ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author wishes to thank the many people who contributed valuable information; in particular, Fanny Epps, Samuel T. Jones, Reverend Junius Moody, Elizabeth Parrilla, Grace Radcliffe, Linda Rowe, Patricia Samford, and Marie Sheppard.

NOTES

NOTES

- Mary A. Livermore, <u>The Story of My Life</u> (Hartford, Conn., 1897), 306-307, as quoted in Lawrence W. Levine, <u>Black Culture</u> and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought From Slavery to Freedom (New York, 1977), 3.
- This definition owes much to Thomas L. Webber, <u>Deep Like</u> the Rivers: Education in the Slave Quarter Community, 1831-1865 (New York, 1978), xi and <u>passim</u>.
 - 3 Webber, Deep Like the Rivers, 27.
- James L. B. Buck, The Development of Public Schools in Virginia 1607-1952 (Richmond, 1952), 22.
- M. D. Conway, <u>Testimonies Concerning Slavery</u> (London, 1864), 112; Webber, <u>Deep Like the Rivers</u>, 30-42.
- Michael Sherman, Virginia Gazette (Parks), Nov. 14-21, 1745; [A. D. Galt], Practical Medicine: Illustrated by Cases of the Most Important Diseases, ed. John M. Galt (Philadelphia, 1843), 295-296, as cited in Todd L. Savitt, Medicine and Slavery: The Diseases and Health Care of Blacks in Antebellum Virginia (Urbana, Ill., 1978), 177.
- 7 Thad W. Tate, The Negro in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg (Williamsburg, 1965), 58-59, 61, 106-109.

- Wirginia Magazine of History and Biography, XVII (1909),
 34; Edmund Jenings to the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations,
 Apr. 24, 1710, CO5 1316/141-142, Public Record Office, London.
- Scalendar of Virginia State Papers . . . (Richmond, 1886), VI, 461-464, 521, 543-544. For other scares, see "Glimpses of Old College Life," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st. Ser., VIII (1900), 219 and James Hugo Johnston, Race Relations in Virginia & Miscegenation in the South 1776-1860 (Amherst, Mass., 1970), 34.
- Twenty-Nine Years a Free Man, Recollections of H. C. Bruce

 (York, Pa., 1895), 96, as quoted in Webber, Deep Like the Rivers,
 94; Charles L. Perdue, Jr., et al., eds., Weevils in the Wheat:

 Interviews with Virginia Ex-Slaves (Charlottesville, Va., 1976),
 67.
 - 11 Gabriel Jones, VaG (Purdie & Dixon), June 30, 1774.
- John Lewis, <u>Ibid.</u>, Feb. 21, 1771; John Holt, <u>VaG or American Advertiser</u> (Hayes), June 28, 1783; John Aylett, <u>VaG</u> (Purdie), Nov. 17, 1775.
 - 13 Tate, Negro in Williamsburg, 76-85.
- Eugene D. Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made (New York, 1974), 563.
- Federal Writers' Project, The Negro in Virginia (New York, 1940), 44.

- Willie Lee Rose, Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment (New York, 1964), 22.
- Luther P. Jackson, Free Negro Labor and Property-Holding in Virginia 1830-1860 (New York, 1942).
- in the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia (Richmond, 1821), VI, 163.
- W. E. B. Du Bois, <u>Black Reconstruction</u> (New York, 1935), 641-642.
- Alrutheus A. Taylor, The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia (Lancaster, Pa., 1926), 149.
- Rawls Byrd, <u>History of Public Schools in Williamsburg</u>
 (Williamsburg, Va., 1968); Curtis Lassiter and Wayne Bowman,
 "How Black Schools Evolved," <u>The Virginia Gazette</u>, 3/6/85.
- Information from census material and oral testimonies from Reverend Junius Moody and Mrs. Elizabeth Parrilla. See also The Publick Observer (Williamsburg, Va., May 1977), 2-4; Edward E. Redcay, County Training Schools and Public Secondary Education of Negroes in the South (Washington, D.C., 1935); and anonymous, Grove Festival (unpub. mss., 1976).
- 23 In addition to the above oral testimonies, reminiscences by Grace Radcliffe and Samuel T. Jones were most helpful.
 - 24 See notes 21 and 22.

- Norman R. Yetman, ed., <u>Life Under the 'Peculiar Institution': Selections from the Slave Narrative Collection</u> (New York, 1970), 182.
- William Trebell, VaG (Purdie & Dixon), Apr. 16, 1767;

 John Holt, VaG or American Advertiser (Hayes), June 28, 1783;

 Cary Wilkinson, VaG and Weekly Advertiser (Nicolson & Prentice),

 Nov. 16, 1782; John Southall, ibid., July 30, 1785; John Ellis,

 VaG (Purdie), Apr. 11, 1777; William Pasteur, VaG and Weekly

 Advertiser (Nicolson), May 20, 1790.
- John Greenhow, <u>VaG</u> (Purdie), Apr. 11, 1766; Robert Sanford, <u>VaG or Weekly Advertiser</u> (Nicolson & Prentis), Jan. 19, 1782. See also Tate, Negro in Williamsburg, 33-45.
- Petitions and Depositions from John Stewart, June 25, 1785, Thomas Walker, May 15, 1785, Jaquelin Ambler, Feb. 4, 1782, Eliza Brent, Nov. 13, 1785, Thomas Bentley, July 27, 1782, and Abraham, Nov. 22, 1785, James City County Petitions (microfilm, Colonial Williamsburg Research).
- Edward W. James, "Negro Education in the Eighteenth Century," VMHB, II (1895), 429; "Education," WMQ, VIII (1899), 82.
 - Jackson, Free Negro Labor, 106, 111, 134, and passim.
 - Perdue, Weevils in the Wheat, 53.
- Apart from census material, see William Edward Garnett and John Malcus Ellison, Negro Life in Rural Virginia 1865-1934 (Blacksburg, 1934) and William Edward Garnett, Housing of James City Farm Folk (Blacksburg, 1948).

- 33 Oral testimony from Fanny Epps and Elizabeth Parrilla.

 See also Virginia Gazette, A Directory and Handbook of the City of Williamsburg and the County of James City, Virginia (Williamsburg, ca. 1898).
- 34 Cheryl Dinkins, "Braxton Court: The Pioneers" (unpublished mss., College of William and Mary, 1982).
- John Carter, VaG (Purdie & Dixon), Feb. 3, 1774; John Stringer, ibid. (Dixon & Hunter), Mar. 14, 1777; Tate, Negro in Williamsburg, 58-59, 103-109.
- Bibb, an American Slave (New York, 1849), 192; Herbert G. Gutman, The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925 (New York, 1925), 276.
 - 37 Ibid., 10-14, 32-33, 140-143, passim.
 - 38 Ibid, 61-75.
- Mary H. Coleman, ed., <u>Virginia Silhouettes: Contemporary</u>

 <u>Letters Concerning Negro Slavery in the State of Virginia . . .</u>

 (Richmond, 1934), 35-36, as quoted in Gutman, <u>Black Family</u>, 354.
- Carl Bridenbaugh, <u>Jamestown</u>, <u>1544-1699</u> (New York, 1980), 52; petition of Joseph Gresham, Dec. 2, 1833, James City County Petitions.
 - 41 Gutman, Black Family, 185-256.
 - 42 Ibid., 412-428.

- Lunsford Lane, The Narrative of Lunsford Lane, Formerly of Raleigh, North Carolina (Boston, 1842), 20; Webber, Deep Like the Rivers, 50.
- Peter Randolph, <u>Sketches of Slave Life; or Illustrations</u>
 of the "Peculiar Institution" (Boston, 1855), 62, as quoted in
 Webber, <u>Deep Like the Rivers</u>, 51.
 - 45 Tate, Negro in Williamsburg, 74-75.
- William Lee to Cary Wilkinson, May 22, 1771, William Lee Letterbrook, Virginia Historical Society; David Walker, VaG (Purdie), Sept. 8, 1775; Catesby Jones, VaG and Weekly Advertiser (Nicolson & Prentis), Oct. 25, 1783.
- Tate, Negro in Williamsburg, 88; Linda Rowe, "Baptist Church-Nassau Street" (Colonial Williamsburg Research Paper, 1983).
- Refugee: or the Narratives of Fugitive Slaves in Canada (Boston, 1856), 97.
- Rowe, "Baptist Church"; memoirs of Eliza Baker, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Archives.
- Charles Emery Stevens, Anthony Burns: A History (Boston, 1856), 174-175; Lane, Narrative, 20.
- William Grimes, <u>Life of William Grimes</u>, the Runaway Slave (New York, 1825), 15; Bruce, <u>New Man</u>, 52-59.
 - FWP, Negro in Virginia, 108-109.

- Yetman, <u>Life Under the Peculiar Institution</u>, 299; James L. Smith, <u>Autobiography</u>... (Norwich, 1881), 27 as quoted in Webber, Deep Like the Rivers, 198.
 - ⁵⁴ Rowe, "Baptist Church."
- The John Dipper Papers (microfilm, Colonial Williamsburg Research).
 - ⁵⁶ Rowe, "Baptist Church."

57

- 58 See oral testimonies above.
- James Newgent, VaG (Parks), Mar. 27, 1746; Thomas Pemble,

 ibid. (Rind), May 20, 1773; James Willison, ibid. (Dixon & Hunter),

 May 9, 1777; Peter Myers, VaG & Weekly Advertiser (Nicolson), Oct.

 11, 1787; The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774-1777 (New York,

 1924), 18-19.
 - FWP, Negro in Virginia, 211.
 - 61 Levine, Black Culture, 26.
- Journal of Cresswell, 53; Dena J. Epstein, Sinful Tunes and Spirituals: Black Folk Music to the Civil War (Urbana, Ill., 1977), 33-38 and passim.
- and Usage in the United States (New York, 1972); Genovese, Roll,

 Jordan, Roll, 431-441; Dell Hymes, ed., Pidgenization and Creolization of Languages (Cambridge, 1971); and the work of William A.

 Stewart cited in these works.

- David Dalby, "The African Element in Negro English," in Thomas Kochman, Rappin' and Stylin' Out (Urbana, Ill., 1972), 170-186; Thomas Ashe, Travels in America (London, 1808), 79 as quoted in Dillard, Black English, 197.
 - 65 Levine, Black Culture, 154.
- ⁶⁶ W. E. B. Du Bois, <u>The Souls of Black Folk</u> (New York, 1961 [orig. publ., 1903]), 17.

TABLES

TABLE 1

The Population of James City County and Williamsburg 1625-1980

		County			Town	·
	White	Black	% Black	White	Black	% Black
1625	484	10	1.4	N/A	N/A	N/A
1653	1297	113	8.0	N/A	N/A	N/A
1674	1550	293	15.9	N/A	N/A	N/A
1699	1907	857	31.0	N/A	N/A	N/A
1724	1807	1603	47.0	N/A	N/A	N/A
1750	1644	2288	58.1	N/A	N/A	N/A
1773	1741	2864	62.2	N/A	N/A	N/A
1782	1460	2687	64.8	488	702	59.0
1790	1519	2551	64.9	662	682	50.7
1800	1374	2557	65.0	N/A	N/A	N/A
1810	1354	2740	66.9	N/A	N/A	N/A
1820	1551	3012	66.0	N/A	N/A	N/A
1830	1283	2555	66.6	N/A	N/A	N/A
1840	1325	2454	64.9	N/A	N/A	N/A
1850	1489	2531	63.0	415	462	52.7
1860	2167	3631	62.6	N/A	N/A	N/A
1870	1985	2440	55.1	893	499	35.8
1880	2227	3195	58.9	N/A	N/A	N/A
1890	2317	3326	58.9	N/A	N/A	N/A
1900	2712	3020	52.7	1336	678	33.2
1910	3301	3034	47.9	1817	897	33.0
1920	3417	2720	44.3	N/A	N/A	N/A
1930	1837	2042	52.6	2923	854	22.6
1940	2738	2169	44.2	3107	835	21.2
1950	3380	2937	46.4	5860	875	13.0
1960	7439	4091	35,5	5897	935	13.7
1970	11547	6226	34.9	7862	1156	12.8
1980	16035	6439	28.3	8624	1031	10.4

It should be remembered that before 1782, only a tithable total survives. For the most appropriate multiplier (to arrive at total population) and for ways to calculate the proportion of blacks in the seventeenth century, see the work of Kelly and Morgan. At 1750, 1782, and 1790, we have precise racial breakdowns. I was able to extrapolate backwards and forwards from these figures for the whole eighteenth century.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Federal Bureau of the Census considered Williamsburg part of the county. Between 1920 and 1930, Williamsburg was upgraded in status and became independent for census purposes. Before 1930, I have, therefore, followed the census bureau and included Williamsburg in the county, although I also have presented the Williamsburg racial breakdowns where they are available. After 1930, Williamsburg became independent of the county.

Sources:

Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia (New York, 1975), 395-432; tithable totals for all years except 1624/5 (found in Morgan) and 1750 (A General List of Tithes taken in 1750, Chalmers Collection, New York Public Library) were kindly supplied by Peter Bergstrom; Kevin P. Kelly, "A Demographic Description of Seventeenth-Century York County, Virginia" (Unpublished paper, 1983); Stella H. Sutherland, Population Distribution in Colonial America (New York, 1936), 175; Heads of Families at the First Census of the United

Table 1 (continued)

States taken in the Year 1790: Record of the State Enumerations: 1782 to 1785 Virginia (Baltimore, Md., 1966), 9; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1800-1980.

TABLE 2
Free Blacks and Slaves in James City County 1790-1860

	Free Blacks	Slaves	<pre>% Blacks Who Are Free</pre>
1790	146	2405	5.7
1800	168	2389	6.6
1810	420	2320	15.3
1820	552	2460	18.3
1830	572	1983	22.4
1840	507	1947	20.7
1850	663	1868	26.2
1860	1045	2586	28.8

U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1790-1860.

TABLE 3

Number of Schools in James City County and Williamsburg
1872-1940

	Cou	nty	To	wn
	White	Black	White	Black
1872	6	5	2	1
1880	11	7 ¹		
1890	9	8	2	2
1900	13	9	3	2
1910	13	8	2	1
1920	4	6	2	1
1930	3	7	1	1
1940	3	4	1	3

Before 1920, the enumerators counted "schools;" after that date, they only counted "school buildings."

¹In 1880, there is no separate breakdown for Williamsburg.

Source:

State Board of Education, Annual Report of the Superintendant of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia (Richmond 1870-to date).

TABLE 4

Number of Teachers in James City County and Williamsburg
1872-1970

		Cour	nty .		Town			
	Wh	ite	Black		White		Black	
	Male	Female	Male	<u>Female</u>	Male	<u>Female</u>	Male	<u>Female</u>
1872 ¹	8	4	2	-	-	2	1	-
1880 1	9	6	3	1	-	-	_	-
1890	2	Ż	5	3 .	1	1	2	
1900	1	11	4	5	1	2,	1	1
1910	1	12	4	4	1	3	_	2
1920	2(2)	15(5)	3	6	1(1)	9(3)	1	2
1930	2(1)	13(2)	1	13	2(1)	17(7)	. -	8(3)
1940	2(2)	11(4)	1	4	5(5)	20(11)	6 (5)	20(7)
1950	14 ((6)	6		35 ((20)	31	(15)
1960 ¹	72 ((32)	49 (1	. 9)				
1970 ¹		230 (86)					

Figures in parentheses represent number of teachers wholly or partially at the secondary level.

Source:

Same as Table 3.

¹ Figures include Williamsburg totals.

TABLE 5

Average Annual Salary of Schoolteachers in James City County and Williamsburg 1890-1940

		Cour	nty		Town				
	White		B1	Black		White		Black	
	Male	<u>Female</u>	Male	<u>Female</u>	Male	<u>Female</u>	Male	<u>Female</u>	
1890	324	317	298	296	509	360	324	_	
1910	880	345	128	132	900	405	-	247	
1930 ¹		772	400	400	-	1222	•	545	
1930 ²	1000	1400	-	-	1300	1852	-	566	
1930 ³	1000	928	400	400	1300	1540	-	533	
1940 ¹	-	757	489	494	1450	1292	795	704	
1940²	899	889	-	_	1690	1508	951	704	
1940³	899	805	489	494	1666	1384	877	630	

- 1 Elementary
- ² Secondary
- 3 Combined

Source:

Same as Table 3.

TABLE 6
Enrollment in James City County and Williamsburg 1872-1960

		White			Black	
	Enrollment	School Population	8	. Enrollment	School Population	<u>&</u>
1872	215	546	39	278	815	34
1880	289	618	47	322	1095	29
1890	339	641	53	546	1352	40
1900	446	800	56	487	1380	35
1910	449	711	63	331	991	33
1920	644	729	88	557	968	57
1930	821	802	102	722	791	91
1940	845	730	116	1004	755	133
1950	1153	908	127	1108	746	148
1960	1914	1915	100	1327	1288	103

Presumably, by 1930, children are being bussed into the county and town schools, because there are more enrollments than the combined county and town school population.

Source:

Same as Table 3.

TABLE 7

Percentage of Enrolled Children Who Attend School
James City County and Williamsburg
1872-1960

	Cour	CountyTown		vn
	White	Black	White	Black
1872	60	59	71	66
1880 i	· 73	65		
1890	77	64	84	76
1900	68	60	77	85
1910	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1920	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1930	87	87	92	84
1940	92	79	89	83
1950	93	86	93	93
1960 ¹	94	92		

Sources:

Same as Table 3

¹ Combined totals.

TABLE 8

Illiteracy in James City County and Williamsburg 1910-1920

	1910	<u>1920</u>
County:		
Blacks	40.3	25.6
Whites	3.9	0.8
Town:		
Blacks	41.1	N/A
Whites	4.7	N/A

Figures are percentages based on people 10 or more years.

Source:

TABLE 9

Nativity of Farmers and Tenants in James City County
1910-1920

	1910		1920	
	White	Black	White	Black
Owner-operated	218	183	199	117
Tenant Farms	46	37	37	23
Managed Farms	6		10	
Total	270	220	246	140
Average Size of Farms (in acres)	_	_	190.8	24.6

TABLE 10

Employment of Blacks in James City County and Williamsburg 1940 and 1970

Percentage Town County 1970 1940 1970 1940 Female Male Female Male Female Female Male Male 6.1 5.0 2.9 6.6 4.6 1.2 4.8 Professional Farmers and 7.7 1.1 Managers Managers and 1.8 0.4 3.9 4.4 2.2 0.3 Proprietors 1.4 13.2 8.8 0.4 8.4 8.8 0.5 Clerical 9.7 1.1 6.2 16.3 0.8 2.9 Craftsmen 6.1 7.9 21.9 8.0 4.9 9.9 4.8 15.0 Operators Domestic 22.6 14.5 65.4 1.4 19.5 64.1 2.1 Service Service 46.1 5.2 59.5 44.6 19.7 16.0 27.3 8.6 Workers Farm 2.3 0.7 1.4 27.0 Laborers Other 7.4 19.2 20.4 39.4 Laborers 0.7 0.3 Other 261 228 310 276 1138 920 231 584 Number

Source:

TABLE 11

Occupations of Employed People in in James City County and Williamsburg 1980

		County			Town			
	Whi	White Black		Whi	te	Black		
	<u> N</u>	90	<u>N</u>		N	8	<u> </u>	8
Managerial/ Professional	2379	32.4	267	9.6	1448	37.5	47	10.4
Technical/ Sales/Admin.	2060	28.1	388	14.0	1310	34.0	49	10.9
Service	952	13.0	1183	42.7	656	17.0	221	49.0
Farm/Forestry/ Fishing	190	2.6	121	4.4	61	1.6	27	6.0
Craft/Repair	883	12.0	194	7.0	123	3.2	26	5.8
Operators/ Laborers	886	11.8	619	22.3	260	6.7	81	18.0
Total	7330		2772		3858		451	

TABLE 12
Unemployment in James City County 1940-1980

					BLA	CKS				
	<u>M</u> ·	F	<u>M</u>	<u> </u>	<u>M</u>	<u> </u>	<u>M</u>	F	<u>M</u>	<u> </u>
Unemploy- ment Rate	9.8	13.6	5.6	2.8	5.7	3.4	3.5	7.8	8.6	8.0
Not in the Labor Force	24.1	61.2	29.6	64.7	34.9	52.7	35.4	51.1	31.1	38.8
•					WHI	TES				
	<u>M</u> _	F	<u>M</u>	F	M	F	<u>M</u>	F	<u>M</u>	<u> </u>
Unemploy- ment Rate	5.4	4.2	2.3	2.4	0.5	1.5	0.7	2.1	4.1	5.2
Not in the	23.3	78.2	24.9	80.5	24.5	73.4	28.6	62.6	23.7	49.0

TABLE 13
Household Characteristics in James City County 1970-1980

	B1a	ack	White	
	1970	1980	1970	1980
Persons Per Household	4.08	3.27	3.09	2.67
<pre>% of Households Contain- ing Relatives Other than Spouse and Children</pre>	10.8	9.9	2.6	2.8

TABLE 14

Types of Families in James City County and Williamsburg 1970-1980

	1970		1980	
	White	% Black	White	8 Black
Country:				
Two-Parent Families	92.3	71.2	90.0	60.8
Female-headed Families	5.9	24.1	7.1	33.0
Town:				
Two-Parent Families	88.5	73.8	88.8	71.8
Female-headed Families	9.4	18.2	8.0	28.0

TABLE 15

Marital Status of James City County Residents 1960-1980

	Blacks		Whites			
•	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	1980	1960	1970	1980
<pre>Male:</pre>						
% Married	57.9	46.6	41.5	64.6	65.9	63.0
% Separated	3.1	5.9	5.7	2.0	1.6	2.5
% Widowed & Divorced	4.9	6.9	8.9	5.7	5.7	7.1
% Single	34.1	40.6	43.8	27.7	26.8	27.4
Female:		~				
% Married	60.1	45.8	38.8	62.9	64.6	61.3
% Separated	3.4	7.7	6.9	2.1	2.4	2.4
% Widowed & Divorced	12.5	16.7	19.5	13.1	14.3	16.3
% Single	23.9	29.7	34.7	21.9	18.7	19.9

TABLE 16
Family Income in James City County and Williamsburg 1970-1980

	Average	Family Income
	1970	1980
County:		
Blacks	\$6,182	\$16,467
Whites	?	\$27,233
Town:		
Blacks	\$4,039	\$17,032
Whites	?	\$30,372

TABLE 17

Poverty in James City County and Williamsburg
1980

	White	Black
County:		
Number of Families Below Poverty Level	176	282
% of Families Below Povery Level	4.0	21.2
<pre>% of Poor Families that are Female-headed</pre>	16.5	53.9
Town:		
Number of Families Below Poverty Level	5	5
% of Families Below Poverty Level	0.4	2.8
<pre>% of Poor Families that are Female-headed</pre>	_	100.0

TABLE 18

Proportion of Black and White Residents of James City County and Williamsburg Who were Born in the State 1980

	Blacks	Whites
County	88.0	40.0
Town	80.0	35.1

Source:

Samaritan Odd Fellows Hall, home for the Nicholson Street School in early twentieth-century Williamsburg.

James City County Training School, Williamsburg.

Housing conditions for blacks in the Post-Civil War era.

Advertisement for Samuel Harris's Cheap Store, 1898.

Black children on the Porch of the Henderson House, early twentieth century.

A number of James City County blacks gained a living by hauling goods by ox-wagon.

Merchant Samuel J. Harris.

Harris's Cheap Store on Duke of Gloucester Street.

Dr. B. Bell Sr. at the Bell Hospital Nursery.

A James City County black family in the early twentieth century.

A central institution in black life - the Baptist church.