his recent tome, *Freedom Bound: Law, Labor, and Civic Identity in Colonizing English America, 1580-1865* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), especially in chapter one and several appendices.

North America.[41] Many planters in peripheral areas of the southeast in the burgeoning English colonial Empire turned to Indian servants and slaves to staff their plantations. Virginia Indians, though, are largely absent from early American historiography, especially in between the 1644 Anglo-Powhatan war and the Seven Years' War over a century later.[42]

In places like the Northern Neck, however—outside the bounds of the southeastern Native American slave trade—white apprentices tended to be even more important and available than Indian labor yet rarely if ever are mentioned in prevailing historiographies. As argued in this study, many if not most of those workers toiled at least part of the time in tobacco fields, often for much longer than the average servant. Those apprentices were usually children who were "bound out" by the county courts due to being orphans or by parents who could not afford to care for them. As the need for labor increased in the late-seventeenth century in such regions that were largely outside hubs in the Atlantic and intercolonial slave trades, apprenticeship contracts increased. And while a select few may have been "excepted from Common Employment in the ground at the hoe," most were not and were likely used in the fields, especially at peak times such as planting and harvest.

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[41] In particular, see Alan Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); and Paul Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement: Biological Catastrophe in the Native Southeast, 1492-1715* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

[42] Scholars such as Michael Guasco and Owen Stanwood have attempted to address this omission, however. Stanwood, for example, claims that "these Indian laborers help to identify both the power and the limits of the plantation revolution" in colonial Virginia. Stanwood, "Captives and Slaves: Indian Labor, Cultural Conversion, and the Plantation Revolution in Virginia," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 114, no. 4 (2006), 435-63; and Guasco, "To 'Doe Some Good Upon Their Countrymen': The Paradox of Indian Slavery in Early Anglo-America," *Journal of Social History* 41, no. 2 (2007), 389-411.

A recent edited collection *Children Bound to Labor*, while sorely needed to address this neglect, is only concerned with pauper apprentices, those who were bound out because their families were poor—an important category of apprentices and likely a majority of them in colonial Virginia but far from the only group. Furthermore, the only essay in the collection that focuses on Virginia begins in 1750,[43] and a majority of the essays in the collection cover the Revolutionary and Early Republic eras. Five of the eleven case studies begin in 1790 or later with two more covering seventy year periods beginning in 1750 and 1780; another is largely focused on the seventeen hundreds, leaving only three that partly or completely focus on the sixteen hundreds, none targeting the Chesapeake region.[44] This current study attempts to address this need as well by charting apprenticeship in Northumberland and Westmoreland counties during the last half of the seventeenth century and into the very early eighteenth century.

Finally, without a narrow lens, important but numerically smaller groups such as apprentices—or Berlin's Atlantic Creoles—can be forgotten. Thus, the local studies still have immense potential to shape our understanding of the past as long as it incorporates a larger focus within it as well. In highlighting the advantages of local studies, Ian K. Steele explains that such works "imply that life for most people was lived face-to-face, and that previous historians overlooked" and sometimes even "distorted this reality."[45] This current project hopes to contribute to the value of local studies, somewhat forgotten

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[43] Holly Brewer, "Apprenticeship Policy in Virginia: From Patriarchal to Republican Policies of Social Welfare," in *Children Bound to Labor*, 183-97.

[44] See Ruth Wallis Herndon and John E. Murray, "'A Proper and Instructive Education'," in *Children Bound to Labor*, 5, Table 1.1.

[45] Steele, "Exploding Colonial American History: Amerindian, Atlantic, and Global Perspectives," *Reviews in American History* 26, no. 1 (1998): 71.

in the field's movement toward Atlantic history and the corresponding re-emergence of interest in larger forces like trade, migration, and empire. As such, this study hopes to take advantage of the attendant advantages of nuanced, detailed quantitative approaches to local social conditions—but, crucially, done with a greater consciousness of the broader hemispheric and Atlantic contexts.

So, as early American histories become more geographically vast and ethnically diverse, illuminating how smaller communities existed within and connected to this larger Atlantic World will become even more important. Whether it is studies of small but influential groups like apprentices or discussions of geographic peripheries attached to the greater Atlantic World like the upper Northern Neck of Virginia, reviving studies that look at "the interaction of metropolitan, colonial, and frontier elements in the life of American communities should prove revealing."[46] Part local history and part Atlantic history, part comparative work and part analytical study, this dissertation will fit into many of those historiographies at the same time, hoping to further the connection between them while carving out a niche of its own. Ultimately, the objective of this study is to chart the transition from white servitude to black slavery more fully than has often been done, to bring apprentices into that story, and to compare the unfree labor force in the upper Northern Neck to others throughout the Chesapeake.

[46] Steele, ibid., 71, 84-5.

CHAPTER ONE: THE FORMATION OF VIRGINIA'S "UPPER" NORTHERN NECK

Most of the discussion of unfree labor in seventeenth-century Virginia has centered on the Eastern Shore, due to its near-complete records, and the settlements along the James and York Rivers, the population centers of the early colony. Often overlooked, the counties of the upper Northern Neck—Northumberland and Westmoreland—by contrast, were formally organized beginning in 1645, and were part of the first wave of English expansion beyond the James and York River regions.[47] Those Northern Neck counties quickly became more populous than the oft-studied yet sparsely peopled Eastern Shore counties. The development of peripheral areas of Virginia such as the upper Northern Neck has not yet been examined in any real detail at all, and the region has also not been integrated into the way we understand the colony's bound labor systems. This lack of focus on the upper Northern Neck is even more striking for what that region became by the mid-eighteenth century: a land of some of the biggest planters and most important founding fathers in Virginia such as George Washington, George Mason, and Robert "King" Carter. Understanding the story of unfree labor in these counties will help

[47] One exception to this is Albert H. Tillson's *Accommodating Revolutions: Virginia's Northern Neck in an Era of Transformations, 1760–1810* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2010), which began with the Northern Neck during the pre-Revolutionary era. Before the 1760s, though, the upper Northern Neck is almost completely neglected and the Northern Neck more broadly makes out only slightly better with James Horn's *Adapting to a New World*, which partly focuses on Lancaster County as a major exception.

us understand the processes by which Virginia expanded, the ways in which its social and economic order adjusted to new geographic and environmental influences, and the effects that these changes had on the lives of the bound men and women who toiled in its service.

Unfree labor was decidedly different in the upper Northern Neck. White servants remained important to Northumberland and Westmoreland counties until the early-eighteenth century, well beyond the date of transition to slavery that has been established by historians of other regions of the Old Dominion. Furthermore, apprentices were significantly more important than one would surmise given the almost complete lack of mention that group has received in the historical literature. These counties show that more peripheral regions took significantly longer to fully transition to African slavery and were, in fact, more beholden to economic and market forces than to any particular form of labor in the drive for wealth and prominence.

Such local studies as this one have long been a part of the study of the colonial Chesapeake, but as the diversity of the region becomes more apparent to historians, no single county or community can stand in for the whole. Indeed, the history of Northumberland and Westmoreland counties presents a picture of a bound labor system that diverges significantly from several other influential studies based on other regions in colonial Virginia and the larger Chesapeake.[48] For instance, Russell Menard once claimed that charting the transition from servitude to slavery in York and Surry

[48] Lancaster too is part of the Northern Neck but much less a peripheral county since it bordered the Rappahannock River and grew mostly sweet-scented tobacco, a much more in-demand grade of the "weede" than the upper Northern Neck's oronoco variation. See the introduction for more on this split between the two different strains of tobacco.

counties—two areas that he thought would "comprehend the extremes of the colonial economy"—could then be extrapolated to all of the Old Dominion. Slaves first outnumbered servants in those counties by the 1680s, according to Menard, which he then argued should "project…to Virginia as a whole."[49] Northumberland and Westmoreland—counties in between York and Surry economically during the seventeenth century—prove otherwise.

Interestingly, John C. Coombs has more recently argued for an earlier transition date, at least and especially when considering only the disproportionately influential big planters. Data from the Northern Neck, however, indicate a significantly later transition and actually align more with Coombs's recent theory of a "phased transition." Coombs defines four phases of conversion from servitude to slavery with the third and fourth in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries most relevant for this work.[50] The upper Northern Neck—this place apart from the rest of Virginia—expands on Coombs's idea and complicates further that fateful transition from servitude to slavery in the Chesapeake colonies.

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[49] Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," 363. Surry County, on the southside of the James River, was on the periphery of the good tobacco-growing regions of Virginia as well. Planters there actually shifted away from tobacco well before the end of the seventeenth century. Surry was also equal to Northumberland County's population by 1699 and less than Westmoreland's, according to Edmund Morgan, but had almost half the number of tithables the two oronoco-growing counties had in that year. This means that Surry was likely much more heavily populated by women and children—families—and younger bound laborers who were not tithable yet. See Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 412-13.

[50] Coombs, "The Phases of Conversion," 360. Coombs defines the third phase as existing to about 1700 when "fully enslaved labor forces" emerged and non-elite Virginians gained significant access to slaves, especially in the sweet-scented region. The final phase started with the end of the Royal African Company's monopoly in 1698, which saw slavery spread "to the mass of ordinary, labor-owning planters, though the oronoco counties still lagged considerably behind the other sub-regions and would not fully catch up until the 1730s."

A General History of the Pre- and Post-Contact Upper Northern Neck

Northumberland and Westmoreland counties on the southern shore of the Potomac River, therefore, will provide a useful look at the development of all forms of bound labor on Virginia's late-seventeenth-century frontier. While the Northern Neck was a peripheral region in English Virginia during the seventeenth century, it was also peripheral in Native Virginia during the earlier Powhatan Confederacy era. In fact, Stephen R. Potter refers to the Potomac River's southern shore—or the upper Northern Neck—on the eve of English settlement as the "natural boundary" between Tidewater Virginia's Powhatan chiefdom and the Conoy chiefdom of southern Maryland.[51]

Environmentally, the Potomac River has a significant drainage basin as do several of its tributary rivers. Prior to contact between Indians and Europeans, the Northern Neck was mostly made up of low-lying forests, marshes and swamps. Importantly for the development of English settlement along that river, the Potomac had a navigable channel to the fall line. Furthermore, the placement of Indian towns and settlements along the banks of the Potomac and its tributaries displays the river and its basin's role as a transportation conduit. It would continue to be one as the English began replacing Native groups, starting in the early- to mid-seventeenth century.[52]

Up to the final pre-contact centuries, most native groups who settled in the Chesapeake region practiced a mixed lifestyle, partly nomadic and partly agricultural. For much of the year, native groups settled in one place—often towns—with agricultural

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[51] Stephen R. Potter, *Commoners, Tribute, and Chiefs: The Development of Algonquian Culture in the Potomac Valley* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 1.

[52] See Helen C. Rountree, Wayne E. Clark, and Kent Mountford, *John Smith's Chesapeake Voyages, 1607-1609* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 262-69, especially 262-63.

development occurring in its nearby hinterlands. For shorter periods of the year, Chesapeake Indians frequented smaller hunting camps.[53] In the upper Northern Neck region in particular, settlement patterns developed and changed over the course of the pre-contact millennium. According to archaeological research of the Chicacoan locality—one of the two main native groups in the pre-contact region that would become Northumberland County, Virginia—native inhabitants of the Northern Neck tended to oscillate between smaller-sized villages and larger settlements, often due to the level of environmental stresses on the region. By the time that the Little Ice Age began around 1300, however, more sedentary lifestyles became the norm for all of Indians living in the Northern Neck.[54]

By 1400 or so, warfare seems to have increased in the region and by 1500, Potter describes hostilities as becoming endemic throughout the region as societies grew increasingly more centralized and complex, most notably the Powhatan chiefdom of the James and York River valleys. A similar consolidation occurred along the Potomac River, although not to the same scope as the Powhatan chiefdom to the south or the Conoy chiefdom to the north. But, according to Potter, those groups responded to increasing outside pressures by formed into alliances "based on a shared cultural background and common needs for defense."[55]

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[53] See ibid., 32.
[54] See Potter, *Commoners, Tribute, and Chiefs*, 101-2, 141-42.
[55] Ibid., 147, 149, 167.

As a result of those environmentally and strategically based consolidations, the groups along the south shore of the Potomac River[56] were caught between expanding chiefdoms to the south and north, while also being boxed in by raiding Iroquoian-speaking groups like the Susquehannocks and Massawomecks to the west and northwest. Although population figures for Native groups are generally difficult to estimate, some attention to the estimates will be useful to exemplify the precarious position natives along the south shore of the Potomac River were in on the eve of English colonization. According to John Smith and William Strachey's estimates of fighting men, approximately 460 to 500 bowmen or warriors populated the five native groups of the upper Northern Neck. Based on those and other estimates, the range of total population estimates varies widely from a low of 1,500 to a high of 2,100 natives who resided along the southern shore of the Potomac River below the fall line. This population was matched or likely exceeded by the Conoy chiefdom to the north, while the Powhatan chiefdom was significantly larger than both.[57] But, when Powhatan's expansionary activities in the late 1500s led to several Native groups moving from the southern bank of the Rappahannock River to the northern bank, the Northern Neck as a whole likely became "the most densely settled part of tidewater Virginia" as the first English colonists were settling James Towne.[58]

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[56] From the Chesapeake Bay toward modern-day Alexandria, Virginia, those groups were the Wicocomocos, the Chicacoans, the Matchotics, the Patawomekes, and the Tauxenents. See Potter, *Commoners, Tribute, and Chiefs*, 11, 19, 21-22; and Rountree et al, *John Smith's Chesapeake Voyages*, 269-75.

[57] See Potter, *Commoners, Tribute, and Chiefs*, 21-24, especially 21-22, for a discussion of these estimates and the disputed ratios of total population to warriors that led to this large range.

[58] Ibid., 177.

It was into this "complex web of trade and military alliances, raids and warfare" that the English arrived to find in 1607. By then, Powhatan had extended his so-called "ethnic fringe"—the farthest extent of his authority, which was tenuous but existent—to much of the Northern Neck. According to Potter, Powhatan needed those natives given that they, especially the Patawomekes, protected one of his important frontiers. Then, as relations between the new Virginians and Powhatan's chiefdom turned sour during the 1610s and 1620s, the English sought out alliances and trade relationships with the Northern Neck Indians who were less connected to Powhatan's web of influence. Natives there realized the advantage of a friendly relationship with the English and some upper Northern Neck groups even participated in the 1622 war against Powhatan on the side of the new colonists. At first, this situation was beneficial to both those groups as the Potomac River Indians gained an important ally in Powhatan's midst while the English were stocked with beaver pelts. As tobacco became more important to the economic viability of Virginia, however, the trade in pelts became significantly less important at the same time Powhatan's chiefdom was losing its war against the English colonists in the 1630s. It was during the ensuing interwar years that the first English settlers moved into the Northern Neck, changing the political, social, and environmental landscape of the region forever.[59]

Interest in the Northern Neck by Englishmen began around 1640. John Mottrom, a "merchant-planter" who played an important role in early Northumberland County (see chapter two), was the first to settle on the southern shore of the Potomac River after

[59] See ibid., 179-91, especially 179-80.

migrating from York County and before that, St. Mary's City, Maryland.[60] Mottrom apparently purchased the land along the Coan River that he settled on from the chief of the Chicacoans. Potter even argues that "the personal relationship between those two men served as the basis for generally peaceful interactions between Englishmen and Algonquians during the early years of English settlement in Chicacoan."[61] Helen Rountree is less enamored by this apparent "personal relationship," instead claiming the first settlers to the region "spark[ed] another mass assault by the native people, the Northern Neck chiefdoms included." Then, when the English won the final war against Opechancanough and the remnants of the Powhatan Confederacy in 1646, colonists streamed into the area in significant numbers.[62]

Regardless, by 1645 the first county was all-but-formed when Northumberland received representation in Virginia's General Assembly by Mottrom, who also became one of the county's first major planters.[63] The county was legally formed three years later,[64] but lost much of its area soon thereafter as the English population along the

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[60] This type of intracolonial migration to the Northern Neck in its early years was common. James Horn estimates that "about a third of the householders who had arrived in Lancaster by 1655 were from other parts of Virginia." Horn then argues that the availability of land in the Northern Neck was one of the main reasons for the migrations: it "was probably their last chance to obtain the pick of the best land in a region that clearly had enormous potential." See Horn, *Adapting to a New World*, 181-82.

[61] Stephen R. Potter, *Commoners, Tribute, and Chiefs*, 45, 191.

[62] Helen C. Rountree et al, *John Smith's Chesapeake Voyages*, 283.

[63] See below for a discussion on "major" planters, "middling" planters, and "minor" planters versus "small farmers."

[64] This is a somewhat arguable date given when white settlement began in the area (around 1640) and when Northumberland received representation in the General Assembly (1645). Another complicating factor as to the official creation of Northumberland County was the following edict made by the General Assembly in October of 1646:

Potomac and Rappahannock rivers expanded. In 1651 and 1653, Lancaster and then Westmoreland counties were split off of Northumberland to the latter county's south and west.[65] This boxed in Northumberland County from any future expansion, seriously hampering its growth as seen throughout this study.

Importantly, this population increase was positive for the overall stability of the English, but not for the Algonquians, especially because the new English settlers were mostly there to grow tobacco, not to engage in trade with the Indians. Furthermore, the English and the Algonquians were now settled in almost the same environs.[66] Ultimately, this increasing colonization of the Northern Neck and the corresponding need for

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> Whereas the inhabitants of Chicawane alias Northumberland being members of this collony have not hitherto contributed towards the charges of the warr. It is now thought fitt that the said inhabitants do make payment of the leavy according to such rates as are by this present Grand Assembly assessed...And it is alsoe inacted that the said inhabitants of Chicawane shall allwaies hereafter be liable to all taxes, and in paying the publique levys with the rest of the inhabitants of this collony.

It is notable that the Assembly's main complaint was that Northumberland had not paid its fair share of taxes toward the 1644-1646 war between the colonists and the remnants of Powhatan's Confederacy even though that war was largely "not prosecuted against the Indians living in the Northern Neck" since they had "not participate[d] in Opechancanough's attack." See Potter, 192. And, of course, Native groups there, who by the 1600s were loosely associated with Powhatan's polity, had been in the region for centuries. William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 1969 reprint), vol. I, 1619-1660, 337-38.

[65] These three counties make up the main Northern Neck region that will be discussed in this work with a focus on the upper Northern Neck counties of Northumberland and Westmoreland. Other counties were created as the colonial population grew and began expanding westward over the course of the second half of the 1600s. In particular, Rappahannock County was created in 1656 to the west of Lancaster—which was then split into two counties, Richmond and Essex, in 1692—and Stafford County was created in 1664 to the west of Westmoreland. While these counties will not be included in much detail in this current study, the author does hope to address the whole of the Northern Neck at some point soon.

[66] Potter, *Commoners, Tribute, and Chiefs*, 193.

additional lands for tobacco cultivation forced Indians living there to leave voluntarily, be removed violently or be placed on reservations.[67]

This early history of the area and several other important features of the Northern Neck made it truly a place apart from the rest of Virginia. One that has been mentioned previously (see the Introduction) was the different strain of tobacco, oronoco, grown in some of the region, most particularly the upper part of the Neck where Northumberland and Westmoreland counties were located. Other unique attributes are main themes of this work and will be expanded on significantly throughout like the reliance on white servitude well beyond the period when most of the rest of Virginia had switched to African slave labor, and the use and misuse of apprentices for agricultural production. Another notable difference that should be highlighted between that region of Virginia and the rest of the Old Dominion was the political fight stirred up by the granting of the Northern Neck Proprietary to a handful of well-connected royalists by Charles II during his exile in 1649. This act made the region truly something much different from the rest of Virginia and more like the proprietary colony of Maryland in some important ways.[68]

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[67] See ibid., 195-96, 221. The Chicacoans and Wicocomocos, in particular, were forced out of their "prime agricultural and waterfront land" due to English settlement in 1652. Northumberland County's commissioners even consolidated the two distinct groups into one called the Wicocomocos and removed them onto a reservation. Even this new arrangement did not last long as by the 1690s, the Wicocomocos owned no land of their own and were reduced to only a few families. The last claim to this land was ultimately lost in 1718. See ibid., 228-29; and Helen C. Rountree et al, *John Smith's Chesapeake Voyages*, 284.

[68] This will be touched on occasionally in this study as well. Lorena S. Walsh, for one, has pointed out that Maryland mostly grew the oronoco strain of tobacco that the upper Northern Neck grew. Further, since rivers were often more important than the peninsulas they formed during the seventeenth century, the upper Northern Neck's relationship with Maryland was at least as important as it was with the lower Northern Neck. See Walsh, "Summing the Parts," 53-76.

Although proprietaries were common in seventeenth-century English North America—in addition to Maryland, New England had several proprietaries at various times—Virginia (most of it, at least) was never governed in that way. It began as a joint-stock company operation and then became a royal colony after the Virginia Company was dissolved in 1624. Charles II's grant of the Northern Neck Proprietary altered this to some degree. From the initial awarding of this grant in 1649 to the mid-1700s, this decree was fought over by Virginia's colonial government, by the Northern Neck residents, and by the proprietors and their agents both in England and in the colony.

At first, however, the patent was largely meaningless as the English Civil War raged as King Charles was in exile in France.[69] After Charles's Restoration in 1660, though, more attention was given to the proprietary grant, especially by one of the grantees, Lord Culpepper. This caused much conflict and disagreement over the awarding of lands in the Northern Neck during the 1660s and 1670s. Even though that land was technically owned by the proprietors to grant, Jamestown issued hundreds of patents by 1680.[70]

Furthermore, those early Northern Neck settlers were supposed to pay quit rents to the proprietors, similar to the rents paid by other landholders in Virginia directly to the Crown. Both residents of the Northern Neck and the colonial government in Jamestown were upset by that arrangement. Jamestown was upset because it would "diminish the

[69] Donald Sweig, "Fairfax County, 1649-1800," in Janice Artemel, Patricia Hickin, Nan Netherton, Patrick Reed, and Sweig, *Fairfax County, Virginia: A History* (Fairfax, VA: Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, 1992), 5.

[70] Ibid., 12.

Colony's power as well as the total income passing through the Colony's hands."[71] Residents, on the other hand, seemed to be most resistant to the proprietary arrangement due to the "more persistent collectors hired by the Proprietors to collect the quit rents."[72] As a result, Culpeper and other proprietors were forced to give assurances that "they would receive as good or better treatment from them than from the Crown."[73]

The controversy intensified when Culpeper died in 1689 and the grant passed to his daughter, who then married Lord Fairfax, a close confidant of the new English monarchs, William of Orange and Mary. Fairfax, a canny politician, made an important strategic move in the early 1690s when he chose William Fitzhugh, a highly respected planter from Stafford County, to be his proprietary agent. Fitzhugh reformed the quit rent regime and Fairfax convinced another highly respected planter, Richard Lee of Westmoreland County, to "atone" to the proprietors for his lands and therefore, to "break the ice of local resistance."[74] That and the subsequent appointment of Robert "King" Carter of Lancaster County as agent in 1702, the controversy over the existence of the proprietary largely disappeared due to the stature of Carter and Lee in the Northern Neck region. Carter even paid rent on his own massive holdings and most followed suit.[75] The

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[71] Stuart Brown, *Virginia Baron: The Story of Thomas, 6th Lord Fairfax* (Berryville, VA: Chesapeake Book Company, 1965), 28.

[72] Ibid., 30.

[73] Josiah Look Dickinson, *The Fairfax Proprietary: The Northern Neck, the Fairfax Manors, and Beginnings of Warren County in Virginia* (Front Royal, VA: Warren Press, 1959), 4.

[74] Fairfax Harrison, "The Proprietors of the Northern Neck. Chapters of Culpeper Genealogy," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 34, no. 1 (1926): 24.

[75] "The Northern Neck of Virginia," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 6, no. 4 (1898): 225. This was not the end of the conflicts, however, as one then erupted between the Northern Neck landowners and the colonial government (by then located in Williamsburg) over the boundary of the Proprietary as Carter began patenting land for himself and his close acquaintances further to the west.

granting of the Northern Neck Proprietary and the way that the political fights it inspired affected the region has yet to be fully explored, especially from the perspectives of the more common residents of the Northern Neck, including its bound laborers.[76]

Population in the Upper Northern Neck Region

Due to the unique attributes of the Northern Neck, the peopling of the upper Northern Neck was not the same as it was in the rest of colonial Virginia. Unfortunately, the demographic history of these counties is difficult to reconstruct with precision. No general censuses remain extant for most counties, including those in Virginia's Northern Neck, before 1699 so we must rely on tax lists of tithables for each county, which essentially counted all able-bodied laborers in each household for taxing purposes. But, using these lists is also beset with complications, both because heads of household had incentive to underreport their taxable laborers—to pay less in taxes—and because the legal definition of who was tithable and who was not changed over time as the Virginia elite attempted to create legal categories that would both reflect reality and shape the social order they envisioned. This was actually part of a long-running legislative debate over who was taxable and when they became a "tithable person." Young unindentured servants—one of the main subjects of this study—were actually the most debated group. This is one of several reasons why it is extremely difficult to achieve a precise gauge of servants as a percentage of the overall population in a given county or counties (as will become more evident throughout future chapters).

[76] Due to a fellowship at the Huntington Library in San Mareno, CA, where I accessed the Fairfax Proprietary papers (and other related papers), I will soon do a project on the Proprietary and its impact on the settlement, populating, and unfree labor of the Northern Neck.

In addition to the several Acts of the General Assembly concerning bound laborers and "tithability," other Acts were passed addressing the concealment of tithables and other avoidances of taxes in seventeenth-century Virginia. A segment of taxpayers attempted to avoid paying their full rate by hiding some of their tithable persons when tax collectors and assessors came around to their homes. To address this issue, a 1658 Act of Assembly legislated serious consequences for heads of households missing or concealing tithable persons. The penalty for such violations was to pay "treple duties for everie person left out; or if they shall neglect to present their lists…then to pay treble for the whole family."[77]

Local county courts also addressed this issue as Westmoreland's did in 1686 exhorting "ill disposed" taxpayers who "delay bringing in their notes of their tithables much longer then by law is allowed," resulting in the county not receiving "timely notice of any fraud." Further, many inhabitants also did not give "the names of the tithables but in grosse returne them in figures, vizt. 5; 6; or 7 and sometimes figures soe doubtfull that an easey judgment cannot distinguish them." To combat this problem, the Westmoreland court ordered that "each tithable of this County be returned to the persons appointed to receave the lists by their Christian and sirnames if Christians, if Negroes or other slaves by their common appellations." If this was not done and "if any person shall make default

[77] William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large*, 1:454-455. County court clerks were also to be punished if they "shall neglect to record" all tithables and they were even "to be fined at the discretion of the commissioners." If disputes arose meanwhile, as they did occasionally, about the age of any tithable, the court would be the arbiter of the disagreement. This would become awkward given that the court would also be setting the ages of young servants by the late 1650s.

in any of the premisses, itt shall bee at his perrill."[78] And while there is no record of a similar decree being made by the Northumberland County court, this could at least partly explain the massive increase in tithables in that county from 838 in 1687 to 1,015 in 1688.

As for the actual population of the upper Northern Neck, Northumberland nor Westmoreland was ever among the more populous counties of colonial Virginia but nor were they among the least populated. In the first few years of its existence where data can be gathered, Northumberland County contained 390 tithables in 1652, which rose to 450 in 1653 (see Figure 1).[79]

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[78] WCOB, 1675-1689, 527, 530, 649. Immediately after this decree, at a "private Court held att Lt. Coll. Allerton's house," Westmoreland County's commissioners met less than a month later to "better settl[e] the leavy" because of the "omissions appearing to have been made through the neglect of those who should have solicited the claimes of Mr. Secretary and others." From this, the Court ordered that "every tythable person within [Westmoreland] County pay to Coll. Isaac Allerton 200 pt. for the defraying and payment of the publike charge of the County and parishes, and hee being duely appointed the collector of the whole." This new tax collecting regime would reap benefits quickly as John Arrington, Daniel Hankins, Edward Hull and William Booth were all arrested by John Minor for concealing tithables in May of 1688.

[79] NCOB, 1652-1665, 6, 21. Edmund S. Morgan also provided total tithables for Northumberland County and elsewhere in Virginia for 1653, 1662, 1674, 1682, and 1699 in *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 412-13. Most of these numbers vary widely from my counts taken directly from the county court records, however, which Morgan acknowledges as often the case. In particular, Morgan claims this discrepancy is due to different counts recorded in the colony's records as opposed to the county records and when "figures for a particular county survive in both colony and county records, the two are seldom identical." Most of the time this resulted in a larger tithable count in the county records, and Morgan argues for the county records likely being "the more reliable" (even though, strangely, in his table on pages 412-413, he uses the colony records even when he had access to the county records). Morgan, 398-405, especially 399-400. See Appendix I of this study for more.

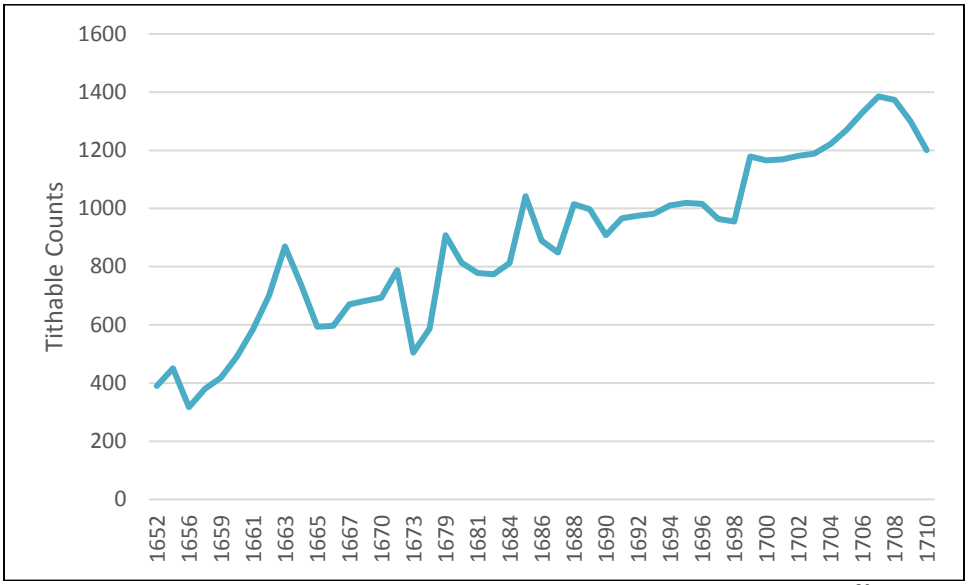

Figure 1: Tithable Counts for Northumberland County, 1652-1710[80]

From those tithables counts, a total population of between 500 and 650 inhabitants in the early 1650s can be determined (see Figure 2). Pointing to the difficulty in assessing these early tithable counts, however, Northumberland County then apparently decreased in tithables—and therefore likely in population as well[81]—counting only 317 in 1656 and 419 by 1659. This equated to a total population that had possibly decreased to between 425 and 650 inhabitants by the late 1650s.[82]

[80] Graph taken from Table 48 in Appendix I.

[81] There is at least a good explanation for Northumberland's significant drop from 1653 to 1656 given that Westmoreland County was formed from the western side of Northumberland in 1653. That could easily explain why the latter county decreased by over one hundred tithables in the span of only a couple of years.

[82] NCOB, 1652-1665, 52, 92, 116.

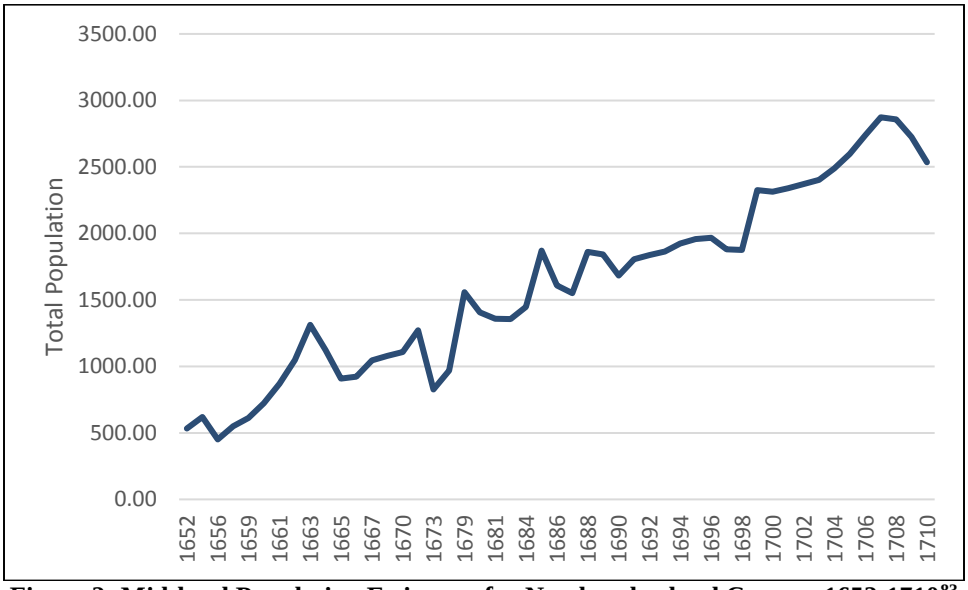

Figure 2: Mid-level Population Estimates for Northumberland County, 1652-1710[83]

There are other several possible reasons for these discrepancies. The mortality rate was still rather high in Virginia during the 1650s, so this could have been simply due to a higher-than-average mortality rate in this newly settled region.[84] Or, the counts could have been wrong. It also could have been both of the above, or other possibilities such as well-hidden tithables.

By the 1660s, though, Northumberland had roughly the same number of tithables as its sweet-scented tobacco-growing neighbor, Lancaster, and the much older

[83] Graph taken from Table 48 in Appendix I.

[84] Christopher Tomlins recently surveyed prior literature on the question of seasoning and mortality in early colonial Virginia, finding that it was "generally agreed that 'seasoning' (high rates of mortality among landed immigrants, attributable to the debilitating effects of mosquito-borne disease and dysentery on the entering population), was extreme in the Chesapeake, and that general mortality rates were also severe." Tomlins then calculates what he refers to as a "generous" survival rate of 60% for entering indentured servants who labored for five years, starting with a 25% mortality rate in the first ("seasoning") year and a 5.4% yearly decrease after the first year. This can likely be extended to all white immigrants to the region. Tomlins, *Freedom Bound*, Appendix II, 583-585.

Northampton County on Virginia's Eastern Shore. In the 1660s, the county's tithable counts varied widely from a low of 491 in 1660, with a corresponding population of around 700 souls, to a high of 870 tithables with a population of around 1,300 only three years later. By the end of the decade, however, the tithable count had dropped to 682, amounting to a population between around 1,000 and 1,150 people. While this kind of rise and fall of inhabitants was not impossible due to the disease environment of early Virginia, it is a good example of the precariousness of early population figures.[85]

Meanwhile, reliable counts for early Westmoreland County are impossible because of the loss of most of the Order Books from that county during much of the 1650s and 1660s.[86] According to Walter Biscoe Norris's local history of the county, "about four hundred" people were located in Westmoreland when it was split off from Northumberland County in 1653.[87] A few tithable counts are possible, however, for Westmoreland County since two Order Books from the 1660s are still extant. According to those records, Westmoreland had 685 tithables in 1663 and 614 tithables in 1664. These tithable counts compare well to Northumberland's tithable counts for the early 1660s. Total population in Westmoreland, on the other hand, may have been a bit larger than Northumberland given the larger ratio of total population to tithable persons.[88] As such, Westmoreland's total population was likely somewhere around 1,500 total

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[85] NCOB, 1652-1665, 132, 181; and NCOB, 1666-1678, 78.

[86] Most of the lists of tax levies were recorded in Order Books, which often contained tithable counts or at least the total levies to be collected and the amount owed per tithable person, resulting in a total number of tithable persons in the county for that year that was moderately reliable (although not always, as pointed out earlier in this study).

[87] Norris, *Westmoreland County, Virginia, 1653-1983* (Westmoreland County, VA: Westmoreland County Board of Supervisors, 1983), 36. It is not clear where Norris got this estimate, however.

[88] See Appendix I for more on this.

inhabitants in 1663, which Northumberland would not experience until the late 1670s.[89] Notably, though, Westmoreland's population dipped significantly in 1664 to around 1,300 or 1,400 residents, due mostly to the establishment of Stafford County from part of western Westmoreland County.[90]

Unfortunately, few extant tithable counts exist for either county during the 1670s, so only broad trends can be identified. Two of Northumberland County's four extant tithable counts, luckily, come from 1671 (788) and 1679 (908), at least giving a beginning and end point to the decade.[91] Therefore, the total population of the county grew by about 15% or so during the 1670s from a low of 1,200 or 1,300 to a high of 1,500 or 1,600 inhabitants.[92] Westmoreland County, meanwhile, seemingly experienced a similar type of growth when looking at the available tithable counts, which increased from 741 tithable persons in 1673 to 802 in 1677. This amounted to a total population between 1,700 and 1,800 in 1673 growing to between 1,900 and 2,000 inhabitants by 1677.[93] While these data are admittedly scant, it does seem that Westmoreland's population was significantly outstripping its parent county to the east in population by the 1670s.

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[89] See Table 48 in Appendix I.

[90] WCOB, 1662-1664, 17, 39.

[91] See Tables 48 and 49 in Appendix I.

[92] It should be noted, however, that the other two extant tithable counts from 1673 and 1674 are significantly lower than the counts from 1671 and 1679. The county tithable count from 1673 showed 504 tithables while Edmund S. Morgan reports the colonial count for the county to be 587 in 1674. For 1673, see NOCB, 1666-1678, 190. For 1674, see Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 412-13.

[93] WCRB, 1665-1677, 169, 350. It should also be noted that Edmund S. Morgan's colonial count for 1674 was much lower than these values (538), as has been shown to often be the case when comparing county to colonial tithable counts. See Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 412-13 along with Appendix I of this study for more.

With no extant tithable counts for Westmoreland County between 1677 and 1699, only Northumberland's population—with its almost complete run of extant tithable counts—can be approximated for the last quarter of the seventeenth century. By the end of the 1680s, a notable increase in tithables and total population is observable: in 1685, over 1,000 tithables were counted for the first time in Northumberland County's history, corresponding to a population of between 1,800 and 1,900 inhabitants.[94] And while growth seemed to level off through the early and mid-1690s with tithable counts mostly in the high-900s and low-1,000s, the massive increase in servants3 at the end of seventeenth century contributed to a huge expansion in tithables (1,179 in 1699) and in total population (between 2,200 and 2,400).[95]

Finally, both counties have near-complete extant tithable counts for the first decade of the eighteenth century. Even though Westmoreland County's population had likely surpassed Northumberland County's by the late 1660s, its tithable counts remained lower than those of its parent county until the early 1700s.[96] Specifically, the year was 1702 when Westmoreland County's 1,211 tithables surpassed Northumberland's 1,181 tithables.[97] Northumberland would then achieve a height of 1,385 in 1707 as compared to Westmoreland's 1,439 the following year with a population of well over 4,000 souls to not quite 3,000 living in Northumberland County.[98]

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[94] See Table 49 in Appendix I.

[95] NCOB, 1678-1698, 245, 531, 575, 606, 639, 681, 713, 748, 798, 844; and for 1699, NCOB, 1699-1713, 77.

[96] With one lone exception in 1673.

[97] See Tables 50 and 51 in Appendix I.

[98] NCOB, 1699-1713, 232-233, 498; WCRB, 1701-1707, 109-10; and WCOB, 1705-1720, 106.

While these tithable counts and estimates of total population figures for Northumberland and Westmoreland counties are useful for providing the backdrop of the upper Northern Neck region, it is only part of the story and a relatively small part at that. One extant "lyst of tithables" is available for Northumberland County from 1679 that provides a much better sense of how these thousands of souls lived together and interacted. This list is, by far, the best single piece of surviving evidence that displays the sizes of households and therefore, the social order and labor distribution of Northumberland County in and around the late 1670s.

Planters and Northumberland County's 1679 "Lyst of Tithables"

On June 7, 1679, Northumberland County's twelve magistrates ordered a "Lyst of Tithables" be collected of the entire county.[99] This list is now one of the best extant records of planters, farmers and their total number of tithable persons within their households in all of the seventeenth-century Northern Neck. The order was related to an Act of Assembly, although it is unclear which particular law, as several had been passed related to the reporting of tithables for tax and other purposes over the prior decades. Therefore, the precise reasons for this particular list are somewhat unclear—as is why this list survived but none other in the seventeenth century has—but it was apparently related to "processioning the land" of the county. A few weeks later, having proceeded "according to Act of Assembly," the justices "made record the Lyst of Tithables in this County," which were apparently brought to "Adam Yarratt's Field" with the following

[99] NCOB, 1678-1687, 37. The nine justices present at the start of the court session were St. Leger Codd, Peter Knight, William Presly, Jr., John Mottrom, Jr., Nicholas Owen, Thomas Brereton, Leonard Howson, Thomas Matthew, and Phillip Shapleigh. Three justices were newly sworn in that day: Christopher Neale, Richard Kenner, and William Downing.

totals: a list of 288 heads of households in Northumberland County with a total of 881 tithables associated with those men and women.[100]

While the 1679 list is the only one still extant from the seventeenth century in either Northumberland or Westmoreland counties, its uniqueness and importance is significant, even if it only provides a snapshot of the former county's tithables by household for the years around 1680. In particular, this list provides a view of an Anglo-Virginian community that included a small group of major planters whose households contained significant numbers of laborers—both free and bound—and a somewhat larger groups of middling and smaller planters, with smaller holdings of unfree workers. Furthermore, the list also provides a window to a much larger group of small farmers, who relied almost exclusively on their own labor and that of non-tithable family members, including wives and young children.[101]

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[100] NCOB, 1678-1687, 37-40. While the overwhelming majority of the heads of households in seventeenth-century Northumberland County—and throughout Virginia as well—were men, at least six of the 288 persons listed were women (2.1%). Due to the many abbreviations of first names in the list and some unreadable entries, it is difficult to tell if more were women, but it is unlikely that there were too many more. Furthermore, a good indication of how women as heads of household were viewed in early Virginia can be seen by noting how those six appeared in the 1679 list: three of the women were listed simply with their husbands' last names (Mrs. Typton, Mrs. Watts, and Mrs. Thomas) while the other three had the designation of "widow" before their deceased husband's last names (Widow Way, Widow Dennis, and Widow Jones). Nonetheless, despite this lack of individual legal recognition, some of these women were significant heads of households as Mrs. Thomas was listed as having five tithable persons in her household and Mrs. Typton had six, putting both of them in the top quintile in numbers of tithables per household in the 1679 list.

[101] Small farmers are treated here for one main reason: they were actually contained on this tithable list, even though they often only had one tithable person in this household, themselves. While those farmers were assuredly below planters of any type in seventeenth-century Virginia, they were above all others given that their "energies benefitted mainly themselves and their families" as opposed to laborers both free and unfree whose energies were "subordinated to a master." See Jean B. Lee, *The Price of Nationhood: The American Revolution in Charles County* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994), especially 43-82 for her discussion of "degrees of freedom"; quotation on 63.

Taking a cue from the late Emory G. Evans's recent work on elites in colonial Virginia, political standing has been used to differentiate between types of planters,[102] and between planters and small farmers.[103] Major planters consist of those who either served on the colony's Council or in the House of Burgesses. John Mottrom, the first Burgess for Northumberland, was one of the earliest major planters in the county.[104] The one exception, or area of overlap between this group and the group directly below them, was any local Magistrate whose wealth rivaled Council members or Burgesses.[105]

For moderate planters—or to use parlance from the day, "middling planters"—the main criteria was to be a local Justice of the Peace, especially if the Magistrate's holdings were not to the level of most Burgesses or Council Members.[106] An overlapping area between these planters and the ones below them were those landowners and owners of bound laborers with little to no public service who were significantly wealthier than the lower middling planters. The rest of that group with one or a few bound laborers were small or minor planters.[107] Finally, small farmers were those landowners who rarely if ever engaged in public service and who had no bound laborers. Several of those,

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[102] See Table 52 in Appendix I.

[103] Evans mainly followed 21 families through the last 100 years of the colonial period and into the early national period. He picked the 21 families based on all but one having "two or more members on the Council of State in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." See Evans, *A "Topping People": The Rise and Decline of Virginia's Old Political Elite, 1680-1790* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 1-3. On the county level, I had to lower the threshold for admittance into the "county elite" as opposed to the "colony elite." See Appendix I of this study for more details.

[104] See Table 53 in Appendix I for a list of all the major planters from the period.

[105] Notably, there were no planters in this overlapping range in Northumberland County during the 1650s and 1660s, when inventories remain extant from the county.

[106] See Table 54 in Appendix I.

[107] See Table 55 in Appendix I.

however, had wealthier holdings or estates than some minor planters so again, these categories are not wholly definitive.[108]

Therefore, the data in Table 1 lend further credence to the notion that Northumberland County was a land of small farmers and minor planters in/around 1679.

Table 1: Consolidated Breakdown of Northumberland County's 1679 "Lyst of Tithables" (by Heads of Households)

Number of Tithable(s) per Household	Persons with X number of Tithable(s)	Percentage of Total Persons Listed	Total Number of Tithables associated with those persons	Percentage of Total Tithables Listed*
1-4	233	80.9	467	53.0
5-8	42	14.6	249	28.3
9-12	10	3.5	101	11.5
> 12	3	1.0	64	7.3

Source: Table 57 in Appendix I.
* – Column totals do not equal 100% due to rounding.

For instance, all but the top quintile of households in Northumberland County in 1679 had fewer than five tithables in them, which was likely the cutoff for family only—which might include the head of the household and one, two, or three sons over the age of 16 still at home[109]—or at most, households with one or two bound laborers in them. Looked at another way, the top quintile of persons with tithables—which was only 57 households—contained 422 of the total tithables, almost half of the total (47.9%). Furthermore, while the median head of household had only two tithables in 1679

[108] See Table 56 in Appendix I.

[109] Note that through 1679, white male servants were not tithable until 16 years old. After a 1680 law, on the other hand, "noe christian servants imported into this colony shalbe tythable before they attaine the age of fourteene yeares." See William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large*, 2:480.

Northumberland County, the median tithable person resided in a household of four tithable persons. Therefore, almost half of the county's tithable people in 1679 were housed on farms or plantations with five or more total tithable persons, which likely included at least one unfree worker at the low end. For the larger plantations, this was even more acute as the top quintile of tithable persons (176) resided in households along with eight or more tithables in them, likely meaning several bound laborers also lived and worked in those households.

On a more specific level, the 1679 list of tithables can also provide some details about the largest planters and their households and plantations in Northumberland County during the late 1670s.[110] Major planters—defined as those who had served on the Council or in the House of Burgesses—were expectedly few in number and among the planters with the largest households, or most tithable persons.

Table 2: Major Planters in Northumberland County, Virginia, as of the 1679 "Lyst of Tithables"

Planter	Number of Tithables	Burgess	Justice of the Peace
Thomas Brereton	25	1682	From 1663
St. Leger Codd	19	1680	From 1671
William Presly	10	1662-66, 1672-74, 1676-77, 1680-82	From 1656
Peter Presly, Sr.	8	1661, 1677, 1684, 1691-92	From 1660
Peter Presly, Jr.	8	1710	Beginning in 1684

Sources: Table 53 in Appendix I.

[110] Since inventories are no longer extant for Northumberland County after 1672 until the early 1700s, detailing minor planters and small farmers is difficult given that my categorization of those are based on bound laborers—which is not evident from the 1679 list—and to a lesser degree on the wealth of their estates. Land ownership would be a valid category to use as well but that too is difficult to compile completely. Therefore, only major and middling planters can be reliably discussed here since that status relied more heavily on public service.

* – In an attempt to make up for the loss of the inventories for this period, I included planters who became Burgesses shortly after 1679—within a couple of years—to acknowledge that these men were likely on the rise before their official appointments as Burgesses for Northumberland County.

Therefore, if Peter Presly, Sr. and Peter Presly, Jr. can be combined together,[111] three of the four planters with the most tithables—sixteen or more of them—could be classified as major planters. As shown below, the other planter with the most tithables can be characterized as a middling planter.

Table 3: Middling Planters in Northumberland County, Virginia, as of the 1679 "Lyst of Tithables"

Planters	Number of Tithables	Justice of the Peace	Burgess
Thomas Matthew	20	From 1672	n/a
Leonard Howson	12	From 1665	n/a
Samuell Smyth	11	From 1652	n/a
John Mottrom	10	From 1670	n/a
Richard Kenner	9	From 1679	1688
Richard Rogers	9	From 1685	1692
Thomas Hobson	9	From 1685	1700
Richard Flynt	9	n/a	1692
Phillip Shapleigh	9	From 1676	n/a
Christopher Neale	8	From 1679	1685
Edward Fielding	6	From 1679	n/a
Nicholas Owen	4	From 1669	n/a
William Downing	3	From 1679	n/a
John Downing	4	n/a	1692

Sources: Table 54 in Appendix I.

[111] Peter Presly, Jr. is included on this list to increase the stature of his father, Peter Presly, Sr., given that the younger Presly had likely only recently struck out on his own as of 1679. The senior Presly had become a justice in 1660 and a Burgess for the first time the year after, and if he was in his early to mid-20s then, he also likely had his first son, Presly, Jr., around then as well. If so, Presly, Jr. would have been around 20 years old himself in 1679, and only recently out of his father's household if he had even left yet. As such, the 8 tithables in Presly, Jr.'s household in 1679 likely consisted of several bound laborers who the elder Presly had granted to his son to start out his life as an independent planter. Therefore, these tithables can, at least to some degree, be combined together.

Of the ten planters with the most tithables—those possessing 10 or more—four were middling planters and four were major ones. Further, of the fifteen planters with the biggest households—having nine or more tithables—nine were middling planters and four were major planters. Only two of the top fifteen planters with the most tithables according to this 1679 list cannot be classified as major or middling planters. These fifteen or so planters were what constituted landed gentry in Northumberland County as the final decades of the seventeenth century were beginning. Therefore, the label of land of small farmers and minor planters for Northumberland County—and to a lesser extent Westmoreland County although a divergence was soon to become evident between the two neighboring counties—can be continued through 1687 at a very minimum.

Conclusion

The upper Northern Neck was truly a place apart in a variety of ways. First, years before English settlers arrived in what they would later call Virginia, the peninsula of land between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers was a buffer zone between two expanding Native polities, the Powhatan Confederacy of central and southern Virginia and the Conoy chiefdom of southern Maryland. For a short time, Northern Neck Indians were able to exist in that in between space, especially after the English arrived and attracted Powhatan's attention. The alliance between natives along the Potomac River and the English was soon dissolved as white settlers began pouring into the region after the Powhatan Confederacy's final defeat in 1646. Within a few decades, white Englishmen (and some women) had replaced the Indians of the Northern Neck.

That region was a place apart in other ways, sometimes having more in common with Maryland than with the rest of the Old Dominion. For instance, the tobacco grown there was of the oronoco variety akin to what Maryland grew, but very different from the sweet-scented tobacco of much of the rest of Virginia. Also, the Northern Neck was organized as a proprietary as early as 1660, even though effective governance of it as such was not accomplished until the late 1600s. This was more reminiscent of Maryland than the Company-turned-Royal colony that the rest of Virginia was.

The most important aspects of the upper Northern Neck that made it different both from the rest of Virginia and from Maryland are the ones that will be discussed throughout the rest of the this dissertation—the division between types of planters, their bound labor forces, and how those unfree workers toiled in harsh agricultural settings. Northumberland and Westmoreland counties relied on white servants much longer than counties to their south and east, possibly due to the preference of planters there but as much or more due to trans-Atlantic economic forces. When servants were not plentiful enough, especially during England's imperial wars with France at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, landowners looked to slaves, who were not numerous enough to meet the demand, but also to unorthodox bound labor sources like apprentices. Most of those apprentices did not learn trades, but were essentially used as stopgap menial laborers out in the upper Northern Neck's tobacco fields part, if not most, of the time. And while their number was never huge, it did grow substantially during the downturn in servants of the 1680s and early 1690s.

Before then, however, Northumberland and Westmoreland counties—along with most of the rest of Virginia—were lands of servants. Massive numbers of bound laborers from England, and a few from elsewhere, arrived in the colony in the 1650s and 1660s, including to the Northern Neck as will be shown in the next chapter. Those servants were instrumental in the initial growth of Northumberland, Westmoreland and Lancaster counties, quickly leading to a handful of major planters with substantial plantations worked by several servants, some slaves—both black and native—along with a few apprentices. The vast majority of landowners in the upper Northern Neck, however, had small holdings and at most, one or two bound laborers who worked alongside the landowner and his family. Northumberland and Westmoreland counties were lands apart but were also lands of small farmers and minor planters during the first two or so decades of their existence as chapter two will show.

CHAPTER TWO: A LAND OF SERVANTS IN VIRGINIA'S UPPER NORTHERN NECK, 1650-1672

Over the first two decades of white settlement in the Northern Neck region of Virginia, servants were the dominant form of unfree labor, similar to the rest of the colony. Unlike elsewhere in the Old Dominion, however, this did not change much, if at all, by the early 1670s. While the York and James River regions were beginning their transitions to a slave-based unfree labor force by the 1660s—or even earlier according to some scholars[112]—planters in the Northern Neck retained a heavy dependence on white servants. This was even more acute in the upper Northern Neck counties of Northumberland and Westmoreland than it was in the lower county of Lancaster, as will be outlined in this chapter.

Charting the movement, or lack thereof, from a system of bound laborers based largely on servants to one based almost exclusively on slaves can be a difficult task given that only one complete list of tithables remain extant for Northumberland or Westmoreland counties. And while it—the 1679 list discussed in chapter one—is an extremely valuable source, it does not detail types of tithables and instead only charts total tithables per landowner or planter. A few more detailed lists do remain extant from

[112] Most notable among them is John C. Coombs. In particular, see Coombs, "Building 'The Machine'." Also, see Coombs, "The Phases of Conversion," 332-360; and "Beyond the 'Origin Debate': Rethinking the Rise of Virginia Slavery" in *Early Modern Virginia: Reconsidering the Old Dominion*, eds., Douglas Bradburn and John C. Coombs (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2011): 239-278.

elsewhere in early Virginia, but only for Lancaster, Surry, and the Eastern Shore counties.[113]

As such, a variety of sources located in the court records of the upper Northern Neck counties must be consulted to even attempt this type of quantitative analysis. All such sources containing bound laborers, though, were not created equally. In particular, four distinct and consistent sources from county court records can be used, although their reliability, both qualitative and quantitative, varies greatly. These sources will be treated from least reliable to most reliable in this chapter (and later chapters as well), starting with headrights, or land certificates, followed by the most qualitatively reliable probate inventories and wills, and ending with the most quantitatively reliable of all, age judgments.[114]

Land Certifications in the Early Upper Northern Neck

The one advantage of headrights was the attention given to them by Virginia's General Assembly. In particular, two important acts were passed into law by the General Assembly relating to land certifications for the "importation of servants," one in 1642 and the other in 1658. Both were nearly identical to each other, with the 1658 statute adding a final line:

> Any person or persons clayming land as due by importation of servants they or each of them shall prove their title or just right, either before the Governour and Councill or produce certificates from the countie courts to the secrettaries office before any grant be admitted, and that no pattents be

[113] Coombs, "Building 'The Machine'," 77. See "Note on Sources and Language" for more.

[114] See the "Note on Sources" for more details on these sources and how their qualitative and quantitative reliability differs so dramatically when charting the existence and appearance of bound laborers.

> made without exact survey produced in the secretaries office as aforesaid.[115]

Even though headrights are not a particularly reliable quantitative source for identifying servants given the lack of labels identifying them as such, it will still be useful to outline the few times where it is obvious that they were being brought into Northumberland County,[116] who the people were responsible for their passage, and the land being granted for doing so.

Many servants identifiable through headrights were labeled as "maide servants," a common moniker for female servants in the seventeenth century. For example, William Bacon was granted a certificate for 300 acres on September 21, 1657 for transporting, among others, Margery, a "maide servant assigned by Mr. Nicolas Jernew," and Elizabeth, "a maide servant assigned by Thomas Philpott." This likely means that those two female indentured laborers were sold by Bacon to Jernew and Philpott, or perhaps had been part of a previous transaction between the parties. Either way, this type of agreement and the trading or selling of servants during colonial Virginia was a common occurrence. Unfortunately, this type of labeling of servants was few and far between—a total of only seven such "maide servants" were named thusly through 1672.[117]

Another way of gleaning some information from land certifications, that may or may not point to unambiguous servants, are other descriptors provided in the court

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[115] William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large*, 1:444-45. These acts imply that the headright system was abused often, making it a less than ideal system for determining the actual importation of servants to Virginia.

[116] Westmoreland County was not formed until 1653 and its extant records from then through 1672 are spotty so most of this chapter will revolve around the older county, Northumberland, with its more complete and less damaged run of court records.

[117] Margery and Elizabeth appear in NCOB, 1652-1665, 36, 52, 70, 76, 155, 162.

records. These include any persons either unnamed or only given a first name who are followed by a descriptor such as “Scot” or “Scotsman,” “Irish,” or even “the Turk.” For example, in early 1651 Richard Turney was awarded a certificate for land for the transportation of, among others, “Lyon the Turke” and two slaves into Northumberland County.[118] While this case is both amazing and useful, it was very rare as were those that labeled persons with descriptors such as Scot and Irish—although the latter were all concentrated between 1654 and 1657 for some reason, possibly related to the upheaval in the British Isles during Oliver Cromwell's Interregnum governance.[119] During that four-year span, five Irish servants and three Scottish servants appeared in the court proceedings involving the granting of land certificates. Other than those four years, however, no persons labeled in that way appeared in headright entries.[120]

Lastly, another example will show one of the major problems with using land certifications to get accurate counts of indentured servants. William Bennett, a servant to Christopher Garlington, was brought into the colony by Garlington in early 1663 along with two others. At the very same court, Bennett was ordered to serve Garlington an extra year after his term of service expired due to having “absented himselfe from his said Master's service upwards of fower months as is made manifest to this Court to his Master's great damage and charge in getting him againe.” The certificate was granted at

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[118] Northumberland Deeds and Orders, 1650-1652, 50. One is left to wonder who this “Turk” was, of course. It is likely he was a North African caught up in the nascent slave trade as much of that region was controlled by the Ottoman Empire by the 1600s, which could be where the label “Turk” came from, even if he wasn’t actually Turkish.

[119] Cromwell became self-proclaimed Lord Protector of the British Commonwealth in 1653 and served in that capacity until his death in 1658.

[120] NCOB, 1652-1665, 30, 31, 36, 55.

the same court when it was revealed that Bennett had been absent for four months, meaning Garlington sat on the certificate for at least four months and possibly much longer. And had it not been for the absence, it is unlikely that Bennett would have been identifiable as an indentured servant.[121]

While headrights do not provide a great mechanism for quantitatively assessing indentured servant immigration to Virginia, they do actually give some quantitative indication as to the paucity of black slaves coming into Northumberland during the years for which they appear. Headrights for blacks were similar to those for whites, granting fifty acres to planters and merchants for importing enslaved laborers into the colony. These records—unlike with servants—at least tended to be clear with regards to the status or ethnicity of black immigrants. They also confirm the lack of African laborers entering the Northern Neck region during the 1650s, 1660s, and into the 1670s.[122]

Only one of the twenty-two years for which headrights were granted for black slaves arriving in the upper Northern Neck saw more than five "Negroes" imported into

[121] NCOB, 1652-1665, 169. Interestingly, this was not the last time Bennett would run away either: on June 20, 1667, Garlington made a "complaynt to this Court that his servant," William Bennett being named that servant in the margins of the records, "hath absented himself from his service by running away one yeare and ten days at severall tymes." Bennett was then ordered "to serve his said Master for his said default according to Act double the said time." NCOB, 1666-1678, 10. Then, during a court session on August 24, 1669, Bennett was punished yet again for running away, this time from August 20 of the previous year to December 17, almost four months. Bennett was again ordered to serve Garlington double the time he was absent, plus another seven-plus months due to Bennett not being able to "perform his service" after returning, probably because of sustaining an injury while absent or in the process of being caught and returned. NCOB, 1666-1678, 36. In total, William Bennett served his master Christopher Garlington an extra four years-plus for running away for a total of one year and eight months.

[122] See Table 58 in Appendix II.

the region.[123] Therefore, the total of fifty-five slaves brought into Northumberland and Westmoreland counties—for an average of two and one-half per year—is not very indicative of the true flow of blacks into the region during the 1650s and 1660s. In fact, over 60% (35) of the fifty-five slaves were brought into the upper Northern Neck in one year—1664—which was an astounding number for that time and place. That one year skews the average significantly as two individuals were responsible for bringing in those large numbers of black slaves during this period. In Northumberland County, John Lee was awarded a staggering 4,700 acres partly for his transportation of twenty "negroes" into the county in April of 1664. Meanwhile, in Westmoreland County, Thomas Gerrard was given a certificate for 2,100 acres in large part due to his importation of fifteen slaves into the county in November of the same year. It is unlikely that these two rather large shipments of African slaves were destined for a single plantation given that even the biggest plantations around that time like George Colclough's in Northumberland County (more on him below) only housed about a dozen slaves at the time of his death in 1662. Instead, it is far more likely that they were destined for further sale and Gerrard and Lee may have been more intercolonial slave merchants than plantation owners,[124] although they could have become one of the latter easily enough with the lands they were granted. One other thing that is notable, however, is that Lee apparently brought the slaves into

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[123] This is another place where Westmoreland County's missing data—there are only extant Order Books, where most of the headrights were recorded, for two of the 20 years it existed during this period—make the conclusions here very tenuous about all except Northumberland County.

[124] For more on the intercolonial slave trade within North America and the Caribbean, see Gregory E. O'Malley, *Final Passages: The Intercolonial Slave Trade of British America, 1619-1807* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2014); and "Beyond the Middle Passage," 125-72.

Northumberland County on two different ships, one referred to as “Green's ship” and the other as the *Elizabeth*.[125]

Without Gerrard and Lee's shipments, the total headrights granted for black bonded workers for the period drops precipitously to twenty with the average falling below one per year. This actually makes black headrights relatively comparable to the number of white laborers listed in this manner. On the other hand, blacks were vastly more identifiable in lists of headrights than whites were, since many of the latter often shared common English names with their masters and their master's family members. Headrights granted during the 1650s and 1660s, then, do seem to more accurately portray the paucity of black slaves being brought into the region then it does the more significant number of servants who arrived during the first two full decades of English settlement in the upper Northern Neck.

Inventories and Wills in the Early Upper Northern Neck, 1650-1672

A markedly more reliable group of sources for quantitative and qualitative purposes, inventories and to a lesser extent wills, can be used to tease out better counts of servants and slaves, along with useful ratios between the two and how planters constructed bound labor forces to toil on their early farms and plantations. As mentioned previously, however, these sources have their own problems when it comes to charting an accurate account of servitude and slavery during the 1650s and 1660s. While inventories and wills can provide good accounts of certain planters’ unfree labor forces, they are problematic because they relied purely on mortality at a given time and place. In other

[125] NCOB, 1652-1665, 195.

words, a planter's bound labor force could look very different from one year to another due to servants' terms ending and high mortality rates, so the timing of a planter's death could have serious implications for the calculation of overall servant and slave numbers, and the ratio between the two.

Russell Menard showed this phenomenon rather explicitly when discussing and researching York County.[126] From 1665 to 1669, Menard cites the appearance of twenty-nine servants in the inventories of planters in York County, but those same planters only had three slaves in total (see Table 4). This was shown to be anomalous, however, when looking at previous date ranges: from 1645 to 1653 and 1657 to 1662, the ratio of servants to slaves was much smaller: 1.50 and 1.81, respectively. Similarly, right after the late 1660s described above where a 9.66 servant-to-slave ratio was charted—which displays the pitfalls in using inventories in relatively short periods of time as well[127]—the early 1670s saw a return to a ratio right below two-to-one in favor of servants.

Table 4: Servants and Slaves in Probate Inventories in York County, Virginia, 1657-1674

Dates	Servants	Slaves	Ratio
1645-1653	15	10	1.50
1657-1662*	38	21	1.81
1665-1669*	29	3	9.66
1670-1674	38	20	1.90

[126] See Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," 355-90.

[127] As Table 4 shows, inventories were not necessarily the best records to use when trying to chart-year-to-year differences. Since inventories were based purely on those planters who died during a given time period, the sample would not necessarily be representative of reality at any given point in time. In other words, if a significantly large number of planters with slaves or with servants only happened to die in a four or five year span, that would cause the phenomenon that Menard noted during the late 1660s in York County. Given the high mortality in seventeenth-century Virginia, it is likely this "presentist bias" in the data would be rectified by looking at slightly larger periods of time, at least a decade or more.

Source: Russell Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," 361, 368. I compiled the raw numbers in this table by multiplying his ratios in Tables 2 and 4 to the total number of inventories provided in his Table 4.
* – The missing years, 1654-1656 and 1663-1664, are missing in Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," 361 and 368, Tables 2 and 4.

In fact, this type of ratio continued until 1685 when slaves began to outnumber servants in inventories. As Menard contended, "in the prime tobacco lands between the James and Rappahannock rivers the transition was especially rapid and dramatic."[128]

By doing something similar to what Menard did for York County and compiling all bound laborers mentioned in the inventories from the upper Northern Neck during the 1650s and 1660s, a decent albeit partial picture of unfree labor counts and ratios can be compiled as is done in Table 5.

Table 5: Ratio of Servants to Slaves in Probate Inventories in Virginia's Upper Northern Neck, 1652-1672

Dates	Servants	Slaves	Ratio
1652-1659	38	6	6.33
1660-1665	75*	17*	4.41
1666-1672	21	7	3.00

Source: NCRB, 1652-1672. The data in this table were compiled using inventories—although there is some ambiguity to the data due to problems with the surviving records, especially from the 1650s—based on nine inventories with bound laborers in them from 1652 to 1659, sixteen inventories from 1660 to 1665, and six inventories from 1666 to 1672. This displays the unpredictability and unreliability of inventories rather well—see the "Note on Sources" for more.
* – These numbers include three Indians, one who is called a "servant" and the other two that are referenced as "slaves." For more discussion on these two Indian "slaves," see below.

[128] Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," 361-62.

The first noticeable trend is that black presence in the region was relatively small during the 1650s with only six black slaves appearing in extant inventories compared to almost forty servants in Northumberland County alone.[129] That ratio of over six servants for every slave is much higher than Menard's numbers, where a ratio of around two-to-one existed in York County during the 1650s. Second, even the wealthier planters in Northumberland County could acquire only a few slaves at a time and retained a significant reliance on servants during those early years of white settlement in the upper Northern Neck.[130]

By the 1660s and into the 1670s, meanwhile, more slaves began to appear in the upper Northern Neck but so too did more servants. While still fairly small overall, the number of slaves (24)[131] who appeared in the extant inventories from the upper Northern Neck counties increased four-fold versus the years prior to 1660. Servants also showed up more regularly in inventories during the decade-plus after 1660, with almost one hundred appearing, providing evidence of the overall increase in the incidence of white servants in the upper Northern Neck that has been charted elsewhere in the Chesapeake during the 1660s.[132]

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[129] Where they still exist, Westmoreland County's records are not in very good shape during the 1650s but Thomas Boys was the one Westmoreland planter during the 1650s to definitely have bound laborers, two servants.

[130] Those wealthier planters are the ones upon whom John C. Coombs and Anthony S. Parent focus in "Building 'The Machine'" and *Foul Means*, respectively.

[131] Of the twenty-three slaves in this later period, two Indians were notably listed as "slaves."

[132] Many scholars have claimed that the 1660s were the high point of servants being imported into the Chesapeake. In particular, see Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*; Russell Menard, "From Servants to Slaves"; David Galenson, *White Servitude in Colonial America*; Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, *A Place in Time*; and James Horn, *Adapting to a New World* (among several others).

Moreover, the ratio of around four-and-a-half servants for every slave, is still over twice as high as Menard's York County numbers, where a ratio of around two-to-one existed (see Tables 4 and 5). Therefore, the upper Northern Neck's continuing reliance on English, not African labor was still very robust during the 1660s. Only the wealthiest planters there could acquire more than a few slaves with the twelve slaves owned by George Colclough in his 1662 inventory being the highest by far (discussed more below). Although notably, he too had twice as many servants laboring at his two plantations at the time of his death so even he, the biggest planter in the upper Northern Neck during the 1660s, still relied on white bound labor twice as much as he did upon slave labor.

The other important bit of information that inventories provide is about the makeups and worth of all landowners' estates, from the few wealthiest planters like George Colclough to the smallest of small farmers. In particular for this study, bound laborers can be tabulated from all estates that contained any and compared to each other; then, those estates can be compared to those without any such laborers as to the worth of the estates. While assessing the value of an estate can sometimes be easy—many appraisers included total worth, often in pounds of tobacco and occasionally in pounds sterling, in their reports to the county justices—it is often not so straightforward. Some estates contained several outstanding debts, for instance, both to the planter and from the planter, making true worth difficult to gauge. Nonetheless, it is a useful exercise to calculate worth among such a cross-section of economic strata when trying to determine the overall wealth of a county or region's planters and small farmers, and how bound laborers broke down among such socio-economic groups.

Few Bound Laborers in Inventories from the 1650s

Of the fifty-one extant inventories from Northumberland and Westmoreland counties during the 1650s, forty-one (80.4%) contained no bound laborers of any kind. These raw totals are decent encapsulations of early upper Northern Neck settlements, dependent as they were on small farmers who likely had little to no extra income to spend on unfree laborers.[133] In fact, a quick look at the total worth of these farmers' estates can help crystallize this point: farmers without any bound laborers at the time of their death had relatively low worth to their estates when compared to those estates that contained unfree laborers.[134] And for many, the gap was significant. Still, some exceptions existed, of course. The Northumberland County estate of John Dennis, which was proved in court in early 1653, had a worth of 15,850 pounds of tobacco, well above the highest variance of 10,350 pounds of tobacco taken from the pre-1655 estates.[135] Dennis's estate even had significantly more worth than two estates of minor planters from the same time period who had unfree laborers in their inventories, that of Edward Tempest and Florentine Suningberke. Similarly, the Northumberland estate of small farmer John Gresham, which was documented in the court records in 1656-1657, had a worth of 17,966 pounds of tobacco with no bound laborers evident, more than double the post-1655 top variance of 8,488 pounds of tobacco. Again, similar to Dennis, Gresham's estate was equal to the

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[133] Small farmers were those without bound laborers whereas small or "minor" planters owned one or two, but no more than a few. See chapter one for more.

[134] See Tables 59 and 60 in Appendix II.

[135] This variance is based on the standard deviation of all of the estates from the early 1650s, which is calculated by adding that standard deviation to the average value, resulting in a top range of possible values based on the average and how much any given value tended to deviate from that average. Essentially, variance is a statistical tool to find the "normal range" of values minus outliers.

holdings of his contemporary Ralph Horsley and worth well more than Henry Mosley's estate, both minor planters who had bound laborers. Still, these were the exceptions—most minor planters had significantly wealthier holdings at the time of their deaths than small farmers.

Nine of the ten inventories with unfree laborers during the 1650s were located in Northumberland County with only one from Westmoreland.[136] In total, the ten inventories had between thirty-seven and forty servants as compared to five or six slaves, for a ratio of between 6.17 and 8.00 servants-to-slaves.[137] This range is even greater when the inventory of the one truly large planter in the region from the 1650s, John Mottrom, is removed from the count. The other nine planters had relied almost exclusively, or perhaps completely, on servants for their bound laborers. Between thirty-one and thirty-four such laborers served on those farms and plantations during the 1650s—and likely more since some had likely served out their terms by the time their masters died—as compared to at most one slave among the whole lot.

A brief look inside those nine estates—Mottrom's inventory will be discussed in detail below—shows a variety of situations with none having more than eight servants still under contract by the times of their deaths. Two estates—that of Henry Mosley whose inventory dates from 1656 and Robert Newman whose inventory dates from the following year—had only one servant and Newman's appraisers actually reported that his

[136] See Table 60 in Appendix II.

[137] The slight inexactitude here is based on the records not being totally clear who was a slave and who was a servant, a rare but not unique occurrence in earlier county court records.

one servant, a “lame...Maid Servant” had died “having one and a half years to serve.”[138] As for Mosley's servant, his appraisers commented that he had only “three months’ service” remaining with “his corn and clothes being due to him” after that time.[139] These two estates show how inventories can be treacherous to rely upon too heavily as both planters, had they died only a few months later, may have had no bound laborers under contract to be listed and instead been classified as small farmers erroneously.

Among the other seven estates with bound laborers listed among the holdings, two others had only two servants under contract upon their deaths. This left five—all in Northumberland County—with what, for the upper Northern Neck during the 1650s, can be termed a moderate-to-significant number of unfree laborers, three or more. In 1653, for instance, Edward Tempest's estate was appraised before the Northumberland County court with six servants listed—five men and one “sick boy.” This estate is notable for two other reasons: one, it was the largest holding of bound laborers in an inventory to that point, but it was also the first to contain a listed worth for those servants of 5,500 pounds of tobacco. Interestingly, this was over half of the total estate's listed worth of 10,826 pounds of tobacco.[140]

Another inventory, that of Ralph Horsley, appeared in the Northumberland County court in 1656 and was the first to list the names of the six—and maybe seven—servants contracted to the estate. That possible final servant is not as easily identifiable, described simply as “one man Thomas,” which is often how slaves were described—in

[138] NCRB, 1652-1658, 112; NCRB, 1658-1662, 28.
[139] NCRB, 1652-1658, 91.
[140] NCRB, 1652-1658, 18.

other words, without last names and called either “man” or “boy” for males. Still, Thomas is listed under the heading “Indentures” so it is likely that this unfree laborer was a servant whose last name was simply not listed. If Thomas was a slave—or a black indentured servant, a true rarity by the 1650s in Virginia—he would be the first black person, and possibly the first enslaved individual, to appear in a Northumberland County or upper Northern Neck inventory.[141]

Two other inventories deserve some attention, those of William Nash from 1657 and John Hudnall from 1659, due to the details their appraisers provided. First, both contain lists of servants and their times remaining to serve. Nash's three servants are the most fully detailed, with each servant's remaining contract explicitly detailed: Laurence Simmons with over twelve years to serve, Edward Sidberra with slightly over a year to serve, and an “Irish Maid named Mary” with three years to serve. Besides this trend being established—the other two inventories appraised during 1657 also list these specific contract details—Nash's estate also lists the worth of his three servants as five thousand pounds of tobacco and even has a monetary amount designated for each servant. Most notably was that Simmons, a male but likely a child because of the long 12-plus year term he had left to serve, was listed as being worth two thousand pounds of tobacco, the same worth of the Irish maid Mary, who had a much shorter term of three years remaining. This shows both the value of a servant who can work a variety of tasks at an adult level even if their term length was on the short side, and that women were still expected and required to do similar jobs to men during the 1650s, which likely included

[141] NCRB, 1652-1658, 90-91.

time in the tobacco fields. Although, it should be noted that Nash's other servant—a man with about 40% of the time remaining to serve as compared to Mary's three years—was listed as being worth one thousand pounds of tobacco, half of Mary's worth for less than half of the remaining contract length.[142]

John Hudnall's estate, meanwhile, is notable since he should likely be described as a major planter for the early Northern Neck at least in terms of wealth, with a total value of 57,461 pounds of tobacco.[143] Hudnall's inventory listed seven and probably eight servants: a “mayde Servant”; two “men Servants, 3 yeares to serve or thereabouts”; one “old man Servant”; one “boy”; “a man servant to serve upwards of one year”; and “one woman servant,” possibly with “a young child,” with indeterminate amounts of time to serve. No slaves appeared in Hudnall’s inventory, however, speaking to the paucity of enslaved labor availability in the upper Northern Neck during the 1650s if this middling to major planters had none.[144]

Finally, John Mottrom's death in 1655 provided an estate with a treasure trove of information for the Northern Neck's first major planter and his holdings in the first full decade of Northumberland County's existence. Mottrom, the region's first Burgess to the General Assembly, possessed the first estate to definitely include both white servants and African slaves at the time of his death. Two years later, Mottrom's appraisers presented his inventory in court and listed six servants and five “Negroes” in his estate.

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[142] NCRB, 1652-1658, 125-26. It is also likely that Mary's status as an “Irish” woman was important as well. As shown below, Irish servants were treated very differently from English servants during the 1650s, especially as it related to term lengths.

[143] Similar to some other estates in this and later periods, Hudnall's inventory also showed a bill due to his estate in the amount of twenty shillings sterling.

[144] NCRB, 1658-1666, 37-38.

Furthermore, Mottrom's inventory listed those six servants with their times remaining and a total worth of all of them together in the amount of nine thousand pounds of tobacco.[145] Another interesting facet of Mottrom's inventory is that, when the division of the "goods" belonging to his children and his wife occurred—his wife was, by then, married to George Colclough, making Colclough the richest planter in the region when he died seven years after Mottrom—the nationalities of the various servants was given. Walter Owen and William Taylor were listed as "English servants" and George Slytham and John Warner were referred to as "English boys," while Thomas Hammond was called an "Irish boy."[146]

Mottrom's inventory also contained five slaves: one man, John; one "boy" named Daniell; two women, Elizabeth and Joane; and an unnamed boy only referred to as "Elizabeth's son." Given these descriptions, it was likely that Daniell was not a child of one of Mottrom's slaves and Elizabeth's son was probably very young. This holding of at least five African slaves was, by far, the biggest in Northumberland or Westmoreland counties during the 1650s.

Therefore, Mottrom's estate was certainly an outlier in the Northern Neck during the 1650s. Mottrom's six- or seven-to-five ratio of servants to slaves—1.2 or 1.4 servants for every slave[147]—was far smaller than any other planter's in the upper Northern Neck.

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[145] See Table 61 in Appendix II.

[146] NCRB, 1652-1658, 117-20, 124. This is fairly rare in the county court records being researched for this project as often, only Irish servants were highlighted as such and occasionally Scots, but it was likely assumed that if no description was given, the servants were English.

[147] The seventh servant, Thomas Hazelip, was freed between when Mottrom died in 1655 and when the estate was probated and inventoried in 1657, again alluding the trepidation of relying too heavily on inventories due to their presentist bias.

As mentioned above, there may have been zero, or at the most one other African laborer in Northumberland or Westmoreland inventories before Mottrom's death, at least from those recorded and that have survived. Mottrom's ratio was also smaller than the average ratio for Lancaster County during the 1650s,[148] even though much of the county grew sweet-scented tobacco. As such, Lancaster became significantly richer than Northumberland and Westmoreland and planters there could afford African slaves much earlier than its northern neighbors. Mottrom, therefore, was certainly one of the biggest planters in the early Northern Neck region—not all that surprising given that he was one of the first, and possibly the first Englishman to settle there.

Inventories with Bound Laborers Increase in the 1660s

By the 1660s, however, almost half (46.9%) of the forty-nine extant inventories in those two counties contained bound laborers in them. This did not mean the upper Northern Neck was becoming all that much more like its neighbors to the south—where bigger planters were becoming significantly more numerous—because more than half (12) of the twenty-three estates with servants listed in them contained only one or two. The upper Northern Neck was certainly still a land of minor planters and small farmers during the 1660s, but those with small plantations were expanding in both wealth and as to their bound labor forces.[149]

Furthermore, the vast majority of these unfree laborers were still servants—only five inventories (10.2%) from 1660 to 1672 definitely contained a slave at all—but slaves

[148] Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," 365. Mottrom's 1.2 or 1.4 ratio of servants to slaves bested Lancaster's average of 1.5 for the years between 1645 and 1653, and of 1.81 for the years between 1657 and 1662.

[149] For a discussion of small farmers versus minor and other types of planters, see chapter one.

were significantly more numerous than during the 1650s. Meanwhile, the older of the two counties, Northumberland, slipped slightly behind its younger neighbor, Westmoreland, in this category. Specifically, of the fourteen extent inventories recorded in the Westmoreland County court between 1660 and 1672, two listed both servants and slaves (14.3%), whereas only three did the same in Northumberland but of a significantly higher number of extant inventories (35) in its county court records (8.6%).

As to wealth of the estates inventoried during the 1660s that have values attached, estates with bound laborers in their inventories were worth around six times as much as those with no bound laborers in them.[150] Given that those inventories had such widely divergent values, a few examples highlighting the average and median estates along with the outliers will be useful to paint a fuller picture.[151] One quintessential small farmer with no bound laborers, for example, had his estate inventoried in May of 1662 in the amount of 4,736 pounds of tobacco. The inventory of Richard White's estate reads like the prototypical small farmer that he was: “2 ruggs & 1 banket, 1 tin dripinge pan, 1 pint pewter pot, 2 trayes & 5 lbs. sugar, 1 small iron kettle, 1 brass kettle” and so on. White's estate also included a hammer, drawing knife, and other knives along with “1 paire of plaine shooes,” plus what appears to be White's children's shoes and several items

[150] This ratio is a bit misleading, however, due to the wide variety of wealth in both groups of inventories, especially the ones with bound laborers that included the richest planter in the upper Northern Neck up to this period, George Colclough. After removing his inventory, therefore, the ratio becomes closer to four-to-one. Notably, the smaller ratio without Colclough's estate is similar to the one derived from the medians of the two groups—both with (4.23-to-1) and without Colclough's (4.09-to-1) estate—which is the much more reliable statistic anyway for such comparisons given that it is less sensitive to outliers. See Tables 62 and 63 in Appendix II.

[151] See Tables 62 and 63 in Appendix II.

belonging to his wife. White's status as an average small farmer without bound laborers is certainly backed up by his possessions.[152]

A notably anomalous estate exists in the form of Robert Browne's inventory, which was valued at 10,724 pounds of tobacco in September of 1669. Browne was most likely a tailor since several of the inventoried items were described as such: “2 paires of Taylers sheares”; “2 taylers bodkins”; and “a parcell of taylers shreds.” Furthermore, several bills owed to Browne were also listed, something very few small farmers had since there was little anyone would have ever borrowed or bought from them. A local tailor, on the other hand, would have many wealthier customers as Browne did with bills from planters such as Peter Ashton, Richard Cole, and many others. It is also little wonder that Browne did not possess any bound laborers as very few servants or slaves who arrived in early Virginia possessed such skills and apprentices were still relatively scarce (as discussed in chapter three).[153]

Meanwhile, although it is difficult to find a tipping point as to the value an estate needed to contain a bound laborer in this period, a tipping range can be identified. Using the more substantive data from Northumberland County during the 1660s, a range of around ten thousand pounds of tobacco, plus or minus a thousand, seemed to be needed before a smaller farmer could afford to purchase a bound laborer. For example, only three of the eleven estates with no bound laborers in them were valued within this range during the 1660s—those of the tailor Browne, along with two more traditional small farmers,

[152] NCRB, 1658-1666, 76.
[153] NCRB, 1666-1672, 106-7.

John Pearse and John Shaw.[154] Meanwhile, only four of the fifteen estates with bound laborers in them were valued below that range—those of Robert Smith, John Earle, Robert Lord, and John Bennet. Still, the four estates only had one servant each, and Bennet did not even own his servant outright at the time of his death, it was owed to him.[155]

By far the biggest outlier of all estates inventoried during the 1650s and 1660s—but also for decades to follow—was that of George Colclough. He was easily one of the richest planters in the early Northern Neck region—and possibly the richest although the wealth of Lancaster County planters was expanding greatly in this period—and by far the wealthiest in Northumberland County up to that time. Furthermore, Colclough was also a member of the General Assembly for a year and a top magistrate in the Northumberland County court for over five years before his death in 1662. Although it is hard to compile a total amount for his estate given the multiple times portions of his estate were inventoried in court—not to mention the several "goods not appraised" scattered throughout[156]—there is no doubt to its vastness. In the most complete inventory taken of Colclough's estate in September of 1662, his appraisers reported that he had amassed "goods and chattells" in the amount of 103,126 pounds of tobacco.[157] Then, almost two years later, Isaac Allerton—one of Colclough's appraisers and by then, new husband to Colclough's widowed second wife Elizabeth—reported that Colclough's accounts had a total value of 198,635 pounds of tobacco. This more sizable amount includes both accounts owed to

[154] NCRB, 1666-1672, 33, 37, 54.
[155] NCRB, 1658-1666, 60, 75, 77; NCRB, 1666-1672, 38.
[156] NCRB, 1658-1662, 83.
[157] NCRB, 1658-1662, 82.

and owed by Colclough, which both attest to his connections and network, and his wealth at such an early date in the history of the county and the Northern Neck region. Moreover, Colclough was likely one of the few early planters in colonial Virginia to have more than one significant "plantation." Colclough's first plantation, Hull's Thickett, was smaller but not inconsequential, with an appraised value of 39,306 pounds of tobacco, which by itself was well over the average worth of estates during this time period. His second and newest plantation, Street's Neck, was over half again as large as Hull's Thickett, with an appraised value of 63,820 pounds of tobacco.[158]

Unsurprisingly, Colclough also had the most diverse labor force to appear in any upper Northern Neck inventory during the first two decades for which records remain extant. Colclough's inventory contained thirty-seven bound laborers, two-thirds of which (24) were servants. The remainder consisted of twelve "negroes" and one Indian labeled as a "servant," equating to a ratio of slightly over two servants—white and Indian—to every one slave.[159] This ratio seems consistent with other larger holdings in the upper Northern Neck during those early decades. In fact, of the five extant inventories appraised before 1672 that included black slaves, those estates contained forty-one white servants compared to twenty-one "negroes" and three "indians," amounting to a ratio of

[158] NCRB, 1662-1666, 82-83.

[159] NCRB, 1662-1666, 82. If white servants were compared to the slaves and Indian servant, Francisco, instead, the ratio was more like 1.85-to-1.

either slightly below or slightly above two-to-one servants for every one slave, depending on how the Indians are classified.[160]

Even when each plantation is treated separately, the ratios of servants to slaves remain remarkably consistent, leading to speculation that the roughly two-to-one ratio of whites-to-blacks was a conscious decision and one that provided stability in what was a growing racially heterogeneous world. At Hull's Thickett, for example, appraisers listed eight servants—plus one unborn child—along with four black slaves.[161] Similarly, Street's Neck housed around two-thirds of Colclough's total number of bound laborers, almost double the number of slaves as Hull's Thickett—seven as compared to four—and slightly more than double the number of servants if Francisco the Indian is included with the latter, seventeen as compared to eight.[162] Therefore, Street's Neck contained a slightly higher ratio than Hull's Thickett of 2.43 servants for every slave.

Not every one of Colclough's servants had a specific value attached to their remaining service, but a few did such as Charles Sparks at Hull's Thickett plantation and his thirteen month term being valued at eight hundred pounds of tobacco. In total, only five of the twenty-five servants were valued, with a low of six hundred pounds of tobacco and a high of 1,400 pounds of tobacco. Meanwhile, the eleven slaves who were appraised also included a range as to their worth, from a low of 2,200 pounds of tobacco to a high of 3,500 pounds of tobacco. These ranges show in stark detail the significant expense to

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[160] The other inventories for which blacks appear besides Colclough's are in the inventories of John Mottrom, Richard Wright, and Simon Overzee. NCRB, 1652-1658, 118; NCRB, 1662-1666, 107, 117-18.

[161] See Table 64 in Appendix II.

[162] See Table 65 in Appendix II.

all but the largest upper Northern Neck planters and their ability to purchase slaves in the 1650s and 1660s. While a slave provided a much higher ceiling as to their available labor given they could theoretically work until old age, the risk was paramount as mortality rates remained high in mid-seventeenth century Virginia.[163] Therefore, only rich planters such as Colclough and John Mottrom before him could afford to buy even a few slaves at prices from two to six times the amount servants were selling for in mid-century Virginia.

Wills from the 1650s and 1660s

Wills, meanwhile, can be seen as a qualitative companion to the more quantitatively robust inventories, meaning they can be used mostly as anecdotal evidence to further support the claims made earlier, but not for firm statistical data. For one, wills were occasionally written hastily—many times on the deathbeds of the testator—and can vary widely in both length and description. Conversely, wills were also sometimes written well before the death of the planter. Finally, some planters died without any will at all, or their wills were never proved in court. Nonetheless, some well detailed wills that were written relatively close to the time when the testator died, but not necessarily on their deathbeds, are useful windows into some planters' estates and often how goods, including bound laborers, were distributed to their beneficiaries.

To briefly address all of the wills during the 1650s—along with some written during the 1640s—that were proved in upper Northern Neck county courts, there are forty-five extant wills from Northumberland and Westmoreland counties. Out of those,

[163] Christopher Tomlins calculated a survival rate of 60% for entering servants—and by extension, all white immigrants and possibly black ones as well—who labored for five years, starting with a 25% mortality rate in the first ("seasoning") year and a 5.4% yearly decrease after the first year. This mortality rate grew to around 50% by years 9 and 10. Tomlins, *Freedom Bound*, Appendix II, 583-85.

only eight (17.8%) mentioned a bound laborer of some sort.[164] Of the eight wills with servants or slaves mentioned in them, four give very little description of their unfree workers, describing them as “one servant” or “my boys.” Two others—that of Richard Budd from Northumberland and Thomas Boys from Westmoreland—included only slightly more specificity. For example, Budd mentions two of his “men” by name in his will from November of 1659—John and Simon—whose service he described as “faithfully fulfilled” with each being “bequeath[ed] one cow calfe” out of Budd's estate, a not uncommon occurrence especially in the earlier part of the seventeenth century.[165]

Two other wills from larger estates—those of William Presly, Sr. and Thomas Speke—deserve some discussion for what they say about bound laborers in the holdings of planters of consequence during the 1650s. William Presly’s will was proved in court on the 20th of January 1657, yet it was written over six years previously, in August of 1650. Therefore, it is likely Presly’s wealth and bound labor force were much different from when the will was written to when he died, especially given that his sons both became major planters in their own rights by the 1660s and beyond. Still, Presly's 1650 will contains several mentions of servants, some of whom were unnamed and parts of business dealings and his bequeaths to his family. At least three and likely four servants were mentioned in those ways, yet only one was actually named, an unfortunately common occurrence throughout the extant wills.

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[164] It should be noted, however, that this number can be somewhat misleading since at least two of the testators—Walter Brodhurst and William Balldridge, both of Westmoreland County—did not mention unfree laborers in their wills, yet when their inventories were later recorded in the county court ledger, both had bound workers in their estates.

[165] NCRB, 1658-1666, 30.

One particular passage in Presly's will gives some indication of the size of his overall holdings in bound laborers, along with a hint at the agricultural diversity of this early Northern Neck plantation:

> I give unto my son William a thousand pounds of tobacco to build him a house. I give him one hundred of the best apple trees that be in the nursery. I desire that my two sons may live together and in case they part that my son Peter help my son W[illia]m to clear his plantation at convenient times when Peter and his Servants be most at leasure and not per induced by it.[166]

Therefore, while Presly never mentions many of his servants by name, it is obvious that his unfree labor force was noteworthy and his plantation was as well.

Another significant planter, Thomas Speke of Westmoreland County, wrote a relatively detailed will in December of 1659, very shortly before his death about six weeks later. While not on his deathbed per se, it is possible that Speke was ill at the time and trying to get his affairs in order. In his will, Speke bequeathed the following bound laborers to his wife Frances and his son Thomas:

> Unto my loveing wife Frances Speke one half of all my servants excepting Negroes and the other half to my son Thomas Speke. Unto my loveing wife Francis Speke the Negro woman but all the children for the future proceeding from her to be equally divided between my wife and son Thomas Speke. Unto my son Thomas Speke my Negro man Tom and girl Frances with all the children which shall proceed from the girl.

While it is impossible to determine the exact number of servants Speke owned upon his death in very late 1659 or early 1660, it was likely considerable for the time since he decreed for them to be split equally among his wife and son. At a minimum, Speke likely held four or more servants—plus one “old servant” named James Callstreame to whom

[166] NCRB, 1652-1658, 95-96.

Speke bequeathed his “best suit of clothes and an hatt” in his will—as compared to three “Negroes.” And while it appears as if the black woman and girl had no children at the time of Speke's death, he did specifically mention “all the children for the future,” giving some indication of the worth of slave women and their offspring to future generations.[167] Speke's estate of four or more servants and three slaves, therefore, is decently comparable to John Mottrom's estate of seven servants and five slaves from a few years earlier.

The will of major planter Richard Wright[168]—proved in the Northumberland County court in December of 1663—provides a good example of why wills are not overly reliable quantitative sources and should be used more for anecdotal evidence. Wright's inventory was helpfully detailed in court only a few months after his will, so a direct comparison between the two can be made. For example, in the inventory, Wright's estate was listed as including the following:

> One Negro woman & two Children; five servants (vizt.): Samuel Jewell haveing three yeares to serve; William Grandee haveing two yeares to serve; Edmund Holder, an Apothecary, two yeares to serve, with one Chest with some medicines; Elizabeth Holmes two yeares to serve; Margarett Richardson three yeares to serve.[169]

Wright's will, on the other hand, was significantly less detailed as it related to his bound labor force: “I will & require that all my English Servants & Negroes (not hereafter by mee bequeathed) & all the reste of my personall Estate in Virginia & Maryland be equally devided into three parts” with his wife receiving one part and his children

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[167] WCRB, 1653-1671, 103-5.

[168] Wright's inventory was significant, appraised at 23,344 pounds of tobacco. Importantly, that appraisal did not include one of his servants, a Shallop, several livestock animals, and more, so the value of his estate was likely much closer to 30,000 pounds of tobacco.

[169] NCRB, 1662-1666, 117-18.

splitting the other two. Interestingly, Wright did specifically bequeath two unfree laborers—"a Negro woman called Patience & her Child called Grande"[170]—to his wife, probably because Patience was Anne Wright's maid. Therefore, it seems that the other six bound laborers—one Negro child and five English servants—were to be split among Wright's family, with two more going to Anne and the other four being given to the Wright children. Without the significantly more useful inventory, however, that would have remained almost completely unknown by using the will alone.[171]

Another will shows the Atlantic connections of upper Northern Neck planters. Sampson Cooper was listed as being "late of Rippin in the County of Yorke in England," but apparently died in Virginia since his will decries that he should receive a "decent buriall in the Land of Coll. John Trussell & in his burying place." Trussell, along with Cooper's "loveing Friend" George Colclough, both major planters in the Northern Neck, were also to be the administrators of Cooper's estate, meaning he had very powerful friends. Furthermore, Cooper outlined what was to happen to his two sons, Samuel and Jonathan. They were to be cared for by Trussell and Colclough until such time as they could be sent back to England with Samuel being ordered by his father to "bind himselfe an Apprentice" there to another of Cooper's friends. It is unclear if Cooper ever gave any consideration to his sons staying in Virginia to become apprentices there since his sons were also seemingly bequeathed land back in England, but given the state of colonial

[170] Notably, the name of Patience's child, Grande, was very close to the last name of one of Wright's servants, William Grandee. This could be a total coincidence—planters often gave their African laborers strange names—but relationships between servants and slaves was fairly common, so it is certainly possible that Grande was the child of Patience and William Grandee.

[171] NCRB, 1662-1666, 114.

apprenticeship—which was very poor during the 1650s and 1660s as will be detailed later in chapter three—that thought may have been dismissed outright by Cooper.[172]

A final example of a more reflective will, the 1671 will of Northumberland County resident Robert Walton, shows how slaves were often afterthoughts when planters contemplated the future of their plantations and bound labor forces. Walton, having "two [servants] already" and "one maide" at the time he wrote out his will, outlined a plan for his executor to purchase, if he could, "foure male servants this yeare" and one or two more should be hired if needed. Only then, after laying out specific plans for the acquiring of several servants—up to six more, which would amount to a doubling over the three he owned at the time of his will—does Walton touch on the possible purchase of "one or more Negroes from time to time." It is clear Walton saw black slaves as too difficult to procure or too expensive for his small plantation. Walton's hopes may have been exceedingly lofty, considering his small bound labor force at the time of his will, but, if slaves were more than mere afterthoughts at this time for upper Northern Neck planters, Walton's will—an apparent wish list to achieve a higher status for his children—would likely reflect that.[173]

"Unindentured" Servants: Incidence, Ages and Lengths of Service

Now, to move to the 1660s more completely and to engage one of the most quantitatively dependable accountings of servants in colonial Virginia, age judgments. Several laws were passed by the Virginia General Assembly concerning this process of younger servants having their ages judged by county magistrates if they arrived in the

[172] NCRB, 1658-1662, 33-34.
[173] NCRB, 1666-1672, 188-96.

colony without indentures.[174] There were several important reasons for this new regulation, but mainly they were for the purposes of assessing taxation and term lengths. First, young bound laborers—both black and white—only became tithable at a certain age, usually in the early- to mid-teenage years. Second, term lengths for young uncontracted servants were, obviously, dependent on the age of the child once an age "to be freed" was firmly established.

Age judgments, therefore, required masters to bring newly acquired servants who immigrated to the colony without an indenture to the local county court for justices to literally "make inspection and judge of their ages."[175] A 1662 act, one of the last among two decades' worth of legislation on the topic, reinforced the importance of this process by stating that courts were the "appointed judges of the age of servants comeing in without indentures." The Assembly mandated that

> Every master buying or bringing in a servant without indenture shalbe enjoyned to carry him to the court within fower months after he hath bought him, when they may have judgment of his age, or else that the servant shall serve noe longer than those of sixteen yeares of age by custome of the country.[176]

This legal action must have been a bizarre process where justices assessed a young child or teenager and determined his or her age, sometimes to the half-year. Still, this statutory

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[174] Not much is known about the origins of these young uncontracted laborers. James Horn supposes that the majority of servants who ended up along the Rappahannock River counties "were probably recruited in London, since most merchants trading to the Rappahannock were from the capital, but, in view of English migratory patterns, this does not imply that servants invariably came from the city itself." Horn, *Adapting to a New World*, 184.

[175] Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," 363.

[176] William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large*, 2:169.

maneuver was important, resulting as it did in a young servant's term of service being set and a determination made about when he would become taxable.[177]

The first act passed in 1643 by the General Assembly related to unindentured servants occurred before the Northern Neck was made into official counties and well before the system of age judgments was implemented. That act was in response to "divers controversies...between masters and servants being brought into the collony without indentures or covenants to testifie their agreements whereby both masters and servants have been often prejudiced." As a result of these challenges, the Assembly enacted the following statute:

> For prevention of future controversies of the like nature, that such servants as shall be imported haveing no indentures or covenants either men or women if they be above twenty year old to serve fowre year, if they shall be above twelve and under twenty to serve five years, And if under twelve to serve seaven years.[178]

The 1643 statute quelled disagreements over the issue of term lengths for unindentured laborers for about a decade. Then, in 1655 an Act of Assembly was passed related only to Irish servants who were "brought into this collony without indenture (notwithstanding the acts for servants without indentures it being only to the benefitt of our own nation)." Irish unindentured servants—and shortly after that, "all aliens"—were

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[177] Hening, 1:361, 454. Only white male servants aged sixteen and over were tithable. Female servants were not taxable at all by the 1650s—as opposed to African women who were taxable as early as 1643—unless they were used in agricultural laboring. This last condition, however, is important since only white female servants could be tithable depending on what type of labor they performed. The General Assembly notably "said nothing about wives and daughters engaged in similar labor" given that their labor was deemed that of "dependents" on the husband or father and therefore, untaxable. Regardless, few cases of planters concealing female servant tithables from county lists appear in court records and the few that did go to court generally lost since it was difficult to prove. See Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives*, 120-121.

[178] Hening, 1:257.

thereafter highlighted to serve longer terms than servants from the Assemblymen's "own nation" of England. Instead of using two age cutoffs like the 1643 law did—twelve and twenty years old—the 1655 act reduced it to one, sixteen years old, and also lengthened the term of service significantly. Irish servants would "serve as followeth, (vizt.): all above sixteen yeares old to serve six years, and all under to serve till they be twenty-four years old and in case of dispute in that behalfe the court shall be judge of their age."[179] Young Irish laborers under the age of sixteen, consequently, toiled in servitude from a minimum of nine years to upwards of fifteen years—or even longer depending on what age they began their service—as compared to five years for English servants between twelve and fifteen years old, and seven years for English servants under twelve years of age. This resulted in at least a doubling of the lengths of terms for most young Irish servants under the age of fifteen.[180] Also, notably, this was the first statute where the process of county court magistrates judging ages was mentioned.[181]

By March of 1658, this issue was again before the colonial legislature. In an almost identical preamble to the 1643 act, the burgesses wrote that they were responding to yet another round of "divers controversies...between masters and servants being brought into this collonie without indentures or covennants to testifie their agreements." This time, however, they altered the previous statute:

> For prevention of future controversies…That such persons as shall be imported, haveing no indenture or covenant, either men or women, if they be above sixteen years old shall serve four yeers, If under fifteen to serve

[179] Hening, *The Statutes at Large*, 1:471.
[180] See Table 66 in Appendix II.
[181] Hening, 1:411.

> till hee or shee shall be one and twenty yeers of age, and the courts to be judges of their ages.[182]

This 1658 statute acted to reduce the disparity between the lengths of service for most Irish and English unindentured laborers.[183] At most, Irish servants after 1658 only had to serve 50% longer than English bound laborers and that disparity got even smaller for children under the age of fifteen—a stark reversal of the system put in place by the 1655 law that caused younger Irish servants to remain in servitude for much longer terms as compared to English children.

In quick succession, the General Assembly moved yet again to alter the lengths of service for unindentured laborers, first repealing the statute that caused the disparity to exist between English and non-English servants. More importantly for planters looking to control their bound labor for longer, the burgesses then lengthening the terms for all servants under sixteen years old to serve until twenty-four years of age. The former, passed in 1660, seemed to reflect the labor shortage in existence in Virginia—and in the Northern Neck in particular—by decrying that "the [1658] act for Irish servants comeing in without indentures enjoyning them to serve six yeeres [if 16 or older], carried with it both rigour and inconvenience, many by the length of time they have to serve being discouraged from comeing into the country." Further, the General Assembly seemed to be reacting to the nativism brought on by the Cromwellian era that was changing due to the Restoration of King Charles II by noting that "the peopling of the country retarded, And these inconveniencies augmented by the addition of the last clause in that act, That

[182] Ibid., 1:441-42.
[183] See Table 67 in Appendix II.

all aliens should be included." As such, the 1658 act was "made void and null" and from that time moving forward "no servant comeing into the country without indentures, of what christian nation soever, shall serve longer than those of our own country, of the like age..." Both its coverage and its generosity were all the more notable since the act not only provided all unindentured servants who arrived in or after 1660 a level of equality—if such can be had in bondage—but also that those "alien[s]...that hath been...inforced to serve any time longer then the custom of the countrey did oblige them to shall be allowed competent wages by their severall masters for the time they have overserved."[184]

This relative generosity, however, apparently caused even more confusion so the General Assembly responded two short years later in an attempt to finally set everything straight:

> Whereas the 13th act 1659 doth enact that all persons brought as servants into this country, of what christian nation soever they be, should serve noe longer than our owne nation, which is five yeares, if above sixteene yeares of age, if under, untill one and twenty… Be it therefore enacted that all aliens and others comeing in while that act and the others in force shall serve according to those acts, and that for the future all the aforesaid acts shalbe repealed, and all servants hereafter comeing in without indentures shall serve five years if above sixteen yeares of age and all under that age shall serve untill they be fower and twenty yeares old, that being the time lymitted by the laws of England, and that they severall courts at the request of the master make inspection and judge of their ages.[185]

The 1662 law did not, in fact, end the long string of legislation related to term lengths for unindentured laborers, so one final law—and the full codification of the means by which they would be evaluated, the age judgment—was enacted in 1666. This act addressed a

[184] Hening, *The Statutes at Large*, 1:538-39.
[185] Hening, 2:113-14.

quirk of many of the prior laws whereby a fifteen year-old servant was locked into a significantly longer term of service than an unindentured laborer only a year older.[186]

For Irish servants adjudged to be fifteen years old under the law enacted in 1655—which was then expanded to include all non-English servants in 1658—and repealed in 1660, this meant a term of nine years, while their brethren who were one year older served only six years. Then, under the changes enacted in 1662, the difference got even larger with fifteen year-olds serving four years (or 80%) longer than adolescents judged to be one year their seniors. The 1666 law removed this rather unfair practice, although the language of the act made clear that it was more for the benefit of planters as it was for the servants:

> Whereas the present act in force prescribing how long servants comeing in without indentures shall serve, enjoynes all servants adjudged by the courts to be sixteene yeares of age to serve but five yeares, and all under to serve untill they be twenty fowre yeares, by which inequality, a servant if adjudged never soe little under sixteene yeares pays for that small tyme three yeares service, and if he be adjudged more the master looseth the like; Be it therefore enacted that the said act be from henceforth altered and amended, vizt. that all servants comeing in without indentures, after the expiration of this cession of assembly, shall serve according to their age, vizt. if adjudged nineteene yeares or above, then to serve five yeares, if under that age then to serve soe many yeares as he wants of twenty fowre years, when his age is adjudged by the court; And that every man intending to clayme the benefitt of this act is hereby required within two courts at furthest after he hath bought him or them, or imported a servant as aforesaid, to carry him to the court, who by a present inspection at that tyme wilbe best enabled to passe judgment upon the matter.[187]

In the end, this whole process resulted in most unindentured servants coming into Virginia serving until twenty-four years of age, significantly longer than they had before

[186] See Table 67 in Appendix II.
[187] Hening, 2:240.

1666. The era of servants was in full swing by the 1660s, especially in areas outside of the main nodes of the transatlantic and intercolonial slave trades like the upper Northern Neck.[188]

Age Judgments and Unindentured Servants: The Numbers

Regardless of all of the legislative hijinks, age judgments do provide a much more easily quantifiable source for gauging the number of recently imported servants—at least those who had no indenture—into the region. The count for Northumberland County, in particular, can then be directly compared to similar counts for Lancaster and York counties that were compiled by Russell Menard.[189]

Table 6: Age Judgments for Unindentured Servants in York, Lancaster and Northumberland Counties, 1660-1672 (by year)

Date	York	Lancaster	Northumberland
1660	13	5	16
1661	9	17	15
1662	8*	21	17
1663	#	21	18
1664	#	10	19
1665	1	10	17
1666	3	2	3
1667	25	24	5
1668	10	50	29
1669	30	26	19
1670	21	20	26

[188] For more on the nodes of the transatlantic and intercolonial slave trades, see Gregory O'Malley, *Final Passages*, especially chapter 6 for the North American nodes.

[189] Westmoreland County is not incorporated here because only two years of court entries which recorded age judgments remain extant, those from 1663 and 1664. Notably, nine younger servants had their ages judged in Westmoreland's county court in 1663 and six more in 1664. WCOB, 1662-1664.

Date	York	Lancaster	Northumberland
1671	18	11	11
1672	10	7	16
TOTAL	**148**	**224**	**211**
AVERAGE	**13.5**	**17.2**	**16.2**
MEDIAN	**10.0**	**17.0**	**17.0**
S.D.**	**8.7**	**12.0**	**6.8**

Sources: Russell Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," 365, Table 3 for York and Lancaster counties. NCOB, 1652-1665 and 1666-1678 for Northumberland County.
* – These records are incomplete according to Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," 365, Table 3.
** – S.D. stands for Standard Deviation, which is a useful statistic to quantify the variance from year to year in the above Table.
# – These years are blank in Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," 365, Table 3.

A few things are notable in the data from Table 6 immediately. First, significant upticks in unindentured laborers occurred in all three counties in the late 1660s corresponding to the last piece of legislation being passed in 1666, finally marking all servants of this sort to serve until twenty-four years of age. More generally, the importation was robust for all three counties where significant records are still extant. York County—which had already, at the very least, begun its transition to slavery in a significant way by the 1660s—experienced the smallest number of unindentured laborers arriving during the eleven years for which records survive. Still, York County's average of over thirteen servants arriving per year was significant. Lancaster County and Northumberland County, meanwhile, have complete extant records for the thirteen years under investigation in this chapter and both saw even more unindentured servants than York appearing in court to have their ages adjudged. Specifically, Lancaster County experienced an average of slightly over seventeen servants per year, whereas Northumberland had slightly over sixteen young laborers appear in its county court

annually. Those laborers were all the more important in Northern Neck counties since neither had made full turns toward slavery by 1672.[190]

Digging deeper into the data from Table 6 shows that Northumberland County was still heavily dependent on servants while Lancaster County was slightly less so and York County significantly less so by the 1660s and early 1670s. York's mean of 13.5 unindentured servants was fairly close to that of Northumberland and Lancaster, the latter counties only experiencing 20% and 27% more, respectively. On the other hand, York's median of ten was significantly less as compared to the two Northern Neck counties, which both had medians of seventeen, 70% more than York County.[191]

Moreover, even though Northumberland's mean was slightly less than that of Lancaster County—slightly over sixteen for the former as compared to just over seventeen for the latter—and the medians were identical, Northumberland's acceptance of young servants without indentures was more consistent and more consistently robust than either Lancaster's or York's throughout the period. This trend of Northumberland County

[190] See Menard, "Servants to Slaves." James Horn in *Adapting to a New World* agrees with Menard's assertion that Lancaster County did not turn full toward slavery until the 1680s.

[191] York received ten or fewer unindentured servants in half (6) of the years (11) between 1660 and 1672 for which records exist. Lancaster experienced an annual unindentured servant importation of ten or more in all but three years during that period, while Northumberland only had two such low years out of the thirteen.

being more servant-heavy than Lancaster and York continued after 1672 and, if anything, grew even more so as seen in later chapters (namely, chapters four and five).[192]

Another aspect of Northumberland's consistency as compared to York and Lancaster counties can be seen by looking at the dates themselves for the arrival of these unindentured laborers. Northumberland was the model of consistency between 1660 and 1665 with an average of seventeen, a median of 16.5 and a miniscule standard deviation of slightly over one.[193] In fact, in those six years, the variance between the low of fifteen servants imported in 1661 to the high of nineteen in 1664 was statistically inconsequential. Then, Northumberland experienced two atypically low years with only three and five unindentured laborers arriving in the country in 1666 and 1667 and notably, York and Lancaster counties experienced this same drop during the mid-1660s. While it is difficult to say for sure what happened in those years to cause such a drop-off, that period does coincide with the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-1667). In a preview of what happened at the end of the seventeenth century (see chapter five), war seemed to play havoc with the servant trade. If unindentured laborers are indicative of the total servant migratory patterns, the massive dip in 1666 and 1667 corresponded perfectly with

[192] By far the best way to statistically show Northumberland's consistency is to look at its "standard deviation" throughout the period under investigation in this chapter: Northumberland's standard deviation was 6.8 while York's was 8.7 and Lancaster's was almost twelve. This means that Northumberland's "normal range," when outliers are removed, for unindentured laborers coming into that county during this period was between nine and twenty-three, measurably less volatile than York's range between five and twenty-two, and significantly less volatile than Lancaster's range between five and twenty-nine.

[193] It is hard to say what the reason for this consistency was. It could have been due to the Restoration of King Charles II in 1660, but since that was also the first year of this kind of data due to the change in statutes requiring servants without indentures to have their ages judged, it is difficult to know for sure.

the war.[194] By 1668 though—directly after the end of conflict—Northumberland regained some of its previous level of consistency with a slightly higher average of around twenty and median of nineteen as compared to the earlier six-year period, but with a significantly higher standard deviation of slightly over 6.5. As such, the high for this five-year period of twenty-nine servants in 1668 was more than double the low for the period of eleven in 1671.[195]

York County, meanwhile, had little to no consistency at all from year to year, furthering the idea that planters there were changing their preferences from servants to slaves during the 1660s.[196] On the other hand, Lancaster had better consistency in its servant arrivals than compared to its Northern Neck neighbor Northumberland, at least during the early to mid-1660s. For example, after a mild first year in 1660 when only five young servants arrived in Lancaster County, the following five years saw an average of almost sixteen and a median of seventeen servants without indentures arriving in the

[194] It is also possible that since the last statutory change was made in 1666, owners—either magistrates or ex-magistrates themselves, or the friends of serving court justices—may have held onto unindentured servants since they knew the change that would be helpful to them was coming soon from Jamestown.

[195] Notably, this was also the high for the entire thirteen-year period and just like the low, this year and the two years surrounding it were shared among the three counties.

[196] For example, only the first three years in this date range saw a minimal variance of five servants—thirteen in 1660, nine in 1661, and eight in 1662—whereas no three-year period after the gap in York's records in 1663 and 1664 saw a variance of less than eleven. Further proof of this can be seen when looking at the standard deviation again, which was 7.35 for the six years after 1666 as compared to the 6.55 for roughly the same period in Northumberland. York did, however, also experience its height of unindentured laborers entering the county in 1667 (25) and 1669 (30) at roughly the same time as Northumberland experienced its height (29) in 1668. Similarly, York's lows came in 1665 (1) and 1666 (3), almost equal to Northumberland's lows in 1666 (3) and 1667 (5).

county.[197] Then, in lockstep with both York and Northumberland counties, Lancaster reached its low point in 1666 during the Second Anglo-Dutch War with only two unindentured servants arriving in the county. Subsequently, two years later after the war ended, Lancaster also achieved its height—as had Northumberland in 1668 as well and York one year later—with an amazing fifty young laborers without contracts being brought before the county magistrates to have their ages judged. Meanwhile, in the five years after the low point in 1666, Lancaster regained little of its previous consistency, as it lagged significantly behind Northumberland and even York during that period with a huge statistical variance of thirty-nine from highest point to lowest.[198] Looking at this data in total, some trends can be identified: York and to some extent Lancaster were definitely transitioning away from servitude—a point echoed by Menard and pushed even further by Coombs and others—while Northumberland County was seemingly doubling down on it. Successive decades, charted in chapters four and five, confirms this.

Unindentured Servants: Ages, Term Lengths, Sex, and Masters

While the big-picture and comparative data provided by age judgments is significant and useful, age judgments as a source also allow a peek into other information such as planter ownership of these younger servants, along with demographic information such as the ages, sex, and term lengths of unindentured laborers. This information is critical when trying to determine the incidence of all types of servitude during a given

[197] There was also a relatively mild standard deviation of 4.96—although, notably, this was still almost four times larger than that of Northumberland during roughly the same time period.

[198] In fact, from 1667 to 1671, Lancaster saw a robust average of around twenty-six servants and a median of twenty-four servants per year entering the county, but with an astronomical standard deviation of almost thirteen as compared to York's 7.4 and Northumberland's 6.6.

period of Virginia's history, who those servants were, and how they labored in the Old Dominion. The question of servant incidence and persistence has been attempted by a few historians before—most notably, Russell Menard and David W. Galenson, and more recently, Christopher Tomlins[199]—but never on a more local level. Doing so—especially with regards to the Northern Neck, which had one of the more unique make-ups in all of seventeenth-century Virginia as outlined in chapter one—allows for a view of how people in early Virginia actually lived as opposed to staying purely ensconced in the big-picture data.

Most notable among the various data that can be gleaned from age judgments are the ages of those unindentured laborers and the lengths of time for which they labored, at least in the cases when they survived that long.[200]

Table 7: Ages and Term Lengths of Unindentured Servants in Northumberland County, 1660-1672

Date	Number of Servants	Average Age of Servants	Median Age of Servants	S.D.**	Average Length of Term	Median Length of Term	S.D.**
1660	16	13.4 (16)	13.0	1.59	7.5 (16)	7.5	1.62
1661	15	13.7 (15)	13.0	1.19	7.3 (15)	8.0	1.19
1662	17	12.4*(5)	13.0*	2.15	7.4 (17)	7.0	2.06
1663	18	13.0*(12)	13.0*	2.0	9.2 (18)	9.0	2.88
1664	19	14.3*(18)	14.0*	0.9	9.1 (19)	10.0	1.5
1665	17	11.8*(10)	14.0*	4.5	8.9*(14)	9.0*	4.0
1666	3	14*(2)	14.0*	1.0	9.0 (3)	9.0	1.6

[199] See Menard, "From Servants to Slaves"; Galenson, "White Servitude and the Growth of Black Slavery in Colonial America," *White Servitude in Colonial America*, and "The Rise and Fall of Indentured Servitude in the Americas; Tomlins, "Reconsidering Indentured Servitude," and *Freedom Bound*.

[200] Again, only Northumberland County will be highlighted here given the fullness of its records from the 1660s and into the early 1670s. Westmoreland's extant records are simply too scattered and unreliable.

Date	Number of Servants	Average Age of Servants	Median Age of Servants	S.D.**	Average Length of Term	Median Length of Term	S.D.**
1667	5	12.4 (5)	14.0	3.3	11.6 (5)	10.0	3.3
1668	29	13.6*(28)	14.5*	2.6	10.4*(28)	9.5*	2.6
1669	19	13.8 (19)	14	2.3	10.0*(15)	10.0*	2.5
1670	26	13.2 (26)	14	2.7	10.6 (26)	10.0	2.8
1671	11	12.9 (11)	13	2.2	11.1 (11)	11.0	2.2
1672	16	13.8 (16)	14	2.5	10.2 (16)	10.0	2.5
Total	***211***	***13.4 (183)***	***14.0 (183)***		***9.4*** (203)	***9.0*** (203)	

* – Many of the years in this table did not have age and/or term length information for every servant who had their age adjudged. Therefore, the averages and medians are not as accurate as they could be. In parenthesis next to the asterisk, therefore, the number of servants whose ages or terms are evident in the records is listed (only next to the averages, even though the same applies for the medians).
** – Standard Deviation

The first noticeable trend is that the average and median ages were very consistent from year to year, as opposed to the lengths of service which were much more volatile. Average ages varied from a low of almost twelve in 1665 to a high of slightly over fourteen the previous year.[201] Term lengths, however, varied much more significantly, not unsurprising given the legal wrangling over that issue in the General Assembly during this period as chronicled above. Prior to the enactment and subsequent adoption of the 1662 statute extending term lengths until the age of twenty-four for unindentured children under sixteen years old, service times averaged over seven years. Beginning in 1663, conversely, term lengths crept up steadily through 1666 with averages around nine years. Then, a final statute in 1666 altered term lengths once again, with all young servants under nineteen laboring until they reached twenty-four years of age. As such,

[201] Median ages, meanwhile, moved even less than that, with a low of thirteen in several years and a high of 14.5 in 1668.

term lengths averaged between ten and 11.6 with medians only dropping below ten once from 1667 to 1672.

Those longer terms of service by the late 1660s—enacted by the planters in the General Assembly to control their servants for longer in order to meet labor demands—meant that this group of younger servants labored for more than double the oft-cited four to five years that has been the normally assumed average term length. Christopher Tomlins has provided the widest ranging review of studies on white servants, their terms of service, and their incidence in early Virginia and elsewhere in early America. Tomlins argues that uncontracted laborers served an average of seven years and made up a minority of the total number of servants in the colonial Chesapeake. The latter point will be discussed in further detail below, but the former is woefully low as well when compared to Northumberland's unindentured laborers during the late 1660s and early 1670s (and beyond as shown in chapters four and five). After surveying all of the available literature on the subject, Tomlins claims that "the average length of contracts concluded prior to embarkation [to the colonies] appears to be 4.5 years." But, since there were "significant numbers of minor children migrating without indentures and serving on arrival by 'custom of the country,' this average length should be revised upward." Tomlins then moves his average term length up to an even five years, assuming that 80% of all servant migrants "had concluded indentures prior to embarkation with terms averaging 4.5 years, and 20% were serving by custom of country with terms averaging 7 years."[202] Even when Tomlins offers an "extreme high" of nine years for those younger

[202] Tomlins, *Freedom Bound*, 36.

servants without indentures upon arrival—which he claims "there is no empirical basis" for assuming[203]—it still does not match Northumberland's ten or eleven year term lengths. As early as the late 1660s, only two decades after official English settlement began in the region, the upper Northern Neck was already unique—a place apart, if you will—as compared to the rest of colonial Virginia.

Useful demographic information can also be determined by using age judgment court entries. While looking at first names in order to judge the sex of a given servant is certainly not foolproof, the consistency and repetition of seventeenth-century English names makes this process mostly straightforward. Notably, males dominated in this early period.[204] The male domination of the early servant trade—almost 87% of unindentured laborers entering Northumberland County from 1660 to 1672 were male—was not surprising given that white female servants were being used in the fields less and less by the 1660s. And, in such a peripheral area as the Northern Neck, demand for domestic labor was relatively negligible given the region's few major planters and big estates. In fact, a statute passed by the General Assembly in December of 1662 spoke directly to this issue by removing the official ban on female servants being tithable, if they were being employed "in the ground":

> Whereas diverse persons purchase women servants to work in the ground that thereby they may avoyd the payment of levies, Be it henceforth enacted by the authority aforesaid that all women servants whose common imployment is working in the crop shalbe reputed tythable, and levies paid for them accordingly; and that every master of a family if he give not an

[203] Ibid., 587.
[204] See Table 68 in Appendix II.

> accompt of such in his list of tythables shalbe fined as for other concealments.[205]

It is unclear exactly what effect this particular law had on the sex ratio of servants, but there is no doubt that males remained prioritized by planters in the Northern Neck during this period when looking at young servant importation data.

Another useful bit of information from age judgments concerns the owners of the 211 younger servants who had their ages adjudged during this thirteen-year period in Northumberland County. By charting the number of younger laborers per planter, the picture of a county—and likely, an entire region—of minor planters and small farmers comes into even clearer view.[206] The majority of planters only brought one (60%) or two (19%) unindentured servants into court during the 1660s and early 1670s. A few notable major planters did acquire a larger number of these young laborers such as Richard Lee (9), Edward Coles (7), George Colclough (5), William Presly (5), William's younger brother Peter (4), and John Mottrom's son (4). But, these were the anomalies. Similar to later decades, almost half (48%) of this group of servants labored in places with three or more servants, even though these owners were a relatively small minority of the total owners of younger servants (21%) in Northumberland County during the period under investigation in this chapter.

Persistence and Estimates of the Total Number of Servants in the Upper Northern Neck

From the age and term length data discussed above, another crucial point can be made: Northumberland County—and by the 1680s and 1690s, Westmoreland as well, to

[205] William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large*, 2:170.
[206] See Table 69 in Appendix II.

at least some degree (see chapters four and five)—likely had a hugely disproportionate number of younger uncontracted laborers. If not, the county relied on a massive number of servants who served for much longer than they did elsewhere in the colonial Chesapeake. As already mentioned, the nine-plus years uncontracted servants labored for on average (see Table 7) is about double the oft-cited four to five year terms indentured laborers supposedly toiled for on average in colonial Virginia. While this distinction between contracted and non-contracted servants has been discussed some in the scholarly literature, it is often done so very broadly so as to provide little guidance as to actual conditions for those laborers. Christopher Tomlins provides the most sweeping discussion of this issue but as evidenced by Table 7, his aggregated calculations are woefully unhelpful when looking at this one county during this period—although this is continued, to a lesser degree, when Westmoreland is included (as will be outlined in chapters four and five).[207]

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[207] Tomlins, *Freedom Bound*, 586-87. Tomlins does make at least some allowance for variations over time and space. In Appendix III, he considers four other possible estimates for use in his calculations of servant "persistence" in the colonial Chesapeake. These estimates vary the lengths of terms for both indentured and unindentured laborers, the breakdown of those two categories of servants, along with the total number of migrants—and the percentage of those migrants who were white bound laborers—to the Chesapeake in the seventeenth century. Most notably for my purposes, Tomlins' first alternative estimate puts the portion of servants with preexisting contracts at two-thirds, serving average terms of five years, with the other one-third of servants (those without contracts) serving an average of seven years. Tomlins claims this estimate "attempts to capture more fully…the substantial population of young servants serving by custom of country" and that "it is likely" that the range between his main estimate and his first supplemental estimate "is the best approximation of 'reality' available" through the techniques he used in his study. This assertion, however, is still not adequate for Northumberland County. Tomlins' second estimate does go further, though, in getting closer to the case of Northumberland County. In it, he "assume an average 7-year term (or 55% longer than the average 4.5-year contract term concluded in England)." He continues by claiming that such a contract length is "credible only if one assumes that fewer than half (c. 45%) of total estimated servant migrants had concluded indentures prior to embarkation with terms averaging 4.5 years in length and that

Tomlins also attempts to determine several other important facets of servitude in the colonial Chesapeake. Most notable for this study are the incidence and persistence of servants: the number of servants laboring under contract or under the custom of the country at any particular time, along with the proportion of servants versus slaves both in the overall labor force—including both free and unfree labor—and in the population as a whole. While these calculations are sorely needed for seventeenth-century Virginia—and Tomlins's may not be far off the mark when considering the colony as a whole—it does not do enough to fully represent what life would have been like for those servants.[208] Those bound laborers lived in counties first and foremost—and even more precisely, in smaller breakdowns such as parishes and on plantations—not in the colony as a whole.

First, Tomlins pegs the incidence of servitude—which he describes as significantly lower than has often been cited and argued for by previous historians—at between 11% and 20% in 1670 in the colonial Chesapeake, or between 18% and 33% if

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the remainder were all serving by custom of country with terms averaging 9 years in length." Tomlins then states unequivocally that "there is no empirical basis for this assumption," even though the evidence from Northumberland County implies otherwise.

[208] In particular, see Tomlins, *Freedom Bound*, 29-42, 573-582, 586-89, and 593-97.

mortality is not factored in.[209] Tables 8 and 9 show otherwise, at least as far as Northumberland County was concerned.

Table 8: Persistence of Unindentured Servants in Northumberland County, 1660-1672

Date	Total number of Unindentured Servants still serving terms*	Estimated Population from Tithables	Percentage of Unindentured Servants in population
1660	16	723	2.2
1661	31	870	3.6
1662	48	1047	4.6
1663	66	1314	5.0
1664	84	1122	7.5
1665	100	908	11.0
1666	95	923	10.3
1667	94	1046	9.0
1668	107	#	#
1669	111	1080	10.3
1670	126	1107	11.4
1671	128	1271	10.1
1672	137	#	#

Sources: The estimated population from tithables are taken from the middle estimate in Table 48 in Appendix I. The first number of unindentured servants still serving terms (16) is taken directly from those young laborers who had their ages adjudged in 1660. It is a near certainty that there were uncontracted servants in the county prior to 1660, before the system of age judgments was implemented, but it is impossible to estimate their numbers. Therefore, I have decided to start at zero in 1660, meaning the following estimates are certainly on the low side—possibly by a significant amount—although by the early 1670s, most if not all of those younger laborers from

[209] See Tomlins, *Freedom Bound*, Appendix II, 583-585 for his discussion of mortality in the early Chesapeake. For Tomlins's most extreme proportions, he calculates a 39.5% attrition rate over nine years for nine annual cohorts of servants migrating to the Chesapeake. This results in the range of 11% to 20% persistence of servants in the Chesapeake becoming 18% to 33%. Also, see Tomlins, 38, Table 1.2, and Appendix III on Tomlins, 586-587. The main reason for taking mortality out of the equation in this study is that year-by-year fluctuations could be significant—meaning that over the breadth of this study, Tomlins's attrition rates might hold, but as this study is broken up by a decade or two, the possibility of wild fluctuations is simply too great to be properly accounted for here. The only time this becomes truly problematic is when comparing the incidence of servants and slaves in the overall population, but mortality rates can be returned to the calculations then and often have been. Finally, an apples-to-apples comparison is the main point of this and other discussions of Tomlins's aggregated data, so as long as mortality is either included or not in both my data and his, the comparisons should hold.

the 1650s had likely been freed. As such, by 1670 or so, the estimates should be much more accurate.
* – These numbers do not account for mortality.
# – There are no available tithable counts for these years and therefore, no population estimates are calculable.

Around 1670, therefore, unindentured servants by themselves were slightly over 10% of the overall population of Northumberland County. Trying to align this with Tomlins's estimate that between 18% and 33% of the colony's population were servants in 1670 would mean that between one-third and over half of Northumberland County's servants were laboring *without* a contract. That, however, is the opposite of what Tomlins actually claims was the likely distribution of indentured versus unindentured workers, which he claims was likely five-to-one in favor of contracted servants. It does seem likely—and, in fact, this study is arguing—that the position of Northumberland County, and the upper Northern Neck more broadly, on the periphery of seventeenth-century Virginia meant a greater proportion of younger servants without contracts likely immigrated there than to the rest of the colony on average. But, it seems doubtful the proportion of uncontracted versus contracted laborers was quite as skewed from the average as these calculations imply.

Still, using Tomlins's estimates again for all of Virginia, especially his musings on term lengths, we can arrive at estimates for the total number of servants—both the traditional indentured laborers and their younger, unindentured brethren—in Northumberland County during the 1660s and into the 1670s. The most likely ratio of contracted laborers to unindentured servants in Northumberland County seems to be

somewhere between about an equal split—the low estimate in Table 9—and a two-to-one ratio, or the medium estimate, of older to younger servants. Tomlins's preferred ratio—five-to-one in favor of indentured laborers[210]—must be untenable for Northumberland given that it would equate to well over half of the entire population of the county being uncontracted, which there is truly "no empirical basis" for assuming.[211]

Therefore, a range for the percentage, or persistence, of all servants in Northumberland County around 1670 can be estimated.

Table 9: Estimated Persistence of All Servants in Northumberland County, 1660-1672

Date	Estimated Low Total Number of Servants*	Estimated Low Percentage of Servants in population	Estimated Medium Total Number of Servants	Estimated Medium Percentage of Servants in population
1660	29	4.0	48	6.6
1661	56	6.4	93	10.7
1662	87	8.3	144	13.8
1663	120	9.1	198	15.1
1664	153	13.6	252	22.5
1665	182	20.0	300	33.0
1666	173	18.7	285	30.9
1667	171	16.3	282	27.0
1668	195	n/a**	321	n/a**
1669	202	18.7	333	30.8
1670	229	20.7	378	34.2
1671	233	18.3	384	30.2
1672	249	n/a**	411	n/a**

Source: Table 70 in Appendix II.
* – These numbers do not account for mortality.

[210] See Table 70 in Appendix II for the high estimate.

[211] This is the language Tomlins uses in *Freedom Bound* to discuss the "improbable" roughly 50/50 split between indentured and unindentured servants, even though that seems closer to the case for the upper Northern Neck in the 1660s (and beyond as will be charted in chapters four and five).

** – There are no available tithable counts for 1668 or 1672, so no population estimates are calculable.

From the data in Table 9, the persistence of servants in the overall population of Northumberland County was likely somewhere between 19% and 34% from 1665 on. This puts Northumberland County slightly over Tomlins's estimates of servant persistence among the seventeenth-century Virginia population. In 1670, Tomlins estimates servants made up between 18% and 33% of the overall colonial Chesapeake population (if mortality is not factored in), meaning Northumberland likely had more servants as compared to its overall population as the rest of Virginia despite only being roughly two decades old as a county. Northumberland, at least by Tomlins's measure, was already becoming a place apart, and only would become more so as the years continued (as seen in chapters four and five).

Conclusion

Massive numbers of servants—both with and without contracts signed prior to leaving England—arrived in Virginia in the 1650s and 1660s, including to the Northern Neck as outlined in this chapter. For the Northern Neck, however—especially the upper Neck counties of Northumberland and Westmoreland—this changed very little by the early 1670s. Virginia planters elsewhere in the Old Dominion may have been beginning their transitions to a slave-based unfree labor force by the 1650s and 1660s, but planters in the Northern Neck retained a heavy dependence on servants through those decades and into the 1670s. Even the grandest planters like George Colclough and John Mottrom had more servants than slaves toiling on their plantations. And even when a minor planter

such as Robert Walton was reflecting on the future of his plantation in his will, he only mentioned slaves as an afterthought to acquiring more and more white bound laborers.

While several different types of sources can be employed to gauge servant and slave importation and persistence in seventeenth-century Virginia—such as headrights, inventories, and wills—age judgments are the most useful when attempting a more quantitative study as this work is. They are the most consistent records, both in terms of appearing throughout the court dockets from 1660 on, and in terms of looking exactly the same in 1660 as they did in 1700. Still, more purely qualitative sources like wills and headrights can get at the actual people behind the numbers, and inventories are great for melding the qualitative and the quantitative together, even if they are not as robust statistically as age judgments. By employing all of the above where possible, a near-complete picture of the bound labor system in the upper Northern Neck can be achieved.

CHAPTER THREE: APPRENTICES AND OTHER UNCONVENTIONAL FORMS OF UNFREE LABOR, 1650-1672

While servants dominated the upper Northern Neck through the 1660s and few slaves had appeared in the region by then, those were not the only two types of bound laborers toiling in the tobacco fields next to landowners and family members. Another important aspect of the unfree labor force in the early Northern Neck counties—and one even less recognized by scholars of early Virginia—were the various types of nontraditional bound laborers, especially apprentices. Planters struggled to find adequate labor for their increasing land holdings throughout the Northern Neck in the mid-seventeenth century and their desire to expand their plantations even further. Landowners looked to Indians, non-English servants, wage laborers, and apprentices to fill part of that need. While some of these alternative sources of labor are mentioned throughout the historical literature, it is often done anecdotally and with little indication as to whether the use of these laborers was occasional or approaching institutionalization.[212] Therefore, an overview of those nontraditional workers—with special attention to the most institutionalized among them, apprentices—can only serve to help complete and further complicate the unfree labor picture in the Northern Neck and elsewhere in colonial Virginia.

[212] One of the first of several recent works challenging this omission is Alan Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade*. Gallay's book, however, focuses primarily on the North American southeast and does little with the Chesapeake region.

A Variety of Unconventional Bound Laborers

First, though, some brief attention must be given to some of the less numerous groups to better complete the unfree labor picture.[213] Native bound laborers appeared in the court records a few times during the 1650s, 1660s, and into the 1670s[214]—twenty-six in all—in three different contexts: headrights, age judgments, and inventories. One Indian named "Francisco," for example, was claimed as a headright by major planter George Colclough in 1660 and later showed up in Colclough's 1662 inventory as well.[215]

Interestingly, the first time the word "slave" was ever used to describe anyone in Northumberland's county court records was in 1663 in reference to Simon Overzee's "one Indian boy and Girle as Slaves, the boy being lame."[216] While "servant" was a fairly generic term referring to both white servants and black slaves at one time or another in early Virginia, "slave" was a much more precise label only used for those bound to serve for life. Relations with local and regional native groups often played a large part in determining the status of Indian bound laborers.[217] When dealings with Indians colony-wide were peaceful, as they were in the 1650s and 1660s, native children were barred by Virginia statute from being used "as slaves" and could not serve "for any longer time

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[213] One type of free workers, wage laborers, also appeared on occasion although they were relatively few in number. They are notable, however, due to the fact that many in the early Northern Neck were Native Americans. One such occurrence appeared in Northumberland County in 1648 as part of an account of the estate of James Claughton, where 70 pounds of tobacco had been allotted "to the hire of an Indian." NCRB, 1652-1658, 7-8.

[214] It is difficult to determine what native peoples these were. The Wicocomoco Indians were still present in Northumberland until after 1700 and appear many times in the records. There is every reason to believe many of these natives were Wicocomocos.

[215] NCOB, 1652-1665, 132; NCRB, 1662-1666, 82. Francisco is not named in the latter entry, Colclough's inventory, however.

[216] NCRB, 1662-1666, 107.

[217] For more on the local Indian groups located in and around the Northern Neck, see chapter one of this study.

than English of the like ages should serve."[218] It is therefore notable that Overzee's Indians were called slaves in his 1663 inventory. While this could certainly be because of the idiosyncrasies of a county clerk, it is distinctly possible relations with the local Wicocomoco Indians, or another nearby native group, were less than ideal during that period, or that Overzee's Indians were from a more distant group.[219]

An Act of Assembly from October of 1670 addressed this very issue of whether an Indian should be a slave or a servant. As such, the Assembly stated that

> Whereas some dispute have arisen whither Indians taken in warr by any other nation, and by that nation that taketh them sold to the English, are servants for life or terme of yeares, It is resolved and enacted that all servants not being christians imported into this colony by shipping shalbe slaves for their lives; but what shall come by land shall serve, if boyes or girles, until thirty yeares of age, if men or women twelve years and no longer.[220]

Therefore, Overzee's Indian "slaves" were very likely bound for life in 1663, but after 1670 would no longer have been legally bound as such.

Another small and unconventional source of labor for the tobacco fields of early Northumberland County consisted of European servants from the Continent.[221] In June of 1668, a minimum of seven French servants, possibly Huguenots, were brought to court to have their ages adjudged. All seven—six "french boy[s]" and "a french wench"—were, according to the justices present that day, between the ages of ten and fifteen years old. Two more French boys were mentioned in court a couple months later—James, judged to

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[218] William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large*, 1:393-96; 2:143.
[219] See chapter two of this study for more on Overzee's inventory.
[220] Hening, 2:283.
[221] Only Northumberland County is used for much of this chapter due to very little of Westmoreland County's court records remaining extant through 1672.

be fourteen years old, and Matthew, who could not make it to court because of a sickness and was therefore ordered to have his age adjudged as soon as he was well. Since this never occurred, it is likely Matthew died from his unrecorded illness. The arrival of these French servants, while a rarity, was not an isolated incident as another, "John a French boy," was presented to the Magistrates two years later to have his age adjudged for his master Thomas Hobson.[222]

One indication that these French children were sold in a similar manner to their English, Irish, and Scottish counterparts came the following year, in February of 1671. Phil Hocur, also appearing with John to have his age adjudged in 1670 but under the name Peter, was determined by the court justices to be eleven and to serve "according to act," which by then meant until twenty-four years of age. By the oath of Thomas Bundenall, however, Hocur was said to have been sold only for eight years to his then-master Hugh Baker. The Justices voided the previous order for Hocur to serve until twenty-four years old, or thirteen years, and decreed that he should only be required to serve the eight years agreed upon between Hocur and Baker. At the end of the order bounding Hocur for eight years, the clerk wrote that Hocur, and the "French boy," John, had come into the colony on the ship the *Nicholaus* via Northumberland's Great Wicocomoco River. A month before Hocur's case, in fact, the *Nicholaus* had been mentioned in another court entry, one where Amis Guilford had complained of being kidnapped from his house and put aboard "the shipp the Nicholaus of Jersey by Mr. John Bailehach." While Guilford was, according to the court, trying to scam the justices, it is

[222] NCOB, 1666-1678, 19, 21, 49.

still possible the men on the *Nicholaus* had kidnapped him, and even more likely that they had kidnapped Hocur and John as well, a not uncommon occurrence in the seventeenth-century Atlantic World.[223]

Early Apprenticeships in the Upper Northern Neck

By far the most significant and consistently employed stopgap labor source to supplement the need for labor in the mid- to late-seventeenth century was to increase the number of apprentices and put some—probably many and possibly most—to work in the tobacco fields. There was an English precedent for apprenticeship—which was also the precursor to indentured servitude—but that antecedent struggled to encompass the variety of apprentices and apprenticeship contracts that were bound out in the colonial courts. Apprenticeships in colonial America refer to "both poor children and those [children] whose parents had bound them voluntarily to learn a trade." But, importantly, "the term meant very different things in different times and places."[224] As will be shown in this section (and in chapters four and five), these different meanings of apprenticeship throughout "different times" could even change within one place, the upper Northern Neck.

Apprenticeship and Legislation in Mid-Seventeenth Century Virginia

One interesting facet of apprenticeship in early colonial Virginia is exemplified by an Act of Assembly passed in October of 1646, right around the time Northumberland County was being officially created and just as white settlement had begun there in

[223] NCOB, 1666-1678, 57, 60. Interestingly, Hocur, who had his age adjudged in July 1670, was not labeled French in that first appearance, leaving one to wonder how many other non-English servants passed unnoticed or unremarked upon.

[224] Ruth Wallis Herndon and John E. Murray, "'A Proper and Instructive Education'" in *Children Bound to Labor*, 5.

earnest. Looking at the Act's preamble, it is obvious that the old English model of apprenticeship still held significant sway for the Burgesses:

> Whereas sundry laws and statutes by act of parliament established, have with great wisdome ordained, for the better educateing of youth in honest and profitable trades and manufactures, as also to avoyd sloath and idlenesse wherewith such young children are easily corrupted, as also for releife of such parents whose poverty extends not to give them breeding, That the justices of the peace should at their discretion, bind out children to tradesmen or husbandmen to be brought up in some good and lawfull calling…

Furthermore, poor relief had become an especially relevant issue for the colony as an "increase of children to this collony, who now are multiplied to a considerable number, who if instructed in good and lawfull trades may much improve the honor and reputation of the country, and noe lesse their owne good and theire parents comfort." The problem came due to the parents of these newly birthed children, "either through fond indulgence or perverse obstinacy, are most averse and unwilling to parte with theire children."[225]

The original intent of this legislation was actually to provide Jamestown with several young apprentices to work in local textile production. In fact, "the comissioners of the severall countyes respectively" were to choose two children in each county "of the age of eight or seaven years at the least, either male or female…to be imployed in the public flax houses under such master and mistresse as shall be there appointed, In carding, knitting and spinning, &c." Still, it was mostly pauper children who were to be taken up and sent to Jamestown in this process. As the Assembly stated, "it is further

[225] Hening, *The Statutes at Large*, 1:336-337.

thought fitt that the comissioners have caution not to take up any children but from such parents who by reason of their poverty are disabled to maintaine and educate them."[226]

Therefore, it is safe to assume that most apprentices bound out in early Virginia—and likely in the early Northern Neck region as well—were done so for the same reasons children were bound out in early-seventeenth century England. Mostly, these reasons were to provide social control over a growing population because those children were orphans or because their parents were too poor to feed, clothe and educate them properly. The fact that these children would also provide much needed labor for the colony was an important reason as well. As such, orphans in particular received special attention from the Virginia General Assembly, not unsurprising given the mortality rates in early Virginia.

Orphans were a particularly special case since they—or more precisely, their estates from their deceased parent or parents—could actually afford to pay their masters and guardians something, though this varied widely depending on the stature of the parents. Therefore, in March of 1643, the General Assembly addressed this issue for seemingly the first time due to what they termed "the generall sufferinge of the collony, that the orphans of divers deceased persons have been very much abused and prejudiced in their estates by the negligence of overseers and guardians of such orphans." To address this issue, the Assembly enacted legislation ordering that

> The guardians and overseers of all orphans shall carefully keep and preserve such estates as shall be committed to their trust either by order of court or otherwise, And shall likewise deliver an exact accompt once everie year to the comissioners of the severall county courts respectively

[226] Ibid., 1:336-37.

> of the said estates and of the increase and improvement, who are hereby required to keep an exact register thereof…

That was not it, however. The General Assembly also wished to pressure masters to provide basic education and provisions for their charges, as such:

> All overseers and guardians of such orphans are injoyned by the authoritie aforesaid to educate and instruct them according to their best endeavors in Christian religion and in rudiments of learning and to provide for them necessaries according to the competence of their estates, And where any shall be found delinquent in the premises the comissioners of the said county courts are required to take the care of the said orphans and their estates into due consideration and to see them provided for according to their estates and qualities.[227]

Over a decade later in 1656, the General Assembly went a step further as it related to the education of orphans and the possible teaching of a trade to them as part of their apprenticeships. The Assembly decreed that while "noe accounts [would] be allowed on orphans estates," those orphans would therefore

> Be educated upon the interest of the estate, if it will beare it, according to the proportion of their estate, But if the estate be so meane and inconsiderable that it will not reach to a free education then that orphan be bound to some manuall trade till one and twenty yeares of age, except some friends or relations be willing to keep them with the increase of that small estate, without diminution of the principall, which whether greate or small allways to returne to the orphans at the yeares appointed by law.[228]

Therefore, by the mid-1650s—just at the time Northumberland County was taking shape and Westmoreland County was being created—the system of apprenticeship, at least as it related to orphans, was coming into its own.

Another piece of legislation a few years later from the Assembly, in March of 1662, reinforced the 1656 act and further, made provisions for county courts to check up

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[227] Ibid., 1:260-61.
[228] Ibid., 1:416.

on guardians and masters of apprenticed orphans to make sure they were being properly cared for and educated. As such, county courts were ordered "to inquire whither orphans be kept maintained and educated according to their estates, and if they find any notorious defects to remove the orphans to other guardians; also for those that are bound apprentices to change their masters if they use them rigorously, or neglect to teach them his trade."[229] Orphans, their care and their upbringing, had obviously become important to the governing of the colony and a desire for social stability by the 1650s and 1660s.

Small Numbers of Apprentices Early On

Apprentices existed throughout the Northern Neck counties since their inceptions, but their number was small in the early decades of English settlement there and it is often unclear what their roles were. For example, during the first full decade of Northumberland's existence—the 1650s—there were only nine or ten apprentices bound out or who otherwise appeared in the county court labeled as an apprentice, an average of

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[229] Hening, *The Statutes at Large*, 2:92-94. Interestingly, another Act was passed nine years later in 1671 also related to the estates of orphans, this time referencing slaves—notable for the following language:

> Whereas in the former act concerning the estates of person dying intestate, it is provided that sheep, horses, and cattle should be delivered in kind to the orphan, when they came of age, according to the several ages the said cattle were of when the guardian tooke them into his possession, to which some have desired that negroes may be added.

To this request, the General Assembly responded that

> Considering the difficulty of procureing negroes in kind as alsoe the value and hazard of their lives have doubted whither any suffitient men would be found who would engage themselves to deliver negroes of equall ages if the specificall negroes should dye, or become by age or accident unserviceable; Be it therefore enacted and ordayned by this grand assembly and the authority thereof that the consideration of this be referred to the county courts who are hereby authorized and impowred either to cause such negroes to be duly apprized, sold at an outcry, or preserved in kind, as they then find it most expedient for preservation, improvement or advancement of the estate and interest of such orphans.

Hening, *The Statutes at Large*, 2:288.

only around one per year.[230] In total through 1672—the year a General Assembly statute was passed governing the apprenticeships of orphans and children of indigent parents (discussed in detail in chapter four), which expanded apprenticeship dramatically by the 1680s—there were only thirty-four apprentices who appeared as such in one of the county courts. This worked out to a tiny median of one a year and an average of around one and a half per year.[231]

A majority—and possibly a rather significant one—of early apprentices were bound as such because they were orphaned.[232] This was also the case in the Northern Neck counties, at least insofar as there is extant documentation on the matter. It is important to consider, however, that the term orphan both related to "pure" orphans—meaning both parents were deceased—while also referring to children whose fathers had died but whose mothers still lived. In fact, apprenticeship for their children seemed like a viable option for many widows, and even some widowers, in this early period.[233] One mother, Jane Perie, even wrote in her 1651 will that she "desired that her son Andrew be bound as an apprentice to Hugh Lee for eight years to teach him to reade and write and to

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[230] Westmoreland County saw even fewer apprenticeship contracts agreed to—three or possibly four—during its first six years of existence.

[231] See Table 71 in Appendix III.

[232] For overall trends, see Herndon and Murray, "'A Proper and Instructive Education'" in *Children Bound to Labor*, 9-10; and Herndon and Murray, "Binding Out as a Parent/Child Relation" in *Children Bound to Labor*, 85-86. For a specific example in the Chesapeake, see Jean B. Russo and J. Elliott Russo, "Responsive Justices: Court Treatment of Orphans and Illegitimate Children in Colonial Maryland" in *Children Bound to Labor*, 151-65.

[233] As Herndon and Murray note, "the most common usage [of the term orphan] referred to a child whose *father* [emphasis in original] had died; even if the mother was living, civil authorities might still consider the child an 'orphan'." In many cases, single or widowed mothers "did not constitute a proper head of household in a society where the patriarchal family was the prevailing ideal." Herndon and Murray, "'A Proper and Instructive Education'" in *Children Bound to Labor*, 9-10.

give him at the end of his time, two suits of apparrel and a cow calfe."[234] There is no indication whether this wish was granted or not.

For others, it is hard to determine whether the child in question was to be apprenticed or whether the deceased intended for the child to have close friends to the hold guardianship over such children. One example comes from the will of John Howett, who wrote the following in April 1658:

> I constitute and appoint W[illia]m Warder and John Standley my true and lawfull ex[ecu]t[o]rs being both in the County of Northumberland, and my will is that W[illia]m Warder and John Standley shall be Overseers of my boy John Cawsey and that they have the care and tuition of him till he cometh to the age of one and twenty years[235]

Howett also mandated what should become of his "boy"—which could also have been an apprentice of Howett's already, or a servant, given the different last name—writing that it was also his will "that my boy John Cawsey shall stay upon the plantation he now is upon till the crop be finished and that Katheraine Roberts is to stay with him till [Christ]-mas next and then to have her wages as is mentioned by condition."[236]

Although the English model of apprenticeship and its American descendant had many similarities—such as the desire to use apprenticeship as a means of retaining social stability by identifying "appropriate master[s]" for poor and orphan children and placing those children in the houses of those masters with contractual agreements[237]—there were

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[234] NCRB, 1652-1658, 7.

[235] NCRB, 1652-1658, 142.

[236] In another example of how labor was gathered from many sources and in a myriad of ways, Howett even seemed to have had a female wage laborer at work on his plantation, an extreme rarity in the 1650s Northern Neck.

[237] See Herndon and Murray, eds., *Children Bound to Labor*, especially chapter two: Steve Hindle and Ruth Wallis Herndon, "Recreating Proper Families in England and North America," 19-36.

also interesting differences between the two. Most notably, "whereas English contracts tended to emphasize the master's responsibility to keep the child off poor relief, American contracts tended to emphasize the master's responsibility to train the child in both work and literacy skills."[238] It is likely, however, that most apprenticeships were merely trained in agricultural laboring, despite the statutory language in colonies such as Virginia.

In early Northumberland County, several orphans were indeed bound out as apprentices, some to learn trades and most to get some sort of education—although, as shown below, most apprentices seemed to be chiefly bound out to provide "cheap manpower in a labor-hungry economy."[239] Notably, of the twenty apprentices during the first quarter-century of Northumberland County's existence whose parental status can be determined, eight were true orphans (40%), while another six (30%) were considered orphans as their mother was still alive but their father had died.[240] For example, on 22 July 1661, Mary Lanman was ordered by the court to "live & remaine with James Claughton as his apprentice untill shee attaine to the age of 18 yeares or be married." Lanman was listed as "the daughter of J[oh]n Lanman, dec'd" and there was no mention of a mother as there was in a case involving Edward Sanders and his servant during the following court session. There, Sanders petitioned the Northumberland court to have the son of his servant, Jane Kitchingham, "bound his apprentice untill hee attaine to the age of 21 yeares." The Court complied with Sanders's request and "ordered that the said

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[238] Steve Hindle and Ruth Wallis Herndon, "Recreating Proper Families in England and North America" in *Children Bound to Labor*, 19.

[239] Ibid., 20.

[240] See Table 72 in Appendix III.

Child named John shall live & remaine with him the said Edward Sanders as his apprentice untill he be of the age of 21 yeares."[241]

Some Details about Early Northern Neck Apprentices

How, then, were apprentices used in the early Northern Neck? It seems that all except the top level of apprentices were used in the fields, at least some of the time. In fact, as shown below, apprentices of the lowest level were often little more than glorified servants with few extra benefits—most often related to literacy and other education[242]—coming from a slightly more detailed contractual arrangement.[243] The disproportionate number of males to females among bound apprentices gives one indication of how they were used, since males were much more commonly used in agricultural labor, and male apprentices (20) were twice as evident as female apprentices (10) in the records from Northumberland and Westmoreland counties.[244]

There was also a wide variety in the terms of service since there was little statutory regulation to guide them in this earlier period. Apprentices even tended to labor

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[241] NCOB, 1652-1665, 145-46.

[242] As Steve Hindle and Ruth Wallis Herndon note, this was one of the biggest differences between pauper apprenticeship in England and in her colonies. While English masters often "cared little for such educational development," American contracts largely showed a "preference for literacy clauses...which almost invariably obliged the master to provide instruction in reading and writing for his apprentices." Hindle and Herndon, "Recreating Proper Families in England and North America" in *Children Bound to Labor*, 32.

[243] Gloria L. Main points out this distinction at least partly revolved around racial differences, gender differences and whether orphaned apprentices had sponsoring relatives or not. Main sees three main purposes these apprentices served, the last two of which were prevalent in the Northern Neck: "guaranteeing maintenance to very young children as a form of custodial welfare, akin to foster parenting; apprenticeships designed to employ poor children in farming; and those promising to teach the older child a craft or occupation." Main, "Reflections on the Demand and Supply of Child Labor in Early America" in *Children Bound to Labor*, 201.

[244] The sex of four of the thirty-four total apprentices found in the records of Northumberland and Westmoreland counties could not be determined due to first names not being given and term lengths not being adjudicated as of the early 1670s.

longer terms than servants did, making the lower-tiered apprentices no better off than their bound brethren—and possibly worse off. In future decades, most apprentices served until a predetermined age—twenty-one for males and eighteen for females—but only three of the fourteen contracts recorded during the 1650s in Westmoreland and Northumberland counties appeared as such. In fact, two female apprentices were bound out to serve their masters until the age of twenty-one in this early period. For two-year-old Rachel Aston—the daughter of Ann Aston, who was referred to by the Westmoreland County clerk as a "spinster"[245]—that meant serving a term that amounted to nineteen years, one of the longest contracts possible for any servant and many times more than the four to seven year lengths that is often cited by historians as average for indentured laborers.

Even though Rachel Aston was an outlier, many apprentices—mostly males but not exclusively so as Aston shows—had contracts much longer terms than most servants. Unfortunately, in this early period of English settlement in the Northern Neck, few contracts specified lengths of terms, and a scant three of the thirty-four through 1672 mentioned ages. Term lengths, at least, were a bit more common with twelve of the thirty-four being more detailed than simply stating "untill 21" for most boys and either "untill 18" or "untill married" for most girls. The twelve verified term lengths do, however, give some indication of the longer services performed by most apprentices,

[245] Beverly Fleet, *Virginia Colonial Abstracts: Westmoreland County, 1653-1657* (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1988), 32.

with an average term length of 9.5 years.[246] Unindentured servants alone served slightly shorter terms than apprentices on average—9.4 year terms and a median of nine years for this period[247]—and as detailed earlier those servants without contracts were much younger than their contracted brethren and generally served up to twice as long. Since unindentured laborers made up only a part of the overall servant labor force—according to Christopher Tomlins, a small minority, although that seems less the case in the upper Northern Neck[248]—the average for all servants, both contracted and not, was likely several years lower than for unindentured alone. Therefore, apprentices could have easily labored up to 50% longer than the average servant, and perhaps even longer than that for little benefit.

Another place where the colonial system of apprenticeship was radically different from its English antecedent can best be seen in one fundamental area: whether or not the arrangement would involve the learning of a marketable trade. While most apprenticeships in England still revolved around the learning of a trade by the mid-1600s,[249] apprentices in Virginia were only occasionally promised instruction in the craft of their masters. In fact, only two of the thirty apprentices found in the court records of Northumberland and Westmoreland counties during the 1650s and 1660s were to be

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[246] Notably, two very unique apprenticeship contracts from 1669 in Northumberland County, with little detail other than the term lengths and the jobs to be performed by the servants, may actually skew these numbers down significantly. Both contracts were for four years, very low by the standard of the time, and set the two apprentices to serve on a ship, the only ones of that kind I have found in any upper Northern Neck County during the time under investigation in this study. Without those two contracts, the average term lengths increase to 10.6 years while the median jumps up to eleven years and nine months.

[247] See Table 7 in chapter two.

[248] See especially Tomlins, *Freedom Bound*, 36-38 and Appendix III, 586-587.

[249] See Ruth Wallis Herndon and John E. Murray, "'A Proper and Instructive Education'," in *Children Bound to Labor*, 12-13.

taught a trade as part of their apprenticeships. The reason for this might have been due to relatively merchants, manufacturers, and craftspeople migrating to the Americas in this earlier period.[250]

Unfortunately, many early apprenticeship agreements contained little to no information as to what role those servants had on their masters' plantations if they were not promised instruction in a trade, or even if they were. It is likely, however, that these apprentices served in almost any capacity, for few challenged their master's use of them during this period. Some notable references to the working conditions of these apprentices does remain extant though. As early as May 1650, John Corbill was ordered by the Northumberland County court to "doe all such services & imployments as his said master [Edward Cole] shall command & appoynt." Then, two years later, Walter Allenson was instructed to "faithfully serve in such imploymt" as his master Walter Weekes "shall imploy him." Similarly in 1656, Joseph White of Northumberland was ordered to serve "in such service and employments as…[his owner Robert] Newman…shall employ him in or set him about etc." Undoubtedly, these three male apprentices served in the tobacco fields for their masters, at least for part of their time and possibly most of it.[251]

Even if an apprentice was promised a trade, however, that did not mean he avoided agricultural labor. For example, Michael Mellon appeared in the Northumberland County court in February 1672 because he believed his master had used him in an

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[250] See David W. Galenson, *White Servitude in Colonial America*, especially chapter three.

[251] Northumberland County Deeds and Orders, 1650-1652, 39; NCRB, 1652-1658, 77.

incorrect manner. Mellon claimed that he was "not [to] be imployed at any work but at his trade of a tayler." The Court rejected Mellon's plea against his master, planter John Coutanceau, and ordered that when Coutanceau did not have work for Mellon as a tailor, Mellon could be "sett…to work in any lawfull and necessary work [Coutanceau] thinks fit." Furthermore, the court entry was entitled "Mellon to work in the ground," as unambiguous a statement as there could be as to the status of this apprentice.[252] In many ways, Mellon was a skilled servant who could be used in any way his master wished, much closer to the English system of pauper apprenticeship than the older and more traditional English craft apprenticeship model. Instead, "the universality of husbandry and housewifery suggests that pauper apprenticeship was designed not to raise children above their station," but as a means of poor relief and social stability.[253]

These apprentices in England, and apparently most apprentices in the Northern Neck of Virginia, "were almost universally required to perform the menial, marginal work of the community" alongside diverse labor forces of servants, slaves, wage laborers, and family members.[254] Nor was this type of language reserved only for male apprentices, either. Libbey Parker, who bound herself to John Wood in March 1670, also was ordered by the Northumberland County court to serve "in such service and employmt as [Wood]…shall employ [her]." Since by this time there was a disincentive for female

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[252] NCOB, 1666-1678, 72.

[253] Steve Hindle and Ruth Wallis Herndon, "Recreating Proper Families in England and North America" in *Children Bound to Labor*, 32.

[254] Ibid., 32. Gloria L. Main echoes this claim, stating the "economic contribution[s of these apprentices] came mainly through the performance of simple agricultural tasks suited to their age and strength." Main, "Reflections on the Demand and Supply of Child Labor in Early America" in *Children Bound to Labor*, 199.

servants toiling in the fields—they were tithable if used as such after 1662, and it was commonly thought that men made better field laborers than did women[255]—it is unclear how Parker was used although it remains probable that she was, on busy occasions such as harvest and planting time, put to work in the fields.

Of the thirty apprenticeship contracts agreed to or acknowledged in Westmoreland and Northumberland counties during the 1650s and 1660s, twenty-six have at least some information of use regarding provisions the apprentice was due to receive.[256] At least eight contracts (30.8%), for example, detail the type of education the apprentice would receive, mostly to be taught to read "in the Bible," although not exclusively so. For instance, Elizabeth Perry, was to be taught "to sowe so she can make all her owne linen."[257] Interestingly, only one apprentice—Andrew Perie of Northumberland County—was also expressly promised to be taught to write, a much less known and valued skill for people in early colonial American society.[258]

Gifts or other provisions were also provided to apprentices on occasion beyond the usual "meate, drink, apparrell, lodging, and washing" that all were supposed to receive—some during their terms of service, others after it ended. In fact, more apprentices—eleven, or 42.3% of the total during the 1650s and 1660s—were due to

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[255] In December of 1662, the General Assembly passed an Act due to "diverse persons purchase women servants to work in the ground that thereby they may avoyd the payment of levies." After that, "all women servants whose common imployment is working in the crop shalbe reputed tythable, and levies paid for them accordingly," although the enforcement of this act is suspect. William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large*, 2:170.

[256] While many of the apprenticeship contracts were light on details as it pertained to provisions—because few provisions were granted, by design by the people agreeing to the contract, or even possibly from negligence or expedience on the part of the court recorder—some did include a decent amount of detail.

[257] NCOB, 1652-1665, 94.

[258] NCRB, 1652-1658, 7.

receive some sort of gift, usually in the form of a cow or heifer, than were due to receive education, although that seems at least partly due to the scant details available in some contracts. Francis Little, orphan son of William Little, was bound to Richard Browne in July 1661. Browne agreed to teach Francis "or cause him to be taught to read English distinctly," while also providing him with sufficient "diet, lodging and washing." Upon the completion of Francis's term at the age of twenty-one, though, Browne pledged to provide his freed apprentice with a "yearling heifer," plus the accustomed "sufficient apparrell…and three barrels of Indian Corne" that all apprentices and servants received upon freedom. William Little actually had more power than most apprentices of his type, possibly owing to a slightly higher social status, affecting a rare change in masters a year later.[259] An even better deal—possibly the best any apprentice received in the early years of English settlement in the Northern Neck region—was Walter Allenson's who was due a "cow calfe" within two years of the beginning of his lengthy fifteen-year term in 1652 from his master Walter Weekes. Along with the calfe, Allenson was also due the "increase" during the extent of his contract length, which could be significant if he survived it.[260]

Receiving excess provisions after one's contract term ended was also fairly common and many of these provisions mirrored ones received by apprentices during their contracts as described above. For instance, Andrew Perie was due to receive a cow calf, along with two suites of apparel from his master Hugh Lee when his eight-year contract

[259] NCOB, 1652-1665, 144. The young servant professed to the Court that he was "unwilling to live" with Browne any longer and was granted a new apprenticeship with Nicholas Owen. NCOB, 1652-1665, 156.

[260] NCRB, 1652-1658, 14.

ended in 1659.[261] Similarly, Richard Duke of Westmoreland County was promised a "gentle cow with one cow calfe" by his master John Dodman when his contract expired on Christmas day in 1666.[262]

Another very generous contract with regards to provisions promised, that of John Corbill of Northumberland County, was also the earliest to appear in the records of a Northern Neck county in 1650. Corbill was promised a cow with calf near the end of his twelve-plus years of service to his master Edward Cole. After his term was to expire around the end of 1662, however, Corbill was in for a rather significant haul as compared to his contemporaries: Cole promised Corbill "a sow with its piggs, one gunn, one pott, one fryinge pan and axe, one hoe, one flockbead and rugge with double apparill and three barrills of corne" to start his life as a free man. Furthermore, Corbill might even have received all this before the end of 1662 as his contract also stated that he was not to be bound out to anyone else and would be freed at the death of both Cole and his wife. This is a good example of the generosity of the early- to mid-seventeenth century, even if it was for a minority of apprentices—and even that largely disappeared by the latter part of the century (as will be shown in chapters four and five).[263]

A Taxonomy of Apprenticeship

Overall, a majority of apprentices seemed to receive little benefit for agreeing to or being bound to a longer contract than most servants. But, how did this affect individual apprentices? For example, it could be argued that if a majority of apprentices received

[261] Ibid., 7.
[262] Beverly Fleet, *Virginia Colonial Abstracts*, 52.
[263] Northumberland County Deeds and Orders, 1650-1652, 39.

one of the benefits outlined above[264]—education or a trade or significant gifts for their future—then that majority of apprentices would still have it better than most if not all of the servants who rarely received any of those benefits outside of food, clothing and shelter by the last half of the seventeenth century. Therefore, a taxonomy of sorts will be useful to assess just how beneficial—or not—being bound out as an apprentice instead of as a servant would have been.[265] By doing this, some determination may also be made as to how many apprentices would have found themselves being put to work in the tobacco fields, either at peak times like that of harvest or planting, or even more often than that.

First, it is necessary to treat male and female apprentices differently given that marketable trades were generally only available for young boys who were bound out in early colonial Virginia. As such, male apprentices can be divided up into three tiers. Highest-tiered male apprentices were the most likely to avoid all work in the fields and were often bound out from the middling families of the upper Northern Neck.[266] These young boys could have some or even significant restrictions on their labor explicitly written into their agreements. Given that this was relatively infrequent, however, a trade was also necessary to place an apprentice in the highest tier, especially if there were no labor restrictions evident in the records. Tier I apprentices were actually very rare in the

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[264] Very few apprentices received two or more such benefits.

[265] While this issue is not discussed much in the historical literature, Jean B. Lee does allude to it in her discussion of "degrees of freedom" in her 1994 book *The Price of Nationhood*. Lee notes that slaves, servants, and apprentices were similar in that they were all said to be "in servitude," but that slaves and servants were a different "species of property, to use the contemporary term, because they were bought and sold and because the fruits of their labor belonged to their masters." While apprentices could not be bought and sold, their labor did, for the most part, "belong to their masters." See Lee, *Price of Nationhood*, 43.

[266] As mentioned before, by the latter part of the seventeenth century, orphans from upper class planters rarely became apprentices and instead were given guardians.

upper Northern Neck during the 1650s and 1660s with only two of the 16 for which a determination can be made falling into this category. For example, William Bashawe of Northumberland County was apprenticed to be trained as a “taylor” in 1658, first to Ralph Horsley although Horsley apparently failed to teach Bashawe the trade before he died. Cementing Bashawe's status as a Tier I apprentice, James Hawley took over as master to Bashawe—Hawley was the administrator of Horsley's estate—and was ordered to teach Bashawe the trade or else Bashawe would be freed.[267]

Middle-tiered male apprentices, on the other hand, were likely destined to be used in the fields at least part of the time, probably during peak times such as harvest of planting. This would have been the truly stopgap group who would normally be afforded a slightly higher status than most servants and all slaves, yet in times of need, their contracts did not expressly prohibit them from laboring in the tobacco fields. As such, there would likely be nothing related to labor, neither restrictions placed on it like Tier I apprentices nor explicit language stating no restrictions existed for them as there might be for Tier III apprentices. There would almost definitely be no trade involved in these agreements, while gifts would be the likely determiner for Tier II apprentices. A good enough gift could even put an apprentice in the middle tier with no restrictions on his labor.[268] In this early period, half (8) of the apprentices fell into this category.

One of the more difficultly categorized Tier II apprentices was Walter Allenson, who was bound to serve Walter Weekes for fifteen years in 1652. Weekes was ordered to

[267] NCOB, 1652-1665, 92.

[268] Lastly, education would be helpful in placing apprentices into this middle tier but not determinant since education may have simply been assumed by many county clerks and not recorded into the court ledger.

give Allenson a cow calf within two years of the beginning of his term, and most importantly its "increase" over the course of the very lengthy term. Weekes also agreed to teach Allenson to read English "soe soon as he shalbe capable of teaching." But, Allenson was also ordered to "faithfully serve in such imploymt" as Weekes "shall imploy him." As such, he was a middle-tiered apprentice, although only barely.[269]

Finally, almost half (6) of the male apprentices were lowest-tiered during the 1650s and 1660s. Tier III apprentices definitely participated in agricultural laboring part of the time during plantings and harvests, but likely did so at other times as well, depending on the master. In fact, almost any time a contract explicitly stated that no labor restrictions existed—in other words, language such as the apprentice serving "in any way his master might employ him"—the young man was a lowest-tiered apprentice. In lieu of that relatively obvious determiner, however, no trade could be involved nor could anything but the most minimal of gifts.[270] For example, a gift of one heifer upon completion of a long contract—so no "increase" during the term and the likelihood of him dying before reaching the end of the contract was relatively significant—might still put an apprentice in Tier III if he explicitly had no restrictions on his labor and could be worked in any way his master saw fit. One such apprentice—who was on the other side of the divide between Tier II and III from Allenson—was Richard Duke of Westmoreland County. Duke was bound to John Dodman with Dodman promising to "bring up the said Duke in the Protestant religion in his prayers and by teaching him to

[269] NCRB, 1652-1658, 14.

[270] Education would have been minimal if it appeared at all, although as said above, this would not be a determining factor.

read in the Bible and other godly books in our English tongue." More importantly, Dodman also agreed to award Duke with a cow and calf when his contract ended. Still, only being freed with one cow and calf was a far cry from Allenson's haul of possibly several cows, meaning Allenson was almost certainly slightly better off than Duke.[271]

Female apprentices, meanwhile, only fell into two categories since they were not bound to learn trades, at least ones that could likely turn into future professions. Instead, most female apprentices learned "womanly" duties such as how to sew along with many being taught to "read in the Bible" in a similar manner to some contracts for boys. Furthermore, white female unfree laborers more broadly were likely not used in hard agricultural laboring as much as males—although they could be put to work dairying or raising poultry—but were surely used in the fields at least part of the time. Therefore, membership in either tier of female apprentices did not preordain full time usage in agricultural labor but the lowest-tiered ones likely did serve in that way during harvest and planting times, and possibly at other times as well as needed.

For highest-tiered female apprentices, on the other hand, it seems almost definite that those bound laborers did not toil in tobacco fields at any point. Similar to upper-tiered male apprentices, these young girls sometimes had language in their contracts specifically restricting their labor from working in agricultural settings. If there was not any such language explicit in the contract, then a gift of some sort was necessary to be a top-tiered female apprentice. Lastly, education does not seem to imply much of a correlation with which tier these girls well into, although it could be helpful in placing

[271] Beverly Fleet, *Virginia Colonial Abstracts*, 52.

apprentices into Tier I, especially if it was relatively robust like to learn how to sew and how to read extensively. Before the early 1670s, there were only five female apprentices whose tier could be determined, with three of those (60%) falling into the top tier.

Lower-tiered female apprentices, therefore, were very much the opposite of their higher-tiered counterparts. First, these laborers likely found themselves in the tobacco fields, at least during peak times, if not more often than that. As such, some of these apprentices had explicit language in their contracts stating that no restrictions existed on their labor. Similar to the higher-tiered female apprentices, though, most contracts did not contain this type of language and therefore, other markers are needed to place these servants. Unlike their upper-tiered colleagues, Tier II female apprentices had no gifts in their agreements and if they had education listed at all, it was more prototypical than that found among Tier I laborers. Finally, bastard children—which includes children of servants—were almost always lower-tiered apprentices, especially if they were mixed-race. Only two of the five female apprentices whose statuses can be determined in the 1650s and 1660s fit into this lower-tiered category.

Conclusion

Planters struggled to find adequate labor for their plantations throughout the upper Northern Neck during the mid-seventeenth century and therefore, were more open to diverse bound labor forces than most scholars of the Chesapeake have recognized. This was likely even more acute in the oronoco tobacco-growing regions of Virginia along the Potomac River given that larger yields were needed if planters there hoped to keep up with their sweet-scented tobacco-growing neighbors to the south. As such, landowners

looked to Indians, non-English servants, wage laborers, and apprentices to fill part of that need. And while none of those groups were ever large when compared to servants or even slaves in the mid- to late-seventeenth century, apprentices would be the one unconventional group of bound laborers to become substantial by the latter decades of the century.

Furthermore, apprentices existed from the beginning of settlement in the upper Northern Neck and like indentured servants, had an antecedent in England. Apprenticeship in England looked a lot different from the way it looked in the Chesapeake, however. Most apprentices, it would seem, were chiefly bound out to provide "cheap manpower in a labor-hungry economy."[272] A way that was employed in this chapter and will be expended upon in chapters four and five that cover the 1670s through the first decade of the eighteenth century is to create a taxonomy of sorts for apprenticeship. By using a tiered system of classifying apprentices based on the likelihood of them spending any and something significant amounts of time toiling in hard, agricultural labor, a sense of how planters used—and misused—apprentices to help satisfy their thirst for more unfree labor can become more complete.

[272] Steve Hindle and Ruth Wallis Herndon, "Recreating Proper Families in England and North America" in *Children Bound to Serve*, 20.

CHAPTER FOUR: REVISING THE TRANSITION: FROM SERVITUDE TO SLAVERY IN THE UPPER NORTHERN NECK, 1673-1688

Prior to the last decade or two, the prevailing interpretation of the transition from a bound labor force based primarily on white servants to one centered on African slaves in the colonial Chesapeake held that the transformation occurred around the 1680s and did so with relative linearity. In Russell Menard's interpretation, servants declined as part of the overall Chesapeake population by 1670 or so, "a decline that gained speed in the last two decades of the century."[273] Historians such as Alan Kulikoff, Edmund S. Morgan, David W. Galenson, Ira Berlin, Anthony S. Parent, Jr., Christopher Tomlins and many others have echoed this idea, so much so that it has become gospel to seventeenth-century historiography.[274]

One of the few historians who has raised significant objections to this "prevailing consensus" is John C. Coombs, although a few others previously like Anita H. Rutman had raised specific objections to the seeming "history by assertion and assumption rather

[273] Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," 363.

[274] See among many others: Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*; David W. Galenson, *White Servitude in Colonial America*; Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*; Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*; Anthony S. Parent Jr., *Foul Means*; and Christopher Tomlins, *Freedom Bound*.

than demonstration."[275] In his recent coedited volume, Coombs noted that this repetition "has made it seem as though the available evidence has been more or less exhausted and that by extension new research is unlikely to change the basic story of how the colony's conversion from servant to slave labor unfolded." Instead, Coombs claims the ideas of the transition have largely been based on "insufficient attention to socioeconomic and geographic differences, unwarranted extrapolation from limited data, or just plain unsupported assumption and assertion." In particular, due to the geographic focus of most previous historians—the Eastern Shore, the York and James River regions, and Maryland—"what emerged from their work was a generalized 'date' for the transition to slavery that strongly implied it was relatively homogenous and temporally compressed."[276] Instead, studying the Chesapeake in the broadest possible context, while at the same time emphasizing sub-regional and even local differences in conditions, will eventually lead to a more complex and convincing history."[277]

Coombs's strong objections to this prevailing interpretation serve to set up his desire to reinterpret the rise of slavery in the early Chesapeake, but they can also apply to the so-called corresponding decline of white servitude. This chapter and the next will

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[275] Anita H. Rutman, "Still Planting the Seeds of Hope: The Recent Literature of the Early Chesapeake Region," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 95 (1987), 5-6. In particular but among many critiques, Rutman criticizes the "boom and bust cycle" becoming enshrined as fact and "the concept that cyclical activity in tobacco prices was the principal agent directing the social and economic life of the Chesapeake." The problem with that assumption is that it was based on only one data set in Maryland of oronoco-growing tobacco farmers and planters, hardly applicable to most of Virginia that grew sweet-scented south of the upper Northern Neck region.

[276] John C. Coombs, "Beyond the 'Origins Debate'" in *Early Modern Virginia*, 240, 244.

[277] Douglas Bradburn and John C. Coombs, "Smoke and Mirrors: Reinterpreting the Society and Economy of the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake," *Atlantic Studies* 3, no. 2 (2006), 137.

build on Coombs's critique by closely examining the history of bound labor on the Northern Neck, especially the counties along the Potomac River, during the period when the transition was supposed to have been gaining speed. First, this chapter will show that the numbers of white servants in the Northern Neck did indeed decline in the 1680s, especially as a share of the overall populations of Northumberland and Westmoreland counties. As chapter five will show, however, hundreds of uncontracted laborers—and likely contracted as well—poured into the counties of the Northern Neck during the final years of the seventeenth century and the first few years of the eighteenth century. This late influx of servants had long lasting effects on the social and economic landscape of that region at a time when many other regions of the Chesapeake had long made their full turns to a bound labor system based on African slaves.

In particular, this chapter will show that the number of servants brought into the upper Northern Neck region during the 1680s—especially those who arrived without signed contracts—continued, but at a slower rate as compared to the 1660s and 1670s, especially when juxtaposed with the population growth the region experienced. The number of slaves in Northumberland and Westmoreland counties increased in these years, but the overall number was still relatively low, and servants continued to dominate the unfree labor picture. In fact, a bigger change during the 1670s and 1680s may have been the marked increase in the number of apprentices bound to contracts by the two county courts. This may have been at least partly an effort to offset declining availability of white servants, as many, if not most, of these apprentices were put to work in the tobacco fields.

A Temporary Decline of Servants Migrating to the Upper Northern Neck

First, a full picture of the younger servants who arrived in the Northern Neck counties of Northumberland, Westmoreland and Lancaster must be charted, as well as a comparison to York County as done in chapter two. Similar to that chapter, all age judgments available have been compiled for various purposes: total numbers, ages and term lengths of the servants, a breakdown by sex, and ownership details. All of this then led to estimates for the total number of servants in Northumberland and Westmoreland counties and their persistence in the counties' overall populations during the period from 1673 to 1688.

Unindentured Servants: The Numbers

Overall, a significant albeit reduced number of young servants without contracts continued to stream into Virginia between 1673 and 1688 (see Tables 10 and 11[278]). By county, though, the flow of unindentured laborers was lower to Northern Neck counties Northumberland and Lancaster as compared to the more populous York County, especially in the 1670s, even though that county was also receiving more slaves than the other two by that period as well. Westmoreland, meanwhile, had the lowest numbers of the four counties, not surprising given its more peripheral geographic position on what was still mostly a frontier by the 1680s.

[278] See Table 73 in Appendix IV for year-by-year breakdowns of Tables 10 and 11.

Table 10: Unindentured Servants Having Ages Judged in Northumberland, Westmoreland, Lancaster and York Counties, 1673-1680

	Northumberland	Westmoreland	Lancaster	York
Totals	116	52	116	166
Average	14.5	8.7	14.5	20.8
Median	12.0	6.0	11.0	22.0
S.D.*	9.13	7.58	9.67	10.00

Sources: NCOB, 1666-1678 and 1678-1698 for Northumberland County; WCOB, 1675-1689 for Westmoreland County; Russell Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," 363, Table 3 for Lancaster and York counties.
* – S.D. stands for "standard deviation." This statistic is important as it shows the annual variation of uncontracted servants entering the counties. The higher the number, the more variance there was and the lower the number, the less annual differences existed.

Table 11: Unindentured Servants Having Ages Judged in Northumberland, Westmoreland, Lancaster and York Counties, 1681-1688

	Northumberland	Westmoreland	Lancaster	York
Totals	61	44	52	47
Average	7.6	5.5	6.5	5.9
Median	7.0	5.0	6.5	3.5
S.D.*	5.63	2.20	3.70	5.87

Sources: NCOB, 1678-1698 for Northumberland County; WCOB, 1675-1689 for Westmoreland County; Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," 363, Table 3 for Lancaster and York counties.
* – S.D. stands for "standard deviation." This statistic is important as it shows the annual variation of uncontracted servants entering the counties. The higher the number, the more variance there was and the lower the number, the less annual differences existed.

Still, the numbers of unindentured servants entering the four counties under investigation during this period remained somewhat robust. York County experienced roughly the same annual importation of young bound laborers with no contracts upon arrival in Virginia as it had during the previous decade or so.[279] Meanwhile, both Northumberland

[279] It is notable that the median number grew in the 1670s and 1680s over the earlier period even though the averages were almost identical between the two periods. This, along with the relatively high standard deviation seen, implies that servant importations were becoming more haphazard.

and Lancaster counties saw their averages and medians drop significantly in the 1670s and 1680s from the period under investigation in chapter two.[280]

A deeper look into this data paints a more complex picture, however. York County, for one, experienced a huge drop-off from the 1670s to the 1680s with an over three-fold decrease in the average number of uncontracted servants arriving from the 1670s to the 1680s. In fact, the couple of years surrounding 1680 seem to have been the quantifiable transition date, the one where slaves came to outnumber servants from that time forward. For instance, in 1679, thirty-seven young unindentured laborers entered the county, but after 1682, only once did more than nine uncontracted servants immigrate to York through the end of this study in 1710. This data from Russell Menard line up well with his interpretation, which has been forwarded by many subsequent scholars, that the transition occurred due to "the number of servants imported…[falling] off in the 1680s and 1690s," not necessarily due to a discernible rise in African slave laborers arriving.[281]

Meanwhile, all three Northern Neck counties experienced a similar process to York County, albeit in much less dramatic fashions. Every county experienced significant numbers of unindentured laborers arriving during the mid- to late 1670s with Northumberland County even hitting its height up to that point with thirty-three young

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[280] Specifically, Lancaster County saw its median number of young unindentured laborers fall from an annual rate of seventeen in the 1660s and early 1670s to only half that rate (8.5) during the rest of the 1670s and most of the 1680s. Similarly, the average for Lancaster fell from slightly over seventeen between 1660 and 1672 to 10.5 between 1673 and 1688. Likewise, Northumberland County mirrored Lancaster in its decrease of young servants arriving without contracts from a median of seventeen and an average of slightly more than sixteen in the 1660s and early 1670s to a median of nine and an average of eleven in the rest of the 1670s and most of the 1680s. Westmoreland County does not have much similar data to compare as Order Books only remain extant for two prior years, 1663 and 1664.

[281] Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," 363, also 371-374.

servants having their ages judged by the county court justices in 1676. Similarly, Lancaster County experienced its second-greatest number of unindentured workers (32) up until then in 1674. And while Westmoreland County does not have comparable data from the 1660s, its height of twenty-four in 1678 was still significant because no other year for which there is extant data saw more than nine young laborers arriving in that county during the 1670s and 1680s. This all changed in the 1680s as each Northern Neck county saw much lower numbers of unfree immigrant children enter the region. But while Westmoreland County's immigration remained low for the rest of this period—as did York's—Lancaster and Northumberland counties would rebound with Lancaster seeing thirteen age judgments for unfree white servants in 1686 and Northumberland receiving nineteen the following year.

Therefore, the prevailing historiography that argued for a significant decrease in servants entering the Chesapeake during the 1670s and 1680s seems to be correct, at least when looking only at the 1670s to the 1680s. As shown in chapter five, however, that decrease was reversible and temporary, especially for Northumberland and Westmoreland counties. The years around and including 1700 saw record numbers of unindentured laborers enter those counties, and to a lesser extent Lancaster and other Northern Neck counties as well. The era of servitude in Virginia was not over, at least not yet, as has often been argued.

As for the reasons for the decrease: Bacon's Rebellion in 1676, the focus of some arguments about the decrease in servant migrations, seemed to have little immediate or lasting effect on the number of servants entering those four counties, except possibly

York County. If there was an effect from Bacon's Rebellion on servant migration, it was either in the less quantifiable category of older contracted laborers or did not happen until 1680 when there were, in fact, recognizable dips in unindentured laborers arriving into those four counties. Even if the decrease in the 1680s was part of the aftermath of Bacon's Rebellion—which is certainly possible given the years of court cases the uprising spawned in the Old Dominion—the reaction did not last since the decline was reversed less than two decades afterward.

In a larger sense, Menard correctly posits that young Englishmen and to a lesser extent Englishwomen had several choices when it came to migration: the Chesapeake certainly, but also the West Indies, New England, the Middle Colonies, the Carolinas, the army or navy, or London—the latter being "the colonies' most serious competitor for immigrants." Therefore, "moving to the New World should be considered within a broad context of English migratory patterns in which colonies competed with each other and with places in England for new recruits." In that context then, several factors need to be considered when analyzing the migratory stream of servants, most importantly the total number of migrants and "the attractiveness of the Chesapeake region relative to other possible destinations."[282]

Menard first claims that the increasing English population in the late 1500s and early 1600s led to the initial boom of migration to the earliest American colonies, in particular to Virginia and Maryland since Barbados turned quickly to harsh sugar production via slave labor. New England soon also became less desirable for several

[282] Russell Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," 377.

reasons, one being its lack of a staple crop. Following the English Civil War, however, the population of working-age people in England had stagnated leading to a decrease in overall out-migration, including and especially to the colonies. At around the same time, "the Chesapeake was losing its position as the most attractive New World region" with the "opening up of Pennsylvania and the beginning of rapid development in the Carolinas." Menard concludes that "changes in the size of the migrating population and in the relative attractiveness of the Chesapeake colonies combined to reduce the supply of indentured servants available to tobacco planters in the years after 1665."[283]

While Menard's notions of migrant choices make sense in the context of the 1670s and 1680s when the Carolinas, for one, were new, by the 1690s slavery had taken firm root in coastal Carolina much more so than it had in Virginia or Maryland by that time.[284] Pennsylvania was seemingly the bigger competitor to the Chesapeake during the late-seventeenth century, but the data are complicated. According to Christopher Tomlins in *Freedom Bound*, servants immigrating to Pennsylvania were minimal during the 1670s but expanded dramatically during the 1680s, giving credence to Menard's notion that the newer colony was drawing servants away from the older Chesapeake colonies. But again, similar to his and others' contentions that the number of servants simply dried up after the 1680s, that argument was short-sighted. By the late 1690s and early 1700s, when

[283] Ibid., 379-380.

[284] See Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1974), especially chapters one and two.

servants were streaming into the upper Northern Neck region, those entering Pennsylvania dropped precipitously again.[285]

Competition, therefore, could certainly explain how the Chesapeake saw much lighter servant importation during the 1670s and 1680s but, by the late 1690s, the Northern Neck region had again seemingly become a desired destination for servants. Interestingly—as will be expanded on significantly in chapter five—Menard also mentioned "the wars at the turn of the century [that] sharply reduced the stream of immigrants" even if he was "puzzle[d]" by the reason.[286] It would seem that those wars caused a prioritization of tobacco fleets that could enlist "convoy regimes" and servants—along with tobacco of poorer quality like the oronoco variety—were left out as a result. But, during the interwar years of 1698 through 1702, those restrictions were lifted and servants flooded into the Northern Neck while its tobacco could once again travel along open shipping lanes.[287]

Unindentured Servants: Ages, Term Lengths, Sex, and Ownership

A further dive into the data from the extant age judgments from the upper Northern Neck will help put the overall decrease in the number of servants arriving into

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[285] Tomlins, synthesizing the work of prior scholars, claims the servant imports to Pennsylvania were as follows: 525 in the 1670s; 3,850 in the 1680s; 1,050 in the 1690s; 875 in the 1700s; and 1,976 in the 1710s. In fact, the numbers did not rebound until the 1730s when 7,390 servants entered the colony. Tomlins, *Freedom Bound*, 45.

[286] Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," 379.

[287] See Douglas Bradburn, "The Visible Fist"; and Paul G. E. Clemens, "Reimagining the Political Economy of Early Virginia." In total, 445 young servants arrived in the Northern Neck counties of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Lancaster, Richmond, and Essex in the year or so immediately before and after 1700. NCOB, 1678-1698 and 1699-1713 for Northumberland County; WCOB, 1698-1705 for Westmoreland County; Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," 363 for Lancaster County; Richmond County Order Books, 1694-1699 and 1699-1704 for Richmond County; Essex County Order Books, 1695-1699 and 1699-1702 for Essex County.

Northumberland and Westmoreland counties during the 1670s and especially the 1680s into better context. In particular and akin to chapter two, information regarding the difference in ages, term lengths and the divide between the sexes of those unindentured servants—both between Northumberland County in the previous period to this one, and between Northumberland and Westmoreland counties in this period given more of the latter have survived—can be analyzed.

Similar to the previous period, the average and median ages of these younger servants in Northumberland County were relatively consistent through the rest of the 1670s and most of the 1680s.

Table 12: Ages and Term Lengths of Unindentured Servants in Northumberland County, 1673-1688

Date	Number of Servants	Average Age of Servants	Median Age of Servants	S.D.**	Average Length of Term	Median Length of Term	S.D.**
1673	9	13.2	14.0	2.44	10.8	10.0	2.44
1674	9	15.4	15.0	1.89	8.6	9.0	1.89
1675	11	15.1*(10)	16.0*	3.05	8.7	8.0	2.96
1676	33	13.0	13.0	2.79	11.0	11.0	2.79
1677	15	13.2*(13)	13.0*	4.15	10.5	10.0	3.81
1678	22	12.2*(19)	13.0*	2.80	10.7	11.0	3.74
1679	13	13.2	14.0	4.07	10.8	10.0	4.07
1680	4	13.8	14.0	1.30	9.5	9.5	0.50
1681	6	11.0	11.0	3.22	13.0	13.0	3.22
1682	8	13.8	13.5	2.44	10.2	10.5	2.44
1683	2	13.5	13.5	0.50	10.5	10.5	0.50
1684	2	12.0	12.0	0	7.5	7.5	0.50
1685	11	13.3*(10)	13.5*	2.65	10.3	10.0	2.86
1686	9	12.8	13.0	3.12	11.0	11.0	3.33
1687	19	12.6*(18)	13.0*	2.56	11.1*(18)	11.0*	2.84
1688	4	15.0	14.5	1.23	9.0	9.5	1.23
Total	***177***	***13.2*** (169)	***13.0*** (169)		***10.5*** (176)	***10.0*** (176)	

Sources: NCOB, 1666-1678 and 1678-1698.
* – Some of the years in this table did not have age and/or term length information for every servant who had their age adjudged, although unlike in chapter two, the number is relatively small here. In parenthesis next to the asterisk, therefore, the number of servants whose ages or terms are evident in the records is listed (only next to the averages, even though the same applies for the medians).
** – Standard Deviation

From 1673 to 1688, a low age of eleven years old in both average and median occurred in 1681 while the highest average age of over fifteen appeared in 1674 and the height in median age of sixteen was observed in the following year. These values are a bit more volatile than the same numbers from chapter two when there was an average low age of around twelve in 1665, a median low of thirteen in several years between 1660 and 1672, an average high of around fourteen years old in 1664, and a median height of 14.5 in 1668. Therefore, the years after 1672 saw about double the volatility of the dozen or so years before, although the volatility in the latter period should not be overstated—half of the sixteen years covered by this chapter saw averages in a very narrow band between thirteen and fourteen years of age.[288]

Part of the reason for the slightly increased volatility in the 1670s and 1680s may have been due to the final statutory settlement concerning term lengths of young, unindentured laborers who had come to the colony and region without an agreed-upon contract (see chapter two for details). There was finally certainty in purchasing younger servants by the 1670s, meaning a wider variety of servants may have been palatable to Northumberland County's planters during this period. The settling of the law in this area

[288] Meanwhile, eleven of the sixteen years experienced a median of between thirteen and fourteen year-old young servants entering into the Northumberland County court records.

seemed to have a more dramatic impact on term lengths. While term lengths varied significantly in the 1660s as the statutes changed several times in a relatively short span of time, it solidified by the 1670s and 1680s. Those lengths also more closely mirrored servants' ages as the vast majority of age judgments resulted in the servant serving "according to Act," meaning until twenty-four years of age.

More specifically, just as with the age ranges, the average and median term lengths were within a relatively narrow band during most of the 1670s and 1680s. Ten of the sixteen years within the period under investigation in chapter two fell between 10.3 and 11.1 years of service.[289] Furthermore, slightly expanding the range down to nine added another three years to the total, meaning thirteen of sixteen years (81.3%) had a median within two years of each other, the height of consistency. These ranges also correspond very well to the period between 1667 and 1672 (see chapter two)—which saw all but one year average between ten and 11.6 years of service—after the final statute was passed in 1666 governing term lengths of young servants.

Westmoreland County, on the other hand as seen in Table 13, had an older pool of unindentured laborers enter its county court to have their ages judged than Northumberland in the years for which data is available.

[289] Similarly, ten of the sixteen years saw medians fall within a year as well, albeit slightly lower, between ten and eleven years of labor.

Table 13: Ages and Term Lengths of Unindentured Servants in Westmoreland County, 1675-1688

Date	Number of Servants	Average Age of Servants	Median Age of Servants	Standard Deviation	Average Length of Term	Median Length of Term	Standard Deviation
1675	4	15.0	15.0	0.71	9.0	9.0	0.71
1676	5	14.9	14.5	1.43	9.1	9.5	1.43
1677	6	14.8	15.0	1.21	9.2	9.0	1.21
1678	24	15.6	15.8	2.25	8.3	8.0	2.25
1679	7	13.8*(6)	13.3*	1.91	10.3*(6)	10.8*	1.91
1680	6	14.5	15.0	2.06	9.5	9.0	2.06
1681	5	13.3*(3)	12.0*	1.89	12.0*(4)	12.5*	2.55
1682	9	15.2	15.0	2.90	8.8**	9.0**	2.90
1683	8	12.6	13.5	3.84	11.4**	10.5**	3.84
1684	2	15.0	15.0	2.00	11.0*(1)	11.0*	0
1685	5	13.0	12.0	3.46	11.0	12.0	3.46
1686	4	14.3*(3)	13.0*	1.89	8.8	9.0	2.28
1687	5	13.6	13.0	1.20	10.4**	11.0**	1.20
1688	6	10.0	11.0	3.83	14.0**	13.0**	3.83
Total	***96***	***14.3*** (92)	***15.0***		***9.9*** (93)	***9.0***	

Source: WCOB, 1675-1689.

* – Some of the years in this table did not have age and/or term length information for every servant who had their age adjudged, although unlike in chapter two, the number is relatively small here. In parenthesis next to the asterisk, therefore, the number of servants whose ages or terms are evident in the records is listed (only next to the averages, even though the same applies for the medians).

** – The age judgment records from 1682, 1683, 1687, and 1688 had no information related to term lengths, not even the typical "to serve according to Act," or something similar. Therefore, I am assuming that those servants were bound according to the Act of Assembly, meaning twenty-four years of age, as this was the norm by the 1680s.

The average age for the period of slightly over fourteen years old with term lengths of almost ten years were both nearly a year different than the comparable averages seen in Northumberland County. Furthermore, the difference between the medians was even more pronounced with Westmoreland's fifteen years of age and nine year term length

differing by one and a half and one year, respectively, from Northumberland's counts (see Table 12).

Westmoreland was also slightly more varied than Northumberland County in its annual ages and term lengths during the period under investigation in this chapter. From 1675 to 1688, a low average age of ten and a low median age of eleven both occurred at the very end of the period in 1688. Meanwhile, the highest average age of 15.6 and the highest median age of 15.8 occurred in 1678, which was also notably the only year where more than nine unindentured laborers (24) had their ages judged in Westmoreland's county court. Furthermore, the lowest average and median term lengths of around eight years long also occurred in 1678, while 1688 again saw the highest average and median term lengths of fourteen and thirteen years, respectively. These sets of numbers are also all well outside of the comparable data range for Northumberland County both in this period and the one outlined in chapter two.[290]

Similar to chapter two of this work, other information such as the sex ratio of these younger servants can also be teased out by using age judgment court entries. Males continued to dominate through the 1670s and 1680s in both Northumberland and Westmoreland counties. Amazingly, the percentage of male unindentured servants in

[290] These annual variations between Westmoreland and Northumberland counties along with the overall difference of averages and medians in favor of older servants serving for less years likely reflects a slightly more haphazard labor situation for Westmoreland County. While there were probably many factors at work, the main one was its relative youth as an official county in Virginia. One notable trend that augments this conclusion can be seen in the last four years of this period. All but one of the lowest five years of median ages and all but three of the lowest seven years of averages in the ages of young laborers being judged in court occurred after 1684, meaning comparably younger servants were entering Westmoreland County by the late 1680s. While the overall numbers were small, this could have been a turning point for the county, at least as it became older and more established and the settled statutory landscape became the norm.

most of the 1670s and 1680s of 86.1% corresponds almost exactly to the 86.7% seen in the 1660s and the first couple of years of the 1670s. Westmoreland County, meanwhile, saw much of the same disproportionally male dominated unindentured laborers. The percentage of male unindentured servants coming into Westmoreland County during the period under investigation in this chapter (86%) mirrored that of Northumberland almost exactly too, as well as corresponding very closely to Northumberland during the earlier period. Clearly, young male servants remained the ideal unfree labor demographic category through the 1680s in the entire upper Northern Neck region.[291]

Another piece of information provided by age judgments relates to the owners of those young servants. Similar to earlier periods, the upper Northern Neck continued to be a land of minor planters as evidenced by the large majority of servant owners who only brought one younger servant to court to have their age judged in Northumberland (70.2%) and Westmoreland counties (76.1%) from 1673 to 1688.[292] Further, this later period got even heavier on owners acquiring only one or two unindentured servants—about 80% in Northumberland County and 92% in Westmoreland—during most of the 1670s and 1680s.[293]

There were a few larger planters, of course, who appeared several times in court to have their younger servants' ages judged, although none topped the nine that major planter Richard Lee brought to court during the 1660s and early 1670s. In this later

[291] See Tables 74 and 75 in Appendix IV.

[292] For a discussion of minor planters as opposed to major and middling planters, and as opposed to small farmers, see chapter one.

[293] See Tables 76 and 77 in Appendix IV for more details on this.

period, two planters in Northumberland, Thomas Winter[294] and Peter Presly, and one in Westmoreland, Nicholas Spencer, purchased seven younger servants each. Other notable planters brought several servants to their respective county courts as well: William Downing (4), John Coutenceau (4), St. Leger Codd (4), William Presly (5), and Thomas Matthews (6) in Northumberland County; and John Lord (3), Stephen Mannering (3), John Newton (4) and John Quigley (4) in Westmoreland County. Finally, also akin to the earlier period in Northumberland County, almost half of the servants (47% in Northumberland and 46% in Westmoreland) were bought by less than a quarter of the total number of young servant owners (21% in Northumberland and 24% in Westmoreland). The social ladder in the upper Northern Neck, therefore, remained one with very few big planters on top, albeit at an overall lower level than their neighbors to the south, and the rest of the landowning society well below them.

Persistence and Total Number of Servants in the Upper Northern Neck

Finally, as with chapter two, an attempt to calculate the incidence of servitude, along with the persistence of those bound laborers in the overall population, can be attempted. Importantly, the longer terms of service for younger white laborers serving to the "custom of the country" discussed above that had finally been solidified from a statutory perspective meant that those terms were now more than double the oft-cited four to five years. As mentioned previously, Christopher Tomlins has provided the widest ranging review of studies on indentured servants, their terms of service, and their

[294] Amazingly, five of the seven servants Winter brought into the Northumberland County court were from the same family, the Varleys! In 1678, Winter had the following Varley children's ages adjudged: James (6), Christopher (8), John (10), Elizabeth (12), and Jannett (14).

incidence in early Virginia and elsewhere in early America. Similar to the 1660s, Tomlins's average term lengths for uncontracted laborers of seven years—or even nine, which he uses in an appendix as the extreme high of the range—is still significantly low when compared to the upper Northern Neck counties of Westmoreland (almost ten year average and nine year median) and Northumberland (10.5 year average and ten year median).

Therefore, again using Tomlins's calculations that were outlined in chapter two—this time related to the incidence of servitude around 1680 and 1690 in the Chesapeake—the upper Northern Neck can be compared to his norm. In 1680, Tomlins pegs the persistence of servants in the overall population of the Chesapeake at 9.7%, which rises to 16% when mortality is removed. By 1690, the persistence of servants had apparently dropped to 5.5% of the total Chesapeake population, which rises to about 9% if mortality is taken out of the equation.[295] Similarly, trying to fit Northumberland County's total servant data into this latter number would mean around half or more of the county's servants immigrated there without a contract.[296] This ratio remains a good bit different from what Tomlins claims was the likely distribution of indentured and unindentured

[295] Again, for Tomlins's discussion of mortality in the early Chesapeake, see *Freedom Bound*, Appendix II, 583-85. Similar to chapter two, I again reverse engineered Tomlins's persistence percentages for the decades ending in 1680 and 1690 that he outlined in Appendix III, 586-87. For Tomlins's most extreme proportions, he calculates a 39.5% attrition rate over nine years for nine annual cohorts of servants migrating to the Chesapeake. This results in the 5.5% persistence of servants in the Chesapeake becoming, at the most, 9.1%. See Tomlins, 38, Table 1.2; and the matrix on Tomlins, 585.

[296] Only Northumberland County is used here due to the lack of good tithable counts for Westmoreland County as outlined at the beginning of this chapter. Therefore, Northumberland is again being used as the standard for the region, which is problematic but this will be solved in chapter five when the 1690s (and beyond) are discussed as Westmoreland has more consistent and reliable data for that period.

workers, which he pegged at two-to-one in favor of contracted laborers. On the other hand, this roughly equal split between younger laborers who immigrated without contracts and those who signed indentures prior to crossing the Atlantic may actually be closer to the reality of late-seventeenth century Northumberland County and to the upper Northern Neck more generally.

To ascertain the persistence of servitude as part of the Northumberland County population, it is necessary to chart how many of those young white laborers were still serving terms in any given year.

Table 14: Persistence of Unindentured Servants in Northumberland County, 1673-1688

Date	Total number of Unindentured Servants still serving terms*	Middle Estimate of Population from Tithables	Percentage of Servants in population
1673	152	828	18.4
1674	148	968	15.3
1675	149	n/a**	n/a**
1676	174	n/a**	n/a**
1677	176	n/a**	n/a**
1678	187	n/a**	n/a**
1679	187	1557	12.0
1680	176	1406	12.5
1681	164	1357	12.1
1682	158	1356	11.7
1683	140	n/a**	n/a**
1684	114	1446	7.9
1685	110	n/a**	n/a**
1686	106	1610	6.6
1687	115	1550	7.4
1688	109	1860	5.9

Sources: NCOB, 1666-1678 and 1678-1698.
* – These numbers do not account for mortality.
** – There are no available tithable counts for these years and therefore, no population estimates are calculable.

Given that the calculations above are merely for unindentured servants and not all servants, the proportion of Northumberland County's population who were young bound laborers was relatively high as compared to Tomlins's data. Tomlins's 9% figure for the 1690 Chesapeake—if mortality is not considered—never quite match the data from Northumberland. In fact, it is often significantly lower than when the figures in Table 14—where unindentured servants were between 6% of the population in 1688 and over 12% of it in and around 1680—are doubled, given that unindentured laborers were unlikely to have been more than half of the total number of servants. Assuming a maximum of half the number of servants being young and uncontracted, that would equate to 12% around 1690 and 25% around 1680 of the Northumberland County population being bound laborers, toiling under contract or by "customs of the country." Therefore, the county's servants were between 50% and double Tomlins's calculations, offering further proof of Northumberland's disproportionate reliance on white servitude through the 1680s (and beyond as evidenced by chapter five).

A more sophisticated estimate of the total number of servants—both contracted and not—in a given year can be tabulated by using Tomlins's discussions of servant term lengths. In it, Tomlins provides various estimates based on three ratios of indentured versus unindentured servants to figure out the persistence of servants in the populations of Maryland and Virginia during the seventeenth century.[297] As mentioned above, the more likely ratio of contracted laborers to unindentured servants in Northumberland County was somewhere between the low estimate, which was an equal split, and the

[297] Tomlins, *Freedom Bound*, Appendix III, 586-87.

middle estimate, which corresponds to a two-to-one ratio of older to younger servants. The preferred ratio for Tomlins—five-to-one in favor of indentured laborers—is obviously untenable for Northumberland County given that it would equate to three-fifths of the entire population of the county being servants during the early 1680s.[298]

Table 15: Estimated Persistence of All Servants in Northumberland County Population, 1673-1688

Year	Estimated Low Percentage of Servants in population	Estimated Middle Percentage of Servants in population	Estimated High Percentage of Servants in population
1673	33.3	55.2	91.8**
1674	27.8	45.9	76.5**
1679	21.8	36.1	60.1
1680	22.8	37.6	62.6
1681	22.0	36.3	60.4
1682	21.2	35.0	58.3
1683	n/a*	n/a*	n/a*
1684	14.3	23.7	39.4
1685	n/a*	n/a*	n/a*
1686	12.0	19.8	32.9
1687	13.5	22.3	37.1
1688	10.7	17.6	29.3

Source: Table 78 in Appendix IV.
* – There are no available tithable counts for any year between 1675 and 1678, for 1683, or for 1685 and therefore, no population estimates are calculable. Also, numbers in this Table do not account for mortality.
** – These percentages are truly absurd both because Tomlins's preferred ratio of older servants to younger servants of five-to-one simply cannot be used in Northumberland County, but also because of the strangely low tithable counts from these two years, one from the county records and one from the colonial records. See NCOB, 1666-1678, 190 for 1673 and Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 412-413 for 1674.

[298] Even adding mortality back would still equate to around one-third of the population, which seems unlikely given that this was the low ebb of servant importation to Virginia as discussed previously.

As such, the persistence of servants in the overall population of Northumberland County was somewhere between 22% and 37% in the early 1680s, decreasing to between 11% and 20% by the late 1680s due to a dip in servants and an increase in the overall population. Again, this still puts Northumberland County over Tomlins's estimates of servant persistence among the seventeenth-century Virginia population, even using his more expansive calculations.[299] In 1680, Tomlins estimates between about 17% and 29% (when mortality is removed from his calculations), meaning Northumberland likely had about one-third more than his average at that point. Tomlins estimates servants as a proportion of the Chesapeake population of between 9% and 16.5% by 1690, but by then, Northumberland's persistence of servitude still exceeded his overall percentage by around one-fifth or so. Therefore, Northumberland County remained more robust in terms of white servants than the rest of Virginia during the 1670s and 1680s and if anything, was becoming more committed to that form of unfree labor than the rest of the Old Dominion was.

Slaves Increase Slightly in the Upper Northern Neck

Servants dominated the bound labor force in the upper Northern Neck counties during much of the seventeenth century—and likely all of it (see chapter five). Still, there was a small but growing number of black slaves—and a very small number of mulatto and native slaves—in Northumberland during the last quarter of the seventeenth century as well. While inventories and wills would be helpful with charting this more fully, those are no longer extant for the last three decades or so of the seventeenth century. But,

[299] See Tomlins, *Freedom Bound*, Appendix III, 586-87.

records such as age judgments of newly arriving black children do remain extant and are arguably more useful when searching for overall black population numbers in colonial Virginia. Black headrights are also helpful. Headrights, or land certifications, were fifty acre grants to planters and merchants for importing "negroes" into the colony. These records are vastly more superior to headrights for white servants as they tended to be clear with regards to the status or ethnicity of black immigrants.

Headrights, therefore, can, as in previous periods, give some indication as to the paucity of "negroes" coming into the county during the years for which they appear through 1686. For the period under investigation in this chapter, only twenty-nine headrights were granted for the importation of Africans into Northumberland County.[300] Almost half of that number for Northumberland arrived at one time as Thomas Matthew brought in thirteen blacks—ten from Barbados and three from New England—in 1680, all of whom were likely destined for Matthew's plantation.[301]

As with young servants without indentures upon arrival, age judgments for black children brought into the Northern Neck counties provide the best qualitative system for estimating the incidence of slaves in the region after it began in 1680. Recently imported black youngsters were brought before the court in the same manner as white unindentured children to have their ages judged. These court entries are relatively

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[300] Notably, none appeared in Westmoreland County, due at least partly to the incomplete extant records from that county for this period.

[301] NCOB, 1678-1698, 56. In the 1679 tax list discussed in chapter one, Matthew appeared responsible for twenty tithable persons, only two of whom were definitely taxable servants. Four others could have been the four black headrights Matthew received land for in 1663. This would leave him with fourteen other tithables, which very possibly could have been him and some or all of these thirteen slaves. If he had a wife, female children, and/or male children under the age of fourteen, none of them would have been tithable. NCOB, 1652-1665, 183; NCOB, 1666-1678, 113, 176; NCOB, 1678-1687, 37-38.

trustworthy given those judgments were also for tax purposes, as were the comparable court cases for servant children. The General Assembly passed a 1680 law requiring planters to bring "negroe children imported…into this colony" to their local court to have their ages judged "within three months" of their arrival.[302] These documents therefore provide a reliable gauge for the number of black children in Northumberland twelve years old or younger, the age when slaves became taxable. Then, using John Coombs's work finding the ratio of adult slaves to younger ones in much of Virginia, a range of black slaves in the Northern Neck can be broadly estimated.[303]

For the period under investigation in this chapter, the very small number of black children having their ages judged is further proof of the reliance the upper Northern Neck still had on white servants through the 1680s.[304] Although small in number, these were very young children and were staring at very long terms of service if they survived into middle or old age. In fact, only two of the twenty-five slaves who had their ages judged were twelve years old—the oldest those slaves could be before they became tithable and were no longer required to have their ages judged—and only four others were ten or eleven years old. The remaining nineteen were younger than ten with many much younger than that.[305]

While descriptions of blacks and other types of slaves were usually scant—along with most types of servants, for that matter—some useful information can be teased out of the various ways they appeared in the court records as noted above. First, the sex of

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[302] William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large*, 2:479-80.
[303] See Coombs, "Building 'The Machine'," 127-8, Table 4.1.
[304] See Table 79 in Appendix IV.
[305] See Table 80 in Appendix IV.

two-thirds (36) of the fifty-four slaves brought into Northumberland and Westmoreland counties during this period and either claimed as a headright or who had their ages judged in court can be determined. Of those thirty-six whose sex can be identified, almost two-thirds were male (23) with the remaining being female (13).

Another useful bit of information pertains to the owners of those slaves, or the slave traders or merchants who brought the slaves into the counties. Unfortunately, it is often difficult to know whether those two were one in the same. As mentioned above, it seems probable that Thomas Matthew actually intended for the thirteen black slaves he brought into Northumberland County in 1680 to labor on his plantation since an equal number of tithable persons showed up on the 1679 tax list for the county.[306] Given how rare the 1679 tax list is, however, connecting the dots in this manner can rarely be done. Still, in the same way inventories—and to a lesser extent wills—are decent barometers of slave and servant ownership at the time of the planters' death (or shortly thereafter), slave and servant ownership as revealed by age judgments and headrights is one of the only ways to gauge such status while the planters were alive.

Along with the fifty-four unique slaves mentioned in either headrights or age judgment records, a total of twenty owners or traders/merchants were also mentioned. Of that twenty, almost half (9) were named only once (45%), but corresponded to only 17% of the slaves mentioned during this period.[307] Both as further proof of the paucity of slaves in the upper Northern Neck in this period and to the relatively small minority of Englishmen in the region who could afford slaves at all, six major planters—or 30% of

[306] See chapter one for more on the 1679 tax list.
[307] See Table 81 in Appendix IV.

the total owners or traders mentioned—accounted for two-thirds (66.7%) of the slaves claimed as headrights or who had their ages judged in court during the period under investigation. Furthermore, all but two of those major planters appeared as claiming headrights for the importation of slaves, and John Downing only brought one of his three slaves to court to have his age judged. While many were likely similar to Thomas Matthew—using their imported slaves themselves and not selling them to others—it is hard to determine that for sure. Instead, only one planter, William Thomas, definitely owned all of his significant number of slaves that he had claimed headrights for, brining all seven to court on September 15, 1680 to have their ages judged. Furthermore, the racial makeup of Thomas's slaves also shows just how few African slaves were in this period: four of his seven slaves were Indians, while only two were "negroes" and the other was a "mulatto."[308]

Unsurprisingly, many of the slave owners above—eleven of the twenty (or 55%)—also were in the records as owning at least one and sometimes several servants. Probate inventories tend to be the main way to chart which planters owned mixed race bound labor forces and in what number, at least at the time of their death. Using headrights and age judgments, on the other hand, allows for a longer time frame to be considered, even if it is more prone to gaps in the records.[309] As such, four of the ten planters who claimed one slave also had servants. Two of those four, meanwhile, had

[308] NCOB, 1678-1698, 74.

[309] See the "Note on Sources" for a discussion of these sources and their differing levels of usefulness and reliability.

more than one unindentured servant—Vincent Cox had two[310] and Richard Hull had five. Furthermore, two of the four planters who claimed two slaves had many young servants—John Newton of Westmoreland County had four and Peter Presly of Northumberland had at least eleven. Lastly, five of the six bigger planters who claimed three or more slaves also had several uncontracted servants. For instance, Cuthburt Span had four slaves and at least five servants; Richard Kenner claimed six slaves and seven servants; and Thomas Matthew, who claimed thirteen slaves, also had a minimum of nine servants.

Unsurprisingly, those planters with mixed-race labor forces were certainly among the biggest planters in the upper Northern Neck during the 1670s and 1680s. In particular, five of the planters who had both servants and slaves—Richard Kenner, Thomas Matthew, John Newton, Peter Presly, and Cuthburt Span—had multiple of each. When looking only at the years under investigation for this chapter, those five planters comprised less than 3% of the total servant owners and one quarter of the total slave owners, yet held almost 10% of the total servants and half of the slaves.

Finally, in order to arrive at an estimate for the number of black slaves in the upper Northern Neck counties during most of the 1670s and 1680s, a ratio determined by John C. Coombs in his extensive study of Virginia inventories will be employed.

[310] Cox is especially interesting given that he brought a servant into the Northumberland County court to have his age judged in 1663, then brought another servant, Mary Charles, into the Westmoreland court for an age judgment in 1681—about three years after his Northumberland servant would have ended his term if he had survived all of it. Cox then brought a slave into the Westmoreland court for an age judgment in 1688. It is possible there were two Vincent Coxes, one in each county, although that name is rarer than most others so there is a pretty good chance this was the same man and he had moved over a county between 1663 and 1681 or owned two plantations, although the former was a much more regular occurrence than the latter in the late 1600s. NCOB, 1652-1665, 174; WCOB, 1675-1689, 225, 675.

Coombs's ratios compare the number of slaves aged fifteen and younger to those aged sixteen to fifty in all available inventories from York, Northampton, Lower Norfolk, Northumberland and Lancaster counties from various time periods. For the 1680s, Coombs' ratio of young slaves to older slaves was about two-to-one in favor of older slaves.[311] Therefore, the nineteen black slave children who had their ages judged during this ten-year period[312] corresponded to around thirty-seven adult or near-adult slaves, equaling around fifty-six in total.

While it is impossible to know just how accurate this estimate is given the varieties of statistical data and the danger in applying broader ratios to a certain time and place, it does fit with the most important aspect of bound labor in the upper Northern Neck during the 1680s—that servants still outnumbered slaves by the late 1680s. The above estimate of fifty-six slaves arriving in Northumberland and Westmoreland counties during the 1680s can then be doubled for arrivals during the 1670s, which is likely a slight overestimate. Any other slaves still in the region and toiling in bondage who had arrived prior to 1670—which was likely rather small, perhaps half of the above estimate given that the number was small to begin with—can then be added to the arrivals from the 1670s and 1680s. This would result in around 140 slaves in both counties by 1688 (not accounting for mortality).

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[311] The ratio is 0.513, to be exact. See Coombs, "Building 'The Machine'," 127-8.

[312] All but one of these nineteen appeared in court to have their ages judged—see Table 79 in Appendix IV—while one headright described as a "Negro child" was the only one to have any indication as to a young age, and is therefore included in this count.

Table 16 displays all African slaves appearing in the court records for Northumberland County[313] during the decade starting in 1679—with that number being multiplied by three to account for Coombs's estimate of one younger slave for every two adult slaves. This indicates that the above estimate of around 140 slaves by 1688 is fairly close to the mark.

Table 16: Estimated Total Servant and Slave Labor Force in Northumberland County, 1679-1688

Date	Estimated Total Number of Slaves	Low Estimated Number of Servants	Proportion of Slaves as Part of Total Unfree Labor Force*	Middle Estimated Number of Servants	Proportion of Slaves as Part of Total Unfree Labor Force*
1679	84	340	19.8	562	13.0
1680	103	320	24.4	529	16.3
1681	103	298	25.7	492	17.3
1682	106	287	27.0	474	18.3
1683	117	255	31.5	420	21.8
1684	122	207	37.1	342	26.3
1685	128	200	39.0	330	28.0
1686	135	193	41.2	318	29.8
1687	141	209	40.3	345	29.0
1688	153	198	43.6	327	31.9

Source: The low and middle estimates in this table are taken from Table 78 in Appendix IV. A midpoint between these two estimates is the likely "sweet spot" for the total number of servants at any point during the decade starting with 1679. The estimate of 84 slaves in 1679 comes from the estimates outlined above of 56 slaves arriving during the 1670s and half of that number (28) still living in Northumberland County as of 1679. This estimate might be a little conservative, but due to still heavy mortality in the Chesapeake region and the possibility of resale to other regions, it should be in the ballpark. Also, this table starts in 1679 since the system of judging young slaves' ages began in 1680. Lastly, the numbers in this table do no account for mortality.
* – This "total unfree labor force" does not include apprentices or any other non-traditional bound laborers.

[313] Given the very small number of slaves seen in the records of Westmoreland County, only Northumberland is included in the table.

The most important takeaway from the estimates above is that by the late 1680s, white servitude was seemingly about to be overtaken statistically by enslaved Africans if trends continued. As a part of the overall bound labor force,[314] the proportion of slaves had doubled from between 13% and 20% to between 28% and 39% in six years, from 1679 to 1685. This was seemingly due in almost equal parts to the decrease in servant migration to the region as it was to the increased importation of slaves. But, as shown in chapter five, the trend was abruptly reversed in the late 1690s, at least temporarily.

Adding the estimates for slaves to the estimates for all servants in Northumberland during the ten years ending in 1688 provides another set of figures to compare to Tomlins's aggregated amounts for all of Virginia. This time, estimates for the overall incidence of bound laborers in the total population of Northumberland County can be determined.

Table 17: Slaves and Servants as Part of the Overall Population of Northumberland County, 1679-1688

Date	Middle Estimate of Total Population	Low Estimate of Servants and Slaves	Low Estimated % of Servants and Slaves in Population	Middle Estimate of Servants and Slaves	Middle Estimated % of Servants and Slaves in Population
1679	1557	424	27.2	646	41.5
1680	1406	423	30.1	632	45.0
1681	1357	401	29.6	595	43.9
1682	1356	393	29.0	580	42.8
1683	n/a*	372	n/a*	537	n/a*

[314] This does not include apprentices, which I argue below is an incorrect way of looking at the bound labor situation in the seventeenth-century Northern Neck. But for now and in order to better compare my data to Tomlins's in *Freedom Bound*, this is simply an easier way to treat slaves and servants.

Date	Middle Estimate of Total Population	Low Estimate of Servants and Slaves	Low Estimated % of Servants and Slaves in Population	Middle Estimate of Servants and Slaves	Middle Estimated % of Servants and Slaves in Population
1684	1446	329	22.8	464	32.1
1685	n/a*	328	n/a*	458	n/a*
1686	1610	328	20.4	453	28.1
1687	1550	350	22.6	486	31.4
1688	1860	351	18.9	480	25.8

Source: Tables 82 and 83 in Appendix IV.
* – There are no available tithable counts for these years and therefore, no population estimates are calculable.

Therefore, the bound labor situation in 1680—with between 30% and 45% of the population of Northumberland County being servants or slaves—was easily double and could have been near triple Tomlins's estimates for the entire colony for that date. Interestingly though, due to slipping servant numbers, only a modest increase in slave numbers and an overall population increase, the percentage of servants and slaves in the overall population near the end of 1680s was only slightly more than Tomlins's estimate of around one-fifth in 1690.[315]

Given that Northumberland County—and the rest of the upper Northern Neck as well—was experiencing this overall decrease in traditional unfree laborers, other sources were needed.[316] One of the main stopgap measures meant to address the labor shortage

[315] See Tomlins, *Freedom Bound*, 41, Table 1.4.

[316] Obviously, free labor—namely family members but also a very small number of wage laborers—could make up the difference and likely did to some degree, but while the population did rise from 1679 to 1688, the increase was very uneven and likely not adequate to keep up similar tobacco production. Furthermore, similar production was rarely the goal of major and middling planters in colonial Virginia or the upper Northern Neck.

was to look to non-traditional unfree laborers such as apprentices, the bounding of which increased during the 1680s as is outlined in the next section. While causation is impossible to determine for certain, there is a decent correlation between the following three elements: minor growth in the number of slaves appearing, dips in servants arriving, and increases in apprentices being bound out in court.

Apprentices: A Third Type of Common Bound Laborers

Unlike during the 1650s and 1660s as mentioned in chapter three, apprenticeship became significantly more common by the late 1670s as a possible stopgap unfree labor source and a force for social cohesion. By the 1680s, apprenticeships had increased noticeably, which corresponded with a downturn in servants coming into the region. While a direct causal relationship between those two forces is elusive due to a variety of factors,[317] this chapter and chapter five will hint at one and explore it briefly. Regardless of the possible causal relationship between apprenticeship and white servitude, when apprenticeship "is factored into our picture of labor in early America, we see that unfree labor was far more widespread and significant than previously thought."[318]

Apprentices Bound in the Upper Northern Neck Increase as Servants Decline

On an institutional level, therefore, the General Assembly wished to gain better social stability by the apprenticing of poor and orphaned children to the more well-to-do members of the community. As such, in September 1672 in solidarity with "severall

[317] Mostly, this is because so little documentation remains extant explaining why planters chose the bound labor that they did. And what does still exist, usually focuses on the bigger businesses of slavery and to a lesser extent, servitude. Apprentices were rarely if ever mentioned in those types of sources despite being as ubiquitous as I attempt to prove they were.

[318] Ruth Wallis Herndon and John E. Murray, "Binding Out as a Master/Servant Relation" in *Children Bound to Serve*, 38.

wholesome lawes and statutes…by the wisdome of severall parliaments of England," the Assembly hoped to replicate "the suppression of vagrants and idle persons as setting the poore on worke." They did so because they saw "the neglect of which lawes amongst us hath encouraged and much encreased the number of vagabonds idle and desolute persons." In response, the Assemblymen ordered "the justices of peace in every county [to] put the lawes of England against vagrant, idle and desolute persons in strict execution." By doing that, the county courts were "impowred and authorized to place out all children, whose parents are not able to bring them up, apprentices to tradesmen, the males till one and twenty yeares of age, and the females to other necessary imployments, til eighteene yeares of age, and noe longer." As a further check on this new system of social control, "the churchwardens of every parish shalbe strictly enjoyned by the courts to give them an account annually at their orphants court of all such children within their parish as they judge to be within the said capacity."[319]

It could be expected that apprenticeships would rise precipitously following the county courts' enactment of this law three years later.[320] This was not the case in the upper Northern Neck counties more generally, however.

[319] William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large*, 2:298.

[320] For some unknown reason, it took this long to show up in the court records for Northumberland County, and there is no record of it being written into the court transcript in Westmoreland County. This record paraphrases the Act of Assembly from September 1672. NCOB, 1666-1678, 122.

Table 18: Apprentices Bound Out in Northumberland and Westmoreland Counties, 1673-1688

Date	Northumberland County	Westmoreland County	Date	Northumberland County	Westmoreland County
1673	1	#	**1683**	5	1**
1674	0	#	**1684**	2	1**
1675	1	0	**1685**	5	2
1676	2	0	**1686**	1	2
1677	3	2	**1687**	10	5**
1678	5	3	**1688**	2	1**
1679	0	0	**Total**	**43**	**17**
1680	1	0	**Avg.**	**2.7**	**1.2**
1681	2	0	**Med.**	**2.0**	**1.0**
1682	3	0	**S.D.***	**2.55**	**1.48**

Sources: Northumberland County Deeds and Orders, 1650-1652; NCOB, 1652-1665, 1666-1678, and 1678-1698; NCRB, 1652-1672; WCOB, 1662-1664, 1675-1689; and WCRB, 1653-1657, 1661-1664, and 1665-1677.
– The Order Book for Westmoreland County from 1673 and 1674 is no longer extant and while some apprenticeship contracts do appear in the Record Books, none do from those two years.
* – Standard Deviation
** – These years have disputed data as one or more additional court entries from Westmoreland County that could have been apprentices being bound out, but were more likely guardianships being granted (therefore, they are not included in these counts). This line could be especially blurry at times with guardianships being granted that included the teaching of a trade and other apprenticeship-like provisions. Two such cases occurred in 1683, five in 1684, one in 1687, and one in 1688.

In fact, Westmoreland County's average and median were actually rather close to Northumberland County's from the earlier twenty-three year period outlined in chapter three. Meanwhile, Northumberland County's average and median doubled during this period from the previous one. But, it was a minimal increase in raw terms, going from an average of one and a half during the period from 1650 to 1672, up to almost three during the rest of the 1670s and 1680s.

Nonetheless, digging into this data more deeply reveals some interesting trends moving into the 1680s, especially with regards to Northumberland County, although

Westmoreland participated as well. In Northumberland, only two of the years (12.5%) under investigation in this chapter saw zero apprentices bound out as compared to six such years in the period outlined in chapter three (26.1%). Furthermore, the years from 1650 to 1672 never experienced more than four apprenticeship contracts agreed to in court in any one year, while four years between 1673 and 1688 (25%) saw more than that—including ten apprentices bound out in 1687. Even Westmoreland County corresponded to the same trend Northumberland experienced, albeit in a much less pronounced way. Before 1683, the Westmoreland County court only received five cases of apprenticeships being bound out with zero in six of the eight years for which data survives. From 1683 to 1688, on the other hand, twelve total apprenticeship contracts were agreed to in court—two a year on average—with all six years having at least one such arrangement made. Finally, both counties even experienced their respective heights in the same year, 1687, with ten apprentices bound out in Northumberland and five in Westmoreland.

While this growth in raw terms was not immense, it was significant in relative terms and implies that something had changed by the mid- to late 1680s—most notably the huge downturn in servant migration to the region as charted above. In Northumberland County in particular, there does appear to have been at least some correlation between servant immigration and the bounding out of apprentices. Servants were still entering the county in significant numbers through the end of the 1670s. Apprentices, meanwhile, were bound out in correspondingly low numbers through 1682—only eighteen apprenticeship contracts signed in court during the decade before

1683—which is about the time significant attrition would have occurred from the servants who arrived during the 1670s. Therefore, as servants were being freed and many fewer were arriving in the 1680s, apprenticeship contracts were increasing noticeably: from 1683 to 1688, twenty-five apprentices were bound out, more than doubling the rate from the previous decade. Finally, 1687 was a high point for both groups: nineteen unindentured laborers had their ages judged in court, the most since 1678, and ten apprentices were bound out, the most up to that point in Northumberland County by a wide margin. That these high points would occur in the same year is not all that surprising given that if apprenticeships were indeed being used as a stopgap labor source, there would likely be a year lag in responding to the previous year's low point in servant arrivals. Furthermore, it was the run of bad servant importation years that would have finally came to a head by the late 1680s. The proof of this is that after these twenty-nine young bound laborers accumulated in 1687, there should have been a corresponding downturn in apprenticeships being agreed to the following year, which there was with only two occurring in 1688.

Some Details of the Apprentices

Demographically, upper Northern Neck apprentices in the mid- to late 1670s and the 1680s mostly resembled those from the previous two decades in many ways as outlined below.

Table 19: Parental Status of Apprentices in the Upper Northern Neck, 1673-1688

	"True" Orphans	% of Total Known	Father Deceased but Mother Alive	% of Total Known	Both Parents Living	% of Total Known
Northumberland County, 1673-1688	15	37.5	12	30.0	13	32.5
Westmoreland County, 1675-1688	4	33.3	0	0	8	66.7
TOTALS	**19**	**36.5**	**12**	**23.1**	**21**	**40.4**

Source: Table 84 in Appendix IV.

Similar to the earlier period, most of the apprentices in the later period were either true orphans, meaning both parents were deceased, or orphans in the seventeenth-century sense of the word, meaning a deceased father but a living mother. Of the forty apprenticeship contracts with clear demographic information as to parental status in Northumberland during most of the 1670s and 1680s, fifteen were orphans (37.5%) and twelve no longer had a living father (30%), while thirteen apprentices (32.5%) were bound out with both parents—or at least their father—still alive. This data corresponds well but not exactly with the earlier period in Northumberland County where more—almost half (45.5%)—of the apprentices with this information extant were true orphans. On the other hand, about one-quarter (27.3%) no longer had a surviving father, and another quarter or so (27.3%) had both parents still living at the time of being bound out. Even though we should be careful not to draw too much of a conclusion from this admittedly scant data, there was at least some movement away from true orphans to apprentices with one or both parents living. Westmoreland, notably, had twice as many

apprentices bound out with both parents living in the decade or so after 1676 than it did true orphans, although on a very small amount of contracts that specified that information.[321] Therefore, both the number of apprentices and their makeup—at least with regards to the status of the apprentices' parents—changed slightly in the upper Northern Neck during the sixteen years after 1672 from the two-plus decade period before that date.

Another interesting bit of data that can be gleaned from apprenticeship contracts that can then be compared to the system of servitude is by looking at some of the notable masters of the upper Northern Neck apprentices and linking them with the owners of servants and slaves as outlined earlier in this chapter. By doing this, some of the diversity of bound labor forces acquired by Northumberland and Westmoreland County planters becomes evident. Interestingly, no master controlled more than two apprentices—except Adam and Rachel Yarratt although one of the three apprentices was officially bound only to Mrs. Yarratt. Second, of the eleven masters (13.6% of the 81 total) who oversaw more than one apprentice, almost half—four and possibly five—took in siblings as apprentices. Nonetheless, taking on one apprentice seemed to be the norm in the upper Northern Neck during the first four decades of English settlement but apprenticing more than that, especially unrelated children, was very rare.

As for the diversity of unfree labor ownership in the upper Northern Neck during the latter half of the seventeenth century, at least one-third (27 of 81) of masters with

[321] Of the seventeen apprenticeship contracts agreed to in Westmoreland County court from 1677 to 1688, only twelve have clear evidence of parental status.

apprentices owned another bound laborer.[322] Furthermore, nine of the twenty-seven masters (33.3%) with apprentices held only one other unfree worker, all servants. Another six masters (22.2%) held only two additional bound laborers, again only servants. On the other hand as displayed in Table 20, almost half of those twenty-seven planters (44.4%) had truly diverse and relatively robust unfree labor forces.

Table 20: Diversity of Bound Labor Forces in the Upper Northern Neck, 1650-1688

Owner/Master	Total Bound Laborers	Apprentices	Unindentured Servants	Slaves
Thomas Matthew	27	1	9	17
Edward Cole	9	1	8	0
Christopher Neale	8	1	4	3
John Coutanceau	7	1	6	0
Richard Hull	7	1	5***	1
Christopher Garlington	6	1	5	0
William Wildley	6	1	5	0
Edward Sanders*	6	1	5	0
John Motley	5	1	4	0
Thomas Hobson	4	1	3	0
James Napper	4	1	3	0
Vincent Cox**	4	1	2	1

Sources: Northumberland County Deeds and Orders, 1650-1652; NCOB, 1652-1665, 1666-1678, and 1678-1698; NCRB, 1652-1672; WCOB, 1662-1664, 1675-1689; and WCRB, 1653-1657, 1661-1664, and 1665-1677.
* – Another master, Edward Sanders, may have been the same person as Edward Saunders and if so, he brought five young servants, not three, into the Northumberland County court to have their ages judged. The differences in spellings of last names makes this hard to determine with certainty, a not uncommon problem when working with seventeenth-century colonial court records.
** – Cox is the only one from Westmoreland County of the lot.
*** – One of these five servants was an Indian referred to as a "servant" that Hull both claimed a headright for and brought her into court to have her age judged.

[322] It is probable this figure was a decent bit higher since I only looked at servant and slave ownership data from age judgment and land certification records so as to not skew the data with incomplete records such as the more random appearances of servants, both indentured and not, in criminal cases, business dealings, etc.

Thomas Matthew's unfree labor force was the height of diversity, assuming he kept all or many of the seventeen slaves for which he claimed headrights on his plantation. Christopher Neale also had an interesting hodgepodge of bound laborers with one apprentice, four servants and three slaves in his household at various points. While this is admittedly incomplete data, it certainly alludes to the diversity of upper Northern Neck plantations during the seventeenth century.

Luckily, as opposed to the period under investigation in chapter three, Northumberland's county court in the 1670s and 1680s generally recorded more detailed contracts. As such, ages for eighteen of the forty-three apprentices bound out during that period remain extant. While this is not necessarily determinative data, some broad generalizations about those apprentices can still be made, most notably of all, as they compared to the ages of the unindentured servants outlined earlier in this chapter. Those apprentices were bound out at an average age of around six and a half years old, while unindentured children were adjudged to be slightly over thirteen years old on average. Therefore, the average young servant who immigrated to the county without an agreed-upon indenture in the 1670s and 1680s was twice the age of the average apprentice bound out in Northumberland County during that period.[323] This gives some indication of the longevity of apprenticeship contracts, since most term lengths lasted until the apprentice was twenty-one years old for males and eighteen or until marriage for females, meaning a standard arrangement would be around eleven years long for girls and fourteen for boys.

[323] Looking at the median instead narrows this gap slightly: the median age of apprentices being bound out was seven years old, while the median age judgment of an unindentured servant was thirteen years old, almost double the age of the median apprentice.

Considering term lengths briefly where extant and mentioned in the records confirms this. This trend was not new to the 1670s and 1680s: as outlined in chapter three, for the ten most standard apprenticeship contracts agreed to in the 1650s and 1660s, the average term length was 10.6 years and the median was over a year higher than that.[324] This was slightly longer than the term lengths of around nine or nine and a half years for unindentured laborers during that period, which was only half or less of the total number of servants in the county. As detailed in chapter three, it was likely that the average apprentice served at least around half as much longer than the typical servant when both types, indentured and not, are considered.

By the 1670s, this trend had gotten even more acute. For the twenty-three contracts for which term lengths were mentioned or determinable in Northumberland County, the average was over thirteen years with a median of fourteen. First, this is significantly higher than the term lengths from the twenty or so years prior, by a magnitude of about one-quarter. Similarly, the average term length of an apprentice in Northumberland County during the 1670s and 1680s was around 25% longer than the typical term length of an unindentured laborer during the same period, which was 10.5 years.[325] That was also almost double the difference between the two average term

[324] Chapter three explained that two apprenticeship contracts were so different from the norm that including them skewed the numbers considerably. The two apprenticeships in question were seemingly for seafaring apprentices to serve on ships, not in Northumberland County itself, and contained very limited data otherwise except to note the very short term lengths of four years apiece. As such, I believe the other 10 contracts are significantly more representative of what a prototypical apprentice experienced in the mid-seventeenth-century upper Northern Neck region.

[325] This difference even holds—albeit at a slightly reduced amount of 21.6%—when Westmoreland County's six discernable apprenticeship contract lengths are included in the total.

lengths in the 1650s and 1660s.[326] This then implies that apprentices labored significantly longer than all servants when both contracted and uncontracted ones are taken together. In fact, the average apprentice certainly served for at least 50% longer—the difference from the earlier period between apprentices and all servants—and likely labored for up to twice as long as the average servant did.

Apprentices versus Servants: Who Had it "Better"?

The question again becomes: did apprentices receive any benefit for their longer contracts and if so, was that benefit enough to offset their often significantly longer terms of service? Most if not all servants—indentured, uncontracted or apprenticed—received basic provisions during their service that amounted to "sufficient dyett, cloathing, washing and lodging." Even the apprenticeship contracts that did not include such a provision, still often included language like "all things convenient" or "all things necessary for an apprentice." For those agreements that contained none of the above, it is likely there was some agreement to that effect and that it just went unrecorded by the less judicious court recorders. Therefore, the question of whether apprentices were actually better off than servants has to be answered elsewhere, such as if there were any restrictions on the labor of apprentices, since there were seemingly few if any such restrictions on servants; whether apprentices were promised training in the practice of a craft; if there were gifts promised in their contracts; or what kind of education was provided, if any, by the apprentices' masters.

[326] Although it should be noted that the difference between the median apprenticeship contract length and the time an unindentured servant would have to work was about equal among the two time periods—a 30.6% difference existed in favor of apprenticeship agreements in the decades before 1673, while there was a 27.3% difference in the decade and a half after that date.

As mentioned briefly in chapter three, one of the most obvious differences between apprentices and servants could be in their regular tasks. Most, if not almost all servants were agricultural laborers, especially in the seventeenth century before African slavery became a viable alternative for any beyond the richest planters and the fewer servants still migrating to Virginia became more skilled. Apprentices, it seems, may not have been a whole lot different. Unfortunately, there is very little in the surviving documentation that says explicitly how most apprentices were used except for promises of being taught trades (discussed more below). But, even for those who were promised such training, laboring in other contexts was rarely expressly forbidden or even mentioned at all, except in some exceptional circumstances.

In fact, only two of the sixty apprenticeship contracts recorded in Northumberland and Westmoreland counties from 1673 to 1688 mentioned restrictions on labor, or the lack of any restrictions. In Northumberland County, a three-year old child, Joseph Wall—who was bound to serve an astoundingly long eighteen year-long term and whose mother remained alive while his father had passed away—was contracted to serve John and Elizabeth Boaze "in such lawful service & imploymt as he or they shall think fitting." Amazingly, this meant Wall would likely toil in an agricultural setting, at least part of the time, for up to a decade, and possibly even longer than that—significantly longer than most terms of service for servants, which was around ten for unindentured laborers and much less for their contracted brethren (see Tables 12 and 13). Wall was also promised a "good and Christian like education" and to be taught "to read well in the byble," along with the common "corne and cloathes" upon fulfillment of his contract. Still, this hardly

made up for the extent and probable severity of his decade or more of blood, sweat, and tears, given he was an infant when he began his service.[327]

On the opposite end of the spectrum is the case of an orphan, Thomas Sanders, who appeared in the Westmoreland County court three times in the span of two years, at least partly due to his importance and uniqueness it seems. First, in January of 1687, Sanders was the subject of a petition by Joshua Bayles to the court for Sanders to become Bayles's apprentice. While this type of petition was not unheard of, it was hardly the norm and fairly infrequent. But this was just the beginning of Sanders's uniqueness as an apprentice: Bayles had to promise the rare condition that "during the whole time of his apprenticeship, [Sanders] shall not be imployed about makeing tobacco." This was the only such condition evident in any of the sixty extant apprenticeship contracts in Westmoreland and Northumberland counties during most of the 1670s and 1680s. Furthermore, Bayles also agreed to teach Sanders "the trade of tailor" and "instruct him to write and read and teach him the same and that he will cloth, lodge, and dyet his apprentice well and sufficiently." Only then did the Court grant the petition.[328]

That would be amazing enough and make Sanders an extraordinary apprentice if that was his only appearance in Westmoreland's county court, but it was not. Three months later—and probably shedding a good bit of light on why Bayles was so willing to agree to such astonishing conditions—Sanders was again the focus of a court case, this time due to his ownership of "a plantation and cattell" given to him "by his mother Elizabeth Sanders before her intermarriage with Henry Bell." Bayles was again before

[327] NCOB, 1678-1698, 381
[328] WCOB, 1675-1689, 543.

the court justices, now "praying that in right of his apprentice he may have the possession of the plantation and all cattell as belongs to Sanders or that Henry Bell's estate may be lyable to make satisfaction as is reasonable to his apprentice." In response to this request, the Court ordered that "two honest men of the neighbourhood doe call to account John Baker concerning the estate of Thomas Sanders, deceased, and Henry Bell betwixt this and the next Court." The lack of a follow-up case means that it was likely solved out of court to the satisfaction of all parties, probably including Sanders.[329]

Again, had it ended there, Sanders would have already been the most important and most litigated-over apprentice in Northumberland or Westmoreland County up to this point. But, the following February, Sanders was the subject of a third court case in a thirteen-month span due to the death of his master, Joshua Bayles. While the county court would usually simply appoint a new master for Sanders, John Gardner, "the Younger" stepped in to petition the court "to have the care and tutorage of the orphan." Similar to the great conditions granted by Bayles, Gardner promised "to teach him the trade of a house carpenter, turner, joyner as much as in him lyes or the orphan be capable of and further to teach him to write and read, and that hee shall not plant, tend or make any tobacco." The court again granted this petition during the succeeding court date, with the "residue of the time assigned by indenture to Joshua Bayles of Thomas Sanders his apprenticeship bee made over by the executrix of Bayles unto John Gardner Junr."[330]

While Sanders and Joseph Wall were unique, in strikingly different ways, they do not provide much in the way of judging how the more prototypical apprentice labored

[329] WCOB, 1675-1689, 562.
[330] WCOB, 1675-1689, 633.

during their contracts, especially as it relates to their time in the tobacco fields. Surely, fifty-nine of the sixty did not toil exclusively in agricultural settings. But, how many did? And how many did when their masters required it but otherwise did not? To address these questions, a tiered system of categorization is necessary, one that was previewed in chapter three. And while the above language is wonderful where it exists, it was exceedingly rare and instead, the promise of trades, gifts, and education tell much more. In fact, the likelihood remains that many, and probably most apprentices—the 60% who were male for sure but likely many of the females as well[331]—were, as Steve Hindle and Ruth Wallis Herndon put it, "required to perform the menial, marginal work of the community."[332]

Before categorizing apprentices in the upper Northern Neck during the first four decades of English settlement by tiers, the major categories those tiers will be based on must be outlined first. Besides restrictions on labor, the next most important element of apprenticeship contracts was the promise of training in a skilled trade. While being an apprentice was hardly the best outcome for a young child in the upper Northern Neck—being an elite child who was placed into a guardianship relationship was much preferable—learning a trade at least provided those children with a bankable skill for the

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[331] The proportions of male and female apprentices remained remarkably consistent throughout the four decades under investigation in this and the previous chapter. For the eighty-nine apprentices whose sex could be determined from 1650 to 1688, fifty-seven were male (64%) and thirty-two were female (36%). Westmoreland's seventeen apprentices from 1675 to 1688 mirrored this breakdown almost exactly with eleven males (64.7%) and six females (35.3%). Northumberland's seventy-two apprentices varied slightly with the 1650s and 1660s seeing a two-third to one-third split (twenty males and ten females), while the later period had closer to a three-fifth to two-fifth ratio (twenty-six males and sixteen females).

[332] Hindle and Herndon, "Recreating Proper Families in England and North America," in *Children Bound to Labor*, eds., 32. Also, see Gloria L. Main, "Reflections on the Demand and Supply of Child Labor in Early America," in *Children Bound to Labor*, 199.

rest of their lives. As Hindle and Herndon explain, this was also the case in England to a large degree:

> The very best that a male pauper child could hope for was that a particularly charitable master might…pay a premium on [the child's] behalf to enable him to embark on a formal apprenticeship to a craft, effectively giving him a foothold on the ladder of social mobility that was beyond the reach of most pauper children who were "destined for depravation."

In North America, "a similar situation prevailed…though there the boys who were taught a specialized skill formed a slightly more extensive elite stratum of poor apprentices, effectively constituting an aristocracy of child labor."[333]

Training in a trade was, therefore, a valuable skill for many younger residents of Virginia, especially in the latter years of the seventeenth century when good land became harder to acquire. It was also a rarity among apprenticeship contracts agreed to in the first four decades of English settlement in the upper Northern Neck.

Table 21: Trades as part of Male Apprenticeship Contracts in the Upper Northern Neck, 1650-1688

	No Trade Promised	**Percentage of total**	**Trade Promised**	**Percentage of total**
Northumberland County	34	79.1	9	20.9
Westmoreland County	12	80.0	3	20.0
TOTALS	**46**	**79.3**	**12**	**20.7**

Sources: Tables 85 and 86 in Appendix IV.

Therefore, trades were evident in about 20% of the male apprenticeship contracts bound out from the 1650s to the 1680s. This ratio was not constant through that whole period,

[333] Hindle and Herndon, "Recreating Proper Families in England and North America," in *Children Bound to Labor,* 32.

however. During the first two decades, only two extant apprenticeship contracts (10%) out of the twenty recorded in Northumberland and Westmoreland counties included clauses where masters agreed to train their new apprentices in trades. For the other 90%, no such clause existed. While undoubtedly some of that was due to the lack of details in most contracts during those earlier years in each county's history, it is also likely that early apprentices were simply not bound out to learn trades given how few craftsmen there were in the region in those years. Furthermore, that earlier period was likely the peak of mortality for new English settlers to the area, meaning that "many children were raised at some point by someone who was not their biological mother or father."[334] Therefore, it is almost certain that bounding out children either fully orphaned or with only surviving mothers was necessary for social order and to prevent them from becoming charges to the public, and less for the learning of trades. As Jean B. Russo and J. Elliott Russo assert, county court justices moved more and more toward "a practice of maintaining the social status quo by providing children with the normative education and training suitable to their status."[335]

Regardless what the reasons were—and it was likely a combination of all of the above—trades became much more prominent in apprenticeship contracts during the 1670s and 1680s.[336] Even though only twelve contracts were agreed to during the 1670s, the ratio of two-to-one in favor of contracts without trades was the narrowest of the entire four-decade long period. Meanwhile, the 1680s, which notably experienced a huge uptick

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[334] Ruth Wallis Herndon and John E. Murray, "Binding Out as a Parent/Child Relation" in *Children Bound to Serve*, 85.

[335] Russo and Russo, "Responsive Justices," in *Children Bound to Labor*, 153.

[336] See Table 86 in Appendix IV.

in male apprentices being bound out—44.8% of the total number for the four decades occurred during the nine-year span from 1680 to 1688—saw the percentage decrease significantly (to 23.1%), but one that still exceeded the average for the whole period slightly.

In terms of importance for apprentices during the seventeenth century in Virginia—both in the immediacy and for their longer-term viability in the colony—gifts bestowed to the laborers either during or upon completion of their terms were of significant importance. Those gifts were likely prioritized more than everything else except receiving training in a trade or actual restrictions on the type of work that he or she could perform. Mostly, those gifts came in the form of livestock, which could dramatically improve a former apprentice's prospects upon embarking on young adulthood, especially for the lower tiered ones as discussed more below. And unlike training in trades, gifts of livestock seemed to decrease as the decades wore on, and Westmoreland County experienced this kind of arrangement a fair amount more than its older and more robust sister county, Northumberland.

Table 22: Gifts as part of Apprenticeship Contracts in the Upper Northern Neck, 1650-1688

	No Gift	**Percentage of total**	**Gifts Involved**	**Percentage of total**
Northumberland County	52	77.6	15	22.4
Westmoreland County	15	62.5	9	37.5
TOTALS	**67**	**73.6**	**24**	**26.4**

Source: Table 87 in Appendix IV.

As the number of recorded apprenticeship contracts grew after 1670, the overall trend was down for gifts being granted as parts of apprenticeship contracts.[337] While several factors could have been at work, at least one seems to be an increasing divide within the apprenticeship system that will be discussed in much more detail below.

A final important if seemingly inconsistently recorded category of differentiation between apprenticeship levels was education promised to the child or adolescent as part of the agreement. Unlike gifts and trades, this category was the likeliest to be unrecorded and simply assumed or agreed to outside of court between parents and the child's new master, making it one of the least reliable categories to assess the relative importance of an apprentice.[338] Still, the wide variety in education—usually related to reading and writing for boys and sewing and possibly reading for girls—is useful to consider where it appeared, although not relied upon too heavily for the categorization of apprenticeship contracts in the early Northern Neck region.

Table 23: Education as part of Apprenticeship Contracts in the Upper Northern Neck, 1650-1688

	No Education promised	**Percentage of total**	**Education promised**	**Percentage of total**
Northumberland County	47	74.6	16	25.4
Westmoreland County	18	72.0	7	28.0
TOTALS	**65**	**73.9**	**23**	**26.1**

Source: Table 88 in Appendix IV.

[337] See Table 87 in Appendix IV.

[338] Actually, the granting of provisions was likely the most unreliable given that many contracts do not mention any provisions at all, yet it is highly doubtful that any masters withheld provisions from apprentices—and even most servants and the occasional slave, for that matter—given how easily they could be brought to court over such actions. Therefore, I am not even considering provisions as part of this taxonomy of apprenticeships in early Virginia.

While the percentage of apprenticeship contracts with education promised had been decreasing significantly for the first three decades of English settlement in the upper Northern Neck counties, the 1680s—more specifically, 1687 in Northumberland County—changed that trend rather dramatically. Before 1687, the 1680s were on track to be another low decade—even lower than the 1670s—pertaining to education as part of apprenticeship contracts with only two agreements (7.7%) including education as compared to twenty-four without it (92.3%). But 1687 changed that completely as ten apprenticeship contracts contained education in them—71.4% of the total of fourteen from that year—with the Northumberland County court bounding out nine of those ten. Combining all of these various provisions as part of apprenticeship contracts will result in a tiered taxonomy of apprentices in the seventeenth-century upper Northern Neck. This tiered system can then be used to determine how those apprentices were employed and how they compared to their servant brethren.

A Taxonomy of Apprentices in Early Virginia

As introduced in chapter three, male apprentices can be broken down into three tiers while female apprentices—due to the lack of marketable trades like cooper and blacksmith being an option for them—only fit into two tiers. This tiered taxonomy can help give an indication of how those apprentices were used. Top-tiered apprentices of both sexes likely saw little to no time in the fields, although it was rarely forbidden. Tier II male and female apprentices, meanwhile, probably performed agricultural labor at least part of the time and lowest-tiered males may have been more akin to servants, working in the tobacco fields often and maybe even exclusively.

In general, male apprentices were generally well apportioned into the various tiers with all three being between one-quarter and two-fifths of the total for the four decades in question.

Table 24: Male Apprentices broken down by Tiers for the Upper Northern Neck, 1650-1688

	1650s	**1660s***	**1670s***	**1680s**	**TOTAL**
Percentage of Tier I apprentices	14.3	11.1	42.9	31.6	**26.2**
Percentage of Tier II apprentices	57.1	44.4	42.9	26.3	**38.1**
Percentage of Tier III apprentices	28.6	44.4	14.3	42.1	**35.7**

Source: Table 89 in Appendix IV.
* – Percentages do not equal to 100% due to rounding.

Almost three-quarters of the male apprentices bound out during the 1650s through most of the 1680s—at least the ones where placement into a tier can be accomplished based on the information extant in the court records—rated into Tiers II and III. Half of those, the ones who fell into Tier II, probably had to labor in the tobacco fields at least some of the time, while the other half, who were the lowest-tiered of all apprentices, likely worked in hard agricultural labor most or even possibly all of the time.

Digging a bit further into the data quantitatively is difficult given that as discussed above and in chapter three, the percentages in Table 24 correspond to very few actual apprentices before the 1680s. In fact, only twenty-three apprentices could be broken down into tiers for the 1650s through the 1670s. An almost equal number (19) could be placed into tiers during the 1680s, giving a bit more quantitative heft to that decade's data. From that decade, a plurality of apprentices fell into the lowest tier, which would have been necessary during the 1680s as servant importation dropped precipitously.

Furthermore, combining the two lowest tiers together results in more than two-thirds of apprentices being used in agricultural settings, at least part of the time.

A lot of qualitative information can be gleaned from Table 24, however. While the teaching of trades was the main reason an apprentice got classified as first tiered—and all therefore were promised such—one of those eleven actually had restrictions on his labor. As outlined earlier in this chapter, Thomas Sanders of Westmoreland County was initially bound to Joshua Bayles in 1687 but explicitly barred from being "imployed about makeing tobacco." Then, a year later with Bayles being "since dead," Sanders was bound to John Gardner, Jr. to be taught various trades—carpenter, turner, and joyner were all mentioned—but again, it was spelled out in his contract that "hee shall not plant, tend or make any tobacco."[339]

Meanwhile, showing how education was not a great determiner of status, only five of the eleven received specific details as to the education they would receive during their terms of service. John and Richard Algood of Northumberland County, orphaned sons of Edward Algood, were both bound to serve Peter Flynt in 1687 who agreed "to teach or cause [John and Richard] to be taught to read the bible." Similarly, Henry Oague, twelve year old orphan of John Oague, was apprenticed to Thomas Barnes in the same year until the age of twenty-one with Barnes promising "to give…good and Christianlike education, to read in the Bible."[340] Still, as shown below, only a few less lowest-tiered apprentices had contracts detailing educational benefits, meaning education did little to determine stature for apprentices.

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[339] WCOB, 1675-1689, 543, 633.
[340] NCOB, 1678-1698, 393-94.

As for the middle tiered apprentices, those rarely had trades as part of their agreements, although one contract from Northumberland County in 1672 was an exception. Michael Mellon, apprenticed to John Coutanceau to learn the trade of taylor, appeared in court complaining that Coutanceau had "imployed him in base servile imploymt," likely meaning in agricultural labor. The Northumberland County magistrates, however, decried that Mellon's contract stated that Coutanceau could "sett him to work in any lawfull & necessary work he thinks fit" when no work in his trade was available (for more on Mellon, see chapter three).[341]

More commonly, second tiered apprentices received some sort of gift as part of their contracts, although three of the sixteen also had no restrictions on their labor explicit in their agreements, all from the 1650s when arrangements were generally less detailed and apprentices were much rarer. A more traditional apprenticeship agreement for a midlevel apprentice was that of Manley Browne. Eleven year-old Browne was bound to Abraham Joyce in July 1677 with the consent of his mother after his father died with no estate. Browne was to serve Joyce for ten years, receiving the usual "cloathing, food, lodging" and also a two year-old mare upon his freedom.[342] For a child with no estate, a mare obviously made a huge difference in his economic status.

Lastly, the lowest-tiered male apprentices likely found themselves laboring in agricultural settings relatively often, although it is hard to say for sure how often. Interestingly, only one of the fifteen contracts—that of Joseph Wall in 1687, detailed

[341] NCOB, 1666-1678, 72. Mellon even received 20 lashes, probably for bringing a false claim against his master.

[342] NCOB, 1666-1678, 149.

earlier in this chapter—contained language proclaiming no restrictions on the apprentice's labor, showing the difficulties of using court records as they were so heavily reliant upon the whims of the court recorder. Wall's brother, John, meanwhile had a very scantly detailed contract, at least from what was recorded in the court proceedings. Wall, who was six years old, was bound the court before his younger brother to William Yarratt and his wife for fifteen years but no other details were recorded. He very likely had similar expectations as his brother, to serve "in such lawful service & imploymt as he or they shall think fitting" even though it was not what was written down by the court clerk.[343]

Similarly, education appeared in only five of the fifteen contracts for the lowest tiered apprentices, although it seems possible that those other ten boys still received some education. If not, they truly were stuck in the worst work environment for which an English child in the colonies could be stuck. Some who did have education explicit in their contracts, did seem to get less promised to them than higher-rated apprentices who had it explicit in their agreements. For example, William Odhorty, a seven year old orphan, was bound to serve James Nipper in 1687 until the age of twenty-three with Nipper agreeing "to give him one years schooling after the expiration of two years to Commence from this time dureing the time he shall serve after the one years schooling to the Intent he may improve himselfe in reading, the said James Nipper hath engaged himselfe to doe his utmost endeavour at leasure times to keep him to his book." Only one year of formal schooling was extremely light compared to most other contracts with

[343] NCOB, 1678-1698, 375, 381.

education explicit in them, and to add to that Odhorty's "leasure times" were to be filled up with further unguided reading according to the agreement.[344]

Finally, one of the stranger apprenticeship entries that likely equated to a lowest tiered contract—although the extant details are too few to make a firm determination—was when Robert Perry was bound in 1685 to serve Sarah Butler of Westmoreland County. Butler had bought a maid servant who "was brought to a bedd of a male child att sea coming into this country." In other words, Perry's unnamed mother had gotten pregnant on the voyage across the Atlantic or possibly right before leaving for Virginia. Regardless, Butler acquired the services of Perry with her purchase of his mother, although that obviously meant some upfront costs in providing for the child until he was of working age. It seems safe to assume, though, that once Perry could be used in the fields or in other hard labor, he was likely put to that kind of work so Butler could recoup some of her investment.[345]

As for female apprentices, although their number was relatively small—only twenty from the four decades outlined in Table 25—and it was probable they only served in the agricultural settings for short stints if at all, it is notable that over two-thirds of the total for which enough information exists to make a determination were second-tiered apprentices. At most, those twelve girls received some education—although only three had such details in their court-recorded contracts—but no gifts during their terms. This also corresponds fairly well to the roughly three-quarters of male apprentices who fell into the bottom two tiers.

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[344] NCOB, 1678-1698, 398.
[345] WCOB, 1675-1689, 371.

Table 25: Female Apprentices broken down by Tiers for the Upper Northern Neck, 1650-1688

	1650s	1660s	1670s	1680s	TOTAL
Percentage of Tier I apprentices	50.0	66.7	28.6	37.5	**40.0**
Percentage of Tier II apprentices	50.0	33.3	71.4	62.5	**60.0**

Source: Table 90 in Appendix IV.

While little can be said from a quantitative perspective about female apprentices due to their very small number, much can be discussed qualitatively about them. First, only one of the twelve second-tiered apprentices had explicit contract details as to how her master could use her and it seemed a rather special case. Libbey Parker of Northumberland County, possibly an orphan although it is unclear, bound herself to John Wood in 1670 for only a two year term, but to serve "in such service and employmt as hee the said John Wood shall employ me." It is likely Parker had encountered some sort of financial hardship to bind herself out in such a manner.[346] On the other hand, one of the eight first tiered female apprentices, Susana Raper of Westmoreland County, also explicitly had no restrictions on her labor. Raper, apprenticed to William and Ann Freke in 1662 for eight years and seven months, was ordered "to serve in such imployment as [they]...shall imply her," but was also to be given "a good cow calfe at the end of 6 years." So, even though Raper did not have any restrictions on her labor, she was still likely a higher-tiered apprentice due to the gift and the likelihood that female apprentices were rare enough to avoid more than nominal usage in the fields.[347]

[346] NCRB, 1666-1672, 94.
[347] WCRB, 1662-1664, 7.

In all, the eight top-tiered female apprentices during the first four decades of the English upper Northern Neck all rated as such because of the gifts they received either during or upon completion of their terms. For example, in 1677 Mary Hebert agreed to apprentice with Thomas Gill until she turned twenty-one—longer than most female apprentices who instead served until eighteen or they were married—but received impressive provisions as a result. At the age of seventeen, Hebert would be given "a Cow with a Cow Calfe by her side" with the acknowledgment that Gill would help take care of the animals "and the Increase of the said Cattle" until Hebert's term expired, upon which time she would own the entire lot. While Hebert served longer than most female apprentices, she was rewarded nicely for her extra years.[348] For female apprentices, therefore, gifts were the main differentiation that classified them as either first- or second-tiered.

Education for apprentices was probably a regular enough provision that less attentive clerks may simply not have recorded it. In fact, few actually received specific details as to the education they would receive during their terms of service. Elizabeth Algood, an orphan of Edward Algood, was apprenticed to planter Christopher Neale until she turned eighteen or was married with Neale promising "to teach or cause her to be taught to read and sew and give her good a necessary education." Similarly, Mary Baker, an orphan of unknown parentage, was bound to Samuel Poole and his wife until seventeen years of age, and was "to be taught to read the bible perfectly and to sow with such Christian like education." Finally, Rebecca Maudley, a two-year old toddler of

[348] NCOB, 1666-1678, 158.

Edmund Maudley, was ordered to serve Alex and Jane Wetherstone until she turned twenty-one years old—an amazingly long nineteen year term—with the Wetherstones agreeing "to teach…or cause her to be taught to read the byble perfectly w/in the said term, & give her useable Christianlike education." It is likely all female apprentices were to receive this type of rather generic education from their masters, but these three were the only ones to have it promised to them and that promise be recorded in court.[349]

Finally, combining this tiered classifications with the parental status of the apprentices in the Upper Northern Neck during the first four decades of official English settlement in the region reveals some interesting trends.

Table 26: Apprentices Broken Down by Tiers and Parental Status in the Upper Northern Neck, 1650-1688

	"True" Orphans	**Mother Only Still Alive**	**Both Parents Still Alive**
Percentage of Total Tier I Apprentices	42.3	17.7	25.0
Percentage of Total Tier II Apprentices	42.3	29.4	58.3
Percentage of Total Tier III Apprentices	15.4	52.9	16.7

Source: Table 91 in Appendix IV.

While these numbers are admittedly small, some interesting trends can be identified. True orphans, or those with no surviving parents, is the only category in Table 26 that does not have a majority of any tier. Given that apprenticeship was a likely outcome for all but the richest of planters' children—with guardianship reserved for those orphans with substantive estates coming to them—it seems appropriate that true orphans would end up

[349] NCOB, 1678-1698, 389, 402, 408.

in a variety of circumstances. These situations would at least partly be based on their deceased parents' economic status along with less tangible criteria such as kin networks, both real and fictive. It is notable, though, how few boys ended up in lowest tiered apprenticeship contracts (15.4% of the total). This was likely due to the original reason for apprenticing orphans—providing for poor children in private homes as opposed to the public paying for it—still remaining in the consciousness of the colony, even if the system had changed dramatically from the old English model by the late 1600s.[350]

Meanwhile, a majority of children who only had a surviving mother found themselves in the lowest tier, which rose from 53% to almost 65% if the two fatherless girls who were lowest tiered in the female classification are added to the nine lowest tiered male apprentices. This is not too surprising given how little bargaining power a surviving widow would generally have after her husband died. Furthermore, most children with fathers who were decent sized planters would either stay there with their mothers or again, be put into guardianship to a relative or good friend. Rich widows also made for very eligible bachelorettes so a quick remarriage was likely. Conversely, a majority of children who were bound out by their still-living parents ended up in a mid-tiered contract, probably due to the family having a decent amount of bargaining power since all but the poorest families had choices as to whom to bound their children to and when and under what circumstances.

[350] See Ruth Wallis Herndon and John E. Murray, eds., *Children Bound to Labor*, especially chapter one and the introduction.

Conclusion

By the late 1680s, white servitude was on the decline in the upper Northern Neck as it was for the rest of the Chesapeake. If the story ended there, the prevailing historiography of the last quarter of the twentieth century would have been correct even for that more remote part of Virginia. According to those historians, the transition from servitude to slavery in the colonial Chesapeake occurred in the 1670s and 1680s due to several factors such as better conditions for workers in England, fewer servant migrants making the journey to the Americas in general and to the Chesapeake specifically, increased access to slaves via the Transatlantic Slave Trade, growing racial preference for black laborers over white ones, and many others. This notion has already been assaulted from the front end by scholars over the last decade or so, most notably by John C. Coombs, who has argued for a much earlier transition when trend-setting elite planters are the object of focus. This study comes at the prevailing theory from the back end, arguing that the 1660s and 1670s was not the only high-water mark for servants when bringing more peripheral counties like those along the Potomac River into the story.

Other aspects of the unfree labor picture in the upper Northern Neck also give pause to the old interpretation. Slaves, the other side of the often falsely dichotomous bound labor force, did arrive in Northumberland and Westmoreland counties in greater numbers, but not overwhelmingly so as the previous theorem asserted. For instance, even by 1688, servants still outnumbered slaves by around a two-to-one margin in Northumberland County. While this was a massive change from the end of the 1670s when servants outnumbered slaves by more like a six-to-one margin, the statistical transition had certainly not occurred by the late 1680s.

One final group of questions related to the budding albeit false transition from servitude to slavery in the 1680s presents themselves: was it the supply of slaves that held planters in Northumberland and Westmoreland back from investing more in those unfree laborers? If slaves were available, could those oronoco-growing planters afford them? If they could, why did they continue to purchase and bind white unfree laborers and not move more fully to slavery like their neighbors to the south? Was there a preference for servants over slaves in the upper Northern Neck? The next chapter will grapple with many of these questions but the years under investigation in this current chapter do provide some guidance on them.

It appears from the available evidence that planters, especially the bigger ones, could indeed afford enslaved workers by the 1670s—and they did purchase them—but probably not in large enough numbers to satisfy their needs on their growing plantations. As for the supply of Africans to Virginia in general and the upper Northern Neck in particular: the shipments of enslaved Africans had certainly increased by the 1670s and 1680s, but the number was still not huge and there was a lot of demand from sweet-scented growing planters with more resources to spend on slaves. While there does not seem to be compelling evidence that planters in Northumberland and Westmoreland counties overtly preferred white bound laborers, there also does not seem to be compelling evidence that those planters had a preference for black unfree workers. Instead, upper Northern Neck planters were in need of greater bound labor forces to produce more oronoco tobacco in the hopes of matching their sweet-scented competitors

with bigger outputs and any bound labor was embraced, even putting their apprentices out in the fields, much or even most of the time.

Furthermore, the type of diversity found on many upper Northern Neck plantations says a lot about the conception of race and how it corresponded to unfree labor during the seventeenth century. White, black, and native bound laborers—or put another way: apprentices, servants and slaves—all worked alongside one another up to and through the 1680s in the upper Northern Neck, even as other areas of seventeenth-century Virginia were losing that diversity by the 1680s. Planters seemed to have little preference for the color of their unfree laborers' skin, as long as they could grow tobacco. As for the workers, they ran away together, had sexual relations with each other, conceived children together, and lived and worked side-by-side with each other. While we unfortunately have little information on what those laborers thought about each other, there are plenty of examples of them plotting together, breaking laws together, and generally causing troubles for their owners and masters together. Diversity of bound labor forces seemed to be a necessity for planters in the upper Northern Neck and was often taken advantage of by the unfree.

CHAPTER FIVE: BOUND LABOR AND THE EFFECT OF IMPERIAL WARS IN THE UPPER NORTHERN NECK, 1689-1710

Often, when scholars discuss the transition from white servitude to black slavery as the chief source of unfree labor in the colonial Chesapeake, it had largely occurred by 1690 with servants giving way to a majority of African slaves who continued to increase through the eighteenth century. Specifically, historians such as Russell Menard and Christopher Tomlins, among many others, have painted a picture of bound labor in the late-seventeenth century Chesapeake where servants became fewer and fewer right around the time African slaves began appearing in significantly larger numbers. On the other hand, John C. Coombs, among a few others, has complicated that picture by introducing the theory of "phases of conversion" from servants to slaves.[351] Virginia's upper Northern Neck shows the merit of Coombs's idea when putting a microscope on that region. At best, the traditional view is misplaced; at worst, it is completely incorrect.

In fact, the story of bound labor was hardly over in 1690. Several hundreds of young unindentured laborers—servants aged nineteen and younger who had not signed contracts before embarking for the New World—arrived in Northumberland, Westmoreland and Lancaster counties in the final years of the seventeenth century and the first years of the eighteenth. Those younger uncontracted servants were largely barred from migrating to the Old Dominion during King William's War, which lasted from 1689

[351] Coombs, "The Phases of Conversion," 360.

to 1697, due to the hostilities and the requirement of English ships to be escorted as parts of convoys to and from the colonies. In 1697 and for the next few years—after that first of what would be a series of imperial wars between France, England/Britain and other Europeans had ended—the floodgates re-opened to servant and likely other forms of migration as peace returned to the Atlantic World.[352] By 1702, however, the flood of young white laborers had ended as the next imperial war began. Queen Anne's War, which would last for over a decade and—along with other factors such as the end of the Royal African Company's monopoly on the slave trade—precipitate the final end to significant servant importation to Virginia.[353] The transition had finally occurred in the upper Northern Neck by 1710, although not for the reasons most historians have previously posited.

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[352] Determining migration to one part of Virginia at one specific time is next to impossible given that most new immigrants did not have to make any kind of declaration akin to young servants and slaves having their ages judged in court within a few months of their arrivals. Nonetheless, using some of the estimates for total migration to Virginia provided by Christopher Tomlins in *Freedom Bound* in and around 1700 and performing some relatively straightforward calculations can get us to some decent estimates. The bottom line results estimate an annual influx of close to 1,500 immigrants to Virginia during the interwar years with slightly over one thousand being white servants. Assuming migration was less during the war years, which is a pretty easy assumption to make and is borne out by the number of unindentured servants to the Northern Neck, this is probably on the conservative side. Then, using the estimates provided in this chapter of between a 1:1 and 2:1 ratio of indentured to unindentured servants makes the 325 uncontracted servants who enter the upper Northern Neck in the interwar years become between 650 and 975 total servants. This equates to around one-quarter of all servants immigrating to Virginia during the interwar years, about three times the amount that would be expected by simply looking at the upper Northern Neck's share of the colonial population. Needless to say, this truly was a deluge of white bound laborers pouring into Northumberland and Westmoreland counties in the years immediately around 1700. See Tomlins, *Freedom Bound*, 35-37, Table 1.1 and 573-575, Appendix I.

[353] For a discussion of how the imperial wars at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries affected the tobacco trade between the Chesapeake and England, see Douglas Bradburn, "The Visible Fist."

Servant Importation and England's Imperial Wars

Of particular note in the final decade of the seventeenth century and first decade of the eighteenth century were the wild swings in unindentured servants having their ages adjudged in the county courts of the Northern Neck. Still, there was also remarkable demographic stability to those young laborers. During King William's War, especially the first few years of it, servant arrivals were minimal to nonexistent. This picked up slightly in the latter years of the war but exploded once the war ended in 1697. One can almost imagine hundreds of young children and teenagers waiting on the shores of England to embark from their home to Virginia as the war was ending. This flood soon ended, however, as another war broke out after a short, four-year hiatus. Despite these vacillations, uncontracted laborers looked almost the same as they had in years past: they were roughly the same age and served for about as long as they had in the 1670s and 1680s. They also remaining overwhelmingly male and were destined for hard labor in agricultural settings. Much had changed in the Atlantic World as France and England waged wars for imperial supremacy, but for those young unfree laborers, much remained the same.

Unindentured Servants: The Numbers

The decades before and after 1700 saw significant numbers of unindentured servants overall arriving in the Northern Neck counties, as opposed to the dwindling numbers going to York County where slavery was fully entrenched as the bound labor system of choice for planters there by the 1680s. But, as seen below, these massive swings in the Northern Neck counties were largely tied to the imperial wars—and the

short interwar period—during the last decade of the sixteen hundreds and first decade of the seventeen hundreds.

Table 27: Unindentured Servants Having Ages Judged in Northumberland, Westmoreland, Lancaster and York Counties during King William's War, 1689-1697

	Northumberland	Westmoreland	Lancaster	York
Totals	61	36	50	16
Average	6.78	5.14	5.56	1.78
Median	4	3	3	1
S.D.*	6.42	4.30	6.41	2.44

Sources: NCOB, 1666-1678, 1678-1698, and 1699-1713 for Northumberland County; WCOB, 1675-1689 and 1690-1698 for Westmoreland County; Russell Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," 365, Table 3 for Lancaster and York counties. Also, see Table 92 in Appendix V for a year-by-year breakdown of unindentured servants having their ages judged in Northumberland, Westmoreland, Lancaster, and York counties during the last decade of the sixteen hundreds and first decade of the seventeen hundreds.
* – S.D. stands for "standard deviation." This statistic is important as it shows the annual variation of uncontracted servants entering the counties. The higher the number, the more variance there was and the lower the number, the less annual differences existed.

Table 28: Unindentured Servants Having Ages Judged in Northumberland, Westmoreland, Lancaster and York Counties during Interwar Years, 1698-1701

	Northumberland	Westmoreland	Lancaster	York
Totals	175	161	70	16
Average	43.75	40.25	17.5	4
Median	41	31	12.5	2.5
S.D.*	36.49	40.53	17.33	4.08

Sources: NCOB, 1678-1698 and 1699-1713; WCOB, 1690-1698 and 1698-1705; and Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," 365, Table 3. Also, see Table 92 in Appendix V for a year-by-year breakdown of unindentured servants having their ages judged in Northumberland, Westmoreland, Lancaster, and York counties during the last decade of the sixteen hundreds and first decade of the seventeen hundreds.
* – S.D. stands for "standard deviation."

Table 29: Unindentured Servants Having Ages Judged in Northumberland, Westmoreland, Lancaster and York Counties during Queen Anne's War, 1702-1710

	Northumberland	Westmoreland	Lancaster	York
Totals	32	34	16	3
Average	3.56	3.78	1.78	0.6
Median	3	4	1	1
S.D.*	3.75	2.91	2.17	0.55

Sources: NCOB, 1699-1713; WCOB, 1698-1705 and 1705-1721; and Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," 365, Table 3. Also, see Table 92 in Appendix V for a year-by-year breakdown of unindentured servants having their ages judged in Northumberland, Westmoreland, Lancaster, and York counties during the last decade of the sixteen hundreds and first decade of the seventeen hundreds.
Note: This study ends in 1710 although Queen Anne's War continued until 1713.
* – S.D. stands for "standard deviation."

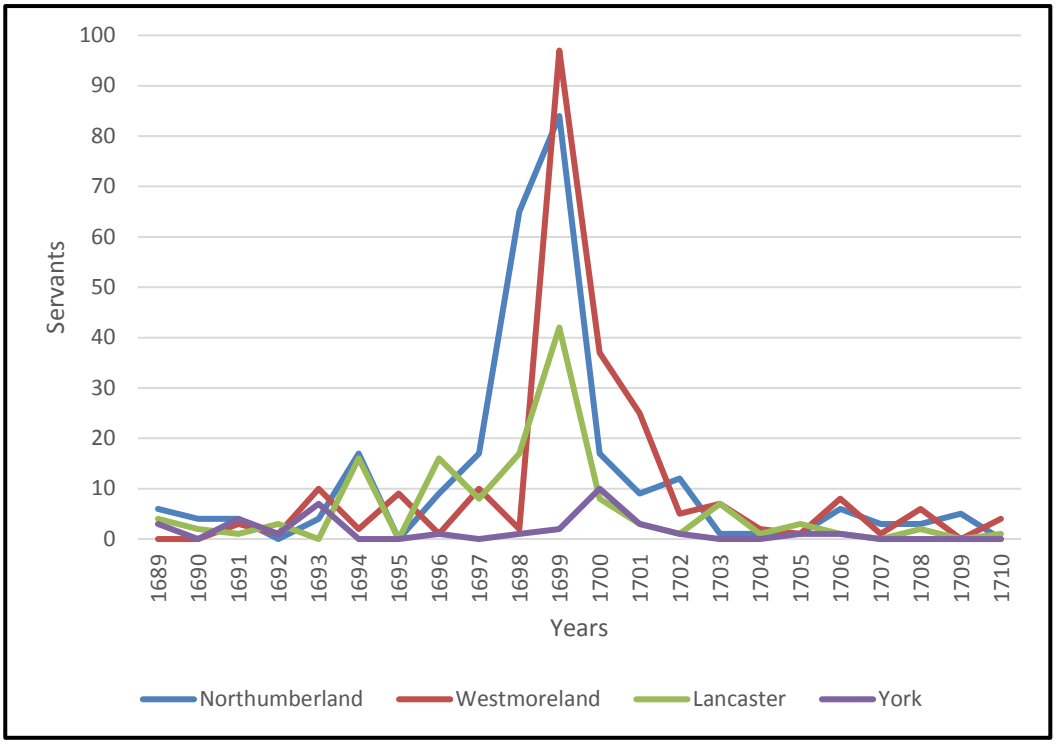

Figure 3: Unindentured Servants Having Ages Judged in Northumberland, Westmoreland, Lancaster and York Counties, 1689-1710

As seen in Figure 3, there was little consistency both within the counties under investigation from year to year—outside of York, that is—or when comparing the four counties to each other.[354] Most notably of all is the divergence seen in this period between the upper Northern Neck counties of Northumberland and Westmoreland and the sweet-scented tobacco-growing counties of Lancaster and York.

Westmoreland County experienced the most significant growth in unindentured servants arriving during the last decade of the sixteen hundreds and first decade of the seventeen hundreds with its average increasing 68% from around seven per year in the 1670s and 1680s to 11.6 in the following two decades or so. Northumberland County also saw an increase in its yearly average of young uncontracted laborers in the decades before and after 1700, although it was much more modest from around eleven to slightly more than twelve, a 10% jump. Outside of those upper Northern Neck counties, however, the trends were much different. Unindentured laborers immigrated to Lancaster County at a rate 41% less than they did during the prior period charted in chapter four. Even more dramatically, York saw the average number of young servants without contracts decline

[354] See Table 92 in Appendix V for the year-to-year breakdown of Figure 3 and Tables 27–29.

over 85% from the 1670s and 1680s to the final decade of the seventeenth and first decade of the eighteenth centuries.[355]

Taking a more sophisticated look at the data from the four counties, all continued their noticeable declines of unindentured servants from the 1680s to the early 1690s. It should be noted that this trend also corresponded to an uptick in slaves imported into Virginia during that time, especially to the sweet-scented tobacco-growing areas to the south of Northumberland and Westmoreland counties. In the decade after 1693 or so, however, these four counties diverged almost completely from one another with regards to their servant populations. York County—among the first eight to be formed in Virginia in 1634 and similar to Northumberland in population according to the 1699 list—had, by the 1680s, mostly completed its transition away from white servants to African slaves. That sweet-scented tobacco-growing county saw no more than four servants enter during this period only twice in 1693 and 1700. Lancaster's importation of young servants, meanwhile, was minimal before 1694, likely due to the hostilities related to King William's War (more on that below). In the latter stages of the war, however, there was a noticeable uptick in servants arriving in Lancaster County, but this was to be overshadowed by the relatively huge spike in the first two postwar years. While Russell

[355] While median is generally a better statistic to use than average in most circumstances, this is not one of them. Northumberland County provides a good example of this: an average of slightly over twelve servants had their ages judged in the last decade of the sixteen hundreds and first decade of the seventeen hundreds—a minor but noticeable increase from the 1670s and 1680s—while the median was half of what it was in the earlier period! Similarly, Westmoreland saw its average increase significantly, its median actually decreased slightly. This was mainly due to the wildly scattered nature of the numbers of young laborers entering those counties during this period, as evidenced by the huge standard deviations seen in Table 92 in Appendix V. Lancaster and York counties, meanwhile, had relatively similar drops in both average and median number of unindentured servants arriving in those counties in the later period, although York's were even more closely related, alluding to both counties' full transition to slavery.

Menard was likely correct when he argued that Lancaster had transitioned to a bound labor force reliant on slaves and not servants by the 1680s, that part-sweet-scented, part-oronoco growing county saw a short but substantive bump in young uncontracted laborers entering the county in the closing years of the seventeenth century.

Because of the above data, Menard's claim that "the number of servants imported remained stable in the 1660s and 1670s and then fell off in the 1680s and 1690s" is largely correct when looking at York and Lancaster counties—although it was not even quite that simple for Lancaster.[356] Northumberland and Westmoreland, on the other hand, were almost completely antithetical to Menard's sweeping claim. Both upper Northern Neck counties experienced small levels of servant importation during the early 1690s with only one year in each county receiving more than nine servants.[357] Both counties would make up for those low numbers in their peak years around 1700 and then some, however. Northumberland saw an astounding 204 unindentured servants arrive in a six-year span between 1697 and 1702, with the vast majority (149) of those young laborers entering the county in 1698 and 1699 alone—the first years after the cessation of hostilities due to King William's War. Westmoreland's peak was more concentrated but no less substantive with 159 uncontracted servants entering the county in a three-year span from 1699 to 1701. Both counties then saw this importation dry up as Queen Anne's War broke out in 1702. By the latter half of the eighteenth century's first decade, it seems that the transition from servitude to slavery had finally occurred in the upper Northern Neck (more on this later in this chapter).

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[356] Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," 363.
[357] See Table 92 in Appendix V.

Even though Lancaster County did not see the same kind of peak as Westmoreland and Northumberland, all experienced their peaks in the same exact year—1699. Lancaster had 42 young servants enter the county that year, while Westmoreland received 97 and Northumberland saw 84 arrive then. Even York, whose servant trade had almost dried up completely by that point, experienced its height of ten unindentured servants a year later in 1700 during the period under investigation in this chapter. As mentioned above, broader Atlantic forces revolving around England's wars that began after the country's Glorious Revolution of 1688 seem to best explain this dramatic if short-lived increase in servant importations to Virginia.

As Douglas Bradburn has pointed out recently, England instituted what he labels a "convoy and embargo regime" to protect its tobacco trade during King William's War and Queen Anne's War.[358] This wartime system also had a significant effect on the trade in unfree laborers, especially indentured servants. During the ten years of King William's War, few servants entered the Northern Neck counties, apparently held in England without the adequate protection needed to be sent to America. The servant trade, more dependent as it was on individual shippers and free migrants to the colonies taking servants along with them, was seriously hampered by Atlantic warfare whereas the bigger business of the slave trade was much less affected (more on this below). Following the conclusion of that war then, the servant trade reemerged and boomed, at least in the short term. A few years later after Queen Anne's War began, very few servants arrived in Virginia. As Paul G. E. Clemens astutely points out, "during the interwar period at the

[358] Bradburn, "The Visible Fist," 366.

end of the seventeenth century…planters again had access to large numbers of indentured servants."[359] This is borne out by the data cited above and contradicts the previous theory espoused by most historians about a drying up of servants by the 1680s and 1690s. There was indeed a drying up in the servant trade but it did not last, there was one last gasp of servants heading to toil in Virginia's tobacco fields (among other responsibilities).

Those late-coming servants, it would seem, did indeed "go overwhelmingly to Oronoco-producing regions," possibly as Clemens theorizes, as "a consolation prize for those on the margins of the Chesapeake economy." Whether it was a "consolation prize," a preference unique to that area or simply the best planters there could do with fewer resources due to their lands' less desirable tobacco is an open question. Regardless, those years loom large for Bradburn and Clemens, and in the history of unfree labor in the Chesapeake colonies. This reasoning can help explain "how the conversion to slavery took place" in "economically stagnant Oronoco areas" like Northumberland and Westmoreland counties.[360]

Unindentured Servants: Ages, Term Lengths, Sex, and Ownership

While the number of unindentured servants entering the upper Northern Neck varied greatly throughout the period under investigation in this chapter—with much of the influx determined by the imperial wars in the years before and after 1700—so too did the ages and term lengths of those young servants as seen in Tables 30 and 31.

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[359] Clemens, "Reimagining the Political Economy of Early Virginia," 395.
[360] Ibid., 395, 397.

Table 30: Ages and Term Lengths of Unindentured Servants in Northumberland County, 1689-1710

Date	Number of Servants	Average Age of Servants	Median Age of Servants	S.D.*	Average Length of Term	Median Length of Term	S.D.*
1689	6	13.8	14.0	2.54	9.7	10.0	2.98
1690	4	14.0	13.0	2.45	10.0	11.0	2.45
1691	4	11.0	13.0	0.71	13.0	13.0	0.71
1692	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1693	4	13.0	12.5	2.12	11.0	11.5	2.12
1694	17	14.2	14.0	2.22	9.8	10.0	2.22
1695	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1696	9	13.9	14.0	2.23	10.1	10.0	2.23
1697	17	13.6	13.0	1.68	10.4	11.0	1.68
1698	65	14.0**(63)	14.0**	2.25	9.8**(63)	10.0**	2.32
1699	84	15.1	15.0	2.66	8.9	9.0	2.65
1700	17	13.4	13.0	2.65	10.6	11.0	2.65
1701	9	13.2	14.0	3.07	10.4	9.0	3.05
1702	12	14.0	14.0	1.28	9.8	10.0	1.14
1703	1	15.0	15.0	0	9.0	9.0	0
1704	1	15.0	15.0	0	9.0	9.0	0
1705	1	16.0	16.0	0	8.0	8.0	0
1706	6	10.4**(5)	10.0**	0.89	11.2**(5)	12.0**	3.11
1707	3	12.3	13.0	1.15	9.0*(1)	9.0	0
1708	3	13.7	14.0	1.53	9.0	9.0	3.0
1709	5	13.6	14.0	0.55	n/a	n/a	n/a
1710	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	***268***	***14.1*** (265)	***14.0***	***2.47***	***9.7*** (258)	***9.5***	***2.50***

Sources: NCOB, 1678-1698 and 1699-1713.
* – Standard Deviation
** – Some of the years in this table did not have age and/or term length information for every servant who had their age judged, although the number is relatively small here. In parenthesis next to the asterisk, therefore, the number of servants whose ages or terms are evident in the records is listed (only next to the averages, even though the same applies for the medians).

Servants who had their ages judged in Northumberland's county court were noticeably older in the years around 1700 as opposed to previous periods. In particular, the average and median age of these uncontracted laborers was around fourteen as compared to

thirteen in most of the 1670s and 1680s.[361] That trend can be seen most dramatically by the two years when more than half of the servants who arrived in the county during this period—1698 and 1699—had their ages judged. During those two years, the average age of 14.6 years old for the 147 servants for whom information remains extant actually exceeded the overall average for the period.

Conversely and as expected, the term lengths were slightly shorter in this later period than they had been in the period under investigation in chapter four. Terms averaged under ten years long in the two decades around 1700 unlike the ten-plus observed during most of the 1670s and 1680s. And similar to how ages had been above the average in the two years with the most activity at the end of the seventeenth century, term lengths were slightly lower (9.3) in those two crucial years than they were overall during this period.

Westmoreland County, on the other hand, continued its trend of being more aligned with Northumberland County during the previous period than the current one under investigation in this chapter. As seen in Table 31, the average and median ages and term lengths of servants who had their ages judged in court during the final decade of the seventeenth century and first decade of the eighteenth century were significantly different than Northumberland's crop of young laborers during the same period.

[361] Furthermore as evidenced by an increased standard deviation, the ages for the servants coming in to Northumberland County during the last decade of the sixteen hundreds and first decade of the seventeen hundreds were significantly more varied than in earlier periods. The standard deviations in Tables 30 and 31 show the variations of uncontracted servants' ages and term lengths entering the counties upon having their ages judged. The higher the number, the more variance there was between those ages and term lengths, and the lower the number, the fewer variations existed.

Table 31: Ages and Term Lengths of Unindentured Servants in Westmoreland County, 1691-1710

Date	Number of Servants	Average Age of Servants	Median Age of Servants	S.D.*	Average Length of Term	Median Length of Term	S.D.*
1691	3	11.3	13.0	3.79	12.7	11.0	3.79
1692	1	11.0	11.0	0	13.0	13.0	0
1693	10	14.5	15.0	2.46	9.5	9.0	2.46
1694	2	12.0	12.0	1.41	12.0	12.0	1.41
1695	9	13.9	14.0	2.57	10.1	10.0	2.57
1696	1	16.0	16.0	0	8.0	8.0	0
1697	10	13.7	13.5	2.79	10.3	10.5	2.79
1698	2	14.5	14.5	0.71	9.5	9.5	0.71
1699	97	13.4**(95)	13.0**	2.72	10.5**(95)	11.0**	2.74
1700	37	12.8	13.0	2.90	11.2	11.0	2.90
1701	25	14.4**(24)	14.0**	2.69	9.6**(24)	10.0**	2.69
1702	5	13.8	14.0	1.30	10.2	10.0	1.30
1703	7	12.0	12.0	3.00	12.0	12.0	3.00
1704	2	12.5	12.5	2.12	12.5	12.5	2.12
1705	1	14.0	14.0	0	9.0	9.0	0
1706	8	12.4	13.0	2.00	11.6	11.0	2.00
1707	1	13.0	13.0	0	n/a***(0)	n/a***	n/a***
1708	6	12.3	12.0	3.39	11.7	12.0	3.39
1709	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1710	4	11.0	11.5	2.16	13.0	12.5	2.16
Total	***231***	***13.3*** (228)	***13.0***	***2.72***	***10.6*** (227)	***11.0***	***2.74***

Sources: WCOB, 1690-1698, 1698-1705, and 1705-1721.
* – Standard Deviation
** – Some of the years in this table did not have age and/or term length information for every servant who had their age adjudged, although the number is relatively small here. In parenthesis next to the asterisk, therefore, the number of servants whose ages or terms are evident in the records is listed (only next to the averages, even though the same applies for the medians).
*** – The one servant to have his age adjudged in 1707, George West, was referred to as an "Indian bastard boy" and ordered, as usual for unindentured laborers, to serve his master William Graham "according to law." Mixed-race children often served different terms by statute so the usual determination of term length is not appropriate here.

As opposed to Northumberland County's younger servants whose ages went up a year on average from the 1670s and 1680s to the decade before and after 1700, the ages of unindentured laborers to Westmoreland County went down from around 14.5 years of age to near thirteen in the same period. As expected, that decrease was inversely matched with term lengths for those Westmoreland County servants, which increased from around 9.5 years long to close to eleven.

On the other hand, Westmoreland's peak years of 1699 to 1701 represented the overall period of the decades around 1700 better than Northumberland's peak years of 1698 and 1699 did its same overall period. Westmoreland County absorbed 156 young servants in its three-year peak, which was more than two-thirds of the total for the whole two-decade-plus period, a larger percentage than Northumberland's peak years were to its overall period. Uncontracted laborers who arrived in Westmoreland County during those peak years had an average age of 13.4 years old and a 10.5 years' long term, almost identical to the overall period.

Similar to chapter four, term lengths for these unindentured laborers were still about double the regularly cited four to five years. Again considering Christopher Tomlins's average term lengths for uncontracted laborers of between seven and nine years that he charted in *Freedom Bound*, the upper Northern Neck counties remained above the upper end of his range. As opposed to the 1670s and 1680s when Northumberland County's unindentured servants had term lengths of well over ten years, Westmoreland County's uncontracted laborers were the ones serving for ten-plus years on average by the decade before and after 1700. Northumberland's young servants, meanwhile, still

labored for longer than Tomlins's upper estimate, but only by a few months by the decades surrounding 1700.

Another aspect of the demography of uncontracted workers that changed slightly by the 1690s was the ratio between the sexes of those young laborers. While males continued to dominate through the end of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century in both counties, young boys became even more prominent during the latter period as compared to the three decades before 1690. In Northumberland County, the percentage of male unindentured servants rose to 93.3%, surpassing the percentages from the 1660s through the 1680s of around 86%.[362] Meanwhile, the percentage of young male servants in the decades around 1700 was slightly lower in Westmoreland County (91.7%) than that of Northumberland, but that difference was minimal.[363] Westmoreland did also have a noticeably higher percentages of young boys having their ages judged in the 1690s and first decade of the 1700s as compared to the previous periods (86%). Since male servants were used in agricultural laboring much more often and regularly than female servants, the demand for these bound laborers obviously came from planters in need of more farm hands.

Furthermore, as outlined in previous chapters, the upper Northern Neck remained a land of minor planters as evidenced by the large majority of servant owners who only brought one or a few young laborers to court to have their ages judged during the last

[362] See Table 93 in Appendix V.
[363] See Table 94 in Appendix V.

decade of the sixteen hundreds and first decade of the seventeen hundreds.[364] Almost all Northumberland and Westmoreland planters brought three or fewer servants—93% in Northumberland and 97% in Westmoreland—into court to have their ages adjudged during that period.[365] This corresponded almost exactly to the previous twenty years when 91% of planters in Northumberland and 95% in Westmoreland brought three of fewer servants to court.

On the other hand, a handful of bigger upper Northern Neck planters brought in several unindentured servants to have their ages judged during the years under investigation in this chapter. In Northumberland County, for instance, six larger landowners acquired five or more younger servants in the decades around 1700, which means 16% of the unindentured laborers were owned by 4% of the county's planters. By far the most significant of those six was Rodham Kenner, a major planter who bought thirteen younger servants during the period, along with three more who were brought to court by his wife, Elizabeth. The Kenners were easily the biggest purchasers of this group of laborers in Northumberland County's history to that point as compared to the nine brought into court by Richard Lee and the seven brought in by Thomas Matthew and Peter Presly previously.

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[364] It is worth pointing out again that only young servants, or unindentured laborers, are being focused upon here due to the lack of systematic recording of older, contracted servants in colonial Virginia. It is very possible that some servant owners acquired disproportionately higher numbers of older bound laborers and would therefore seem to have less stature as a planter when only younger servants are the exclusive focus. It is also possible, of course, that other planters acquired disproportionately higher numbers of younger servants and would therefore seem of a higher stature because of it.

[365] See Tables 95 and 96 in Appendix V.

Westmoreland County's planters were not as prolific in acquiring younger servants with only three of them bringing more than four such servants into court to have their ages judged in the decade before and after 1700. The leader of this small group of planters was John Pratt, who bought nine of those laborers during that period, only slightly more than the seven purchased by Nicholas Spencer in the previous period. As such, the upper Northern Neck—at least when looking exclusively at unindentured laborers—remained a highly bifurcated region with very few major and moderate planters on top of the socio-economic ladder. The vast majority—the minor planters and small farmers—were significantly lower down that ladder.

Persistence and Total Number of Servants in the Upper Northern Neck

Similar to previous chapters, the data from the upper Northern Neck—especially Northumberland County but Westmoreland to some extent as well—paints a significantly different picture from what Tomlins claims was the likely distribution of indentured and unindentured workers. Tomlins argues for a two-to-one ratio—and as high as five-to-one—in favor of contracted laborers over those who arrived in Virginia without a signed contract. According to the data compiled for the upper Northern Neck, however, it seems likely the ratio was closer to a 50-50 split. Otherwise, at times, from one-third to half of the overall population of the region would have been white bound laborers, which seems unlikely although this would more closely align with earlier historians such as Darrett and Anita Rutman. Still, for the Rutmans, this was in 1668, the heyday of white servitude in Middlesex County, not the 1690s as will be outlined below.[366]

[366] Rutmans, *A Place in Time*, 71.

First, the persistence of unindentured servitude as part of the population of Northumberland and Westmoreland counties can be charted to reveal how many of these younger laborers were still serving terms in any given year (see Figures 4 and 5[367]). Then, the resulting persistence can be compared to Christopher Tomlins's estimates for the period from *Freedom Bound*. According to Tomlins, the persistence of all servants by 1690 and by 1700 remained stuck at 5.5% of the total Chesapeake population, which equates to 9.8% if mortality is not considered.[368]

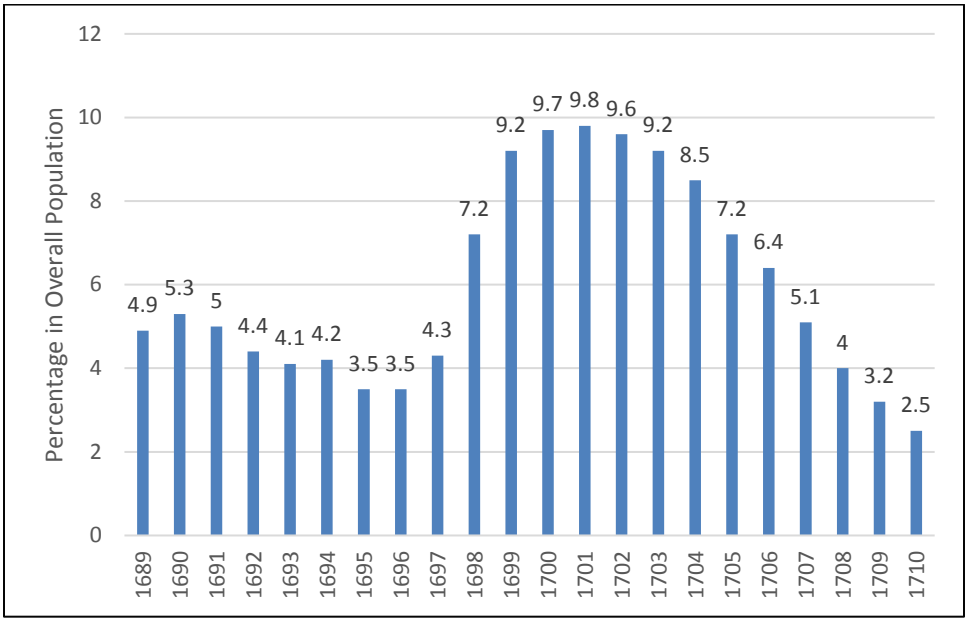

Figure 4: Persistence of Unindentured Servants in Northumberland County, 1689-1710

[367] See Tables 95 and 96 in Appendix V for the numerical bases for these figures.

[368] Again, similar to chapter four, see Tomlins, *Freedom Bound*, 38, Table 1.2, and 583-85 for his discussions of persistence of servitude in early Virginia and of servant mortality.

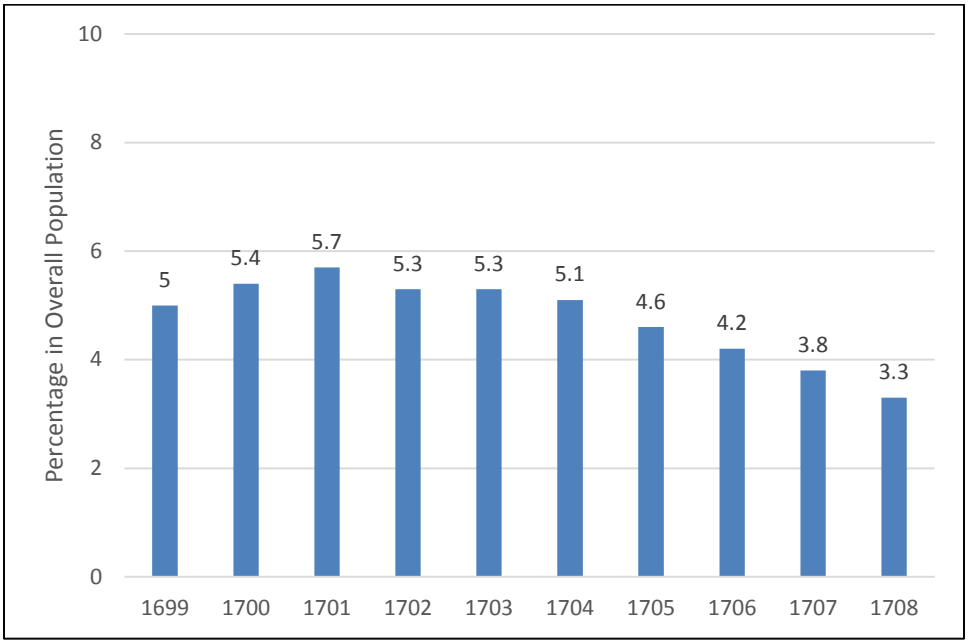

Figure 5: Persistence of Unindentured Servants in Westmoreland County, 1699-1708

Northumberland County,[369] even when it bottoms out in 1695 and 1696, still shows an unindentured laborer population of 3.5% of the total population. Therefore, using what Tomlins considers a very unlikely ratio of one younger servant for every indentured one, Northumberland had seven percent of its population in bonded servitude in the mid-1690s. Then, as uncontracted workers poured into the county in the final years of the seventeenth century—and possibly older servants as well because while the evidence for them is extremely incomplete, there are strong indications that happened

[369] Northumberland has the much more robust extant records more general and also specifically concerning these young, uncontracted laborers than Westmoreland County.

too[370]—the percentage rebounded to near 10%, meaning around 20% of the population could have been servants in the very early seventeen hundreds. This means Northumberland had a minimum of twice as many servants than the colony as a whole, which Tomlins estimates to be closer to 10% of the population (if mortality is not considered). By the end of that first decade of the eighteenth century, however, unindentured servants bottomed out completely, leaving a minimum of only 5% of the Northumberland population being servants by 1710. The transition to slavery, therefore, had likely occurred in that upper Northern Neck county by then, at least in a purely statistical sense.

Meanwhile, Westmoreland County, as before, lacks good extant tithable counts until 1699, making comparisons to earlier periods difficult even though counts are finally available during the early-eighteenth century. Even with the county's incomplete records, the data available paint a somewhat different picture to Northumberland, with a slightly lower range and much less volatility in Westmoreland, mostly due to the steadily increasing population. Beginning with a 5% proportion of younger servants as part of the total population in 1699, it rose to a height of 5.7% in 1701 before slipping to 3.3% in

[370] The main hint that this could have been possible is the remarkable growth in tithables during this period. Northumberland County's tithable count, if it is to be fully believed, increased from 955 in 1698 to 1,179 in 1699—an unparalleled increase of over 200—and these younger laborers were not the main driver of that. Since most of those servants were younger than sixteen, the age when a servant became tithable, there were few who were tithable immediately and many who did not become tithable for many years after immigrating. In the six years up to and including 1699, about 94 of the 192 uncontracted laborers became old enough to be taxable, not even half of the total increase in tithables (again, not factoring in mortality). Furthermore, those 94 servants did not all become tithable from 1698 to 1699—that number would be closer to 58 of those 94. That leaves over 150 newly tithable persons unaccounted for and while some of those were likely freepersons using the pause in hostilities between England and France to immigrate to the colonies, a significant portion of those were probably male contracted laborers, possibly half or more based on the typical breakdown of servants as part of overall migrations.

1708. While these proportions—between 10% and 11.5% of the total population in the years directly before and after 1700[371]—do not match Northumberland's all that well, they do account for higher percentages of all servants than Tomlins estimates for that period. By the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century, meanwhile, Westmoreland's servants had slipped to a minimum of around 6.5% of the overall population, signaling the transition to slavery may had occurred by 1710 or so in that upper Northern Neck county as well.

By engaging in more sophisticated calculations—as is displayed in Tables 32 and 33—it is clear that the servant population in Northumberland County and to a slightly lesser extent Westmoreland County were again robust in the handful of years before and after 1700. Again using Tomlins's estimates, some rough estimates can be calculated as to the overall numbers of both contracted and uncontracted laborers in the upper Northern Neck, along with how statistically significant those servants were as compared to the total populations of the two counties.

[371] Similar to Northumberland's growth in tithables at the end of seventeenth century, Westmoreland County also experienced a rather significant explosion of tithable persons from 1699 (936) to 1700 (1,082). While that corresponds to Westmoreland receiving 134 uncontracted laborers in those two years alone, only 51 of those were tithable by 1700. This means around 100 newly tithable persons are unaccounted for and similar to Northumberland, it is likely a smaller portion of those were freepersons but the larger amount were male servants who had signed indentures prior to immigrating to the county.

Table 32: Estimated Persistence of All Servants in Northumberland County Population, 1689-1710

Date*	Estimated Low Percentage of Servants in population	Estimated Middle Percentage of Servants in population	Estimate High Percentage of Servants in population
1689	9.0	14.8	24.7
1690	9.7	16.0	26.7
1691	9.1	15.1	25.2
1692	8.0	13.2	22.1
1693	7.4	12.2	20.4
1694	7.6	12.6	21.0
1695	6.3	10.4	17.4
1696	6.3	10.4	17.3
1697	7.7	12.8	21.3
1698	13.1	21.6	36.0
1699	16.7	27.5	45.8
1700	17.7	29.2	48.6
1701	17.7	29.2	48.7
1702	17.4	28.7	47.9
1703	16.7	27.6	46.0
1704	15.4	25.4	42.4
1705	13.0	21.5	35.8
1706	11.7	19.3	32.1
1707	9.2	15.1	25.2
1708	7.2	12.0	19.9
1709	5.8	9.6	16.0
1710	4.5	7.5	12.4

Source: Table 99 in Appendix V.
*—The percentages in this table do not account for mortality.

Table 33: Estimated Persistence of All Servants in Westmoreland County Population, 1699-1708

Date*	Estimated Low Percentage of Servants in population	Estimated Middle Percentage of Servants in population	Estimated High Percentage of Servants in population
1699	9.1	15.1	24.9
1700	9.8	16.3	26.9
1701	10.4	17.3	28.5
1702	9.7	16.2	26.7
1703	9.6	15.9	26.3
1704	9.2	15.4	25.4
1705	8.4	14.0	23.2

Date*	Estimated Low Percentage of Servants in population	Estimated Middle Percentage of Servants in population	Estimated High Percentage of Servants in population
1706	7.6	12.6	20.8
1707	6.9	11.6	19.1
1708	6.0	9.9	16.4

Source: Table 100 in Appendix V.
* – The percentages in this table do not account for mortality. Also, there are no available tithable counts for before 1699 and after 1708, so no population estimates are calculable and therefore, no estimated percentages of servants in the population.

From the calculations displayed in Tables 32 and 33, it again seems most prudent to use the low estimate—which is based off of the near one-to-one ratio of unindentured to indentured laborers that Tomlins uses—as the lower part of the range.[372] The middle estimate will again be used as the higher part of the range, based on a clean two-to-one ratio of contracted servants to uncontracted ones. As before, the high estimates, based on a five-to-one ratio of older to younger servants, seem too overinflated as it would mean almost half of the population—when mortality is not factored into the equation—was made up of servants.

As such, using those more realistic figures paints a very different picture from the one most previous scholars of the Chesapeake have put forth when discussing servitude

[372] There is decent evidence that has been uncovered by historians to argue that servants became younger overall by the late seventeenth century. For example, James Horn charts what he describes as the "generally humble social standing of indentured servants," which he determines at least in part due to their young ages upon emigrating to the colony. About two-thirds of servants emigrating from London in 1635 were between fifteen and twenty-four years of age and only 3.5% were under fifteen. By the 1680s, not much had changed as three-quarters of servants leaving from London were between fifteen and twenty-four, while 6% were younger than fifteen. In the decade after 1697, however, servants departing Liverpool were decidedly younger with almost two-thirds in the fifteen to twenty-four age range but over 16% under fifteen years of age. Horn, *Adapting to a New World*, 35-36.

in the final years of the seventeenth century and the early-eighteenth century. Instead of drying up as Menard and many others have claimed, Northumberland County—and to a lesser extent, Westmoreland[373]—had a sizable population of servants, both in raw terms and as compared to the overall population. Northumberland did indeed seem to bottom out in the mid-1690s with less than 10% of the population still being in servitude, but by 1700, between 17% and 29% of the population was bound in that manner. While this was short-lived—by 1709, the percentage had dropped again to below 10%—it was substantial and contrary to the previous belief about the way bound labor transitioned from servitude to slavery. And while the next section will show that African slaves had finally increased enough to become a majority of the bound labor population by 1710 or so, servants had hardly disappeared. Instead, it seems that a "false transition" occurred in both counties during the early to mid-1690s. Following that, the huge arrivals of servants at the end of that decade pushed back the full transition until late in the first decade of the 1700s, about a quarter-century later than most scholars previously believed.

Steadily Increasing Slavery in the Upper Northern Neck

While servitude was on a dramatic upswing during the interwar years around 1700, this was quickly followed by a precipitous decline after Queen Anne's War began in 1702. The importation of African slaves, on the other hand, was seemingly not as affected by the imperial wars before and after 1700 and was therefore growing in a

[373] In Westmoreland, due to the problems of incomplete records, which led to inconsistent and unreliable tithable counts, the phenomenon explained in this paragraph and subsection was not near as pronounced as seen in Northumberland, but there still was a similar if relatively minor version of it. Westmoreland's height in 1701 of between 10% and 17% was still significantly more than Tomlins had estimated. But, by 1708, the mini-reversal was over and servants made up less than 10% of the population, similar to Northumberland.

measured but significant and more sustained manner during the same period. Most of the information for this determination, however, comes from the small percentage of the enslaved Africans who appeared in court to have their ages judged, the only consistent data available for this period from Northumberland and Westmoreland counties. Still, these conclusions are confirmed by the small amount of data available from inventories and wills during this period from those upper Northern Neck counties.

Despite the loss of the Record Books containing the wills and inventories from Northumberland County for a thirty-three year span from 1672 to 1705,[374] some information on blacks in late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century Northumberland County does exist. In particular, the age judgments of younger enslaved workers remain extant. Then, by including Westmoreland County's slightly more robust surviving data during the decade before and after 1700, a decently complete picture can be drawn of slave child labor in the upper Northern Neck during that period.

First, however, a quick scan of the years after the next Northumberland County Record Book began in 1706 also reveals some information about the first decade of the seventeen hundreds since the records include a handful of previously lost records from before 1706 that were resubmitted after that date. Still, it is impossible to know how many of these documents were rerecorded versus how many were lost to the fire that destroyed the originals and never resubmitted. Using those extant inventories and wills, however, in concert with the age judgments will result in as full of a picture as is available. The more qualitative wills with the mixed qualitative/quantitative inventories

[374] See the "Note on Sources and Language" for more on this.

can be combined nicely with the more purely statistical age judgments to create picture that has at least some clarity to it.

In total, fourteen wills and one inventory—spanning eleven years from 1698 to 1709—were entered or reentered into Northumberland's Record Book from 1706 to 1710. Of those fifteen entries, nine mentioned neither servants nor slaves, although wills are rarely reliable for any quantitative conclusions to be drawn from that. The remaining six, however, show the unfree labor shift that was underway by the first decade of the eighteenth century: four of the six listed only slaves, while only one contained both slaves and servants. That one, Thomas Shapleigh's 1703 inventory, showed a three-to-two slave-to-servant ratio. The sixth record with servants mentioned in it—Dennis Conaway's 1703 will—talked about his desire that his "servants" be "kept together" on his plantation under his children's purview. That language does not necessarily give any indication as to how many there were—or even what type of bound laborers they were—since the term "servant" was used somewhat interchangeably in early Virginia to describe all types of bound laborers from servants to slaves to apprentices. Regardless, there were certainly several more slaves than servants in this limited sample of five wills and one inventory with two-thirds of them having only slaves on the plantations of the deceased planters.[375]

Unfortunately, it is not clear how many planters' wills withheld specifics about their unfree labor populations, although major planter Hancock Lee is probably not all that unusual in this regard even if the size of his bound labor force was somewhat

[375] NCRB, 1706-1710, 11-12, 18-20.

extraordinary.[376] Lee's will was made on New Year's Eve 1706 and updated in May of 1709, less than a year from the planter's death in late 1709 or very early 1710. In it, Lee mentioned both "Negroes" and "Servants," but provided no specifics. Then, in March of 1710, Lee's estate was appraised, showing twenty-eight slaves—twenty-one "Negroes" and six Mulattoes, definitively—which was a huge number for Northumberland County, and more importantly, no servants.[377] It is certainly possible that the "servants" Lee referred to in his will were slaves since again, the conflation of those two terms was not uncommon. Still, it is also possible that Lee had servants when his will was made in 1706 or updated in 1709, but that he had replaced them with slaves by the time of his death. In fact, looking at the instances of Hancock Lee bringing young bound laborers, both black and white, into court to have their ages judged can make the latter theory appear very plausible. Lee brought fourteen young children into the Northumberland County court to have their ages judged, twelve slaves and two uncontracted servants. Furthermore, one of the servants was due to be freed by 1709 or 1710, meaning if the other one had died—a definite possibility given the high mortality rates that still existed in early-eighteenth

[376] See chapter one for a discussion of planters and their statuses as major, middling, or minor. Lee's bound labor force made him a major planter in that sense but according to my stratification from chapter one, it was office-holding that was more crucial to differentiating planters. In that regard, Lee was certainly a major planter as he served as Northumberland's Burgess twice, once in 1688 and once in 1698. William G. Stanard and Mary Newton Stanard, eds., *The Colonial Virginia Register: A List of Governors, Councillors and Other Higher Officials, and also of Members of the House of Burgesses, and the Revolutionary Conventions of the Colony of Virginia* (Albany, NY: Joel Munsell's Sons Publishers, 1902), 86-87, 92.

[377] NCRB, 1706-1710, 29-38.

century Virginia—or been sold, Lee could certainly have died with no servants still under contract or serving by custom of the country.[378]

Young Slaves Arrive in the Upper Northern Neck in Increasing Numbers

As with chapter two—even with the existence of some inventories from the first decade of the eighteenth century—age judgments are still the much more consistent and fruitful batch of records to get a clear sense of slaves entering the upper Northern Neck, albeit from only one subgroup, children under the age of fourteen.[379] For the period under investigation in this chapter, the number of black children having their ages judged shows the stark increase in slaves alluded to in the few extant wills and inventory discussed above. While the number was still not enormous, the increase from the 1670s and 1680s was significant, especially given the massive jump in the early eighteenth century.

Table 34: Young Slaves Who Had Their Ages Adjudged in the Upper Northern Neck of Virginia, 1689-1710

Date	Slave Age Judgments in Northumberland County	Average Slave Judgments in Northumberland County	Slave Age Judgments in Westmoreland County	Average Slave Judgments in Westmoreland County
1689-98	19	1.90	19*	2.38
1699-1710	67	5.58	71	5.92
Total	**86**	**3.91**	**90**	**4.50**

Sources: NCOB, 1678-1698 and 1699-1713; WCOB, 1675-1689, 1690-1698, 1698-1705, and 1705-1721. See Table 101 in Appendix V for a year-by-year breakdown of slave children having

[378] See NCOB, 1699-1713. It is harder to know if Lee had any contracted servants at any point as those show up much less often and much more haphazardly than their younger, uncontracted brethren. Still, even if he did have some, given that they served much shorter terms of four or five years on average, they almost certainly would have been freed by 1709 if they had entered the county during the huge spike of servant immigration during the interwar years of 1698 to 1701.

[379] This is when slaves become tithable, which was the only reason to have their ages judged since they served for life, unlike the term-limited servants.

their ages judged during the last decade of the sixteen hundreds and first decade of the seventeen hundreds in the two upper Northern Neck county courts.
* – Due to the lack of extant records for Westmoreland County from 1689 and 1690, no age judgments are included for those years.

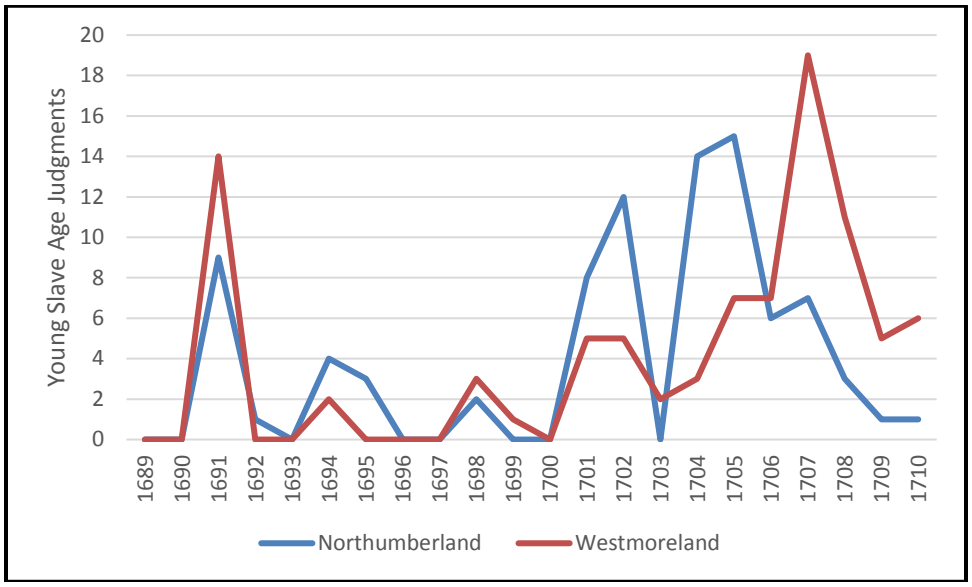

Figure 6: Young Slaves Who Had Their Ages Adjudged in the Upper Northern Neck of Virginia, 1689-1710

By comparing the data in Table 34 and Figure 6 to the data from the previous period,[380] it is notable that more than double the amount of young black children had their ages judged in Northumberland County while Westmoreland saw an astounding nine times more than the earlier period. While Westmoreland had some ground to make up on its parent county, this was indeed a massive increase.

Interestingly, the same reasons for the rise and fall of servant importation into the region cannot, for the most part, be applied to the slave trade to the upper Northern Neck.

[380] See Table 79 in Appendix IV for that data.

In fact, the interwar years seemed to have little effect on slave children being brought to the region: during King William's War, about two young slaves were brought into the county courts annually to have their ages judged, while a similar two-plus average appeared before the courts during the four interwar years. In fact, the boom did not occur until Queen Anne's War was in full swing with twenty-seven young slaves entering Northumberland in 1704 and 1705 and thirty arriving in Westmoreland in 1707 and 1708. This seems to be due to the way servants and slaves were traded in the Atlantic World: servants by individual traders and free migrants as opposed to big slaving vessels carrying hundreds of Africans, which could likely either command enough authority with the English government to receive convoy support or take along its own convoy of warships.

In fact, the defining moment for the slave trade to the upper Northern Neck—and all of Virginia in many ways—seemed to be the end of the Royal African Company's monopoly in 1698, even though planters had been able to access the intercolonial slave trade for decades. It seems, however, that because Barbados and Jamaica had been attracting such a disproportionate amount of the Royal African Company's shipments of slaves, the relatively few slaves arriving via the intercolonial trade before 1698 were destined for Jamestown and sweet-scented tobacco-growing areas where they were more in demand and more affordable. For transatlantic slavers, the Chesapeake was peripheral prior to the end of the seventeenth century and not worth their time or energy. For intercolonial slavers, the upper Northern Neck was a periphery to where they operated, the lower Tidewater. After 1698, though, direct shipments of slaves from Africa to the

Chesapeake increased substantially. Still, those enslaved Africans tended to be brought to the sweet-scented areas while the intercolonial shipments, which remained substantial even if they were a tiny fraction of the expanded transatlantic business, seemed to shift at least partly to the oronoco-growing regions like the upper Northern Neck.[381]

As such, before 1698 around two young slaves entering the counties each year was the norm. After that date, the averages increased to almost six, a near three-fold expansion in slave children having their ages judged annually in Northumberland and Westmoreland county courts. Furthermore, the ages of those young, mostly black children increased as well by the 1690s. Comparing Figure 7 to chapter four's data reveal an increase in the median age of one year—from eight years old to nine—for the significantly larger number of young slave children having their ages judged in the upper Northern Neck during the last decade of the seventeenth and first decade of the eighteenth century.[382]

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[381] See Gregory E. O'Malley, *Final Passages*, especially 116-18, 137-38, 187-89. Jean B. Russo and J. Elliot Russo agree with this assessment and claim that the reasons for this prioritization of sweet-scented areas by slave traders was a real danger of glutting the market and planters in oronoco regions "offered less attractive forms of payment, including inferior tobacco, long-term credit, and less-reliable bills of exchange drawn on smaller London firms or on merchants in other English or Scottish ports." See Russo and Russo, *Planting an Empire*, 145.

[382] See Table 102 in Appendix V for the data upon which Figure 7 is based.

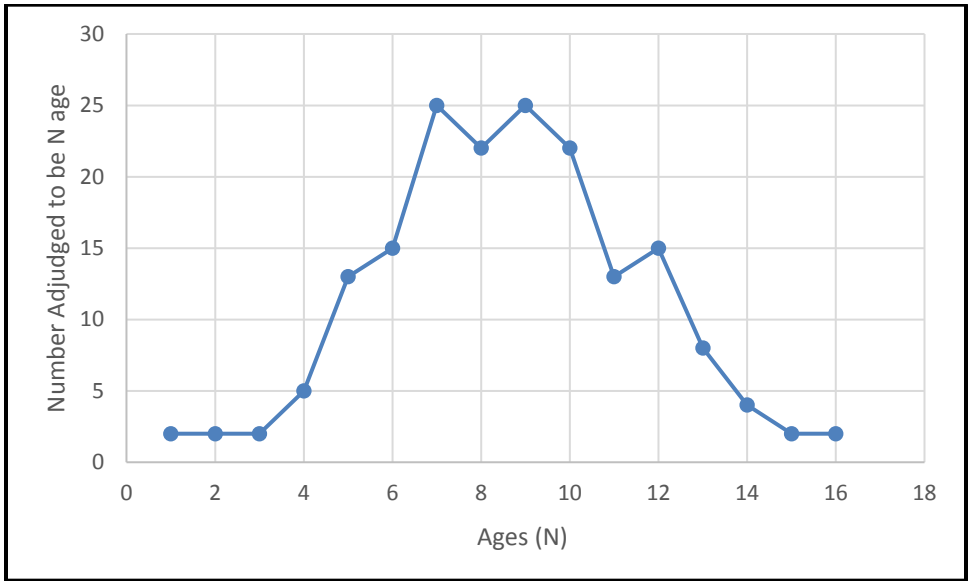

Figure 7: Ages of Slave Children Who Had Their Ages Adjudged in the Upper Northern Neck, 1689-1710

When looking deeper into this data, the age increase between the later and earlier periods becomes even starker. While enslaved youngsters under the age of six remained a relatively similar percentage of the total—16% from 1673 to 1688 versus 13.6% in the last decade of the sixteen hundreds and first decade of the seventeen hundreds—that is largely where the similarities end. For instance, the earlier period had over half its enslaved children aged six to eight, while only 35% were aged as such in the later period. The later period, on the other hand, had 9% of those young slaves judged thirteen or older whereas the earlier period had none older than twelve years of age.

Another important bit of information can be derived from the age judgments of enslaved children, their sex. Unlike the period under investigation in chapter four, records are much clearer from this later period with only ten of the 176 enslaved children having no easily identifiable sex. Of the remaining 166, over 58% were male, not quite as high

as the 64% from the 1670s and 1680s. But, that earlier proportion of small boys was very similar to the 63% in Westmoreland County during the decade before and after 1700, whereas Northumberland's sex ratio was much more equal, with only slightly more than half (53.7%) being boys.[383]

This was a radical departure from the sex demographics of unindentured laborers, who were male by around ten-to-one during this same period.[384] The reasons for this were many: first, there was no social stigma—or more importantly, economic consequence—for putting black women out in tobacco fields, whereas female servants were only tithable if they worked in agricultural settings. If they did not, they were not taxed, a significant incentive not to acquire too many female servants at a time when few could afford—or had the need—for domestic laborers. Second, while males were overwhelmingly favored by Caribbean sugar planters, the Chesapeake seemed to prefer a more equal split between male and female slaves. This was largely due to the fact that slaves reproducing was an economic benefit in the long-term and those bound offspring were significantly more likely to survive in the Chesapeake than in the Caribbean. Finally, the Chesapeake was still not near the destination for slave traders that the Caribbean was. Therefore, the more expensive male slaves went to the Caribbean disproportionately with the Chesapeake getting the ones who did not sell in the better market, which were women and the young.

One last important aspect of the age judgments for those slave children were the names of their new owners. Of the 176 young enslaved children mentioned, a total of 82

[383] See Tables 103 and 104 in Appendix V.
[384] See Tables 93 and 94 in Appendix V.

owners or traders/merchants were also mentioned as brining in their young unfree laborers. Of those 82 owners, over half (46) were named only once, but correspond to only 26% of the slaves mentioned during this period. Similar to earlier periods in the upper Northern Neck, only a relatively small number of major planters—and a correspondingly tiny percentage of all owners—could afford slaves in the years before and after 1700. Importantly though, that number was significantly higher by the period under investigation in this chapter.[385] As opposed to the earlier period when only one planter owned or acquired more than seven slaves, four slave owners owned eight or more in this later period. Northumberland County's Rodham Kenner and Hancock Lee both acquired twelve young enslaved laborers, while their wives—both named Elizabeth—owned several more.[386]

Moreover, some remarkable differences existed between Northumberland and Westmoreland counties as it related to the ownership of young slaves during the decade before and after 1700. Many more small to middling planters in Westmoreland County owned young slaves—forty-one of the forty-eight (85%) who owned any at all, owned one or two, which accounted for three-fifths of the enslaved children in the county[387]—than did in Northumberland County. In the latter county, only twenty-six of the thirty-four (77%) owned one or two younger slaves, which did not even account for two-fifths of the enslaved children in Northumberland. Instead, 40% of the slaves below the age of

[385] See Table 105 in Appendix V.

[386] Northumberland County's Peter Coutanceau (10) and Westmoreland County's Daniell McCarty (8) were the other two major planters who owned or acquired more than seven slaves during this later period.

[387] See Table 106 in Appendix V.

sixteen in Northumberland County were owned by the top 9% of owners, whereas the comparable top of Westmoreland County owned almost 30% of the enslaved children in that county. Northumberland seemed, therefore, to have a richer top but also a much greater wealth disparity than Westmoreland, which had few major planters but many more small and middling planters than its neighbor to the east.

Lastly, as in chapter four, the ratios determined by Coombs have been employed in order to arrive at an estimate for the total number of black slaves in the upper Northern Neck counties during the period under investigation in this chapter.[388] Then, combining those estimates for slaves with the estimates for servants in the upper Northern Neck counties during the decade before and after 1700 will provide another set of figures to compare to Tomlins's aggregated totals for all of Virginia. First though, Table 35 estimates the total numbers of slaves as proportions of the total unfree labor forces in Northumberland and Westmoreland counties. This cannot be compared to Tomlins, however, since he did not provide a proportion of slaves and servants as part of an unfree labor force.[389]

What the data in Table 35 provide, on the other hand, is an estimated date as to the literal statistical transition from servitude to slavery in those two upper Northern Neck counties. Of course, the moment slaves became more than 50% of the bound labor force is not the whole story or even most of it. As many scholars have previously argued,

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[388] See Tables 107 and 108 in Appendix V.

[389] Instead, Tomlins concerns himself largely with downplaying the incidence of servants—and to a much lesser degree slaves—as part of the "overall labor force" in the colonies, including very tenuous estimates of "total labor force participation." He notes the difficulty in arriving at such a count in Tomlins, 39-40. That is not the goal of this study, however.

the transition was not a purely statistical phenomenon, but charting it in that detailed a manner is especially important in counties such as Northumberland and Westmoreland. These counties—unlike the more populous James and York River regions or even fellow Northern Neck county Lancaster—had significantly fewer major planters (as shown above, in chapter one and elsewhere in this study). There was also a much lower overall socio-economic hierarchy where over half of young slave owners brought only one enslaved child to court during the two decades under investigation in this chapter.[390] Therefore, the ratios determined in Table 35 and displayed in Figure 8 provide a much more exact encapsulation of the unfree labor situation given the diversity of those labor forces. Focusing only on major planters as Coombs and others have argued for simply would not work to describe the bound labor situation in the Potomac River counties near as completely.

Table 35: Estimated Proportions of Servants and Slaves as Part of Total Unfree Labor Force in the Upper Northern Neck, 1689-1710

Date*	Proportion of Slaves as Part of Total Unfree Labor Force in Westmoreland County	Proportion of Slaves as Part of Total Unfree Labor Force in Northumberland County
1689	38.1	37.1
1690	41.2	37.3
1691	49.0	41.1
1692	52.7	44.4
1693	50.8	45.9
1694	54.9	46.1
1695	52.9	51.5
1696	53.4	51.5
1697	49.3	47.4
1698	51.5	35.5

[390] See Tables 105 and 106 in Appendix V.

Date*	Proportion of Slaves as Part of Total Unfree Labor Force in Westmoreland County	Proportion of Slaves as Part of Total Unfree Labor Force in Northumberland County
1699	24.9	25.9
1700	20.9	24.8
1701	20.4	26.7
1702	21.3	29.7
1703	21.7	30.2
1704	22.5	34.5
1705	24.9	40.3
1706	26.8	42.6
1707	32.7	48.4
1708	36.9	55.0
1709	42.0	61.7
1710	46.4	69.0

Sources: Tables 109 and 110 in Appendix V.
* – The data in this table do not account for mortality. Also, these designations of "total unfree labor force" do not include apprentices or any other non-traditional bound laborers.

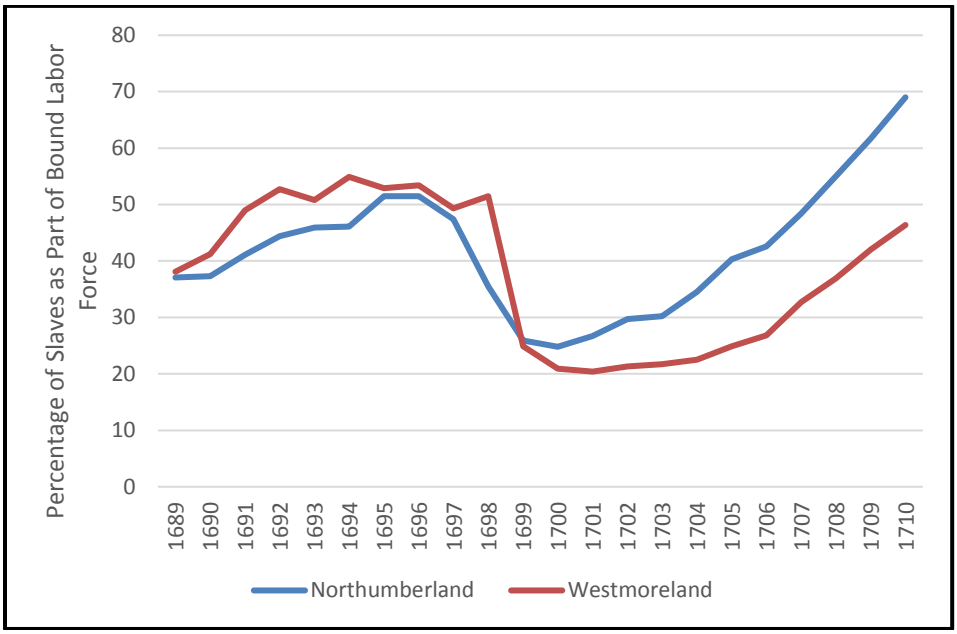

Figure 8: Estimated Total Servant and Slave Labor Force in Northumberland and Westmoreland Counties, 1689-1710

Slaves apparently became a majority of the unfree labor force at several points during the decade before and after 1700 in the upper Northern Neck.[391] Northumberland County, for one, saw the proportion of slaves continue to increase from the 1680s into the 1690s as servants decreased with the result that slaves became slightly more than half of the estimated bound labor force in 1695 and 1696. That slim majority, however, was quickly relinquished when servants began pouring into the area in 1697 at the cessation of King William's War. In fact, enslaved workers dropped to as low as a quarter of the unfree labor population in 1700, although after that date servants began decreasing even more rapidly than they had in the 1680s and early 1690s due to the outbreak of Queen Anne’s War. The ultimate statistical transition date for Northumberland County then was possibly 1708 when slaves amounted to 55% of the bound labor force and would not be a minority again.

Westmoreland County, meanwhile, had a quicker ascent to slaves as a majority of the unfree labor population, a longer run as such, but also a longer wait until that majority was reclaimed after being lost to the same deluge of servants immigrating to the region during the interwar years around 1700. Enslaved workers were a majority as early as 1692 in Westmoreland County and remained as such (mostly) until 1699. Then, akin to Northumberland County during the same years, hundreds of servants entered the county after King William's War ended. Westmoreland's enslaved population was even less of a proportion of its bound labor population than Northumberland's in the early 1700s,

[391] The following discussion excludes apprentices but their raw numbers were never quite large enough to alter this too substantially given that they were in the neighborhood of five to ten percent of the total bound labor force at most points in the last quarter-century of the seventeenth century and first decade of the eighteenth.

dropping all the way to 20% in 1701. The first decade of the eighteenth century would close without Westmoreland's slaves becoming a majority of the unfree labor force again—that likely did not happen until 1711 or 1712. Still, the same process occurred in Westmoreland as in Northumberland where slaves were on the rise, and quickly would become the majority for good by the early 1710s.

Finally, in Table 36, the estimates for slaves and servants in the upper Northern Neck counties will be combined and divided by the estimated total populations of the two counties. This data can then be compared directly to Tomlins's similar calculations.

Table 36: Slaves and Servants as Part of the Overall Population of the Upper Northern Neck, 1689-1710

Date	Estimated Percentage of Servants and Slaves in Northumberland Population	Estimated Percentage of Servants and Slaves in Westmoreland Population
1689	18.9	n/a*
1690	20.6	n/a*
1691	20.6	n/a*
1692	19.0	n/a*
1693	18.1	n/a*
1694	18.7	n/a*
1695	17.3	n/a*
1696	17.2	n/a*
1697	19.5	n/a*
1698	26.9	n/a*
1699	29.8	16.1
1700	31.2	16.5
1701	32.1	17.4
1702	32.8	16.5
1703	31.8	16.3
1704	31.2	15.9
1705	28.9	15.0
1706	27.0	13.8
1707	23.6	13.7

Date	Estimated Percentage of Servants and Slaves in Northumberland Population	Estimated Percentage of Servants and Slaves in Westmoreland Population
1708	21.4	12.6
1709	20.1	n/a*
1710	19.3	n/a*

Source: Tables 111 and 112 in Appendix V.
* – There are no available tithable counts for these years and therefore, no population estimates are calculable.

As the 1680s ended, therefore, Northumberland County had reverted to the mean devised by Tomlins for all of Virginia with about one-fifth of the overall population being made up of slaves and servants. The percentage fluctuated around there up until 1698 when the large numbers of uncontracted laborers—and likely a fair amount of indentured ones as well—entered the county along with the much smaller uptick in slaves. Notably, Tomlins's aggregated numbers for the entire colony reflects this increase as well with 26.5% of the population in 1700 being made up of those unfree laborers, although for him this comes exclusively from slaves due to the end of the Royal African Company's monopoly in 1698. That percentage correlates rather well with Northumberland County's in 1698 but not afterward as a high of 33% was reached in 1702. By 1707 though, Northumberland again reverts to near Tomlins's aggregated mean of around 23% and continues to drop through the rest of the decade. The one trend that is unclear from Tomlins's calculations is whether there was a lot of volatility within the given decades as he only displays decadal statistics at the end of each. Northumberland, however, certainly had significant volatility, especially between 1696 and 1710. That fifteen-year span—which saw the end of King William's War, a four-year interwar period, and the next

Anglo-French imperial conflict, Queen Anne's War—saw bound laborers go from 17% of the population to a high of 33% before falling back to 19% by the end of that span.[392]

Apprentices during the Imperial Wars

Meanwhile, apprentices continued to be bound out with at least some correlation to downturns and upturns in servant availability—and to a much lesser extent slave availability—mostly in Northumberland County but also in Westmoreland to some degree. The first trend to note in Table 37, however, is the significant increase in raw terms of apprenticeship contracts being agreed to in the decades around 1700.

Table 37: Apprentices Bound Out in Northumberland and Westmoreland Counties, 1689-1710

Date	Northumberland County	Westmoreland County	Date	Northumberland County	Westmoreland County
1689	6	#	**1702**	5	7
1690	4	#	**1703**	3	5
1691	2	10	**1704**	10	8
1692	4	2	**1705**	3	3
1693	1	4	**1706**	6	3
1694	15	1	**1707**	10	7
1695	8	2	**1708**	1	1
1696	8	1	**1709**	7	5
1697	8	3	**1710**	7	2
1698	15	7	**Tot.**	**128**	**83**
1699	5	6	**Avg.**	**5.8**	**4.2**
1700	0	0	**Med**	**5.5**	**3.5**
1701	0	6	**S.D.**	**4.1**	**2.7**

[392] Westmoreland County's percentages of unfree laborers as part of the overall population, on the other hand, were fairly stable in the years for which enough evidence remains extant to make such a determination. Still, due to the several liberties taken to achieve the estimates in Tables 33 and 36 in this chapter and Tables 98, 100, and 112 in Appendix V, these percentages are far from reliable. Nevertheless, it is notable how much lower they were as compared to Northumberland County's and either in line with Tomlins's aggregated data or even slightly below them.

Sources: NCOB, 1678-1698 and 1699-1713; NCRB, 1706-1710; WCOB, 1675-1689, 1690-1698, 1698-1705, and 1705-1721; WCRB, 1701-1707 and 1707-1709.
– These two years have very little in the way of extant records for Westmoreland County and therefore, have no apprenticeship data available.

Both counties experienced a more than two-fold increase in the number of apprentices being bound out during the two-plus decades under investigation in this chapter from the decade and a half before 1689. Actually, both counties were simply continuing a trend that had begun during the late 1680s as outlined in chapter four—both experienced their previous heights in 1687, with ten apprentices bound out in Northumberland and five in Westmoreland.

Northumberland in particular saw almost six apprenticeships agreed to in court during this period with several years going well above that. In fact, the five-year span from 1694 to 1698 was bookended with fifteen apprentices in each year being bound out and eight per year for the three years in the middle of that span. Notably, these years corresponded to the final years of King William's War when servants—still the preference for most Northumberland County small and moderate planters, and perfectly acceptable to the county's few major planters—came into the county in relatively low numbers. Then, after the war concluded in 1697 and servants poured into the county in 1698 and 1699, the number of apprentices bound out in the county's court dropped to five in 1699 and zero in 1700 and 1701. Finally, as servants immigrating to the region dried up almost completely following the start of Queen Anne's War in 1702, ten apprentices were bound out in 1704 and 1707 along with above average years in 1706, 1709 and

1710. While the correlation is not profound—and it needs to be tempered by orphans being bound out, which was the law and obviously not done purely for labor purposes—it is significant. Furthermore, while causation is almost impossible to accomplish, this trend certainly is suggestive of a purposeful buttressing of lower servant importation with the only major bound labor source that Northumberland County residents[393] could more fully control,[394] apprentices.

Other aspects of apprenticeship in the last decade of the sixteen hundreds and first decade of the seventeen hundreds remained relatively similar to previous periods. For instance, Northumberland County's apprentices were again mostly true orphans, meaning both parents were deceased.

Table 38: Parental Status of Apprentices in the Upper Northern Neck, 1689-1710

	"True" Orphans	% of Total Known	Father Deceased but Mother Alive	% of Total Known	Both Parents Living	% of Total Known
Northumberland County	61	50.4	29	24.0	31	25.6
Westmoreland County*	20	27.0	22	29.7	32	43.4
TOTALS	**81**	**41.5**	**51**	**26.2**	**63**	**32.3**

Source: Table 113 in Appendix V.

[393] Notably, Westmoreland County did not follow a comparable pattern to Northumberland County. Instead, Westmoreland's county court bound out apprentices at a much more consistent albeit slightly smaller rate. That being said, there were a handful of interesting correlations, but not enough to take any grand meaning from them. For instance, the highest number of apprenticeship contracts were agreed to in 1691 (10), right in the middle of the downturn in servants entering the county due to the beginning stages of King William's War. Also, the year after the massive influx of ninety-seven servants in 1699, no apprentices were bound out in 1700.

[394] Slaves, on the other hand, were mostly left up to the whims of slave traders, both transatlantic and intercontinental.

* – Percentages do not equal 100% due to rounding.

Of the 121 apprenticeship contracts with clear demographic information as to parental status in Northumberland, sixty-one were true orphans (50.4%), while twenty-nine only had a living mother (24%) and thirty-one were bound out with both parents—or at least their father—still alive (25.6%). These data correspond fairly well with earlier periods in Northumberland County where about 40% of the apprentices were true orphans, 29% no longer had a surviving father, and almost 31% had both parents still living at the time of their binding out. Akin to those earlier periods then, while the number of apprentices in Northumberland County continued to rise in this latter period, the makeup—at least with regards to the status of the apprentices' parents—remained remarkably similar.

Westmoreland experienced a similar trend in aligning well with its earlier period, even though those trends were almost completely the opposite of what Northumberland experienced. Despite the number of apprenticeship contracts agreed to being minimal in Westmoreland County prior to the 1690s—and those that are extant did not always contain much significant information such as parental status—the trend was that a majority of the children bound out were done so by living parents (58.8%). In the decade before and after 1700, similarly, thirty-two of the seventy-four apprenticeship contracts with clear demographic information as to parental status were agreed to by both living parents (43.2%). Meanwhile, the other two parental statuses were very similar to each other with twenty apprentices being bound out as orphans (27%) and twenty-two bound out by their widowed mother (29.7%). This difference between the two counties is

notable since, as has been argued earlier, Westmoreland County had the more acute labor shortage given its rising population but with fewer traditional bound laborers during this period. Therefore, Westmoreland planters may very well have been more interested in a stopgap unfree labor solution such as non-orphaned apprentices than tobacco-growers in Northumberland.

One of the most notable changes in apprenticeship details from previous periods to the one under investigation in this chapter was the ratio of male to female apprentices.

Table 39: Sex of Apprentices in the Upper Northern Neck, 1689-1710

	Male	Female	Percentage of Males
Northumberland County, 1689-1699	47	28	62.7
Northumberland County, 1700-1710	38	14	73.1
Westmoreland County, 1691-1700	29	6	82.9
Westmoreland County, 1701-1710	32	7	82.1
TOTALS	**146**	**55**	**72.6**

Sources: NCOB, 1678-1698 and 1699-1713; NCRB, 1706-1710; WCOB, 1675-1689, 1690-1698, 1698-1705, and 1705-1721; WCRB, 1701-1707 and 1707-1709.

Prior to the 1690s, apprentices bound in Northumberland or Westmoreland counties tended to be male by about a two-to-one ratio. That ratio remained relatively constant in Northumberland County during the 1690s before becoming slightly more male-dominated by the first decade of the seventeen hundreds. Apprentices in Westmoreland, meanwhile, became decidedly more male in this later period with boys comprising over four-fifths of the apprentices bound out in that county's court. This is yet another instance of Westmoreland planters being more concerned about finding bound tobacco laborers

anywhere they could than their Northumberland counterparts, and the best group for that was surely male apprentices from the county's middling and lower sort.

Furthermore, unlike ages and term lengths for unindentured servants, the age of apprentices when they were bound out and for how long they were signed up to serve varied widely. Unlike previous periods when less than half—sometimes much less than half—of extant apprenticeship contracts contained this useful information, about three-quarters of the 127 apprenticeship contracts recorded in Northumberland County and slightly over half of Westmoreland County's apprenticeship agreements contained age and term lengths.

Table 40: Ages and Term Lengths of Apprentices in Northumberland and Westmoreland Counties, 1689-1710

	Total Number	Average Age of Apps.	Median Age of Apps.	Average Length of Term	Median Length of Term
Northumberland County	127	7.6 (94)*	8.0 (94)	12.0 (98)	11.5 (98)
Westmoreland County	83	6.7 (42)*	7.0 (42)	13.9 (44)	11.0 (44)

Sources: Tables 114 and 115 in Appendix V.
* – Several years, almost half for Westmoreland County, did not have age and/or term length information for every apprentice who had their contracts recorded in court. In parenthesis, therefore, the number of apprentices whose ages or terms are evident in the records is listed.

Average and median ages of apprentices in the upper Northern Neck region went up slightly during the decade before and after 1700 from earlier periods. During the 1670s and 1680s, Northumberland County apprentices aged, on average, only six and a half years old. Over the next two-plus decades, though, Northumberland apprentices aged

almost eight years old. Meanwhile, Westmoreland County apprenticeship contracts, although not having any significant data to compare it to, included young children with an average age of seven years old, closer to Northumberland's data from the previous period than the one under investigation in this chapter.

As for term lengths, those too remained mostly similar to previous periods with around twelve year-long terms the norm in Northumberland as compared to slightly longer terms of service in the 1670s and 1680s and modestly shorter terms in the 1650s and 1660s. Westmoreland, on the other hand, saw widely varied term lengths throughout the period under investigation in this chapter. This was so the case that the average term length for the period was almost fourteen years long while the median was only eleven.[395] Meanwhile, as compared to unindentured servants, the average term length of a Northumberland County apprentice during the final decade of the seventeenth century and first decade of the eighteenth was around 20% longer, fairly similar to earlier differences between the two. Westmoreland County, due to its varied term lengths throughout the period, had equal median term lengths but a 25% longer average term for apprentices than young uncontracted workers. And as pointed out previously, apprentices labored significantly longer than all servants when both contracted and uncontracted ones are taken together, probably still up to 50% longer.

[395] Notably, the standard deviation was over seven as opposed to the other standard deviations between four and five for Northumberland apprentices' ages and terms, and Westmoreland apprentices' ages. Higher standard deviations meant more variance from year-to-year. As such, the term lengths of Westmoreland's apprentices were significantly more varied than the other three data sets.

Finally, looking once again at the masters of these apprentices and combining that information with servant and slave ownership where available can begin to reveal the diversity of bound labor forces that continued in the years before and after 1700 as seen in Tables 41 and 42 for the biggest planters.

Table 41: Diversity of Bound Labor Forces Among Planters with Eight or More Laborers in Northumberland County, 1689-1710

Owner/Master	Total Bound Laborers	Apprentices	Unindentured Servants	Slaves
Kenner, Rodham	27	2	13	12
Coutanceau, Peter	18	2	6	10
Lee, Hancock	14	0	2	12
Hughlett, Thomas	10	3	2	5
Waddy, James	8	0	5	3

Source: Table 116 in Appendix V.

Table 42: Diversity of Bound Labor Forces Among Planters with Seven or More Laborers in Westmoreland County, 1691-1710

Owner/Master	Total Bound Laborers	Apprentices	Unindentured Servants	Slaves
Pratt, John	10	0	9	1
McCarty, Daniell	9	0	1	8
Higgins, John	8	1	2	5
Munroe, Andrew	8	0	3	5

Source: Table 117 in Appendix V.

A few things are notable immediately: first, the averages are remarkably similar between the two counties.[396] The planters in both counties' data sets, as a whole, have almost exactly the same makeup of unindentured servant laborers, while the makeup of slaves

[396] See Tables 116 and 117 in Appendix V for average numbers of bound laborers per planter for both upper Northern Neck counties.

and apprentices is only slightly different with Westmoreland's planters owning a few more slaves per planter and a few less apprentices than Northumberland's. One of the biggest differences between the two counties, on the other hand, was the diffusion of slave ownership in Westmoreland compared to Northumberland. Only the largest planters—the ones in Table 41 with eight or more bound laborers—owned two or more slaves on average in Northumberland, while Westmoreland planters with four, six or seven-plus unfree laborers owned an average of two or more slaves as seen in Table 42. As such, it can definitely be stated that slavery was more fundamental to Westmoreland's economy by 1700 and diffuse among its planters. Northumberland, on the other hand, did not rely on slavery as much and most of its enslaved population labored on larger plantations.

Furthermore, it seems the diversity of unfree labor forces was actually increasing by the decades surrounding 1700 in the upper Northern Neck region. This was in direct opposition to the trend in most other regions of the Chesapeake by this period. During the 1670s and 1680s, Thomas Matthew's group of twenty-seven bound laborers was the outlier but no other planter had unfree labor forces in the double-digits. By the last decade of the sixteen hundreds and first decade of the seventeen hundreds, on the other hand, four Northumberland planters and one Westmoreland planter possessed double-digit bound laborers. Also, while Matthew's group of bound laborers was significant, well over half were slaves (17) along with nine of the other ten being servants. Meanwhile, Rodham Kenner, who matched Matthew's twenty-seven bound laborers, had a good bit more diversity to his unfree work force. Kenner had an almost equal number of servants

(13) as slaves (12) along with two apprentices. Furthering the Kenner family's bound labor force were three servants and three slaves owned by Kenner's wife, Elizabeth. This type of diversity was even more striking in the period before and after 1700 given that unfree labor forces all across the rest of Virginia were becoming more and more heavily dominated by enslaved Africans and therefore, less and less diverse. Not so in the upper Northern Neck.

Apprentices versus Servants, Redux

Finally, the same question asked in chapter four can be asked again: were the majority of the longer serving apprentices still only slightly better off than their comrades in more traditional servitude, if at all? Or, did the larger influx of the latter mean that apprentices became more appreciated and specialized? In a manner akin to chapters three and four, the tiered apprenticeship system introduced previously will again be employed to this later crop of apprentices from the last decade of the seventeenth century and first decade of the eighteenth. Before that is described, however, the various components of apprenticeship contracts during this period will be discussed briefly.

Similar to earlier periods, there were still relatively few contracts that alluded directly to how the labor of apprentices could be used by their masters. A perfect encapsulation of these types of apprenticeship contracts can be shown from 1702 with those of two brothers. Thomas Baily, an orphan of John Baily, was brought to court in October of 1702 to be removed from the care of Stephen Lynch, who was apparently "outted by Mr. Peter Coutanceau as a Roman Catholick which Lynch does not deny." Baily was placed with his godfather, Thomas Hughlett, until the age of fourteen when he

would be allowed to pick a new guardian and serve that person as an apprentice. While Baily was forced to serve his masters "in such lawfull service and imployment" as they wished, he was to receive "convenient" provisions and learn "to read the Bible…to write and Cypher." It is therefore likely that Baily was used in the fields according to the wording of this rather open-ended contract.[397] Juxtaposed to this case is one appearing in the next court concerning Thomas's brother, Jacob, who was bound to Christopher Neale. Much of the language in that court entry is similar to Thomas's as Jacob was ordered to serve Neale "in just Lawfull service and Imployment as he shall imploy him." But, besides Jacob learning the trade of "joyner," he was also "Excepted" from "Common Employment in the ground at the hoe" unlike his brother who seemingly could work in the fields if and when his master demanded it.[398]

As for the vast majority of other apprenticeship contracts without details about how the servant could be employed, the best of the lot remained the ones that were based around useful trades as they had in earlier periods. The proportion of contracts with trades in them, while still a minority, increased significantly from the four decades prior to 1690.

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[397] NCOB, 1699-1713, 230.

[398] NCOB, 1699-1713, 232. It is possible, of course, that the court clerk did not provide all the details of Thomas's contract and he too was "excepted" from agricultural laboring. Contracts, however, were getting more detailed by 1700, so while possible, this does not seem overly likely. Instead, the different masters those brothers were bound to likely made the determination over their service. Also, another very interesting case appeared in 1711 that instructed Laurence Dameron "not to put [his apprentice Mary Hamlett] to work in the ground as usual." This latter entry is particularly interesting given that white female servants were not supposed to be used in the fields or else they would become taxable. NCOB, 1699-1713, 723.

Table 43: Trades as part of Male Apprenticeship Contracts in the Upper Northern Neck, 1689-1710

	No Trade	Percentage of total	Trade	Percentage of total
Northumberland County	47	58.0	34	42.0
Westmoreland County	37	80.4	9	19.6
TOTALS	**84**	**66.1**	**43**	**33.9**

By the 1690s, trades had become more than twice as prevalent in Northumberland County apprenticeship contracts as they had been in earlier periods. While hardly ubiquitous, 42% of apprentices bound out in Northumberland were promised trades, a significant increase from any previous period as outlined in chapter four. Westmoreland's apprenticeship contracts, on the other hand appeared in a remarkably similar proportion of agreements, roughly one-fifth of them.

In addition to the sheer volume of apprentices bound out and the percentage of contracts with trades in them increasing significantly, so too did the diversity of those trades.[399] Actually, from the 1650s to the 1680s, the trades of tailor (33.3%) and carpenter (25%) were dominant among the relatively small number of apprentices bound out with trades. By the last decade of the sixteen hundreds and first decade of the seventeen hundreds, on the other hand, cooper (21.9%) and shoemaker (18.8%), along with carpenter (17.2%) were the most agreed to trades.

Conversely, as trades became more prevalent in apprenticeship contracts by the end of the seventeenth century, gifts bestowed to apprentices in the upper Northern neck during or immediately after their agreements concluded became rarer.

[399] See Table 118 in Appendix V.

Table 44: Gifts as part of Apprenticeship Contracts in the Upper Northern Neck, 1689-1710

	No Gift	Percentage of total	Gifts During Term	Percentage of total	Gifts After Term	Percentage of total
Northumberland County Only*	91	74.0	4	3.3	28	22.8
Westmoreland County Only	42	80.8	1	1.9	9	17.3
TOTALS	**133**	**76.0**	**5**	**2.9**	**37**	**21.1**

* – Percentages do not equal 100% due to rounding.

The decreasing prevalence of gifts as part of apprenticeship contracts actually continued a trend that had begun in the 1670s and 1680s (see chapter four). Only about one-quarter of apprenticeships contracts agreed to in upper Northern Neck county courts included gifts during the last decade of the seventeenth and first decade of the eighteenth century. This percentage was very similar to the between one-quarter and one-fifth of contracts that included gifts during the previous two decades. In the decades before that, on the other hand, over two-fifths of apprentices were promised gifts as part of their labor agreements. It seems that the divide between upper-tiered apprentices and lower-tiered ones that began in the 1670s continued through the end of the seventeenth century and into the early-eighteenth century.

Lastly, education was another regular component of apprenticeship contracts, although its commonality varied considerably.

Table 45: Education as part of Apprenticeship Contracts in the Upper Northern Neck, 1689-1710

	No Education promised	Percentage of total	Education promised	Percentage of total
Northumberland County	32	26.0	91	74.0
Westmoreland County	36	69.2	16	30.8
TOTALS	**68**	**38.9**	**107**	**61.1**

Up until 1687, education had been dwindling in importance as a part of apprenticeship contracts, although as discussed in chapter four, that may have been due to limited details in the recording of those agreements. Beginning in 1687, however, education became an integral part of a majority of upper Northern Neck apprenticeship contracts (61.9%). An interesting divergence occurred between the two counties, though, with Northumberland apprentices being promised education at a rate about two and a half times that of Westmoreland apprentices. In fact, Northumberland's agreements contained educational promises at a three-to-one rate—an almost exact reversal from the previous four decades in the county—while Westmoreland's contracts remained very consistent to earlier periods with more than two-thirds detailing no education for their laborers. And while it has been argued previously that education was likely not included in all contracts even if there was some assumed, it is again notable that Westmoreland planters seemed less concerned with educating their apprentices—or mandating it, at least. This is yet another instance of Westmoreland's apprentices being thought of, and possibly treated more as menial laborers due to that county's even more acute labor shortage, with education being at best an afterthought, and at worst not included in most contracts.

Once again, placing male and female apprentices into a tiered taxonomy provides further indication as to how those laborers were used during a time of significant flux in the unfree labor situation of the upper Northern Neck.

Table 46: Male Apprentices broken down by Tiers for the Upper Northern Neck, 1689-1710

	Northumberland County, 1689-1699	Northumberland County, 1700-1710	Westmoreland County, 1691-1700	Westmoreland County, 1701-1710
Percentage of Tier I apprentices	34.8	42.9	16.0	9.5
Percentage of Tier II apprentices	21.7	31.4	16.0	38.1
Percentage of Tier III apprentices	43.5	25.7	68.0	52.4

Source: Table 119 in Appendix V.

In general, Tier I apprentices—those who likely saw little if any hard labor in tobacco fields or other agricultural settings—did not change much throughout the more than half a century under investigation in this study. Top-tiered bound laborers of this sort measured slightly over one-quarter of the total from the 1650s to the 1680s (26.2%) and only increased moderately after that (29.1%). Meanwhile, Tier II and Tier III apprentices—those most likely to serve in hard labor situations—changed rather dramatically as Tier II laborers were a plurality in the earlier period (38.1%) but Tier III servants were the largest category in the decades before and after 1700 (44.9%). In fact,

Tier II apprentices went from the largest to the smallest group by the later period with only about one-quarter of upper Northern Neck apprentices being classified as such.

Once more comparing the two counties to each other shows again that Westmoreland planters were more concerned with lower-tiered apprentices to increase their bound labor forces working in the county's tobacco fields. Well over half of all apprentices bound out in Westmoreland County during this period can be classified into Tier III while a good bit less than half of Northumberland's apprentices fell into that category. Further, while the number of Tier III apprentices fell significantly in both counties from the last decade of the sixteen hundreds and first decade of the seventeen hundreds, they were still over half of all Westmoreland's apprentices but only about one-quarter of Northumberland's. Westmoreland was in serious need of tobacco laborers and the lowest-tiered apprentices provided at least one solution to the county's unfree labor shortage.

While there were many examples of these lowest-tiered apprentices, two orphaned brothers from Northumberland County show the above phenomenon acutely. Richard and John Marshall, thirteen and nine year old sons of George Marshall, were bound out by court order in March of 1707 to serve Thomas Gaskins until they both reached the age of twenty-one. Gaskins agreed in the usual manner to "teach or cause them to be taught to read" and to "find and provide for them competent meat, drink, washing and lodging fitting and convenient for such apprentices during the said terme." The only clause in the contract that made it slightly better than the basest ones possible was Gaskins also agreeing to have Richard and John be taught "to write if possible."

While learning to write would have certainly made this deal a bit better for the Marshall children, the fact that it was not promised and merely suggested make it little different from most other Tier III apprenticeship contracts.[400]

As for female apprentices, their tiers—of which there were only two given the lack of marketable trades as an option for most if not all of them—tended to stay more consistent with previous periods than those of male apprentices.

Table 47: Female Apprentices broken down by Tiers for the Upper Northern Neck, 1689-1710

	Northumberland County, 1689-1699	**Northumberland County, 1700-1710**	**Westmoreland County, 1689-1699**	**Westmoreland County, 1700-1710**
Percentage of Tier I apprentices	35.7	35.7	0	0
Percentage of Tier II apprentices	64.3	64.3	100.0	100.0

Source: Table 120 in Appendix V.

In particular, Tier I female apprentices—who almost definitely never saw a day in any kind of hard labor and were likely domestic laborers—remained a minority of the total for the whole period under investigation in this study, although that minority did shrink significantly from 40.0% to 27.8%. Meanwhile, Tier II apprenticed girls who may have seen some time in the fields, saw their number grow from three-fifths of the total during the period ending in 1688 to almost three-quarters in the twenty-plus years after that date. Westmoreland County was again the main reason for this as its female apprentices were

[400] NCOB, 1699-1713, 431.

exclusively Tier II and were therefore part of that county's solution to its bound labor shortages.

Conclusion

By 1710 or so, Northumberland County planters had joined their wealthier neighbors to the south with bound labor forces more heavily reliant on African slaves, not English or European servants. Westmoreland County planters got there shortly after 1710. Neither got there in a straight line, however. Instead, both counties experienced false transitions to slavery during the early to mid-1690s. By the end of that decade, white servants had made a strong comeback due to massive migrations during the break in imperial hostilities between England, France and others.

It was certainly not demand that prevented those servants from reaching the upper Northern Neck of Virginia during the late 1680s and early 1690s, but neither was it the supply exactly. Young laborers obviously wanted to migrate to the Chesapeake during that period and planters along the Potomac River were more than willing to purchase their labor. The age of servitude had not passed, it was interrupted by war and England's mercantilist policies requiring a system of convoys to protect its tobacco shipments.

When King William's War ended, servants came streaming into Northumberland and Westmoreland counties, reversing the transition to slavery for at least a decade if not a little longer. This raises several important questions: if many planters of all sizes were still that interested in servants, what role did race and economic interests play in the transition from servitude to slavery in the upper Northern Neck? Was it instead England's race for empire and the mercantilist policies that went along with it that nudged the

transition into happening? Was the transition to African slavery, which was open by that point to a much larger number of English merchants, to some degree mandated by England's imperial competition and drive?

A few answers to these questions are evident from the final decade of the seventeenth and first decade of the eighteenth centuries. First, there is no doubt that big planters could and did purchase several enslaved laborers. Some even constructed the first all-slave bound labor forces like their sweet-scented tobacco-growing neighbors had decades before. Does that imply a preference had developed among those select few by the first decade of the seventeen hundreds? It certainly seems that way since servants were still available, in huge numbers, at least for a short time in the years directly around 1700. What about the rest of the planters, the middling and the small ones in particular? They largely seemed to be in the same place they had been in the 1670s and 1680s: all labor was necessary labor. There is little evidence for a preference for that much larger group of planters who purchased young uncontracted servants in massive numbers once hostilities ended and those laborers were available again, but also bought slaves when they could afford them and when they were available.

In the end, there seemed to be some sort of strange tipping point where slaves were either available enough—due to price or supply or some other reasons—or servants were not available enough anymore, leading planters to invest exclusively in enslaved laborers. It seems totally, or at least mostly supply side because the demand was there in a big way from very early on. Sweet-scented tobacco growers reached that tipping point by the 1650s and 1660s, or at the latest, by the 1670s and 1680s. Oronoco growers in the

upper Northern Neck, on the other hand, took significantly longer to reach that tipping point. Why? First, structural forces like growing and selling a weed that was more in demand in Europe than it was in their mother country was obviously problematic. But, when slaves were available to those planters, they bought them. Then, right at the moment when slaves became much more available and cheaper after the Royal African Company's monopoly was suspended and then revoked in the 1690s, huge imperial wars broke out in the Atlantic World. This caused tobacco shipments to require convoys of Man of War ships to escort them from the colonies to England and England preferred sweet-scented tobacco so planters that grew it were the ones who could garner those escorts and already had the connections to tobacco merchants in England.[401] Oronoco-growers, on the other hand, both could not obtain the necessary convoys to get their tobacco to market and one of their biggest markets, France, was on the opposite side of King William's War in the 1690s and Queen Anne's War in the first decade of the seventeen hundreds. The upper Northern Neck was not a priority during England's war years and their economic vitality suffered as a result. This led to a slower transition, more diverse unfree labor forces, and likely different views of race and how labor and a person's race related than existed in the sweet-scented regions.

[401] John C. Coombs, "The Phases of Conversion," 355.

EPILOGUE

It should come as little surprise that the upper Northern Neck's transition from white servitude to African slavery was so different from its Chesapeake neighbors—it was, after all, a place apart during much of the colonial period and before. Northern Neck Indians were stuck in between two much bigger native polities before the English even arrived. Unlike the rest of Virginia, the upper Northern Neck grew oronoco tobacco, not the sweet-scented strain so popular in England. The Northern Neck was also governed for much of its colonial history as a proprietary, more in the style of Maryland than the Old Dominion. In light of these important differences, the distinctive unfree labor situation for the first six-plus decades of English settlement in the region becomes simply one of many reasons it was a place apart.

What makes the bound labor situation even more extraordinary was in the context of what the Northern Neck became by the mid-eighteenth century: the land of the Washingtons, the Lees, the Masons, and the Carters and their massive slave labor forces. After such a comparably late transition from servitude to slavery—more 1710s than 1680s or earlier in the York, James, and Rappahannock river areas—the Northern Neck became anything but a periphery by the 1730s and 1740s. But in 1700, it was indeed still a periphery, especially the counties along the Potomac River, Northumberland and Westmoreland.

Those peripheral counties relied on servants much longer than counties to their south, possibly due to planter preference but more likely because of larger trans-Atlantic economic and political forces outside those planters' control. When servants were not plentiful enough—like in the 1680s and early 1690s—landowners looked to slaves, but they were not numerous enough to meet the demand. Upper Northern Neck planters, big and small, also searched out unorthodox bound laborers like apprentices, who would not learn trades but would toil in the tobacco fields. Those landowners found labor wherever and from whomever they could, which likely had significant implications for the formation of racial ideas for those planters and those workers.

For several decades, bound labor forces were multiethnic and multi-type. From the 1650s through the 1680s, the largest planters built plantations with several servants, a couple slaves—both black and native—and possibly an apprentice or two. The vast majority of landowners in the upper Northern Neck, however, had small holdings and at most, one or two bound laborers who worked alongside the landowner and his family. Even as plantation owners further south and across the Potomac in Maryland were transitioning to majority or exclusively slave-based holdings, the biggest planters in the upper Northern Neck like George Colclough or the first Lees in the region were still relying heavily on white servants.

As those servants showed up less and less during the 1680s, planters in the upper Northern Neck scrambled for other types of labor since slaves were not numerous enough—and the region was not rich enough to attract slave traders—to fill the need. Apprentices filled some of that need and unlike the English model, half or more of a

growing number of those laborers from the late 1680s through the first decade of the seventeen hundreds were put to work in the fields for a decade or more. Still, this stopgap measure could not and did not satisfy upper Northern Neck labor demands and by the early 1690s, the problem was acute and serious. The transition to slavery seemed to have occurred, but mostly by default due to fewer servants, not necessarily a whole lot more slaves. This was not welcome news to planters on the periphery of the transatlantic and intercontinental slave trades as those in the upper Northern Neck largely were.

The outbreak of war in 1689 was likely welcomed even less by landowners in the upper Northern Neck. Slaves continued to enter Northumberland and Westmoreland counties at only slightly elevated levels during the early 1690s, just as servants arrived in almost inconsequential numbers. Apprentices destined for agricultural work helped, but not nearly enough. While the transition to slavery may have been great for some large planters in the lower and mid-Tidewater, it was not for those in the upper Northern Neck (and was obviously disastrous for those enslaved). Luckily for big and small planters alike in both Northumberland and Westmoreland counties, help was on its way but from an unexpected source—white laborers from England as opposed to black slaves from the Caribbean or Africa.

For a few years at the very end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century, as peace descended upon the Atlantic World, servants poured into the upper Northern Neck, likely swamping and salvaging many plantations throughout the region. The era of servitude was not over yet, it had been interrupted by war. Now that war had ended, the servants arrived in massive numbers—hundreds and hundreds of

them. There were no racial barriers preventing upper Northern Neck planters from investing once again in white servitude. There were, on the other hand, economic reasons for taking labor where they could—and they did, in the hundreds. If England had allowed them to acquire that labor during the imperial wars that took up sixteen of the twenty years surrounding 1700, would they have continued to do so? Was it England's mercantilist policies and severe restrictions to tobacco and servant trading during its imperial wars that in essence forced the transition to occur for good in Northumberland and Westmoreland counties?

The sheer volume of servants absorbed by those two counties during the four interwar years immediately around 1700 seems to argue for the affirmative. But in the end, it was moot as the dozen years of Queen Anne's War were enough for planters in the upper Northern Neck to transition to bound labor forces dominated by slaves for when that war ended in 1713, few servants used that end of hostilities to immigrate to the region as so many had fifteen years earlier. Forced or not, the transition had occurred in Northumberland and Westmoreland counties, albeit decades after historians have claimed it had for the Chesapeake as a whole.

Northern Virginia did have some advantages when it came to absorbing servants around the turn-of-the-century as well. Unlike the middle and lower Tidewater, there was still good land available for recently freed servants, at least to rent if not buy. New counties were created in 1720 (King George) and 1730 (Prince William), likely due to freed servants moving there after their terms of service. By that point, however, it is likely that Robert Carter and others had already laid claim to that land through their

prominent positions at agent for Lord Fairfax's proprietary. Nonetheless, that land was largely unimproved and ripe for twenty-something former servants to settle on. Meanwhile, the second and third generations of the Lees, the Carters, the Masons, and the Washingtons would amass huge enslaved labor forces, spurring on those families to eventually lead Virginia into a new nation. Three-quarters of a century earlier, no one could have predicted such a development with that place apart, northern Virginia.

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Tables Associated with Chapter 1

The tables in chapter one and this associated appendix display tithable and population data broken up in intervals similar to the ways chapters two/three, four, and five are divided; relate to the taxonomy of planters and small farmers outlined in chapter one; and show data from the 1679 "Lyst of Tithables." Most of the tables relate directly to content from chapter one and do not need much exposition, except the tithable and population data, which does require some detailed explanation.

According to Edmund Morgan in *American Slavery, American Freedom*, the ratio of total population to tithables for the entire colony can only be determined for certain—and even certainty is hard to claim[402]—for three years in the seventeenth century: 1625, 1640, and 1699. Using the colony-wide ratios from those years—1.49 in 1625, 1.65 in 1640, and 2.69 in 1699—along with Morgan's total colony-wide population figures for 1653, 1662, 1674, 1682, and 1699, a ratio of ratios of sorts can be determined for Northumberland and Westmoreland counties (see below for Westmoreland). In other words, using the 1699 list where Northumberland County had a ratio of 1.86 based on a tithable count of 1,088 and a total population of 2,019, and dividing 1.86 by the overall colony-wide ratio of 2.69, a percentage can be tabulated of Northumberland's ratio of population-to-tithables against the overall colony's ratio (69.2%). This is not quite

[402] See especially Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 401-3.

enough, however, given that it is highly unlikely that this ratio of ratios stayed constant throughout the second half of the seventeenth century. Fortunately, Morgan might have also given a path to establishing a legitimate middle and upper ratio as well. Morgan claims that "the enumeration of both tithables and (in 1625, 1634, and 1699) total population is almost certainly low, [so] the figures thus obtained must also be low." To account for this, he increased his 1674 and 1699 numbers by six percent and his 1682 by twelve percent since those were "the average amounts by which the enumerations of tithables in extant county records for these years differ from the figures for the same counties in the colony list."[403] Given that this study is using county tithable counts exclusively, a six percent across the board increase for a middle ratio and twelve percent increase for an upper ratio seems appropriate. Finally, for the years in between the years highlighted by Morgan—1653, 1662, 1674, 1682, and 1699—this study followed his lead again and assumed a consistent increase from year to year, which worked out to an average annual increase of almost two percent. This method is far from perfect, but

[403] Ibid., 403.

should result in a relatively concise range of total population figures that are in the neighborhood of the reality of seventeenth-century Northumberland County.[404]

Table 48: Number of Tithable Persons and Estimates of Total Population in Northumberland County, Virginia, 1652-1672

Date	Northumberland County tithables	Low Estimate of Total Northumberland Population	Mid Estimate of Total Northumberland Population	High Estimate of Total Northumberland Population
1652	390	502	532	562
1653	450	585	620	655
1654	#	#	#	#
1655	#	#	#	#
1656	317	425	451	476
1657	#	#	#	#
1658	380	518	549	580
1659	419	577	611	646
1660	491	682	723	764
1661	585	821	870	920
1662	700	987	1047	1106
1663	870	1239	1314	1388
1664	736	1059	1122	1186
1665	593	857	908	960
1666	597	871	923	976
1667	670*	987	1046	1105
1668	#	#	#	#
1669	682*	1019	1080	1141

[404] There are only two extant tithable counts for Westmoreland County from the county before the 1670s—685 in 1663 and 614 in 1664. WCOB, 1662-1664, 17, 39. Morgan notably does not include any tithable counts for Westmoreland before 1674. Morgan, 412-13. Nonetheless, using the same process as above and starting with the 1699 list where Westmoreland County had a ratio of 2.71 based on a tithable count of 936 and a total population of 2,541, Westmoreland's ratio of population-to-tithables more or less matched the overall colony-wide ratio of 2.69. Therefore, I used Morgan's ratios for the entire colony where available and established annual ratios in the same manner as above with that as the low estimate, a six percent increase for the middle estimate, and a twelve percent increase for the upper estimate. For the two years with extant tithable counts in the years from the establishment of the county in 1653 to 1672, this calculates to between 1,411 and 1,580 inhabitants of the county in 1663 and between 1,277 and 1,430 in 1664. This decline, unlike some others, is completely explicable by Stafford County being created from Westmoreland County's western side in 1664.

1670	693*	1045	1107	1170
1671	788*	1199	1271	1343
1672	#	#	#	#

Sources: NCOB, 1652-1665, 6, 21, 52, 92, 116, 132, 150, 165, 181, 200, 212; NCOB, 1666-1678, 6, 26, 78, 105, 131.
* – There was no count for tithables persons for these years, so this value was devised by dividing the total amount of levies to be collected by the amount listed to be collected for each tithable person in a household.
# – There was no tithable count listed for these years, nor was there an amount of levies to be collected for every tithable person listed.

Table 49: Number of Tithable Persons and Estimates of Total Population in Northumberland County, 1673-1688

Date	Northumberland County tithables*	Low Estimate of Total Northumberland Population	Mid Estimate of Total Northumberland Population	High Estimate of Total Northumberland Population
1673	504**	781	828	874
1674	(587)***	913	968	1023
1675	#	#	#	#
1676	#	#	#	#
1677	#	#	#	#
1678	#	#	#	#
1679	908**	1469	1557	1646
1680	813**	1327	1406	1486
1681	778**	1280	1357	1434
1682	774***	1279	1356	1433
1683	#	#	#	#
1684	812**	1364	1446	1528
1685	#	#	#	#
1686	889**	1518	1610	1707
1687	849**	1462	1550	1637
1688	1015**	1755	1860	1965

Sources: NCOB, 1666-1678, 190; NCOB, 1678-1698, 52, 78, 110, 155, 245, 363, 411, 446.
* – Note that since there are only two extant tithable counts for Westmoreland County from the county during this period—741 in 1673 and 802 in 1677—no table was constructed for the county. WCRB, 1665-1677, 169, 350. Morgan notably includes tithable counts much lower than these for 1674 (538) and 1682 (695). Morgan, 412-13. See above and Morgan, 403 for more about his colonial record counts and this study's county record counts. And again, using the process outlined above, some total population ranges can at least be calculated for the few years where tithable counts do exist. The two county tithable counts in 1673 and 1677 calculate to ranges of between 1,660 and 1,859 inhabitants, and between 1,845 and 2,066 residents,

respectively. For Morgan's tithable counts based of colonial records in 1674 and 1682, meanwhile, ranges can be calculated of between 1,211 and 1,356 inhabitants, and between 1,661 and 1,860 residents, respectively.
** – There were no counts for tithable persons for these years, so this value was devised by dividing the total amount of levies to be collected by the amount listed to be collected for each tithable person in a household.
*** – Edmund Morgan lists tithable counts for Northumberland and Westmoreland counties in 1674 and 1682, which he took from the colonial records not the counties' records. His counts for Northumberland County do not fit very well with the counts taken from the county court records. Actually, the one place where there is a record from the county court and Morgan is from 1682 where the county court records indicate 774 tithables versus Morgan's 624 tithables from the colonial record. Morgan, 412-13. See above and Morgan, 403 for more.
# – There were no tithable counts listed for Northumberland County from 1674 to 1678 or from 1683 or 1685, nor were there an amount of levies to be collected for every tithable person listed for those years either.

Table 50: Number of Tithable Persons and Estimates of Total Population in Northumberland County, 1689-1710

Date	Northumberland County tithables	Low Estimate of Total Northumberland Population	Mid Estimate of Total Northumberland Population	High Estimate of Total Northumberland Population
1689	997	1737	1842	1946
1690	908	1589	1684	1779
1691	966	1703	1806	1908
1692	975	1733	1837	1941
1693	982	1759	1864	1970
1694	1010	1816	1925	2034
1695	1019	1846	1957	2068
1696	1016	1855	1966	2077
1697	964	1773	1880	1986
1698	955	1770	1876	1982
1699	1179*	2193	2325	2456
1700	1165	2183	2314	2445
1701	1169	2207	2339	2472
1702	1181	2238	2372	2506
1703	1188	2267	2403	2539
1704	1221	2347	2488	2629
1705	1270	2450	2597	2744
1706	1330	2584	2739	2894
1707	1385	2710	2873	3036
1708	1373	2696	2858	3020

1709	1300	2571	2725	2880
1710	1201	2392	2535	2679

Sources: NCOB, 1678-1698, 494, 531, 575, 606, 639, 681, 713, 748, 798, 844; and NCOB, 1699-1713, 77, 142, 180-181, 232-33, 274, 319, 369, 421, 498, 557, 631, 708.
* – The tithable count from 1699 for Northumberland County was taken directly from NCOB, 1699-1713, 77. Morgan, on the other hand, has a much different count for Northumberland in 1699 of 1,088 tithables, again likely due to the differences between the county list (where my count comes from) and the colony list (where Morgan's comes from); Morgan, 412-13.

Table 51: Number of Tithable Persons and Estimates of Total Population in Westmoreland County, 1699-1708

Date*	Westmoreland County tithables	Low Estimate of Total Northumberland Population	Mid Estimate of Total Northumberland Population	High Estimate of Total Northumberland Population
1699	936	2537	2689	2841
1700	1082	2943	3120	3296
1701	1131	3099	3285	3471
1702	1211	3342	3543	3743
1703	1226	3396	3600	3804
1704	1251	3490	3700	3909
1705	1297	3645	3863	4082
1706	1406	3965	4203	4441
1707	1378	3914	4148	4383
1708	1439	4116	4362	4609

Sources: Edmund Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 412-13 (for 1699); WCOB, 1698-1705, 101 (for 1700); WCRB, 1701-1707, 13-14, 109-10, 211, 282-83, 391-93, 432-33 (for 1701–1706); WCRB, 1707-1709, 42 (for 1707); and WCOB, 1705-1721, 106 (for 1708).
* – Tithable counts remain extant only for the years 1700 to 1708 for Westmoreland County.

Table 52: Breakdown of All Planters in Northumberland County, Virginia, 1645-1672

Type of Planters	Number of Known Planters	Percentage of All Planters	Number of Estates with Known Values	Average Value of Estates	Median Value of Estates
Major Planters	16	24.6	3	79,508 pt. + 121.1 lbs sterling	33,896 pt. + 363.17 lbs sterling
Middling Planters	29	44.6	7	36,462 pt.	31,998 pt.

Minor Planters	20	30.8	20	11,223 pt.	10,365 pt.

Sources: NCRB, 1652-1658, 1658-1666, and 1666-1672.[405]

Table 53: List of Major Planters and Office Holdings in Northumberland County, Virginia, 1645-1672

Name of Planter	Council Member?	Burgess?	Magistrate?	Sheriff?	Value of Estate (if known)
Richard Lee	YES	YES	YES	NO	Unknown
Isaac Allerton	NO	YES	YES	NO	Unknown
Peter Ashton	NO	YES	YES	YES	Unknown
Thomas Baldridge	NO	YES	YES	NO	Unknown
Walter Broadhurst	NO	YES	YES	YES	Unknown
George Colclough	NO	YES	YES	YES	198,000+ pt.
George Fletcher	NO	YES	YES	NO	Unknown
John Haynie	NO	YES	NO	NO	Unknown
Peter Knight	NO	YES	YES	YES	Unknown
John Mottrom	NO	YES	YES	NO	33,896 pt. + 363 lbs sterling
William Presly Sr.	NO	YES	NO	YES	Unknown
Peter Presly Sr.	NO	YES	YES	YES	Unknown
William Presly Jr.	NO	YES	YES	YES	Unknown
Thomas Speke	NO	YES	YES	NO	Unknown
John Trussell	NO	YES	YES	NO	Approx. 6,000 pt.
Thomas Wilford	NO	YES	NO	YES	Unknown

Sources: For Council Membership and Burgesses, see William G. Stanard and Mary Newton Stanard, *The Colonial Virginia Register*, 36, 64-80; for Magistrates and Sheriffs see Northumberland County Deeds and Orders, 1650-1652; NCOB, 1652-1665 and 1666-1678; for values of estates for those known, see NCRB, 1652-1658 and 1658-1666.[406]

[405] Unfortunately, due to the loss of the Northumberland County Record Books from 1672 to 1705, the only extant inventories are those from before 1672 and after 1700 or so—the latter date being due to some inventories from before 1705, when the Record Books that still exist started, being re-recorded into the official records in or after 1705.

[406] Given that the value of estates is an important second component to this taxonomy of "plantership," especially for minor planters and small farmers, I have only charted membership in these various categories of planter (and small farmers) through 1672 due to the loss of the inventories for the thirty years thereafter.

Table 54: List of Middling Planters in Northumberland County, Virginia, 1645-1672

Name of Planter	Magistrate?	Sheriff?	Value of Estate if known
Charles Ashton	YES	NO	Unknown
Thomas Brereton	YES	NO	Unknown
Richard Budd	YES	NO	Unknown
Francis Clay	YES	NO	Unknown
St. Leger Codd	YES	NO	Unknown
Richard Cole	YES	NO	Unknown
James Hawley	YES	NO	Unknown
John Hollowes	YES	NO	Unknown*
Thomas Hopkins	YES	NO	Unknown
Leonard Howson	YES	NO	Unknown
Robert Jones	YES	NO	Unknown
Hugh Lee	YES	NO	Unknown
Thomas Matthew	YES	NO	Unknown
Nicholas Morris	YES	NO	Unknown
John Mottrom, Jr.	YES	NO	Unknown
William Nash	YES	NO	28,129 pt.
William Nutt	YES	NO	43,467 pt.
Nathaniel Pope	YES	NO	Unknown*
Nicholas Owen	YES	NO	Unknown
Matthew Rhoden	YES	NO	Unknown
John Rogers	YES	YES	Unknown
Phillip Shapleigh	YES	NO	Unknown
Samuel Smith	YES	YES	Unknown
William Thomas	YES	NO	Unknown
Richard Wright	YES	NO	23,344+ pt.
John Hudnall	NO	NO	57,461 pt. + 20s. sterling
Thomas Orley	NO	NO	31,998 pt.
Simon Oversee	NO	NO	39,690 pt.
Robert Newman	NO	NO	31,148 pt.

Sources: For Magistrates and Sheriffs, see Northumberland County Deeds and Orders, 1650-1652; NCOB, 1652-1665 and 1666-1678; for the values of estates for those known, see NCRB, 1652-1658, 1658-1666, and 1666-1672.

* – John Hollowes and Nathaniel Pope became Magistrates in Westmoreland County after it was split off of Northumberland County in 1653.

Table 55: List of Minor Planters in Northumberland County, Virginia, 1645-1672

Name of Planter	Bound Laborer(s)?	Value of Estate	Name of Planter	Bound Laborer(s)?	Value of Estate
Daniel Stopping	YES	15,098 pt.	John Pearse	NO	10,045 pt.
Ralph Horsley	YES	17,862 pt.	John Cook	NO	9,619 pt.
Henry Toppins	YES	17,305 pt.	John Shaw	NO	9,353 pt.
Richard Flynt	YES	15,590 pt.	Robert Browne	NO	10,724 pt.
Thomas Steed	YES	16,721 pt.	Robert Smith	YES	8,475 pt.
John Gresham	NO	17,966 pt.	John Earle	YES	9,010 pt.
John Dennis	NO	15,850 pt.	John Bennet	YES	6,876 pt.
Henry Mosley	YES	5,280 pt.	Robert Lord	YES	7,347 pt.
Florentine Suningberke	YES	5,326 pt.	Thomas Broughton	YES	10,684 pt.
Edward Tempest	YES	10,826 pt.	Elizabeth Simmons	YES	4,506+ pt.

Sources: For the values of estates for those known, see NCRB, 1652-1658, 1658-1666, and 1666-1672; for bound labor information, see NCOB, 1652-1665 and 1666-1678; and NCRB, 1652-1658, 1658-1666, and 1666-1672.

Table 56: List of Known Small Farmers in Northumberland County, Virginia, 1645-1672

Name of Farmer	Value of Estate	Name of Farmer	Value of Estate	Name of Farmer	Value of Estate
John Warde	1231 pt.	Thomas Coggin	2004 pt.	John Key	1470 pt.
Simon Domibrell	2415 pt.	John Walker	5498 pt.	Henry Hayler	1535 pt.
James Claughton	3536 pt.	Thomas Reade	2330 pt.	Richard White	4736 pt.
Robert Hennibourne	2626 pt.	Thomas Kingwell	3450 pt.	Jonathan Stepping	1707 pt.
John Dennis Jr.	2217 pt.	Henry Catchmay	1732 pt.	Thomas Roolfe	2248 pt.
Robert Sharpe	4065 pt.	Archabell Reade	2359 pt.	John Steele	2321 pt.
John Rawlings	1261 pt.	William Bacon	5221 pt.	Mathew Wake	2288 pt.
Robert Douglas	3686 pt.	William Little	2740 pt.	William Bradly	3952 pt.
William Medcalfe	7583 pt.	Moore Price	1000+ pt.		

Sources: NCRB, 1652-1658, 1658-1666, and 1666-1672.

Table 57: Breakdown of Northumberland County's 1679 List of Tithables (by Heads of Households)

Number of Tithable(s) per Household	Persons with X number of Tithable(s)	Percentage of Total Persons Listed	Total Number of Tithables associated with those persons	Percentage of Total Tithables Listed*
1	95	33.0	95	10.8
2	71	24.7	142	16.1
3	38	13.2	114	12.9
4	29	10.1	116	13.2
5	22	7.6	110	12.5
6	9	3.1	54	6.1
7	3	1.0	21	2.4
8	8	2.8	64	7.3
9	4	1.4	36	4.1
10	3	1.0	30	3.4
11	1	0.35	11	1.3
12	2	0.7	24	2.7
19	1	0.35	19	2.2
20	1	0.35	20	2.3
25	1	0.35	25	2.8

Source: NCOB, 1678-1698, 37-38.
* – Column totals slightly over 100% due to rounding.

Appendix II: Tables Associated with Chapter 2

The tables in chapter two and this associated appendix display information related to servants, masters, and other bound laborer data from that chapter.

Table 58: Headrights Claimed for Blacks Being Imported into the Northern Neck of Virginia, 1651-1672

Dates	Headrights	Dates	Headrights	Dates	Headrights
1651	2	1659	5	1664	35
1655	2	1660	1	1666	1
1657	3	1663	4	1669	2*

Sources: NCOB, 1652-1665 and 1666-1678; WCOB, 1661-1664.
* – There is some question whether these were black headrights in 1669 due to problems with the records.

Table 59: Worth of estates with no bound laborers in inventories, 1650-1659 (in pt.)

	Average worth of estates	Median worth of estates	Standard Deviation of estates
Northumberland County, 1650-1654	5,356	2,626	4,994
Northumberland County, 1655-1659	4,309	2,905	4,179
Westmoreland County, 1654-1659	2,949	3,352	2,075

Sources: Northumberland County Deeds and Orders, 1650-1652; NCRB, 1652-1658 and 1658-1666; and WCRB, 1653-1671.

Table 60: Worth of estates with at least one bound laborer in their inventories, 1650-1659

Name of Planter	Date of Inventory	Number of bound laborers in inventory	Worth of Estate (in pt. unless otherwise noted)	Top S.D. range* from Table 59 (in pt.)	Average of estates from Table 59 (in pt.)
Daniel Stopping	1652	4	15,098	10,350	5,356
Edward Tempest	1652-53	6	10,826	10,350	5,356

Florentine Suningberke	1653	2	5,326	10,350	5,356
Ralph Horsley	1656	7	17,862	8,488	4,309
Henry Mosley	1656	1	5,280	8,488	4,309
Robert Newman	1657	1	31,148	8,488	4,309
John Mottrom	1657	12	33,896 + 363.17 lbs. sterling	8,488	4,309
William Nash	1657	3	28,129	8,488	4,309
John Hudnall	1659	7	57,461 + 20s. sterling	8,488	4,309
Thomas Boys**	1658	2	11,925	5,024	2,949

Sources: NCRB, 1652-1658 and 1658-1666; WCRB, 1653-1671.
* – Calculated from Table 59 by adding the standard deviation to the average value, resulting in the top range of possible values based on the average and how much any given value tended to deviate from that average.
** – Boys was the only planter from Westmoreland County with bound laborers in his inventory.

Table 61: Servants Listed in John Mottrom's 1655 Estate with Term Lengths Remaining

Servants listed in Mottrom's inventory	Time Left to Serve
Walter Owen	2 years left; ending October 1658
John Warner	2 years left; ending October 1658
William Taylor	5 years left; ending January 1662
George Slytham	5 years left; ending 21 March 1661
Thomas Hammond	11 years left; ending 21 March 1667
Thomas Haselip	3 months left*

Source: NCRB, 1652-1658, 121.
* – By the time the inventory was full processed, Haselip had been freed although he was forced to go to court against Mottrom's administrator, William Presly, to receive his freedom and his "freedom dues." In January of 1657, Presly was ordered by the court to pay to Haselip "3 barrells of Indian corne, one suite of cloth clothes, one shirt, one paire of shoes and stockins, one Ax, and a hoe." Haselip appears in the court records once more later in 1657 having married the widow of John Compton, a landowner, which is a good example of the continued ability for ex-servants to "marry up" after they were freed in mid-seventeenth century Virginia. NCOB, 1652-1665, 55, 68.

Table 62: Worth of estates with no bound laborers in inventories, 1660-1672 (in pt.)

	Average worth of estates	Median worth of estates	Standard Deviation of estates
Northern Neck, 1660-1672 (17)	5,290	3,952	4,630

Northumberland County only (11)	4,631	2,740	3,465
Westmoreland County only (6)	6,498	4,934	6,040

Sources: NCRB, 1658-1666 and 1666-1672; and WCRB, 1653-1671 and 1665-1677.

Table 63: Worth of estates with at least one bound laborer in their inventories, 1660-1672 (in pt.)

	Average worth of estates	**Median worth of estates**	**Standard Deviation of estates**
Northern Neck, 1660-1672 (17*)	30,329	16,721	44,421
Northumberland County only (15)	29,354	15,590	46,775
Northern Neck without George Colclough included (16*)	19,810	16,156	14,678
Northumberland County only without George Colclough included (14)	17,263	13,137	12,295

Sources: NCRB, 1658-1666 and 1666-1672; and WCRB, 1653-1671 and 1665-1677.
* – There are actually five extent inventories from Westmoreland during this period with bound laborers listed in them but three of the five only contain a total value for the estate in pounds Sterling so are not included in these calculations.

Table 64: Servants and Time Left to Serve at Colclough's Hull's Thickett Plantation

Servants listed in Colclough's inventory	**Time Left to Serve as of Sept. 1662**
Charles Sparks	1 year, 1 month
Richard Kemball	3 years, 2 months
William Taylor*	1 year
William Taylor's unnamed wife	1 year
John Sanders	1 year, 4 months
William Wood (labeled as a "boy")	4 years, 4 months
Thomas Warreck	8 years (serving till age 21 by judgment)
William Mosely	6 years, 2 months

Source: NCRB, 1662-1666, 82.
* – Notably, a William Taylor was also included in Mottrom's inventory, whose term was due to end in January of 1662. While William Taylor is a common enough name for this not to be the same person, since he now had a wife who was soon to have a child being "bigg," it is very

possible that he had time added to his term to be allowed to marry and then for producing a child that Colclough would have to pay for, along with his wife's time off. This happened in 1651 (see chapter one), so it was possible.

Table 65: Servants and Time Left to Serve at Colclough's Street's Neck Plantation

Servants listed in Colclough's inventory	Time Left to Serve as of Sept. 1662
Abraham Wallis	3 years, 4 months
Unknown boy	6 years, 3 months
Unknown servant	1 year
"Very sick" unknown servant	Unknown number of years
John Burchard (a "boy")	Unknown length
John Iland	1 year
John Pirson (labeled as "sickly")	Unknown length
John Rogers (a "sickly boy")	Unknown length
Thomas Colton	3 years
John Hitchcock (a "small boy")	About 7 years*
Mary Lennam	Unknown length
Sarah Peirson	4 years, 6 months
Josias Blackwell	Unknown length, newly bound?
Constance Coles	3 years
Peter Humphreys	1 year
John Davis	2 years

Source: NCRB, 1662-1666, 82.
* – Hitchcock was brought to court in May of 1660 to have his age judged. He was judged to be twelve years old and to serve until the age of twenty-one, meaning by September of 1662, he would have served roughly two years of his nine year term.

Table 66: Lengths of Terms for Irish Unindentured Servants after 1655 Law and English Unindentured Servants before and after 1658 Law

Age	Irish servants post-1655 law	English servants pre-1658 act	% longer Irish servants served than English servants after 1655 law was passed	English servants post-1658 act	% longer Irish servants served than English servants after 1658 law was passed
4	20	7	**186**	17	**18**
5	19	7	**171**	16	**19**
6	18	7	**157**	15	**20**
7	17	7	**143**	14	**21**

8	16	7	**129**	13	**23**
9	15	7	**114**	12	**25**
10	14	7	**100**	11	**27**
11	13	7	**86**	10	**30**
12	12	5	**140**	9	**33**
13	11	5	**120**	8	**38**
14	10	5	**100**	7	**43**
15	9	5	**80**	6	**50**
16	6	5	**20**	4	**50**
17	6	5	**20**	4	**50**
18	6	5	**20**	4	**50**
19	6	5	**20**	4	**50**
20	6	4	**50**	4	**50**
21	6	4	**50**	4	**50**
22	6	4	**50**	4	**50**
23	6	4	**50**	4	**50**
24	6	4	**50**	4	**50**

Source: Compiled from General Assembly statutes contained in William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large*, 1:411, 441-42, 471.

Table 67: Term Lengths of 15 year-old versus 16 year-old Unindentured Laborers under the Various Applicable Legislation

	15 year old servants	16 year old servants	% longer 15 year olds served over 16 year olds
Irish servants, 1655-1658, then all non-English servants, 1658-1660	9 years	6 years	50%
All servants, 1660-1662	6 years	4 years	50%
All servants, 1662-1666	9 years	5 years	80%
All servants, 1666+	9 years	8 years	12.5%

Source: Compiled from General Assembly statutes contained in William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large*, 1:411, 441-42, 471, 538-39; and 2:113-14, 240.

Table 68: Ratio of Male to Female Unindentured Servants in Northumberland County, 1660-1672

Date	Total number of Servants	Male Servants	Female Servants	% of Male Servants
1660	16	16	0	100
1661	15	15	0	100
1662	17	15	2	88

1663	18	14	4	78
1664	19	18	1	95
1665	17	12	5	71
1666	3	3	0	100
1667	5	2	3	40
1668	28*	24	4	86
1669	19	17	2	89
1670	26	23	3	88
1671	11	10	1	91
1672	16	13	3	81
TOTALS	**210**	**182**	**28**	**86.7**

Sources: NCOB, 1652-1665 and 1666-1678.
* – No information exists at all for one French servant in 1668 so the sex cannot be determined in that one case.

Table 69: Number of Unindentured Servants per Planter in Northumberland County, 1660-1672

Number of Unindentured Servants per Planter	Number of Planters with that Number of Servants	Total Number of Servants with those Planters	Percentage of Total Number of Servants (211)*	Percentage of Total Number of Planters (110)
1	66	66	31	60
2	21	42	20	19
3	5	15	7	5
4	8	32	15	7
5	8	40	19	7
6	0	0	0	0
7	1	7	3	1
8	0	0	0	0
9	1	9	4	1

Source: NCOB, 1652-1665 and 1666-1678.
* – Due to rounding, this column does not equal 100%.

Table 70: Estimates of the Total Number of Servants in Northumberland County, 1660-1672

Date	Total number of Unindentured Servants still serving terms*	Estimated Low Total Number of Servants	Estimated Middle Total Number of Servants	Estimated High Total Number of Servants
1660	16	29	48	80

1661	31	56	93	155
1662	48	87	144	240
1663	66	120	198	330
1664	84	153	252	420
1665	100	182	300	500
1666	95	173	285	475
1667	94	171	282	470
1668	107	195	321	535
1669	111	202	333	555
1670	126	229	378	630
1671	128	233	384	640
1672	137	249	411	685

Sources: NCOB, 1652-1665 and 1666-1678. The estimates in this table are calculated using Christopher Tomlins's ratios in *Freedom Bound*. The Low estimate comes from Tomlins's narrowest ratio, which "assumes an average 7-year term (or 55% longer than the average 4.5 year contract term concluded in England). An average 7-year term is credible only if one assumes that fewer than half (c. 45%) of total estimated servant migrants had concluded indentures prior to embarkation with terms averaging 4.5 years in length and that the remainder were all serving by custom of country with terms averaging 9 years in length." Tomlins then asserts that "there is no empirical basis for this assumption," although Northumberland County does seem to defy that assertion. The Middle estimate comes from Tomlins's middle ratio, which offered a breakdown of two-thirds indentured servants and one-third who would serve to the "customs of the country." The High estimate comes from Tomlins's widest ratio, where he estimated 80% contracted laborers as compared to only 20% who did not sign contracts prior to departure from England or elsewhere. Tomlins, *Freedom Bound*, 586-587.
* – These numbers do not account for mortality.

Appendix III: Tables Associated with Chapter 3

The tables in chapter three and this associated appendix display information related to apprentices and other non-traditional bound laborer data from that chapter.

Table 71: Apprentices Bound in the Upper Northern Neck region, 1650-1672

Date	Apprentices	Date	Apprentices	Date	Apprentices	Date	Apprentices
1650	1	1656	4	1662	1	1668	0
1651	2	1657	1	1663	2	1669	3
1652	1	1658	3	1664	3	1670	1
1653	1	1659	0	1665	3	1671	1
1654	0	1660	0	1666	0	1672	2
1655	1	1661	4	1667	0	**Total**	**34**

Sources: Northumberland County Deeds and Orders, 1650-1652; NCOB, 1652-1665 and 1666-1678; NCRB, 1652-1658, 1658-1666, and 1666-1672; WCOB, 1661-1664; and WCRB, 1653-1671.

Table 72: Parental Status of Apprentices in the Upper Northern Neck, 1650-1672

	"True" Orphans	% of Total Known	Only Mother Alive	% of Total Known	Both Parents Living	% of Total Known
Northumberland County, 1650-1672	10	45.5*	6	27.3	6	27.3
Westmoreland County, 1653-1672	1	20.0	2	40.0	2	40.0
TOTALS	**11**	**40.7***	**8**	**29.6**	**8**	**29.6**

Sources: Northumberland County Deeds and Orders, 1650-1652; NCOB, 1652-1665 and 1666-1678; NCRB, 1652-1658, 1658-1666, and 1666-1672; WCOB, 1661-1664; and WCRB, 1653-1671.

* – Percentages do not equal 100% due to rounding.

Appendix IV: Tables Associated with Chapter 4

The tables in chapter four and this associated appendix display information related to servants, slaves, apprentices, masters, and other bound laborer data from that chapter.

Table 73: Unindentured Servants Having Ages Judged in Northumberland, Westmoreland, Lancaster and York Counties, 1673-1688

Date	Northumberland	Westmoreland	Lancaster	York
1673	9	#	3	26
1674	9	#	32	24
1675	11	4*	25	20
1676	33	5*	17*	23*
1677	15	6	9*	3*
1678	22	24	12	12
1679	13	7	10	37
1680	4	6	8	21
1681	6	5	9	17
1682	8	9	7	13
1683	2	8	1	5
1684	2	2	3	4
1685	11	5	8	2
1686	9	4	13	2
1687	19	5	6	1
1688	4	6	5	3
TOTAL	**177**	**96**	**168**	**213**
AVERAGE	**11.1**	**6.9**	**10.5**	**13.3**
MEDIAN	**9.0**	**5.5**	**8.5**	**12.5**
S.D.**	**7.71**	**5.04**	**7.93**	**10.68**

Sources: NCOB, 1666-1678 and 1678-1698 for Northumberland County; WCOB, 1675-1689 for Westmoreland County; Russell Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," 365, Table 3 for Lancaster and York counties.
– no extant records
* – some missing records
** – S.D. means "standard deviation."

Table 74: Ratio of Male to Female Unindentured Servants in Northumberland County, 1673-1688

Date	Total number of Servants	Male Servants	Female Servants	% of Male Servants
1673	9	8	1	88.9
1674	8*	8	0	100
1675	11	10	1	90.9
1676	33	30	3	90.9
1677	15	12	3	80
1678	20*	14	6	70
1679	13	11	2	84.6
1680	4	3	1	75
1681	6	5	1	83.3
1682	7*	7	0	100
1683	2	2	0	100
1684	1*	0	1	0
1685	11	10	1	90.9
1686	9	7	2	77.8
1687	19	17	2	89.5
1688	4	4	0	100
TOTALS	**172**	**148**	**24**	**86.1**

Source: NCOB, 1666-1678 and 1678-1698.
* – The first names for one of the young servants in 1674, two in 1678, one in 1682, and one in 1684 are difficult to make out in the records and the possible names give little indication as to what their sexes were.

Table 75: Ratio of Male to Female Unindentured Servants in Westmoreland County, 1675-1688

Date	Total number of Servants	Male Servants	Female Servants	% of Male Servants
1675	3*	3	0	100
1676	3*	3	0	100
1677	6	5	1	83.3
1678	24	20	4	83.3
1679	7	6	1	85.7
1680	6	6	0	100
1681	5	3	2	60
1682	9	8	1	88.9
1683	8	6	2	75
1684	2	2	0	100
1685	5	5	0	100
1686	4	4	0	100

1687	5	5	0	100
1688	6	4	2	66.7
TOTALS	**93**	**80**	**13**	**86.0**

Source: WCOB, 1675-1689.
* – The first names for one of the young servants in 1675 and two in 1676 are difficult to make out in the records and the possible names give little indication as to what their sexes were.

Table 76: Number of Unindentured Servants per Planter in Northumberland County, 1673-1688

Number of Unindentured Servants per Planter	Number of Planters with that Number of Servants	Total Number of Servants with those Planters	Percentage of Total Number of Servants (175)	Percentage of Total Number of Planters (104)*
1	73	73	42	70
2	10	20	11	10
3	11	33	19	11
4	6	24	14	6
5	1	5	3	1
6	1	6	3	1
7	2	14	8	2

Source: NCOB, 1666-1678 and 1678-1698.
* – Due to rounding, this column does not equal 100%.

Table 77: Number of Unindentured Servants per Planter in Westmoreland County, 1675-1688

Number of Unindentured Servants per Planter	Number of Planters with that Number of Servants	Total Number of Servants with those Planters	Percentage of Total Number of Servants (94)	Percentage of Total Number of Planters (67)
1	51	51	54	76
2	11	22	23	16
3	2	6	6	3
4	2	8	9	3
5	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0
7	1	7	8	2

Source: WCOB, 1675-1689.

Table 78: Estimates of the Total Number of Servants in Northumberland County, 1673-1688

Date*	Total number of Unindentured Servants still serving terms	Estimated Low Total Number of Servants**	Estimated Middle Total Number of Servants**	Estimated High Total Number of Servants**
1673	152	276	457	760
1674	148	269	444	740
1675	149	271	447	745
1676	174	316	523	870
1677	176	320	529	880
1678	187	340	562	935
1679	187	340	562	935
1680	176	320	529	880
1681	164	298	492	820
1682	158	287	474	790
1683	140	255	420	700
1684	114	207	342	570
1685	110	200	330	550
1686	106	193	318	530
1687	115	209	345	575
1688	109	198	327	545

Source: Table 73
* – These numbers do not account for mortality.
** – See Table 70 for discussion of the estimates in this table.

Table 79: Young Slaves Who Had Their Ages Judged in the Upper Northern Neck of Virginia, 1680-1688

Date	Black Age Judgments in Northumberland County	Other non-white Age Judgments in Northumberland County*	Black Age Judgments in Westmoreland County	Other non-white Age Judgments in Westmoreland County*
1680	2	5	0	0
1681	0	0	0	0
1682	1	0	0	0
1683	2	1	0	0
1684	1	0	0	0
1685	2	0	1	0
1686	1	0	0	1

1687	2	0	1	0
1688	4	0	1	1
Total	**15**	**6**	**3**	**2**

Sources: NCOB, 1666-1678 and 1678-1698; and WCOB, 1675-1689.
* – These numbers consist of the small numbers of mulattoes and Indians designated as slaves. In Northumberland County, four Indians and one mulatto had their ages judged in 1680, and one more Indian did the same in 1683. In Westmoreland County, an Indian had his age judged in 1686 and a mulatto had the same in 1688.

Table 80: Ages of Slave Children Who Had Their Ages Judged in the Upper Northern Neck, 1680-1688

Age of Slave Child	Number Adjudged to be that Age	Age of Slave Child	Number Adjudged to be that Age
1 year old (yo)	0	7 yo	2
2 yo	1	8 yo	7
3 yo	0	9 yo	2
4 yo	1	10 yo	2
5 yo	2	11 yo	2
6 yo	4	12 yo	2

Sources: NCOB, 1666-1678 and 1678-1698; and WCOB, 1675-1689.
* – Only 25 of the 26 slave children who had their ages adjudged in this period in Northumberland and Westmoreland counties appear in this table since the age of the other child is unknown (although, it seems the child was tithable, which would make him twelve years old).

Table 81: Slave Ownership in the Upper Northern Neck, 1679-1688

Number of slaves owned or claimed as headrights*	Number of owners or traders**	Percentage of owners or traders mentioned	Percentage of slaves owned or claimed as headrights
1	10	50	18.5
2	4	20	14.8
3	2	10	11.1
4	1	5	7.4
5	0	0	0
6	1	5	11.1
7	1	5	13.0
13	1	5	24.1

Sources: NCOB, 1666-1678 and 1678-1698; and WCOB, 1675-1689.
* – There are 54 slaves that appear to be unique in the records for this period.
** – There are 20 unique owners or traders in the records for this period.

Table 82: Slaves and Servants as Part of the Overall Population of Northumberland County (based on Low Servant Estimate from Table 78), 1679-1688

Date	Estimated Number of Slaves	Low Estimate of Servants	Low Estimate of Servants and Slaves	Middle Estimate of Total Population	Percentage of Servants and Slaves in Population
1679	84	340	424	1557	27.2
1680	103	320	423	1406	30.1
1681	103	298	401	1357	29.6
1682	106	287	393	1356	29.0
1683	117	255	372	n/a*	n/a*
1684	122	207	329	1446	22.8
1685	128	200	328	n/a*	n/a*
1686	135	193	328	1610	20.4
1687	141	209	350	1550	22.6
1688	153	198	351	1860	18.9

Sources: NCOB, 1666-1678 and 1678-1698 for estimated number of slaves; Table 78 for low estimate of servants; Table 49 in Appendix I for middle estimate of total population.
* – There are no available tithable counts for these years and therefore, no population estimates are calculable.

Table 83: Slaves and Servants as Part of the Overall Population of Northumberland County (based on Middle Servant Estimate from Table 78), 1679-1688

Date	Estimated Number of Slaves	Middle Estimate of Servants	Middle Estimate of Servants and Slaves	Middle Estimate of Total Population	Percentage of Servants and Slaves in Population
1679	84	562	646	1557	41.5
1680	103	529	632	1406	45.0
1681	103	492	595	1357	43.9
1682	106	474	580	1356	42.8
1683	117	420	537	n/a*	n/a*
1684	122	342	464	1446	32.1
1685	128	330	458	n/a*	n/a*
1686	135	318	453	1610	28.1
1687	141	345	486	1550	31.4
1688	153	327	480	1860	25.8

Sources: NCOB, 1666-1678 and 1678-1698 for estimated number of slaves; Table 78 for middle estimate of servants; Table 49 in Appendix I for middle estimate of total population.
* – There are no available tithable counts for these years and therefore, no population estimates are calculable.

Table 84: Parental Status of Apprentices in the Upper Northern Neck, 1650-1688

	"True" Orphans	% of Total Known	Father Deceased but Mother Alive	% of Total Known	Both Parents Living	% of Total Known
Northumberland County, 1650-72	10	45.5*	6	27.3*	6	27.3*
Northumberland County, 1673-88	15	37.5	12	30.0	13	32.5
Westmoreland County, 1653-74	1	20.0	2	40.0	2	40.0
Westmoreland County, 1675-88	4	33.3	0	0	8	66.7
TOTALS	**30**	**38.0**	**20**	**25.3**	**29**	**36.7**

Sources: Northumberland County Deeds and Orders, 1650-1652; NCOB, 1652-1665, 1666-1678, and 1678-1698; NCRB, 1652-1672; WCOB, 1662-1664, 1675-1689; and WCRB, 1653-1657, 1661-1664, and 1665-1677.
* – Percentages do not equal 100% due to rounding.

Table 85: Types of Trades as part of Apprenticeship Contracts in the Upper Northern Neck, 1650-1688

	No Trade	Percentage of total	Trade	Percentage of total	Types of Trades
Northumberland County	34	79.1	9	20.9	Taylor (3), Carpenter (2) Joyner (1), Miller (1) Weaver (1), Cooper (1)
Westmoreland County	12	80.0	3	20.0	Tailor (1)* Carpenter (1)** Currier (1)
TOTALS	**46**	**79.3**	**12**	**20.7**	**Taylor (4) Carpenter (3) Others (1 each)**

Sources: Northumberland County Deeds and Orders, 1650-1652; NCOB, 1652-1665, 1666-1678, and 1678-1698; NCRB, 1652-1672; WCOB, 1662-1664, 1675-1689; and WCRB, 1653-1657, 1661-1664, and 1665-1677.
* – In 1687, as mentioned above, Thomas Sanders was bound to Joshua Bayles to be taught the trade of tailor. After Bayles died and Sanders was re-bound to John Gardner, Junior the following year, Gardner promised to train Sanders in "the trade of a house carpenter, turner, joyner as much as in him lyes or the orphan be capable of."
** – In 1678, David Thomas was bound to Richard Sutton with Sutton agreeing to teach Thomas "the trade of a carpenter or cooper." It is unclear why there was an option for these two apprentices and no others; WCOB, 1675-1689, 124.

Table 86: Trades as Part of Apprenticeship Contracts in the Upper Northern Neck, 1650-1688

	1650–1659	**1660–1669**	**1670–1679**	**1680–1688**	**TOTALS**
No Trade Included	9	9	8	20	**46**
With Trade Included	1	1	4	6	**12**
Percent with trade included	**10.0**	**10.0**	**33.3**	**23.1**	**20.7**

Sources: Northumberland County Deeds and Orders, 1650-1652; NCOB, 1652-1665, 1666-1678, and 1678-1698; NCRB, 1652-1672; WCOB, 1662-1664, 1675-1689; and WCRB, 1653-1657, 1661-1664, and 1665-1677.

Table 87: Gifts as part of Apprenticeship Contracts in the Upper Northern Neck, 1650-1688

	No Gift	**Percentage of total**	**Gifts Involved**	**Percentage of total**
1650-1659	8	61.5	5	38.5
1660-1669	7	53.8	6	46.2
1670-1679	16	76.2	5	23.8
1680-1688	36	81.8	8	18.2
TOTALS	**67**	**73.6**	**24**	**26.4**

Sources: Northumberland County Deeds and Orders, 1650-1652; NCOB, 1652-1665, 1666-1678, and 1678-1698; NCRB, 1652-1672; WCOB, 1662-1664, 1675-1689; and WCRB, 1653-1657, 1661-1664, and 1665-1677.

Table 88: Education as part of Apprenticeship Contracts in the Upper Northern Neck, 1650-1688

	No Education promised	Percentage of total	Education promised	Percentage of total
1650-1659	8	57.1	6	42.9
1660-1669	10	83.3	2	16.7
1670-1679	17	89.5	2	10.5
1680-1688	30	69.8	13	30.2
TOTALS	**65**	**73.9**	**23**	**26.1**

Sources: Northumberland County Deeds and Orders, 1650-1652; NCOB, 1652-1665, 1666-1678, and 1678-1698; NCRB, 1652-1672; WCOB, 1662-1664, 1675-1689; and WCRB, 1653-1657, 1661-1664, and 1665-1677.

Table 89: Male Apprentices broken down by Tiers for the Upper Northern Neck, 1650-1688

	1650s-1659	1660-1669*	1670-1679*	1680-1688	TOTAL
Tier I Apprentices	1	1	3	6	**11**
Percentage of Total	14.3	11.1	42.9	31.6	**26.2**
Tier II Apprentices	4	4	3	5	**16**
Percentage of Total	57.1	44.4	42.9	26.3	**38.1**
Tier III Apprentices	2	4	1	8	**15**
Percentage of Total	28.6	44.4	14.3	42.1	**35.7**

Sources: Northumberland County Deeds and Orders, 1650-1652; NCOB, 1652-1665, 1666-1678, and 1678-1698; NCRB, 1652-1672; WCOB, 1662-1664, 1675-1689; and WCRB, 1653-1657, 1661-1664, and 1665-1677.
* – Percentages do not equal to 100% due to rounding.

Table 90: Female Apprentices broken down by Tiers for the Upper Northern Neck, 1650-1688

	1650-1659	1660-1669	1670-1679	1680-1688	TOTAL
Tier I apprentices	1	2	2	3	**8**

Percentage of Total	50.0	66.7	28.6	37.5	**40.0**
Tier II apprentices	1	1	5	5	**12**
Percentage of Total	50.0	33.3	71.4	62.5	**60.0**

Sources: Northumberland County Deeds and Orders, 1650-1652; NCOB, 1652-1665, 1666-1678, and 1678-1698; NCRB, 1652-1672; WCOB, 1662-1664, 1675-1689; and WCRB, 1653-1657, 1661-1664, and 1665-1677.

Table 91: Apprentices broken down by Tiers and Parental Status in the Upper Northern Neck, 1650-1688

	"True" Orphans	**Mother Only Still Alive**	**Both Parents Still Alive**
Tier I Apprentices	11	3	3
Percentage of Total	42.3	17.7	25.0
Tier II Apprentices	11	5	7
Percentage of Total	42.3	29.4	58.3
Tier III Apprentices	4	9	2
Percentage of Total	15.4	52.9	16.7

Sources: Northumberland County Deeds and Orders, 1650-1652; NCOB, 1652-1665, 1666-1678, and 1678-1698; NCRB, 1652-1672; WCOB, 1662-1664, 1675-1689; and WCRB, 1653-1657, 1661-1664, and 1665-1677.

Appendix V: Tables Associated with Chapter 5

The tables in chapter five and this associated appendix display information related to servants, slaves, apprentices, masters, and other bound laborer data from that chapter.

Table 92: Unindentured Servants Having Ages Judged in Northumberland, Westmoreland, Lancaster and York Counties, 1689-1710

Date	Northumberland	Westmoreland	Lancaster	York
1689	6	n/a*	4	3
1690	4	n/a*	2	0
1691	4	3	1	4
1692	0	1	3	1
1693	4	10	0	7
1694	17	2	16	0
1695	0	9	0	0
1696	9	1	16	1
1697	17	10	8	0
1698	65	2	17	1
1699	84	97	42	2
1700	17	37	8	10
1701	9	25	3	3
1702	12	5	1	1
1703	1	7	7	0
1704	1	2	1	0
1705	1	1	3	1
1706	6	8	1	1
1707	3	1	0	#
1708	3	6	2	#
1709	5	0	0	#
1710	0	4	1	#
TOTAL	**268**	**231**	**136**	**35**
AVERAGE	**12.2**	**11.6**	**6.2**	**1.9**
MEDIAN	**4.5**	**4.0**	**2.5**	**1.0**
S.D.	**20.6**	**21.5**	**9.43**	**2.64**

Sources: NCOB, 1678-1698 and 1699-1713 for Northumberland County; WCOB, 1675-1689, 1690-1698, 1698-1705, and 1705-1721 for Westmoreland County; Russell Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," 365, Table 3 for Lancaster and York counties.
– These years appear blank in Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," 365, Table 3.
* – No order books are extant for Westmoreland from mid-1689 to early 1691.

Table 93: Ratio of Male to Female Unindentured Servants in Northumberland County, 1689-1710

Date	Total number of Servants	Male Servants	Female Servants	% of Male Servants
1689	6	4	2	66.7
1690	4	4	0	100
1691	4*	3	0	100
1692	0	0	0	n/a
1693	4	4	0	100
1694	17	14	3	82.4
1695	0	0	0	n/a
1696	9	9	0	100
1697	17	17	0	100
1698	65	64	1	98.5
1699	84	77	7	91.7
1700	17	16	1	94.1
1701	9	9	0	100
1702	12	10	2	83.3
1703	1	1	0	100
1704	1	1	0	100
1705	1	0	1	0
1706	6	6	0	100
1707	3	3	0	100
1708	3	2	1	66.7
1709	5	5	0	100
TOTALS	**268**	**249**	**18**	**93.3**

Sources: NCOB, 1678-1698 and 1699-1713.
* – The first name for one of the young servants in 1691 is difficult to determine due to a badly worn page in the records.

Table 94: Ratio of Male to Female Unindentured Servants in Westmoreland County, 1689-1710

Date	Total number of Servants	Male Servants	Female Servants	% of Male Servants
1691	3	1	2	33.3
1692	1	1	0	100
1693	10	9	1	90
1694	2	1	1	50
1695	9	7	2	77.8

1696	1	1	0	100
1697	10	10	0	100
1698	2	1	1	50
1699	97	92	5	94.9
1700	37	33	4	89.2
1701	25	23	2	92
1702	5	4	1	80
1703	7*	6	0	100
1704	2	2	0	100
1705	1	1	0	100
1706	8	8	0	100
1707	1	1	0	100
1708	6	6	0	100
1710	4	4	0	100
TOTALS	**231**	**211**	**19**	**91.7**

Sources: WCOB, 1675-1689, 1690-1698, 1698-1705, and 1705-1721.
* – The sex for one of the young servants in 1703, "Prue," is difficult to determine due to his/her unique name.

Table 95: Number of Unindentured Servants per Planter in Northumberland County, 1689-1710

Number of Servants per Planter	Number of Planters with that Number of Servants	Total Number of Servants with those Planters	Percentage of Total Number of Servants (266)*	Percentage of Total Number of Planters (155)*
1	96	96	36	62
2	35	70	26	23
3	12	36	14	8
4	6	24	9	4
5	3	15	6	2
6	2	12	5	1
13	1	13	5	1

Sources: NCOB, 1678-1698 and 1699-1713.
*—Due to rounding, these columns do not equal 100%.

Table 96: Number of Unindentured Servants per Planter in Westmoreland County, 1689-1710

Number of Servants per Planter	Number of Planters with that Number of Servants	Total Number of Servants with those Planters	Percentage of Total Number of Servants (231)	Percentage of Total Number of Planters (140)*
1	83	83	36	59
2	35	70	30	25
3	18	54	23	13
4	1	4	2	1
5	1	5	2	1
6	1	6	3	1
9	1	9	4	1

Sources: WCOB, 1675-1689, 1690-1698, 1698-1705, and 1705-1721.
* – Due to rounding, this column does not equal 100%.

Table 97: Persistence of Unindentured Servants in Northumberland County, 1689-1710

Date	Total number of Unindentured Servants still serving terms*	Middle Estimated Population from Tithables	Percentage of Unindentured Servants in the total population
1689	91	1842	4.9
1690	90	1684	5.3
1691	91	1806	5.0
1692	81	1837	4.4
1693	76	1864	4.1
1694	81	1925	4.2
1695	68	1957	3.5
1696	68	1966	3.5
1697	80	1880	4.3
1698	135	1876	7.2
1699	213	2325	9.2
1700	225	2314	9.7
1701	228	2339	9.8
1702	227	2372	9.6
1703	221	2403	9.2
1704	211	2488	8.5
1705	186	2597	7.2
1706	176	2739	6.4
1707	145	2873	5.1
1708	114	2858	4.0
1709	87	2725	3.2

1710	63	2535	2.5

Sources: NCOB, 1666-1678 and 1678-1698 for unindentured servants; Table 50 in Appendix I for population estimates.
* – These numbers do not account for mortality.

Table 98: Persistence of Unindentured Servants in Westmoreland County, 1699-1708

Date*	Total number of Unindentured Servants still serving terms**	Middle Estimated Population from Tithables	Percentage of Unindentured Servants in the total population
1699	134	2689	5.0
1700	168	3120	5.4
1701	187	3285	5.7
1702	189	3543	5.3
1703	189	3600	5.3
1704	188	3700	5.1
1705	179	3863	4.6
1706	175	4203	4.2
1707	158	4148	3.8
1708	143	4362	3.3

Sources: WCOB, 1675-1689, 1690-1698, 1698-1705, and 1705-1721 for unindentured servants; Table 51 in Appendix I for populations estimates.
* – There are no available tithable counts for any year between 1689 and 1699 and after 1708 from Westmoreland County court records.
** – These numbers do not account for mortality.

Table 99: Estimates of the Total Number of Servants in Northumberland County, 1689-1710

Date	Total number of Unindentured Servants still serving terms*	Estimated Low Total Number of Servants**	Estimated Middle Total Number of Servants**	Estimated High Total Number of Servants**
1689	91	165	273	455
1690	90	164	270	450
1691	91	165	273	455
1692	81	147	243	405
1693	76	138	228	380
1694	81	147	243	405
1695	68	124	204	340
1696	68	124	204	340

1697	80	145	240	400
1698	135	245	405	675
1699	213	387	639	1065
1700	225	409	675	1125
1701	228	415	684	1140
1702	227	413	681	1135
1703	221	402	663	1105
1704	211	384	633	1055
1705	186	338	558	930
1706	176	320	528	880
1707	145	264	435	725
1708	114	207	342	570
1709	87	158	261	435
1710	63	115	189	315

Source: Table 92 in this appendix.
* – These numbers do not account for mortality.
** – See Table 70 in Appendix II for discussion of the estimates in this table.

Table 100: Estimates of the Total Number of Servants in Westmoreland County, 1689-1710

Date	Total number of Unindentured Servants still serving terms*	Estimated Low Total Number of Servants**	Estimated Middle Total Number of Servants**	Estimated High Total Number of Servants**
1689	50	91	152	250
1690	44	80	133	220
1691	42	76	127	210
1692	36	66	109	180
1693	39	71	118	195
1694	34	62	103	170
1695	37	67	112	185
1696	36	66	109	180
1697	43	78	130	215
1698	41	75	124	205
1699	134	244	406	670
1700	168	306	509	840
1701	187	340	567	935
1702	189	344	573	945
1703	189	344	573	945
1704	188	342	570	940
1705	179	326	542	895

1706	175	318	530	875
1707	158	287	479	790
1708	143	260	433	715
1709	120	218	364	600
1710	105	191	318	525

Source: Table 92 in this appendix.
* – These numbers do not account for mortality.
** – See Table 70 in Appendix II for discussion of the estimates in this table.

Table 101: Young Slaves Who Had Their Ages Judged in the Upper Northern Neck of Virginia, 1689-1710

Date	Black Age Judgments in Northumberland County	Other non-white Age Judgments in Northumberland County*	Black Age Judgments in Westmoreland County	Other non-white Age Judgments in Westmoreland County*
1689	0	0	n/a**	n/a**
1690	0	0	n/a**	n/a**
1691	8	1	14	0
1692	1	0	0	0
1693	0	0	0	0
1694	4	0	2	0
1695	3	0	0	0
1696	0	0	0	0
1697	0	0	0	0
1698	2	0	3	0
1699	0	0	1	0
1700	0	0	0	0
1701	8	0	4	1
1702	12	0	5	0
1703	0	0	2	0
1704	14	0	3	0
1705	13	2	6	1
1706	5	1	7	0
1707	5	2	19	0
1708	3	0	11	0
1709	1	0	5	0
1710	0	1	6	0
Total	**79**	**7**	**88**	**2**
Avg.	**3.59**	**0.32**	**4.40**	**0.10**
Median	**1.5**	**0**	**3.0**	**0**
S.D.	**4.49**	**n/a**	**5.02**	**n/a**

Sources: NCOB, 1678-1698 and 1699-1713; and WCOB, 1675-1689, 1690-1698, 1698-1705, and 1705-1721.
* – These numbers consist of the small numbers of mulattoes and Indians designated as slaves. In Northumberland County, only one non-white slaves who had their ages adjudged during this period was a mulatto, whose name was recorded as Sarah Cay in 1691. And while it is very rare for a slave of any race to have a last name listed in the records, there was another directly after Sarah Cay in 1691. Jane Baxter, amazingly, was a "Negro," almost unheard of in early Virginia records. Unfortunately, no other information exists for Sarah Cay or Jane Baxter. Other than Cay, all other non-white slaves were Indians: two in 1705 and 1707, plus one in 1706 and 1710. Westmoreland County also had only one mulatto who had her age adjudged in 1701. The other non-white age judgment was of an "indian servant" in 1705, which makes it difficult to determine whether he was a slave or a servant.
** – The lack of consistently extant records from 1689 and 1690 in Westmoreland County prevent a proper count of young slave age judgements.

Table 102: Ages of Slave Children Who Had Their Ages Judged in the Upper Northern Neck, 1689-1710

Age of Slave Child	Number Adjudged to be that Age	Age of Slave Child	Number Adjudged to be that Age
6 months old	1	9 yo	25
1.5 years old	1	10 yo	22
2 years old (yo)	2	11 yo	13
3 yo	2	12 yo	15
4 yo	5	13 yo	8
5 yo	13	14 yo	4
6 yo	15	15 yo	2
7 yo	25	16 yo	2
8 yo	22		

Sources: NCOB, 1678-1698 and 1699-1713; and WCOB, 1675-1689, 1690-1698, 1698-1705, and 1705-1721.

Table 103: Ratio of Young, Male to Female Slaves in Northumberland County, 1689-1710

Date	Total number of Slaves	Male Slaves	Female Slaves	% of Male Slaves
1689	0	0	0	n/a
1690	0	0	0	n/a
1691	9*	4	4	50
1692	1	1	0	100
1693	0	0	0	n/a

1694	4	2	2	50
1695	3	3	0	100
1696	0	0	0	n/a
1697	0	0	0	n/a
1698	2	1	1	50
1699	0	0	0	n/a
1700	0	0	0	n/a
1701	8	3	5	37.5
1702	12*	2	9	18.2
1703	0	0	0	n/a
1704	14*	9	4	69.2
1705	15*	8	6	57.1
1706	6	3	3	50
1707	7	3	4	42.9
1708	3	3	0	100
1709	1	1	0	100
1710	1	1	0	100
TOTALS	**86**	**44**	**38**	**53.7**

Sources: NCOB, 1678-1698 and 1699-1713.
* – Due to some hard to read names and sexually ambiguous names, there are 4 slaves for which sex cannot be determined.

Table 104: Ratio of Young, Male to Female Slaves in Westmoreland County, 1691-1710

Date	Total number of Slaves	Male Slaves	Female Slaves	% of Male Slaves
1691	14	10	4	71.4
1692	0	0	0	n/a
1693	0	0	0	n/a
1694	2	1	1	50
1695	0	0	0	n/a
1696	0	0	0	n/a
1697	0	0	0	n/a
1698	3	3	0	100
1699	1	1	0	100
1700	0	0	0	n/a
1701	5	1	4	20
1702	5	4	1	80
1703	2	0	2	0
1704	3	1	2	33.3
1705	7	6	1	85.8

1706	7	4	3	57.1
1707	19*	7	9	43.8
1708	11*	5	3	62.5
1709	5	5	0	100
1710	6	5	1	83.3
TOTALS	**90**	**53**	**31**	**63.1**

Sources: WCOB, 1675-1689, 1690-1698, 1698-1705, and 1705-1721.
* – Due to some hard to read names and sexually ambiguous names, there are 6 slaves for which sex cannot be determined.

Table 105: Ownership of Young Slaves in Northumberland County, 1689-1710

Number of young slaves owned	Number of owners	Total Number of Slaves	Percentage of owners (34)*	Percentage of slaves owned (86)
1	19	19	56	22
2	7	14	21	16
3	2	6	6	7
4	2	8	6	9
5	1	5	3	6
10	1	10	3	12
12	2	24	6	28

Sources: NCOB, 1678-1698 and 1699-1713.
* – Due to rounding, this column does not equal 100%.

Table 106: Ownership of Young Slaves in Westmoreland County, 1691-1710

Number of young slaves owned	Number of owners	Total Number of Slaves	Percentage of owners (48)*	Percentage of slaves owned (90)*
1	27	27	56	30
2	14	28	29	31
3	1	3	2	3
4	1	4	2	4
5	4	20	8	22
8	1	8	2	9

Sources: WCOB, 1675-1689, 1690-1698, 1698-1705, and 1705-1721.
* – Due to rounding, this column does not equal 100%.

Table 107: Estimated Total Number of Slaves in Northumberland County, 1689-1710

Date*	Total number of Young Slaves	Low Estimate of Adult Slaves	High Estimate of Adult Slaves	Low Estimate of Total Slaves	High Estimate of Total Slaves
1689	0	0	0	129	129
1690	0	0	0	129	129
1691	9	11	18	149	156
1692	1	1	2	151	159
1693	0	0	0	151	159
1694	4	5	8	160	171
1695	3	4	6	167	180
1696	0	0	0	167	180
1697	0	0	0	167	180
1698	2	3	4	172	186
1699	0	0	0	172	186
1700	0	0	0	172	186
1701	8	10	16	190	210
1702	12	15	23	217	245
1703	0	0	0	217	245
1704	14	18	27	249	286
1705	13	17	25	279	324
1706	5	6	10	290	339
1707	5	6	10	301	354
1708	3	4	6	308	363
1709	1	1	2	310	366
1710	0	0	0	310	366

Sources: Table 101 in this appendix for the young slave totals. The low estimate of adult slaves comes from John C. Coombs, "Building 'The Machine'," 127-28, Table 4.1. His ratio for the first decade of the eighteenth century is one adult slave aged 16-50 for every 0.785 slave aged 0-15 in all available inventories from York, Northampton, Lower Norfolk, Northumberland and Lancaster counties. The high estimate is from Coombs's ratio for the last decade of the seventeenth century of one adult slave aged 16-50 for every 0.513 slave aged 0-15 in all available inventories from York, Northampton, Lower Norfolk, Northumberland and Lancaster counties.
* – Numbers in this table do not account for mortality.

Table 108: Estimated Total Number of Slaves in Westmoreland County, 1689-1710

Date*	Total number of Young Slaves	Low Estimate of Adult Slaves	High Estimate of Adult Slaves	Low Estimate of Total Slaves	High Estimate of Total Slaves
1689	n/a**	0	0	75	75
1690	n/a**	0	0	75	75

1691	14	18	27	93	102
1692	0	0	0	93	102
1693	0	0	0	93	102
1694	2	3	4	96	106
1695	0	0	0	96	106
1696	0	0	0	96	106
1697	0	0	0	96	106
1698	3	4	6	100	112
1699	1	1	2	101	114
1700	0	0	0	101	114
1701	5	6	10	107	124
1702	5	6	10	113	134
1703	2	3	4	116	138
1704	3	4	6	120	144
1705	7	9	14	129	158
1706	7	9	14	138	172
1707	19	24	37	162	209
1708	11	14	21	176	230
1709	5	6	10	182	240
1710	6	8	12	190	252

Sources: Table 101 in this appendix for the young slave totals. See Table 107 for a discussion of the estimates and corresponding ratios from John C. Coombs, "Building 'The Machine'," 127-28, Table 4.1. Given that the evidence of slaves in Westmoreland County prior to 1689 is rather scant as much because of the poor condition of some of the records—or nonexistence of others—as because of the numbers being relatively small, a very generous estimate has been made of 60 slaves as of 1679, the same number estimated to be in Northumberland County in the same year. Using Coombs's higher ratio, the five younger slaves whose ages were judged in the 1680s equated to 15 total slaves and then adding that to the 60 from 1679 results in 75 slaves estimated to be in Westmoreland as of 1689.

* – Numbers in this table do not account for mortality.

** – Records from most of 1689 and all of 1690 are no longer extant from Westmoreland County.

Table 109: Estimated Total Servant and Slave Labor Force in Northumberland County, 1689-1710

Date*	Estimated Total Number of Slaves	Estimated Total Number of Servants	Proportion of Slaves as Part of Total Unfree Labor Force**
1689	129	219	37.1
1690	129	217	37.3
1691	153	219	41.1
1692	155	194	44.4
1693	155	183	45.9
1694	166	194	46.1

1695	174	164	51.5
1696	174	164	51.5
1697	174	193	47.4
1698	179	325	35.5
1699	179	513	25.9
1700	179	542	24.8
1701	200	550	26.7
1702	231	547	29.7
1703	231	533	30.2
1704	268	509	34.5
1705	302	448	40.3
1706	315	424	42.6
1707	328	350	48.4
1708	336	275	55.0
1709	338	210	61.7
1710	338	152	69.0

Sources: The estimates for servants are taken from Table 99 as a midpoint between the low and middle estimates, which, as argued previously, is the likely sweet spot for the total number of servants during the 1690s and first decade of the 1700s. The estimates for slaves are taken from Tables 107 as a midpoint between the low and high estimates, which is a likely sweet spot for the total number of slaves during the 1690s and first decade of the 1700s. It uses a midpoint ratio of 0.649 for younger to older slaves taken from Coombs's ratio of 0.513 from 1681 to 1700 and 0.785 from 1701 to 1720 in "Building 'The Machine'," 127-8, Table 4.1.
* – These numbers do not account for mortality.
** – Not including apprentices or any other non-traditional bound laborers.

Table 110: Estimated Total Servant and Slave Labor Force in Westmoreland County, 1689-1710

Date*	Estimated Total Number of Slaves	Estimated Total Number of Servants	Proportion of Slaves as Part of Total Unfree Labor Force**
1689	75	122	38.1
1690	75	107	41.2
1691	98	102	49.0
1692	98	88	52.7
1693	98	95	50.8
1694	101	83	54.9
1695	101	90	52.9
1696	101	88	53.4
1697	101	104	49.3
1698	106	100	51.5
1699	108	325	24.9

1700	108	408	20.9
1701	116	454	20.4
1702	124	459	21.3
1703	127	459	21.7
1704	132	456	22.5
1705	144	434	24.9
1706	155	424	26.8
1707	186	383	32.7
1708	203	347	36.9
1709	211	291	42.0
1710	221	255	46.4

Sources: The estimates for servants are taken from Table 100 as a midpoint between the low and middle estimates, which, as argued previously, is the likely sweet spot for the total number of servants during the 1690s and first decade of the 1700s. The estimates for slaves are taken from Tables 108 as a midpoint between the low and high estimates, which is a likely sweet spot for the total number of slaves during the 1690s and first decade of the 1700s. It uses a midpoint ratio of 0.649 for younger to older slaves taken from Coombs's ratio of 0.513 from 1681 to 1700 and 0.785 from 1701 to 1720 in "Building 'The Machine'," 127-8, Table 4.1.
* – These numbers do not account for mortality.
** – Not including apprentices or any other non-traditional bound laborers.

Table 111: Slaves and Servants as Part of the Overall Population of Northumberland County, 1689-1710

Date*	Estimated Number of Slaves	Estimated Number of Servants	Estimated Number of Servants and Slaves	Middle Estimate of Total Population	Percentage of Servants and Slaves in Population
1689	129	219	348	1842	18.9
1690	129	217	346	1684	20.6
1691	153	219	372	1806	20.6
1692	155	194	349	1837	19.0
1693	155	183	338	1864	18.1
1694	166	194	360	1925	18.7
1695	174	164	338	1957	17.3
1696	174	164	338	1966	17.2
1697	174	193	367	1880	19.5
1698	179	325	504	1876	26.9
1699	179	513	692	2325	29.8
1700	179	542	721	2314	31.2
1701	200	550	750	2339	32.1
1702	231	547	778	2372	32.8

1703	231	533	764	2403	31.8
1704	268	509	777	2488	31.2
1705	302	448	750	2597	28.9
1706	315	424	739	2739	27.0
1707	328	350	678	2873	23.6
1708	336	275	611	2858	21.4
1709	338	210	548	2725	20.1
1710	338	152	490	2535	19.3

Sources: Table 109 for total slaves and servants; Table 50 in Appendix I for the population estimates.
* – These numbers do not account for mortality.

Table 112: Slaves and Servants as Part of the Overall Population of Westmoreland County, 1699-1708

Date*	Estimated Number of Slaves	Estimated Number of Servants	Estimated Number of Servants and Slaves	Middle Estimate of Total Population	Percentage of Servants and Slaves in Population
1699	108	325	433	2689	16.1
1700	108	408	516	3120	16.5
1701	116	454	570	3285	17.4
1702	124	459	583	3543	16.5
1703	127	459	586	3600	16.3
1704	132	456	588	3700	15.9
1705	144	434	578	3863	15.0
1706	155	424	579	4203	13.8
1707	186	383	569	4148	13.7
1708	203	347	550	4362	12.6

Sources: Table 110 for total slaves and servants; Table 51 in Appendix I for the population estimates.
* – These numbers do not account for mortality.

Table 113: Parental Status of Apprentices in the Upper Northern Neck, 1689-1710

	"True" Orphans	% of Total Known	Father Deceased but Mother Alive	% of Total Known	Both Parents Living	% of Total Known
Northumberland County, 1689-1699	35	48.0*	17	23.3*	21	28.8*
Northumberland County, 1700-1710	26	54.2	12	25.0	10	20.8
Westmoreland County, 1691-1700	7	20.0	13	37.1	15	42.9
Westmoreland County, 1701-1710	13	33.3	9	23.1	17	43.6
TOTALS	**81**	**41.5**	**51**	**26.2**	**63**	**32.3**

Sources: NCOB, 1678-1698 and 1699-1713; NCRB, 1706-1710; WCOB, 1675-1689, 1690-1698, 1698-1705, and 1705-1721; WCRB, 1701-1707 and 1707-1709.
* – Percentages do not equal 100% due to rounding.

Table 114: Ages and Term Lengths of Apprentices in Northumberland County, 1689-1710

Date	Number of Apps.	Average Age of Apps.	Median Age of Apps.	Standard Deviation	Average Length of Term	Median Length of Term	Standard Deviation
1689	6	6.5*(5)	4.0*	3.65	12.7	11.5	5.32
1690	4	8.0*(3)	8.5*	1.80	9.3*(3)	8.5*	2.36
1691	2	1.5*(1)	1.5*	0	19.5*(1)	19.5*	0
1692	4	5.2*(2)	5.2*	6.84	10.8	8.8	6.89
1693	1	0.1	0.1	0	20.9	20.9	0
1694	15	6.0*(12)	5.8*	4.0	14.7*(12)	13.8*	6.13
1695	8	6.4	6.0	5.09	12.8	13.5	5.21
1696	8	6.7	7.0	2.85	13.9	13.8	2.95
1697	7	9.1*(6)	10.0*	2.67	10.4*(6)	10.3*	2.56
1698	15	8.4*(7)	8.0*	4.55	10.7*(7)	11.0*	4.69
1699	5	10.2	11.0	3.92	9.4	9.0	4.52
1700	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1701	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1702	5	9.6*(4)	9.5*	4.85	11.4*(4)	11.5*	4.85
1703	3	1.5*(1)	1.5*	0	19.5*(1)	19.5*	0
1704	10	9.3*(8)	10.5*	3.15	9.2*(8)	10.0*	2.99

1705	3	n/a*(0)	n/a*	n/a	n/a*(0)	n/a*	n/a
1706	6	7.3*(5)	3.5*	7.31	13.1*(5)	14.5*	7.04
1707	10	10.6*(7)	9.5*	3.34	9.0*(8)	8.8*	2.48
1708	1	3.5	3.5	0	18.5	18.5	0
1709	7	7.8*(4)	6.0*	4.21	13.3*(4)	15.0*	4.21
1710	7	8.0*(6)	8.3*	3.78	12.0*(6)	11.5*	4.64
Total	***127***	***7.6* (94)***	***8.0* (94)***	***4.23***	***12.0* (98)***	***11.5* (98)***	***4.89***

Sources: NCOB, 1678-1698 and 1699-1713; NCRB, 1706-1710.
* – Some of the years in this table did not have age and/or term length information for every apprentice who had their contracts recorded in court. In parenthesis next to the asterisk, therefore, the number of apprentices whose ages or terms are evident in the records is listed (only next to the averages, even though the same applies for the medians).

Table 115: Ages and Term Lengths of Apprentices in Westmoreland County, 1691-1710

Date	Number of Apps.	Average Age of Apps.	Median Age of Apps.	Standard Deviation	Average Length of Term	Median Length of Term	Standard Deviation
1691	10	5.5*(6)	3.9*	4.93	14.4*(6)	16.1*	6.25
1692	2	4.5	4.5	2.12	16.5	16.5	2.12
1693	4	15.0*(1)	15.0*	0	6.0*(1)	6.0*	0
1694	1	n/a*(0)	n/a*	n/a	n/a*(0)	n/a*	n/a
1695	2	n/a*(0)	n/a*	n/a	9.0*(1)	9.0*	0
1696	1	10.0	10.0	0	11.0	11.0	0
1697	3	2.5*(2)	2.5*	2.12	13.7	17.0	8.51
1698	7	7.8*(5)	8.0*	2.49	13.2*(5)	13.0*	2.49
1699	6	9.4*(5)	10.0*	3.36	9.8	8.0	4.12
1700	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	n/a
1701	6	11.0*(2)	11.0*	0	10.0*(2)	10.0	0
1702	7	9.0*(2)	9.0*	2.83	9.5*(2)	9.5*	0.71
1703	5	5.5*(2)	5.5*	7.78	10.5*(2)	10.5*	7.78
1704	8	10.5*(4)	11.0*	1.00	8.3*(4)	8.0*	1.50
1705	3	5.2	5.7	5.02	19.1	15.3	10.53
1706	3	1.0*(2)	1.0*	1.41	18.0*(1)	18.0*(1)	0
1707	7	0.1*(4)	0.0*(4)	0.10	28.5*(4)	30.9*(4)	4.97
1708	1	n/a*(0)	n/a*	n/a	n/a*(0)	n/a*	n/a
1709	5	11.0*(1)	11.0*	0	10.0*(1)	10.0*	0
1710	2	n/a*(0)	n/a*	n/a	n/a*(0)	n/a*	n/a
Total	***83***	***6.7* (42)***	***7.0* (42)***	***4.62***	***13.9* (44)***	***11.0* (44)***	***7.14***

Sources: WCOB, 1675-1689, 1690-1698, 1698-1705, and 1705-1721; WCRB, 1701-1707 and 1707-1709.
* – Some of the years in this table did not have age and/or term length information for every apprentice who had their contracts recorded in court. In parenthesis next to the asterisk, therefore, the number of apprentices whose ages or terms are evident in the records is listed (only next to the averages, even though the same applies for the medians).

Table 116: Average Number of Bound Laborers per Planter in Northumberland County, 1689-1710

Number of Laborers per Planter	Number of Planters with that Number of Laborers	Average Number of Servants with those Planters	Average Number of Slaves with those Planters	Average Number of Apprentices with those Planters
1	146	0.5	0.1	0.4
2	43	1.3	0.2	0.5
3	21	2.0	0.3	0.7
4	12	2.3	0.5	1.2
5	6	3.2	1.0	0.8
6	3	4.3	1.7	0
7	3	3.3	1.0	2.7
8+*	5	5.6	8.4	1.4
TOTAL	**239**	**1.14**	**0.36**	**0.55**

Sources: NCOB, 1678-1698 and 1699-1713; NCRB, 1706-1710.
* – Each one of these five planters had different numbers of bound laborers so are detailed in Table 41 in chapter five.

Table 117: Average Number of Bound Laborers per Planter in Westmoreland County, 1691-1710

Number of Laborers per Planter	Number of Planters with that Number of Laborers	Average Number of Servants with those Planters	Average Number of Slaves with those Planters	Average Number of Apprentices with those Planters
1	109	0.6	0.1	0.3
2	45	1.2	0.2	0.6
3	34	2.0	0.5	0.4
4	3	1.7	2.0	0.3
5	3	4.0	0.7	0.3
6	6	2.5	3.2	0.3
7+*	4	3.8	4.8	0.3
TOTAL	**204**	**1.13**	**0.44**	**0.38**

Sources: WCOB, 1675-1689, 1690-1698, 1698-1705, and 1705-1721; WCRB, 1701-1707 and 1707-1709.
* – Each one of these four planters have different numbers of bound laborers so are detailed in Table 42 in chapter five.

Table 118: Types of Trades as Part of Apprenticeship Contracts in the Upper Northern Neck, 1689-1710

Type of Trade in Apprenticeship Contracts	Trades in Northumberland County	Percentage of Total Number of Trades	Trades in Westmoreland County	Percentage of Total Number of Trades**
Blacksmith	0	0	2	10.5
Bricklayer	0	0	3	15.8
Carpenter	8	17.8	3	15.8
Cooper	11	24.4	3	15.8
Currier	3	6.7	0	0
Joyner	4	8.9	0	0
Miller	0	0	2	10.5
Shoemaker	10	22.2	2	10.5
Tanner	4	8.9	2	10.5
Taylor	5	11.1	2	10.5
TOTAL	**45***		**19***	

Sources: NCOB, 1678-1698 and 1699-1713; NCRB, 1706-1710; WCOB, 1675-1689, 1690-1698, 1698-1705, and 1705-1721; WCRB, 1701-1707 and 1707-1709.
* – These numbers are significantly different from the number of apprenticeship contracts with a trade promised in them since several contracts included multiple trades being mentioned with one from each county even offering "any" trade or "some trade" as possibilities. In those cases, I added one to any trade that appeared at least once elsewhere in that county.
** – Total does not equal 100% due to rounding.

Table 119: Male Apprentices broken down by Tiers for the Upper Northern Neck, 1689-1710

	Northumberland County, 1689-1699	Northumberland County, 1700-1710	Westmoreland County, 1691-1700	Westmoreland County, 1701-1710
Tier I apprentices	16	15	4	2
Percentage of Total	34.8	42.9	16.0	9.5
Tier II apprentices	10	11	4	8

Percentage of Total	21.7	31.4	16.0	38.1
Tier III apprentices	20	9	17	11
Percentage of Total	43.5	25.7	68.0	52.4

Sources: NCOB, 1678-1698 and 1699-1713; NCRB, 1706-1710; WCOB, 1675-1689, 1690-1698, 1698-1705, and 1705-1721; WCRB, 1701-1707 and 1707-1709.

Table 120: Female Apprentices broken down by Tiers for the Upper Northern Neck, 1689-1710

	Northumberland County, 1689-1699	**Northumberland County, 1700-1710**	**Westmoreland County, 1689-1699**	**Westmoreland County, 1700-1710**
Tier I apprentices	10	5	0	0
Percentage of Total	35.7	35.7	0	0
Tier II apprentices	18	9	4	8
Percentage of Total	64.3	64.3	100.0	100.0

Sources: NCOB, 1678-1698 and 1699-1713; NCRB, 1706-1710; WCOB, 1675-1689, 1690-1698, 1698-1705, and 1705-1721; WCRB, 1701-1707 and 1707-1709.

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Northumberland County Court Order Books, Reel 49, 1699-1713.

Northumberland County Court Record Books, Reel 2, 1652-1672.

Northumberland County Court Record Books, Reel 3, 1706-1713.

Westmoreland County Court Order Books, Reel 51, 1675-1689.

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