

A WINDOW ON THE VALLEY: A STUDY OF THE
FREE BLACK COMMUNITY OF WINCHESTER AND
FREDERICK COUNTY, VIRGINIA 1785-1860

by
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ABSTRACT

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This is the first substantial study which has been undertaken on the free black community of Winchester and Frederick County, Virginia. It explains who the free blacks were, where they lived, how they obtained their freedom, how they maintained it, how they constituted a community, and how they interacted with slaves and whites.

These free blacks engaged in a variety of occupations; they did not dominate any one field of employment. The population was predominately young and individuals and families appeared to remain stable throughout the era studied. In later years, female -headed households became more common.

The records available on free blacks in Frederick County are limited. Therefore, this investigation has been primarily through official records generated by the local courts and state government. They have, however, been sufficient to suggest a growing and viable group that was accepted by and contributed to the larger community throughout the ante-bellum years.

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INTRODUCTION

Historians have generally been interested in the primary leaders and major events which have shaped our nation over a broad expanse of time. Such a perspective of study has its values, but, if a democracy depends on the variety of individuals who comprise it, it is also very limited and limiting, especially in a nation where much power remains on the individual and local level. This has led to the "new" social history including community studies, a renewed concern about individuals and groups at the bottom of the social hierarchy, and a broader desire to place such people and their lives in specific environments.

Ira Berlin, in Slaves Without Masters, has advanced understanding of free Negroes and their role in the antebellum South, especially their struggle to maintain freedom and dignity in a hostile world. He explored large regional differences in the South and the effect over time on the development of free blacks in American society. Yet he gave less attention to free blacks in isolated rural communities, while his scope gravitated against intense local study of the kind which has been used effectively in labor and women's history.

In this paper, I endeavor to explore the free black community in Frederick County, Virginia. By a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis, this microcosmic study seeks to present the life of free blacks in a rural area of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. It is hoped that this will lead to a better understanding of free blacks' impact on and importance to the development of the region, as well as enrich the mosaic of understanding about one of the large group of Americans which have been studied very little.

I am examining the free black community from 1785 to 1860 to ascertain how they related to the overall community in Winchester and

Frederick County, Virginia. I am interested in documenting their place, their contributions, and their struggles within the region's general development.

There are few published works on free blacks in Virginia. I have largely been dependent on Ira Berlin, Slaves Without Masters; Luther Porter Jackson, Free Negro Labor and Property Holding in Virginia, 1830 - 1860; and John H. Russell, The Free Negro in Virginia, 1619 - 1865, for background and comparisons throughout the state. There are no surviving personal papers, accounts, diaries, or letters for this research. Most of this data has been garnered from official state and local records, where race and status were usually recorded. In many instances, entries for blacks were physically separated from those of whites.

I have divided my study into four sections: Community Development; Demographics and Family Patterns; Employment and Residency; and Black-White Interrelations. Each section presents material from the earliest available records, 1785, continuing to 1860. Local records have been reviewed and references to the black community have been abstracted and compiled to provide a picture of the people, their occupations, their demographics, and their interrelationship with the white community.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

One of the earliest Europeans to visit the Shenandoah Valley was John Lederer, a German explorer. In 1669 and 1670 he made three tours to the western areas from the Virginia Tidewater. He maintained a journal of his explorations and this was later published in London.¹ His descriptions of the fine forests, plentiful streams, and abundant game may have encouraged Governor Spotswood and his Knights of the Golden Horseshoe in their excursion to the area in 1716.

This beautiful, fertile land faced difficulties in the legal distribution of the property. A royal charter to the Northern Neck had been issued to Thomas, Lord Culpeper in 1688. Unfortunately, the exact boundaries were not given so no one knew precisely how far the proprietary extended. The colony of Virginia felt Culpeper's charter did not include the Shenandoah Valley and that the governor, Governor Gooch, should control the distribution of patents to it. Thomas, Sixth Lord Fairfax, heir to the property, and his agent, Robert Carter, felt the opposite was true.²

By September 1730 Carter granted 61,000 acres of this land to relatives. The first settlers, however, were Pennsylvanians led by Joist Hite in 1732. He and Alexander Ross had received patents from Governor Gooch the previous year. A condition of the transaction was that they settle one family for every one thousand acres in their grants. The governor wanted the area settled rapidly to provide a buffer against the Indians and to support his interpretation of the land policy. Carter, however, had other purposes in mind. He was interested in investment for speculation and for future generations. Therefore, he had no settlement requirements and seldom collected quit-rents from his relatives.

Joist Hite and Alexander Ross successfully recruited small farmers

from Europe and Pennsylvania to the Shenandoah Valley. Gooch assisted in this endeavor by issuing a statement that people could worship as they chose and would not be bound to Virginia's state church, the Church of England. This helped to foster the independent nature of these early settlers, many of whom worshipped in a variety of faiths and had diverse national backgrounds.

After Robert Carter died in 1732, Lord Fairfax became involved in the distribution and settlement of his Northern Neck Proprietary. He arranged for a survey to define the boundaries. The Privy Council in London approved the survey and it was officially declared that the Shenandoah Valley was owned by Lord Fairfax. He accepted the patents already issued by the colony and continued the joint development of small farmers and Tidewater planters.³

Settlement proceeded fairly rapidly and in 1738 Frederick County was formed from Orange County. Originally, it encompassed the lower Shenandoah Valley. As population of the area increased, areas of Frederick County were subdivided to create Rockingham, Shenandoah, Jefferson, Berkeley, Morgan, Hampshire, Clarke, and Warren Counties. By 1836, Frederick County comprised 572 square miles, the size it is today.⁴

The majority of the settlers were from Germany, Scotland, and northern Ireland, by way of Pennsylvania. They generally developed their small farms in the western half of the county, relying on family members for a labor source. There was a large Quaker congregation who by 1751 had established Hopewell Meeting House. Several active Protestant churches started soon after.

English settlers were a minority of the county's population. They were largely from the Tidewater area of Virginia and located in the eastern portion of the county. They did not begin to develop the area,

however, until the 1770's. Initially, the heirs to the Carter land rented it to tenants and operated quarters. They began living there during the 1780's and the 1790's. These large landowners continued the slave system they were familiar with from the Eastern Shore.⁵

Wheat and hemp were the primary crops for both small farmers and large planters, although a variety of grains, fruits, and vegetables were also grown. Activities were organized in a complementary manner so as to require a minimum of labor. Local trade developed since farmers were unable to produce everything needed for daily life.

A diversity of services and skilled craftsmen were required to support the growing and selling of grain. Millers, coopers, wagoners, and merchants were needed as well as blacksmiths, harnessmakers, and laborers.

Although the Pennsylvanians were familiar with slavery, their small Virginia farms did not need an extended labor force. The raising of grain did not require the continuous attention tobacco demanded so it was not economically feasible to maintain a large workforce year round.⁶

The town of Winchester developed as the county seat for the first court held in 1743. James Wood, county clerk, dedicated twenty-six lots to lay off the town and by 1752 the town was chartered. It was the point of departure for settlers traveling South and West and soon became a hub of influence.⁷

Frederick County, compared with Virginia in general, or to the other counties in the Shenandoah Valley, had an unusually large number of free blacks, a high growth rate that continued from 1790 to 1860. Table #1 illustrates this expansion of the freeman population.

Ira Berlin, in Slaves Without Masters, has shown that following the Revolution, there was a rapid growth of the free Negro population. This concluded early in the nineteenth century and the rate of growth continued

TABLE 1 : POPULATION SCHEDULE

1790

County	Whites	Free Colored	Slaves	Total
Augusta	9269	59	1567	10886
Berkeley	16650	131	2932	17332
Frederick	15315	116	4250	19681
Hampshire	6879	13	454	7346
Rockingham	6677		772	7449
Shenandoah	9979	19	512	10510
Virginia	442,115	12,766	293,427	748,308

1800

County	Whites	Free Colored	Slaves	Total
Augusta	9671	95	1946	11712
Berkeley	17332	203	3971	21506
Frederick	18628	453	5663	24744
Hampshire	7598	120	630	8348
Rockingham	9266	56	1052	10374
Shenandoah	12947	85	791	13823
Virginia	514,280	20,124	345,796	880,200

Data compiled from: Proceedings and Debates of the Virginia Convention Begun and Held in the City of Richmond, Oct. 5, 1829-Jan. 15, 1830.

Richmond: J.E. Heath, 1829. Fifth Census or Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the U.S., 1830. Washington, D.C.: Duff Green, 1832. Sixth Census or Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the U.S., as corrected at the Department of State in 1840. Washington: Blair and Rives, 1841. DeBow, J.D.B. Seventh Census of the United States, 1850. Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853. Berlin Slaves Without Masters. New York: Oxford Univ Press, 1974. pp. 46, 136, 396-399.

1810

County	Whites	Free Colored	Slaves	Total
Augusta	11232	196	2880	14308
Berkeley	9760	190	1529	11479
Frederick	15547	610	6417	22574
Hampshire	8731	124	929	9784
Jefferson	7967	352	3532	11851
Rockingham	11049	213	1491	12753
Shenandoah	12461	147	1038	13646
Virginia	551,534	30,570	392,518	974,622

1820

County	Whites	Free Colored	Slaves	Total
Augusta	12963	267	3012	16742
Berkeley	9085	228	1898	11211
Frederick	16557	970	7179	24702
Hampshire	9507	103	1279	10889
Jefferson	8707	248	4132	13087
Rockingham	12646	267	1871	14784
Shenandoah	16708	317	1901	18926
Virginia	603,087	36,889	425,153	1065,129

1830

County	Whites	Free Colored	Slaves	Total
Augusta	15256	1059	3592	19907
Berkely	8323	276	1918	10654
Frederick	17361	1241	7430	26032
Hampshire	9789	153	1320	11262
Jefferson	8165	493	4049	16836
Rockingham	17814	36	678	18528
Shenandoah	16795	179	1350	18324
Virginia	694,300	47,348	469,757	1211,405

1840

County	Whites	Free Colored	Slaves	Total
Augusta	15072	421	4135	19628
Berkeley	8758	293	1628	10679
Clarke	2866	169	3326	6353
Frederick	8542	475	1781	10,788
Hampshire	10703	189	1403	12,295
Jefferson	9331	627	4157	14,082
Rockingham	14944	501	1903	17344
Shenandoah	10320	265	1033	11618
Warren	3851	342	1434	5627
Virginia	740,858	49,852	449,087	1239,796

1850

County	Whites	Free Colored	Slaves	Total
Augusta	18983	571	5053	24610
Berkeley	9566	249	1956	11771
Clarke	3614	124	3614	7352
Frederick	12769	912	2294	15975
Hampshire	12379	224	1433	14036
Jefferson	10476	540	4341	15357
Rockingham	17496	467	2331	20294
Shenandoah	12565	292	911	13768
Warren	4493	366	1748	6577
Virginia	894,800	54,333	472,528	1421,528

Clarke and Warren Counties were formed in 1836.

to decline throughout the 1800's. The number of free Negroes continued to increase but there was a decrease in the rate.⁸ I would like to determine the causes of the continuing growth rate of the Frederick County free black community.

As the institution of slavery continued in the state of Virginia, three general methods of manumission evolved. Initially, slaves could only be freed by an act of the legislature. I have found no records of Frederick County citizens petitioning the General Assembly for the freedom of any slaves. They may have felt they were too far away from Williamsburg to trouble with the legal formality.

In 1782 this law was amended when the General Assembly repealed its fifty-nine year prohibition on private acts of manumission and permitted the freeing of slaves by last will and testament and by deed.⁹ Some masters, especially those like Quakers who felt religious scruples about slavery, responded to this opportunity and began freeing their slaves. Initially, the trend was to free blacks as well as mulattoes, field hands as well as house servants. This was no longer true by the beginning of the nineteenth century. After 1800, the number of manumissions began to decline throughout the South.

With the decrease in emancipations, masters preferred to free those they knew best. Black concubines, children of slaveholders, and house servants, were those with the most chance to freedom. The balance of the free black population shifted to women. In general, Negro freemen were older than slaves or whites. Delays in manumissions and difficulties in self-purchase meant fewer blacks achieved liberty before maturity. The low rate of natural increase among free blacks and the dumping of elderly slaves worked to create an older free Negro population.¹⁰

However, free blacks of Frederick did not always fit these patterns.

Freedom was generally granted by deed in Frederick County, with ninety-eight deeds of manumission recorded from 1785 to 1840. There were forty-seven deeds recorded in the twenty-five year period from 1785 to 1815. Masters continued to free their slaves despite the restrictions of the Removal Law of 1806. Although the number of manumissions decreased to sixteen from 1811-1820 there was an increase to twenty-one deeds from 1821-1829. There were only fourteen deeds from 1830-40, with none listed beyond this date in the index. The figures are deceptive because frequently several slaves were freed in each document. Seventy-two of these deeds were abstracted and examined. Thirteen families were awarded their freedom, with six of these being households headed by women. Eighty-nine men and sixty-nine women completed the manumissions.

Unfortunately, deeds for the city of Winchester could not be examined to complete the picture of the development of the free black community. The original records were not available for research and the microfilm was of an extremely poor quality. I was unable to decipher enough from it to make a meaningful analysis from the records.

Thirty-four deeds were utilized in Frederick County from 1785 to 1806. The major reason given for the granting of freedom was 'for diverse good causes and considerations'. 'Christian charity' played a role as did 'meritorious and faithful service'. Several people also quoted the 1782 law which now made the practice legal.

The last will and testament as a manumission tool allowed a slaveowner to continue to use his Negroes throughout his life while guaranteeing them their freedom. This method was also useful for allowing his heirs to benefit from the slaves until they should arrive at a certain age where they could take care of themselves. Slaveowners employing this method often added conditions to the possession of freedom. If the act,

condition, or event was to be determined before the slave could claim his freedom, it was considered valid. If the act occurred after freedom was granted, then the condition was invalid.¹¹

Andrew Longacre, a Quaker, employed this method when arranging for the freedom of his slave Venice. She was to be manumitted upon his death; if she had any children they would be granted freedom at age eighteen if female and at twenty-one if male. Without this provision her children would have remained slaves since children followed the status of the mother at their birth.¹² Venice was seventeen when Andrew Longacre prepared his will so it seemed likely that she could have children before his death. In this case, the master utilized conditions to further protect the well-being of his former slave.

In 1832 Thomas Cooper utilized conditions to grant Jack his freedom "provided he will leave the state of Virginia in one year."¹³ He did not provide Jack with funds towards this goal. Jack must have succeeded because there were no records of him returning to servitude.

Many of the whites used wills to transfer the ownership of slaves to a family member and not until the second owner died would the slave receive his freedom. Casper Rinker arranged for his daughter Catherine to inherit his slave Rachel and her children, Enoch and Peter, upon his death. Rachel and her offspring were to receive their freedom upon the death of Catharine.¹⁴ This plan may have been of more benefit to Enoch and Peter than to Rachel since she needed to outlive two masters before her freedom was secured and she was already an adult herself. In this case, Catharine only survived her father by two years so by 1804 Rachel, Enoch, and Peter were free.

A number of people purchased their freedom. Moses McGuire paid \$500 to Sigismund Stribling for his freedom on May 5, 1817.¹⁵ Rachel

Docherty was awarded her freedom by Robert W. McCleave for the sum of \$150. The arrangement was made January 16, 1824 and by January 5, 1829 she had fulfilled her obligations by paying \$25 each year. She was allowed to work for wages and to use them as she saw fit while she made her yearly payments.¹⁶ There is no evidence of how these two earned the money to fulfill their contracts.

Mrs. Ann Kerfoot left her servant woman, Winny, \$100 to purchase her freedom. Mrs. Kerfoot made this arrangement because upon her death Winny was to go to William Kerfoot. This meant Ann Kerfoot could not manumit Winny any other way. William Kerfoot was willing to accept this agreement and on August 3, 1829 Winny's freedom was recorded.¹⁷

Robert Carter, a prominent landowner in eastern Frederick County and Westmoreland County, manumitted several hundred slaves over the course of many years.¹⁸ His trustee, Benjamin Dawson, oversaw the efforts after his death in 1797. From January 6, 1800 to April 3, 1804 Dawson prepared deeds of freedom for seventy-two people in Frederick County.¹⁹ (see Table #2)

Many of these families remained in the area. Their names continue to appear in records of free blacks for Winchester and Frederick County. Several of them, such as Robinson, Harris, and Thompson remain prominent in the black community today.

DEMOGRAPHICS AND FAMILY PATTERNS

In 1793 a law was passed which stated: "Free Negroes or mulattoes shall be registered and numbered in a book to be kept by the town clerk, which shall specify age, name, color, status, and by whom and in what court emancipated. Annually the Negro shall be delivered a copy for twenty-five cents. A penalty is fixed for employing a Negro without a certificate; the Negro may be committed to jail. Every free Negro shall once in every three years obtain a new certificate."¹

Many Virginia clerks, seemingly including that of Frederick County, listed them in the County Order Books. Although no separate Register of Free Blacks is available in the clerk's office, the Virginia State Archives houses a collection of three hundred and sixty-five Certificates of Freedom from 1796 to 1860 for Frederick County.

These provide the name, physical description, age, source of freedom, date of registration, and frequently indicate family relationships. They are signed by white men who attest to the truth of their contents.

A study of these Certificates shows that the ratio of males to females registering for a Certificate remained equal until the 1840's when more men registered through 1860. There were also more blacks than mulattoes during this time period. In general, most of the registrants were free born and fell within the twenty to twenty-nine age group. Although the law does not dictate at what age a certificate is required, it appears to be a sign of maturity when they were no longer under the responsibility of a parent or guardian.

These certificates also included detailed descriptions of the free-men. Careful attention was given to shades of color. People were described as being mulatto, black, brown, yellow, dark, light, or copper colored. Men were never described as being yellow and women were never

considered copper. Variations of shading were given as either light, dark, or bright. Height, scars, and other distinguishing marks were also carefully noted. This provides a vivid picture of some of the free blacks. The Certificates were the only proof that a Negro was free and not a runaway slave. Therefore, it was important that they described the person thoroughly so there could be no question of their identity.

The earliest record was that of Patty Robinson, dated September 5, 1796, emancipated by Robert Carter at eighteen years of age.² On August 4, 1815 Joel K. Rider gave oath that "Susan Carey, a negro woman aged twenty-seven years, five feet three inches tall, dark colored with left foot smaller than the right and a small scar on her right hand was born free. She was the daughter of Flora Carey, who was born free before 1806."³ Thus, we have two generations of free born blacks from a very early time. Susan Carey was also exempt from the removal law of 1806, as she was granted her freedom before that date.

Since the records are incomplete, it is difficult to determine what percentage of the free black population registered with the county clerk. Free men who were well known in the community or who seldom traveled beyond the town may not have felt the need to be listed as often as the law required. However, many free blacks were aware of the importance of this register and frequently initiated action to be recorded, as in the notice of Phobe Gorman. Hugh Holmes certified that: "I have known Phobe Gorman as a free woman for twenty-six years past when she lived on Col. Briscoe's estate. She had many children. Some of who were bound to him I set at liberty when arrived at twenty-one years of age. Her daughter Becky has been born since Col. Briscoe set Phobe [and her] husband free and since they moved off the plantation she is desirous of Becky's freedom being recorded". On August 17, 1818 Phobe's wish was

granted and Becky's freedom was recorded in the Frederick County Court.⁴ This also demonstrates the importance of the support of influential white members of the community.

Another telling aspect of these certificates is their delineation of family relationships. They frequently give one, or both parents, and how they obtained their freedom. This is exemplified by George Fletcher, "a Negro man, twenty-four years old, five feet eight inches tall, somewhat inclined to balding with a dark brown complexion, son of James and Henny Fletcher, that is born free, born in Frederick County". This was dated May 2, 1853 and signed by George A. Grove.⁵ This also shows that his mother, at least, was free by 1829, when he was born, and implies that his parents were both free, married at that time and had remained in the area.

We also have the example of Mary Morgan who in 1837 was: "Free born, her mother being liberated by Robert Carter, deceased".⁶ This also demonstrates the longevity of some families in the area, since Carter freed his slaves in 1791.

Children were occasionally listed with their mother's certificate. Louise Miller, "was a bright mulatto woman, forty-seven years old, five feet, eight and one-half inches tall, straight and well-formed, with a scar above the little finger of the left hand, a small mole on her upper lip, and her left eye turned in." She had been emancipated by Archibald Magill on February 11, 1821 and in 1847 was the wife of Clarence Jefferson Miller. Although her maiden name was not given, this document also listed the names and ages of her six children by Clarence Jefferson Miller. They ranged in age from two to fourteen years. They were all considered light mulattos and were born free.⁷ Their father was listed on a separate certificate and was a light mulatto, age thirty-six years,

five feet seven inches tall, with fine, straight hair. He had been emancipated by H. Milton Baker who signed his Certificate of Freedom, as well as the one for his wife, in October 1847.⁸

Although the early census records do not provide the rich and varied source of information of the later years, they are useful for presenting a suggestion of the community growth. However, evidence depends on the care of the census taker and those queried for the details of their lives. Recent runaways and free blacks without documentation of their status would not have made themselves available for questioning by county officials. Therefore, the numbers reported should be considered low, a problem increased because the records were difficult to decipher. There may be some discrepancies in my compilation of the data and that recorded in published recapitulation schedules. The community of Winchester appears separately in many of the records. I have compared the census records of 1820 and 1850 to trace the family patterns and overall growth and composition of the free black community.

In studies of free Negroes throughout the South, it appears that the rate of growth decreased beginning in 1810, though the number of free Negroes continued to grow at widely varied rates in different regions. Growth was caused by the manumissions of slaves, slaves' purchasing their freedom or running away, and by natural increase in population. The uneven nature of this growth was a result of the variety of economic and social changes throughout the South.⁹

The 1820 census for Frederick County listed 618 free blacks. Of the 259 households, which I counted, 87 had free blacks at their head. These included 323 people in the families. The remaining 173 individuals were listed as being in households headed by whites. A number of these were in households which included slaves as well as the free blacks.

However, there were no clues to the occupations which would account for the mixed workforce. Presumably some planters employed free blacks who were worked along with their slaves, or perhaps at different tasks.

Households ranged in size from the single person, (e.g. Josiah Fawcett),¹⁰ to the twelve member family headed by Samuel Reynolds.¹¹ The average size was four people per household. When looking at the eighty-four households headed by free blacks, it is interesting to note that sixty-two were headed by males and twenty-two by females.

Frederick County did not appear to have a matriarchical society of free blacks, despite evidence throughout the South that women comprised the majority of the free black population. Households headed by women averaged four members in size. They frequently included men in an age group which appears to mark them as mothers and sons. One example of this is Mary Jones who headed a household of four people: One female over forty-five, a female between twenty-six and forty-five, a female between fourteen and twenty-six, and a male between twenty-six and forty-five.¹² There are no details giving names and relationships so one can only surmise that Mary headed a household with three children, or two children and an in-law, married to one of the children, or perhaps a child, an in-law and a grandchild. The home of "Free Betsy" listed: Three males under fourteen, one female between fourteen and twenty-six, and one female between twenty-six and forty-five.¹³ Betsy appears to have four children in her family.

The community of Winchester had 234 free blacks living within the city limits. There were 36 households headed by free blacks, including 96 people in the families. The remaining seventy-nine people were listed in households headed by whites. A number of these households also included slaves, as did the domiciles in Frederick. Again, there

was no evidence to explain the diversity in the workforce.

Households again ranged in size from the single person of James Randolph,¹⁴ to the fifteen member household of Jonathan Robinson.¹⁵ The majority of the households had two members, half the average size of those black-headed families in the county. Of the thirty-six homes headed by free blacks, nineteen were headed by women. This is a higher percentage than those in the county. These ranged from the single person "Free Minny"¹⁶ to Betsy Harmaugh whose seven person household included : three males under fourteen, two females under fourteen, and two women between twenty-six and forty-five.¹⁷

Two free black women owned slaves, possibly their relatives. Milly Lewis' household included a male slave over forty-five and herself, a free female over forty-five.¹⁸ And Elizabeth Green, a free female between fourteen and twenty-six owned a male and female slave both over forty-five.¹⁹ It appears that Green may have owned her parents, while Lewis possessed her husband. None of the men were listed as owning slaves.

Over half of the free black population were under the age of twenty-six, with 289 of them between infancy and fourteen. This was the largest segment of the population, followed by young adults between fourteen and twenty-six, adults between twenty-six and forty-five, and those forty-five and older. Each succeeding age group was a smaller proportion of the total population. With the substantial population of children, it appears that the growth of the free black community would be largely the result of natural increase.

Males outnumbered females in early age groups. However, between twenty-six and forty-five, there were fifty more women than men; and there were ten more women in the over forty-five age group. This could be

because women were granted freedom more often than men or enjoyed greater longevity.

The 1850 Frederick County Census was a rich source of information. It provided the head of the household, as well as the names, ages, and occupations of the members of the household, in addition to the data on sex and race.

This census listed 330 free blacks. Of the 143 households which I counted, 59 had free blacks at their head. These included 253 people in the families. The remaining 84 individuals were listed in households headed by whites. The records did not indicate if slaves lived in the households.

A number of these were black men who appeared to have been hired as laborers by farmers and businessmen. A case in point is that of Thorton Hopewell, age 22. His occupation was listed as laborer and he was in the household of Henry P. Montgomery, a white farmer, age thirty-six.²⁰ Many of the young women were listed in white households with several young children, so it seems as though they were hired to help with their care and the housework. Eliza Garrett was eighteen years old and lived in the household of Philip Hite.²¹ Although she did not have a designated occupation, she was living with a family who had seven children, ages six months to fourteen, so it seems highly probable she assisted with them.

Approximately one-fourth of the white households with whom blacks served can be found in the records of the Hopewell Meeting House. The Quakers had abolished slavery among their members in the eighteenth century and were known to be supportive towards free blacks. This suggests the closeness of Quakers to the free black community, some of them perhaps descendants of slaves the Quakers manumitted. In such cases the black families seemingly had been given land to farm or other occupations on

Quaker-owned land.

Households ranged in size from the single person, like Polly Gilkeson, to the eleven member family headed by Brokenberry Brumback. The average size remained four people per household. Although the 1850 census does not list relationships, it often appeared that multi-generational family units were in the same household. Brokenberry Brumback's household included James, age twenty-five, Harriet, age seventeen, and Jane, eight months, grouped together at the end of the household list, as in a family unit.²³

Of the fifty-nine households headed by free blacks, forty were headed by males and nineteen by females. This is a higher percentage than in the 1820 census and suggests a growing matriarchal quality to the population.

Many of these households with women at the head included males who listed an occupation. They were frequently in an age group which would mark them as mothers and sons. Mary Taylor, age sixty, headed a household of seven people, including Jonathon, twenty-nine; Nimrod, twenty-two, and Isaiah, fifteen (all laborers); Rebecca, twenty-five; Eliza, sixteen, Mary, five; and Patsy Spence, seventy.²⁴ This is another example of an extended family in the household.

Women heading households with young children could have a husband who was a slave on a nearby farm. An example of this is Jane Bullett, age seventy, who lived in the household of James Coe with six members of her family. Frances, age thirty, appears to be her daughter and the five children aged five to twelve could be her grand-children.²⁵ They are all listed as black so it is unlikely that they are mixed children of James Coe and Frances Bullet. She may have been a widow, but it is equally likely that her husband was a slave who lived on a nearby plantation.

Winchester had 217 free blacks living within the city limits. There were 77 households headed by free blacks, including 151 people in the families. The remaining 66 people were listed in households headed by whites.

Households ranged in size from the single person of Louise Parker²⁶ to the eleven members household of Polly Williams. Polly's dwelling includes eight members of the strange family who may have been in-laws. The four adult men in the household worked as laborers.²⁷ The majority of the households had five members.

Of the seventy-seven homes headed by free blacks, forty-five were headed by women. This is a higher percentage than those in the county and a significant increase over the nineteen households of 1820. More women may have lived in town because they had more opportunities for employment.

Over half of the free black population were children under the age of twenty, 271 of these between the ages of infancy and ten years old. This was the largest segment of the population, followed by teenagers, young adults in their twenties, and adults in their thirties and forties. Each succeeding age group provided a smaller proportion of the total population. There were 502 females to 400 males, with women outnumbering men in each age group. With the substantial population of children, it appears that the growth of the free black community could be seen as the result of natural increase.

EMPLOYMENT AND RESIDENCY

For the free black community to increase and prosper, they had to work. Many free Negroes lived in the countryside and worked the land as farmhands and laborers. Urban freemen had the opportunity for a wider diversity of trades but wages generally remained low. Free Negro women were usually forced to work as well. Many black women were the head of their households and it frequently took the combined efforts of several adults to maintain the family.¹ How did free blacks support themselves and their families in the Winchester and Frederick County community? Did they hold menial positions or were a few able to advance enough economically to owning their own business? A variety of records have been utilized in the exploration of these questions.

Personal Property Tax Lists were made on a yearly basis for both white and black males. Men were taxed for being between sixteen and forty-five, free, and for owning personal property such as livestock and slaves. Free blacks usually appeared in a separate list or were designated with the initials F.N. which stood for Free Negro. Records for the city of Winchester were maintained separately. These lists have been useful for the identification of free blacks and to trace the growth of the population between census years. However, the census generally listed more freemen than do the Tax Records since the census included all ages.

In 1801 a law was passed which required the commissioners of the revenue to return a complete list of all free Negroes within their district. This was to be prepared annually and was to include names, sex, place of abode, and trades. A copy of the list was to be placed upon the courthouse door.² This apparently helped to keep the white community aware of the free blacks who 'belonged' in the area.

A few of these lists have been located for the area. They are filed with the Personal Property Tax Lists in the Virginia State Archives. These gave the names of both males and females, color, sex, place of abode by street, and occupation or calling. They included people who did not appear on the Personal Property Tax Lists and provided additional detail of the free blacks.

Personal Property Tax Lists for the City of Winchester were examined from 1782 to 1860. The 1789 report yielded the first listing of a free black, William Brown. In 1800, three Negroes were listed, but by 1805 the list had grown to ten. There were one hundred and twenty freemen listed by 1860. Winchester had a core of stability in its citizenship of free blacks as seen in the reappearance of James Gray,³ Edward Morgan,⁴ Abraham Britton,⁵ and Edward Butler,⁶ from 1800 to 1830. Surnames such as Robinson, Jordan, Gray, and Johnston appear in increasing numbers up to 1860, indicating a growth and continuation of the families.

Frederick County Personal Property Lists began listing free blacks in 1802 when thirteen men, three wives, and six single women were recorded in the district of William Kercheval. It is not clear if taxes were levied or if this was in compliance with the law of 1801. Over the years many of them such as George Brutus,⁷ William Grigg,⁸ Anthony Harris,⁹ John Newman¹⁰ and James Robinson¹¹ continued to be listed which demonstrates the continuous residence of these freemen. As in the city, additional people with these surnames began to appear throughout the time studied indicating that sons and grandsons remained in the area. An example would be that of the Grigg family. William Grigg of 1810 was followed by Anthony Grigg of 1833-45 and Robert Grigg of 1851.

These records indicate the range of occupations practiced by free blacks in Winchester from 1803 to 1851. (see Appendix 1) While the

majority of the men were listed as laborers, a number of specialized trades also appeared. John Frazer was a blacksmith, Edward Morgan a shopkeeper,¹² Peter Beswick and Dennis were hostlers,¹³ William Robinson was a shoemaker, and Jefferson Newman was a distiller.¹⁴ Mike Barnett and Peter Ransom earned their living as fiddlers.¹⁵ These men also appeared in the Personal Property Tax Lists over a period of years. Edward Morgan appeared as early as 1802 and was listed until 1821.

The women, like white women, had less job variety. They were primarily washerwomen or spinsters. Here spinster means a woman whose occupation is spinning. Celia Brutus was a house servant¹⁶ while Nelly Quinn was a midwife.¹⁷ Susanna Butler worked with Charles Butler as a baker.¹⁸ Both the men and women continued in these professions over a period of years which indicated economic stability and acceptance by the white community. Dennis was listed as a hostler in 1804, 1807, and 1809 when he appeared as Dennis Johnson. Nelly Quinn was a midwife from 1803 to 1809. Winney Morgan and Sally Tospott were spinners from 1803 until 1807.

Personal Property Records for Frederick County also included separate registers of free blacks. In 1802 Bob, a free man, was listed as being a shoemaker with Thomas Stribling. William Guir was a carpenter and Betsy Fenton was a spinner. In later years, the list was expanded to include the names of the people that free Negroes were employed with, but occupations were not included.

The "Occupational Survey 1850 of Frederick County-Winchester, Virginia" by Ben Ritter listed one hundred and twenty-four positions for a total of 3,105 people. Free blacks appeared in eleven of the job categories. They did not monopolize any trades but apparently worked with, and for, the white men in the occupations.

The 1850 census, Winchester and Frederick County combined, listed professions for 142 blacks and mulattoes. Nearly two-thirds of these were laborers and nine were designated as farmers. The remaining twenty-five were craftsmen. A variety of skills were represented : druggist, Alexander Robinson;¹⁹ huckster, Isaac Gray;²⁰ skindresser, Thomas Byrd;²¹ barber, Sawney Bell;²² carpenter, James Sisco;²³ tanner, Alfred Newman;²⁴ seven shoemakers, seven blacksmiths, three coopers, and two brick moulders. They range in age from the fifteen year old Alfred Newman to sixty year old Talifara Stribling, a shoemaker.²⁵ The average age was thirty-two. Several of these craftsmen were independent businessmen. One of the most successful was Harrison Murray, a blacksmith who had two free blacks, Thomas Brown and James Tokus, in his employ.²⁶ Of course, others worked for white businessmen such as Abraham L. Burgess, a miller, who employed George Smith and Henry Bullett, a cooper and a laborer.²⁷

The precise meaning of these occupational categories in relation to wealth status is ambiguous. For example, Lewis Briscoe is listed as a laborer, although he owned real estate valued at \$400. William Briscoe and his two sons were listed as farmers although he owned no land according to the census.²⁸ I am unable to determine if the freemen or the census taker assigned these designations or on what they were based.

James Johnston reviewed twenty-five thousand legislative petitions to the Virginia General Assembly for his study, Race Relations in Virginia and Miscegenation in the South, 1776-1860. Approximately one-tenth of them were related to slaves and free Negroes. He cites many instances where free Negroes were restricted against trades. In nearby Culpeper County a group of white mechanics requested the passage of a law to prevent Negroes from being apprenticed to a trade in 1831.²⁹ However, this did not seem to occur in Frederick County. There were

enough economic opportunities so whites did not feel threatened by free blacks competing in the work force. Land ownership by free Negroes was limited and varied from area to area. White attitudes toward land ownership of free Negroes had a greater impact than the ratio of freemen to slaves. They would control what land was available at what price. They could impose special conditions upon the purchaser, or refuse to sell.³⁰ Many of the free Negroes lived in the country-side, with white employers or on their property.

The Personal Property Tax Lists showed that the majority of free blacks living in Winchester dwelt on Loudoun and Cameron Streets. (These were two of the main streets in the town.) Freemen were also listed as living on the other streets in the city, though in lesser numbers. I have not been able to ascertain if they lived in the outlying section or in the center of town, but the census indicates that whites and blacks lived intermixed in the community or at least on the same streets, rather than in clearly segregated sections.

To determine land ownership I have examined land tax records and deed books for Winchester and Frederick County, as well as census records for 1850. The earlier census records did not list property ownership, and early land tax records did not designate free blacks. Therefore, I reviewed the names for those appearing in the census and early personal property tax lists; none were located through 1820.

The Winchester and Frederick County Deed Books however, were indexed and noted "Negroes" and "Colored Persons." The earliest property ownership which was found in this survey was in 1817. Milly Lewis, a free woman of color, sold lot #87 in Middletown, Frederick County, Virginia to James Bennett on October 17, 1817. He paid \$50.00 for her one-half acre of property.³¹ According to the indenture recorded by the court,

she had inherited this land from Dr. Peter Senseny in 1814.³² Milly Lewis is recorded in the 1820 Winchester census where she is head of the household so she apparently remained in the area after selling the property in Middletown.

The extant land tax records yield a great deal of information. They provide name of owner, place of residence, number of acres, name of tract, distance from the courthouse, the value of land per acre, the value of buildings on the property, and the tax on the tract. However, they did not always indicate race. Frederick County land tax records were examined from 1782 to 1860.

In 1795 Henry Hamilton was listed as a free Negro of Dyle Catlett and as owning ninety acres of land. He was recorded again in 1796, but no additional details were given.³³ No free blacks were listed until Isaac Gray appeared in 1841 and 42 as owning $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres ten miles from Winchester in Nefftown. He continued to add to his holdings and by 1860 had 69 acres adjacent to William Bailey.

Fortunatas Sydnor owned $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres near Stephensburg according to the 1841 land tax records.³⁴ However, there is a deed recorded in April 1831 where he purchased the land from George Lynn and his wife Ann. He paid \$25 an acre for his real estate.³⁵

The 1850 Frederick County records listed five black property owners in the northern district. The property ranged in size from the three acres of William Barnett to the one hundred and twenty acres of Lewis Briscoe.³⁶ The southern district did not list any free blacks at this time. In 1851 there was little change in the status of land ownership although the southern district now listed Evelina with three lots in Middletown,³⁷ a small community ten miles south of Winchester. By 1852 Robert Taylor had increased his holdings from sixteen acres in 1850 to

eighteen and one-half. He continued to live ten miles to the northwest of Winchester, near Warm Springs, and adjacent to J.B. Hackney, a white man.³⁸

Seventeen free Negroes were listed as owning property in Frederick County by 1860, although seven of them owned only one acre. These lots were described as either New Town or in Negro Lower, and eight miles south of Winchester. New Town is now the small town of Stephens City, but no one today is familiar with a section called Negro Lower. Blacks who owned land in the county were frequently located on ridges and along small streams, not the best farming land. They appear to be interspersed through the county and generally had white neighbors. Everyone was listed as owning their land by fee simple which meant the estate would potentially last forever and descend to one's heirs, or the owner could sell it whenever he chose.

Of the 330 free blacks I counted in the 1850 census, only thirteen listed the value of real estate. (This data was not given in the earlier census records.) There was a range from property worth \$300 owned by Robert Robinson, a laborer,³⁹ to \$6,000 owned by George Spenser, the shoemaker.⁴⁰ Large property owners included: Brockenberry Brumback, a farmer with \$2100;⁴¹ Isaac Gray, a huckster, with \$1,000;⁴² Lewis Briscoe, a laborer, with \$400.⁴³ The only black woman mentioned, Sarah French, was single, age forty-five, listed no occupation, but owned property worth \$600.⁴⁴ Milly Barbour headed a household, but it was her sons, Alfred, a laborer, and Alexander, a brickmoulder, who were said to own \$300 each of real estate.⁴⁵

Winchester Land Tax Records also show the growth of property ownership, although many of the earlier records were unavailable for review. In 1855 eighteen free blacks owned property, most of them small parcels

of land, some only a portion of a lot. A number of women owned land in the city. By 1860 the number of freemen who owned property in Winchester had doubled. Many of them who owned land in 1855 continued to maintain their holdings. An example is Sally French who remained at 15 S. Clifford. While her property did not raise in value from its \$400 appraisal of land and \$500 of the house, her taxes increased from \$1.50 to \$2.40.⁴⁶ Winchester residents were paying 40¢ per \$100 value in 1861. This rate was the same for both blacks and whites. There were no "black only" neighborhoods.

There are discrepancies between the census records and the land tax records, as Sally / Sarah French demonstrates above. People listed in the census do not always appear in the land tax records and vice versa. The land tax records are the more reliable, since they do not depend on the occupants' statements. Census takers usually queried occupants and recorded their responses, while tax assessors examined the property and recorded their conclusions. Tax records, since money was involved for both owners and government, were likely to be more carefully done.

A few slaves were given parcels of land when they were manumitted. Thomas Bryan Martin freed his Negro slave Minney in May 1789.⁴⁷ In July of that year he also provided her with twenty-seven acres of his plantation for her use during her lifetime. She was to pay a yearly rent of an ear of corn.⁴⁸ However, the majority of free blacks purchased land for money.

In the following case they worked together to obtain property in Frederick County. Ferguson Hambleton and Lewis Toles jointly purchased a tract of land along the drains of the Opequon. They paid Daniel Watson \$470 on March 15, 1822 for sixty acres.⁴⁹ There is no indication of the relationship of these men nor of how long they continued their partnership.

It seems reasonable that people of limited means would combine their resources for advancement. There were probably many similar agreements made, but no others have been located that were formally recorded.

Freemen also inherited property from relatives. Peyton Washington recorded his will April 17, 1857 and it was probated August 2nd. His nephew, William Peterson, had an easy estate to settle. Peyton gave his dear wife Lydia her freedom, the land he owned, the furniture, household utensils, livestock, and their savings in the bank. He detailed the property boundaries at some length so there could be no question of her inheritance.⁵⁰

Ownership of land was one of the few rights which free blacks were allowed. White attitudes controlled its availability, but they did not eliminate the possibility of obtaining property. Whites in Winchester and Frederick County did not appear to object to property ownership by free blacks. They were willing to sell land to them and to assist in the acquisition of the valuable commodity.

BLACK WHITE INTERRELATIONS

The free Negro was an anomaly in American society. He did not belong with slaves but was not permitted to participate in the white world either. Free blacks created difficulties for whites merely by surviving, and occasionally prospering, despite the generally hostile environment in Virginia.¹

Yet free blacks depended on the goodwill of the white population. Influential whites were needed to sign Certificates of Freedom which enabled free blacks to attest to their status and to retain it. They also prepared petitions to the Legislature on issues, both pro and con, which affected the black community. Overseers of the Poor, sheriffs, judges, lawyers, and ministers dealt with free blacks in a variety of situations. White citizens of Frederick appeared to be supportive toward the freemen in the area. These relations between free blacks and whites cannot be documented but only inferred from the existing records.

In Virginia, a number of laws were passed that gradually restricted the lives of free blacks. However, these laws were enforced with varying degrees throughout the region and frequently generated local legislative petitions protesting their inhumanity.

Members of the Methodist and Quaker churches of Frederick and Loudoun Counties united to present a petition on November 8, 1795. They were advocating the gradual emancipation of all slaves in the state of Virginia. They felt that this action would further justify the "glorious and ever memorable Revolution," would strengthen the state, and was vital to the religious growth of the state and its citizens.²

This did not occur, of course. Instead, the Removal Law of 1806 was passed. It stated, "Any slave hereafter emancipated who shall remain within the commonwealth more than twelve months shall forfeit all such right,

and may be apprehended and sold by the overseers of the poor of any county or corporation in which he shall be found for the benefit of the poor of such county or corporation." It was later modified so free blacks could be granted special permission by the General Assembly and then the local courts to remain in Virginia.³

Frederick County had a number of petitions on behalf of freemen to allow them to stay in the community. On October 13, 1812, Samuel Reynolds, a free man of color, requested permission to remain in Frederick County.⁴ One month later Samuel's wife Franky had a similar request to the General Assembly. Charles Berkeley and John Rust signed this petition for her.⁵ John and Bennet Rust also attested to the good character of Samuel Reynolds and his wife Franky. The 1820 census listed Samuel Reynolds and his eleven member household so it appears that the General Assembly approved their request to remain in the area.⁶

Relations between free blacks and slaves are also hinted at in the petitions. John Russell in The Free Negro in Virginia, 1619-1865, points out a number of reasons why freemen had wives who were slaves. They could be relieved of the burden of supporting their families and could perhaps share their lodging and rations. More importantly, these family ties may help protect them from the Removal Law of 1806. If the free husband was a useful member of the community and behaved well, he would have a greater likelihood of having the support of his wife's master which would be beneficial in inducing the authorities to allow him to remain in the area. If he stayed in the community, he would not encourage his family to become runaways.⁷

This is exemplified by the petition of James Bessick. In 1816 he appealed to the General Assembly to remain in the area. His request to the County Court had never been reviewed and he was told to leave the

state. This would require him to leave his wife and children who were slaves, and cause great hardship. His petition was signed by fourteen members of the community but I could not determine if his wife's master was among them. These supporters included Bennet Rust who had endorsed the character of Samuel and Franky Reynolds four years earlier.⁸ James Bessick was not included in the 1820 census so it seems that his petition was denied.

Quakers in the area opposed the law of 1806. In December 1823, members of the Hopewell Friends Meeting petitioned the General Assembly of their regret at the continuation of the removal efforts. They felt so strongly about this, that they would no longer serve on grand juries who would review cases of free Negroes who remained in the area beyond the limitations imposed on them.⁹

Not all of the petitions were in support of free blacks. In 1836, there was a request for a law which would require owners who freed their slaves to provide funds for their removal out of the state and to provide for their maintenance for a year. These funds were not to be given to the freeman, but were to be administered by the Court. If the freeman remained in the state, he would revert to slavery. The twenty-three men who signed this petition felt that "next to the existence of slavery, the partial emancipation of slaves is the greatest evil among us".¹⁰

Petitions in 1838¹¹ and 1847¹² supported the African Colonization Movement and recommended using public money to send Negroes to Liberia. These paralleled efforts throughout Virginia to remove blacks from the state. There was little overlap of the signers on all three petitions. In fact, there were decreasing numbers of supporters each year the issue was presented.

This may have been caused by the fact that the county of Clarke was

formed in 1836. This eastern bloc of Frederick was very supportive to the Colonization Movement and probably sent their own petitions once they were an independent county.

In 1820 Overseers of the Poor were required to investigate the condition of all freemen every three months. Overseers had the power to declare them vagrants if they could not sustain themselves by their own labor. Vagrants could be removed from the Commonwealth or sold into slavery.¹³ Therefore, the Overseers of the Poor were active in arranging indentures for young free blacks. Their primary concern was that the free blacks learn a trade so they would not be a drain on the community's resources.

An example would be Daniel, a free born bastard mulatto, who was bound to William Cather for six years to be trained in the business of a tanner. John Baker and Barnet Hall, Overseers of the Poor for Frederick County, signed the court order on May 20, 1816. We know that Daniel completed the terms of this agreement because on September 20, 1823 J.W. Hall is certified that Daniel has served his apprenticeship and reached the age of twenty-one on or about April 5, 1821.¹⁴

Females were also indentured. Rebecca Hackney, the twelve-year-old daughter of Sylvia Hackney, was apprenticed to James Anderson until she was eighteen years of age. She was to learn the trades of knitting, sewing, and spinning, and was to receive the sum of fifteen dollars at the expiration of her term. This agreement was signed by George Lynn and Simon Carson, Overseers of the Poor, and James Anderson, on August 21, 1821.¹⁵

Young children were frequently apprenticed at this time. Elizabeth Ann was bound to Henry Sullivan to learn the trade of spinner, knitter, and sewer by the Overseers of the Poor. She was two and one half years

old at the time and was to serve until she was eighteen. She was the daughter of Jeffrey Ryan.¹⁶ Boys such as Samuel Wingfield, five years old, were apprenticed until the age of twenty-one. Wilson Smith was to teach him the trade of a farmer.¹⁷

A number of laws were passed over the years to permit the hiring out of free blacks to raise money for taxes they were unable to pay. The first law was in 1782,¹⁸ but the first evidence located of it in Frederick was not until much later.

The Personal Property Tax Lists included registers of free Negroes who were offered for hire by the sheriff because they had not been able to pay their taxes. Records were available for 1851, 1853, 1854 and 1859. No one person appeared on the lists every year but various members of some families appeared regularly. Henry Champ,¹⁹ Hamilton Newman,²⁰ and Abraham Spence²¹ were listed a number of times. There was no information given about how long these men were required to work to pay off their taxes or if they were jailed until they could comply. There is no indication that this method was employed with whites who could not pay their taxes.

The Winchester Gazette and the Winchester Republican were local newspapers published in the nineteenth century. They included discussions of state and national events, legislative action, and local news, although ads comprised the majority of the copy. The papers were published weekly and averaged four pages in length. There was an occasional notice of a colored person from another county or state but little data was provided on local freemen. The articles about blacks were primarily ads regarding runaway slaves.

It was against the law in 1831 for Negroes to be educated, so a high rate of illiteracy is to be expected. The freemen were generally in the

entry level of occupations so they would not be in a position to advertise their services. This lack of coverage also demonstrates the peripheral position of free blacks in the area and the reluctance of the white community to publicly recognize them.

Religion was one of the few areas where free blacks could display some leadership, despite increasingly confining legislation. In 1832 a law was passed which restricted Negroes from religious activities. Slaves and freemen were forbidden to conduct religious meetings. They were not even to attend a meeting, even one conducted by a white minister, without written permission.²²

Bishop Asbury, a Methodist minister, visited the area in 1786 and preached "to many white and black people."²³ Over the years the Methodists continued this ministry to Negroes. Market Street Methodist Church, the first Methodist church established in Winchester, offered Sunday School classes for colored people and sponsored the John Mann Methodist Church for them.

Earliest extant records for the Market Street congregation are 1842 with the quarterly conference report and membership role. Colored preachers Amos Garrison, Benjamin Hamilton, John Garrison, and Isaac Gray were listed as well as colored exhorters Robert Robinson and Lewis Martin. Members of the church taught five colored Sunday School classes. Representatives from these 'Colored Official Members' attended the quarterly conference meetings, although the minutes do not indicate what role they played.

They recorded two hundred and fifty-one colored members and fourteen probationers by February 21, 1859. There was no distinction between slaves and freemen, although many of the names appear on official lists of free Negroes. Just two years earlier, on July 1, 1857 the church board had passed a resolution to appoint a committee of Market Street members to

raise funds for a new church for the colored people of the station. They also authorized the colored preachers and exhorters to collect contributions towards this endeavor.²⁴

John Mann was a white man who donated the land on Cork Street for the building which was erected in 1858. At this time free blacks were not allowed to meet and worship without a white man present, so John Mann filled this function and upon his death was buried in a crypt at the base of the church.²⁵ Very little is known about this man who was so supportive of the congregation. He is not listed in the census records or death register. He does not even appear in the records of the Market Street Church. The knowledge we have of him is through local folklore.

I have been unable to locate original records for other denominations. Local histories tell us that in 1858 the Baptists sold a church building to the Colored Baptist Church. They used this facility until 1863 when Federal troops appropriated it for a stable. At the close of the war, the congregation leased it to the School Board of Winchester for the use of the colored school. The Mount Carmel Free Will Baptist Church was organized in 1866.²⁶ This church and John Mann Methodist Church continue to function today.

Monday (or Mundy) Robinson and his family continually appear in a variety of records in the area. Although his parentage cannot yet be documented, there have been Robinsons in the free black community since Lucy Robinson in 1803.²⁷ Mundy first appeared in the Personal Property Tax Lists in 1815 when he was listed as owning a horse.²⁸

He continued to acquire property and on June 3, 1824 Monday Robinson borrowed \$490 from Nash L. Gorden. William L. Clark served as his trustee. Monday used his slaves, Polly, Elliot, Louisa, and William; one hack, two horses, and his share, 2/3, of a crop of grain on John Gordon's plantation

for collateral. He was to retain possession of his property unless he defaulted on his loan. If a sale became necessary to pay off his debt, he promised to give up his property peaceably. He was to repay his creditor in three installments over the next nine months.²⁹ Monday must have been able to raise the necessary funds by the deadline because there were no further records regarding his debt.

On Feb. 2, 1849 he recorded his will in the Frederick County Clerk's Office. It was probated May 5, 1851 when the clerk appointed John G. Miller as executor of the estate. His sole disposition was to emancipate his four children: Sally, Charles, Archibald, and Josh.³⁰ The estate sale of his large collection of personal belongings was not held until April 1856.³¹ The executors report included amounts received for the hiring of the Robinson children. The estate was not completely settled until August 1857.³² Their emancipation was never formally recorded in the deed book nor are there Certificates of Freedom for them although they apparently remained in the area.

In 1858 several court cases were brought against free blacks for remaining in state contrary to law. T.K. Cartmell in Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and Their Descendants states that Monday Robinson and his large family gave much trouble from their influence among the slaves in the southern part of the county which led to their indictments.³³ However, the court proceedings as given in the Circuit Court Order Book do not mention any reasons for the case. Many of the defendants appear on the list of free negroes who could not pay their taxes so it seems likely that this is the real cause for their attempted removal. The court cases were begun in the November term of 1858 and were continued beyond November 1861. Over the course of the three years the defendants withdrew their pleas of not guilty but they were never sentenced.³⁴ The community saw

much military action during the Civil War, changing hands seventy-nine times, so I would assume these court cases were dropped during a period of Union occupation. Robinsons appear in the 1860 census so it would seem that they remained in the area.

The index to this material is woefully inadequate and did not indicate race. The records were surveyed but few cases located. However, I feel that a more thorough search of the records would yield more court action involving free blacks. With the large free black population in the area, litigation may have been frequent.

As free blacks acquired property, it seemed reasonable to believe that they would begin to write wills. "Negro John" had the first will for the time period studied. It was recorded on April 28, 1807.

After funeral charges were paid, John gave his three sons and daughter by his first wife five shillings apiece. He wanted his wife Nancy and her daughter Miniata to share the rest of the estate. His grandsons were to receive the remainder at the death of his wife. He appointed David Lupton, a Quaker, to be his executor.³⁵ The estate was not completely settled until April 3, 1815. Apparently this was when Nancy died, at which time the final disposition of property could be made. David Lupton received five pounds, eight shillings, and eight pence from the estate for his efforts over the eight year period.³⁶

Peter Ransom left his wife Charlotte "all my property real and personal" on September 12, 1822. He died soon after and his will was proven and recorded just eighteen days later on September 30th. The settlement was simple so no executor was appointed.³⁷

These men must have hired lawyers or had legal advice donated because their wills were written in legal terminology. Everything was processed according to the law and their families benefitted from their

foresight. Unfortunately, this was not true in all cases.

Philip Ferguson, a free man of color, requested Humphrey Brooke to prepare his will. Mr. Brooke and his wife visited Mr. Ferguson on November 24, 1829. They discussed his wishes, but Mr. Brooke did not write the will immediately. Philip Ferguson died two days later without his plans recorded.³⁸

Mr. Brooke then testified to the county clerk that it was Mr. Ferguson's wish to leave his wife, Franky, in trust to himself. He was to hire her out so that she might support herself. Franky, however, had a different view of her husband's wishes. She felt that it was his desire to emancipate her.³⁹

The case was heard by the Superior Court in December 1829. The Judge believed Humphrey Brooke and ordered Franky Ferguson to be delivered to him. Franky lost the freedom which was almost in her grasp. She did not have to leave the state since she was still a slave but that must have seemed like a small consolation compared to being free.⁴⁰

Not all of the whites were as unfair as Humphrey Brooke appeared. William A. Baker, John F. Wall, and Henry William Baker went to great lengths in 1836 to aid freeman John Whetz, his wife Nancy, and their three year old daughter, Jacqueline. Nancy and Jacqueline were slaves and were owned by George Reed. He was preparing to sell them to a Negro trader when John Whetz arranged to purchase them instead.

However, he did not have the money so he had to borrow the funds. John F. Wall loaned him \$125 and Henry William Baker borrowed \$375 from the Farmers Bank of Virginia to loan to John Whetz. This meant that Baker paid the interest and bank expenses for Whetz. In exchange, Whetz agreed to bind himself to Henry William Baker to be hired out to pay off this debt. His wife and child were to be held by William A. Baker, the trustee,

until the debt was paid.

This was a complex legal agreement for the two families. (Henry William Baker was the son of William A. Baker.)⁴¹ However, it is difficult to tell if the Bakers were motivated by altruism or by the opportunity of financial gain: i.e. the 'use' of two adult servants until the loan could be paid. It is not known how long John Whetz labored for the freedom of his family.

Freemen generally borrowed small sums of money and used items of personal property for collateral. They were usually allowed to continue using it unless they defaulted on payments. A trustee was always involved in the transactions to insure the rights of both the borrower and the lender. These deeds of trust seldom indicated a specific reason for the loan so it cannot be determined if they were tenant farmer situations.

The white community appeared generally helpful towards the free blacks. While the majority of these cases related indicate a willingness to assist freemen, there is nothing to suggest a sense of equality with them. Whites continued in a caretaking role, though perhaps at the invitation of free blacks rather than a sense of obligation.

CONCLUSION

There was an active free black community in the Winchester-Frederick County area. Earliest records located demonstrate that there were free Negroes in the area as early as 1785. They continued to live in the area and increased in number over the years.

This was a wheat farming and commercial center which required a variety of skilled and unskilled labor to succeed. It was a good economic area for free blacks. The Pennsylvania Dutch who settled the area were generally supportive to the freemen so it was a community where they could prosper. While more indepth work is needed to delineate the relationship of rural free blacks and urban free blacks, it does appear that the city of Winchester offered more economic opportunity than did the county.

There were a number of manumissions from 1785-1806. These freed slaves seemed to be a core for the free black community. Each census reviewed indicated large numbers of young children so it seems the general growth was a result of natural increase although masters continued to free their slaves over the years. Free blacks did play a vital role in the development of the community so it is exciting to be able to document their existence.

APPENDIX 1

OCCUPATIONS OF FREE BLACKS

1802	1803		
<u>Blacksmith</u>		<u>Hostler</u>	
Harry Frederick County		Edward Morgan	Loudoun Street
<u>Carpenter</u>		<u>Laborer</u>	
William Guir Frederick County		John	B Loudoun Street
		Mingo	B Cameron Street
<u>Farmer</u>		Ned Butler	- Loudoun Street
Adam Frederick County		John Cunningham	B Cameron Street
		Daniel Lucas	B Loudoun Street
<u>Shoemaker</u>		Timothy Tospott	- Fairfax Street
Bob (living with Thos. Sibling)		<u>Midwife</u>	
Frederick County		Elinor Quinn	
<u>Spinner</u>		<u>Spinner</u>	
Betsey Fenton Frederick County		Caty	- -----
		Lilly	B Braddock Street
		Molly	B Cameron Street
		Nancy	B Cameron Street
		Polly Cole	M Cameron Street
		Rachel Cunningham	B Cameron Street
		Rebecca Gray	- -----
		Patty Mingo	B Cameron Street
		Winney Morgan	M Loudoun Street
		Sally Tospott	- -----
		<u>Tinker</u>	
		William Brown	B Cameron Street
		<u>Washerwoman</u>	
		Phyllis Stead	
		Ester Whitsell	B Picadilly Street

Data compiled from:

Virginia State Archives. Personal Property Tax Lists, Frederick County, 1782-1860. Personal Property Tax Lists, City of Winchester, 1782-1860. U.S. Census Records, 1850. Frederick County, Virginia.

1804

<u>Hostler</u>		
Dennis	B	Loudoun
<u>Laborer</u>		
John	B	Loudoun
Simon	-	-----
Ned Butler	-	-----
William Gowns	B	Loudoun
James Gray	-	Loudoun
Daniel Lewkes	-	-----
Patty Mingo	-	Cameron
Robert Mingo	-	-----
Edward Sims	B	Loudoun
Timothy Tospot	-	Cameron
<u>Midwife</u>		
Nelly Quinn	-	Washington
<u>Seamster</u>		
Charlotte Gray	-	Loudoun
<u>Spinner</u>		
Betty	-	-----
Jane	-	Braddock
Nancy	-	Cameron
Rachel	-	-----
Molly Gaskin	M	Cameron
Caty Halkin	-	-----
Sally Tospot	-	-----
<u>Tinker</u>		
William	-	Cameron
<u>Washerwoman</u>		
Peggy	-	-----
Phyllis	-	Water
Becky Gray	-	Loudoun
Winney Morgan	M	
Ester Whitesell	-	-----
<u>Welldigger</u>		
John Cunningham	-	-----

1806

<u>Blacksmith</u>		
John Frazer	B	Cameron
<u>Hostler</u>		
Dennis	B	Loudoun
<u>Laborer</u>		
John	B	Loudoun
Nathaniel	B	Loudoun
Edward Butler	B	Kent
James Gray	B	Loudoun
Simon Hawkins	B	Kent
John Jenkins	M	Cameron
Daniel Lucas	M	Loudoun
Robert Mingo	B	Kent
James Scott	B	Kent
Jesse Spencer	B	Loudoun
Timothy Tospott	B	Cameron
<u>Midwife</u>		
Nelly Quinn	-	Cameron
<u>Shopkeeper</u>		
Edward Morgan	B	Loudoun
<u>Spinster</u>		
Nancy	B	Loudoun
Philace Deuhit	B	Cameron
Milly Fountain	B	Cameron
Suzanne Freazer	B	Cameron
Molly Gaskin	M	Kent
Charlotte Gray	M	Loudoun
Rebecca Gray	B	Loudoun
Betty Hawkins	B	Kent
Suky Jenkins	M	Cameron
Mary Landon	B	Loudoun
Winney Morgan	B	Loudoun
Milly Smith	M	Kent
Sally Tospot	B	Cameron
Ann Walls	B	Cameron
Caty Walls	B	Cameron
<u>Washerwoman</u>		
Ester	B	Braddock
Patty Robinson	B	Loudoun
Marjory Spencer	B	Loudoun

Hostler

Dennis	B	Loudoun
Peter Besick	B	Loudoun

Laborer

Daniel	M	Cameron
Mace	B	Braddock
Mingo	B	Kent
William	B	Amherst
William	B	Stewart
Michael Barnett	M	Amherst
Edward Beswick	M	Cameron
Edward Butler	B	Cameron
Nathaniel Donwell	B	Kent
James Gray	B	Loudoun
Simon Hawkins	B	Kent
Daniel Lucas	B	Cameron
James Scott	B	Cameron
Jesse Spence	B	Kent
Timothy Tospott	B	Kent

Shopkeeper

Edward Morgan	B	Loudoun
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Spinster

Jane	B	Cameron
Rachel Cunningham	M	Cameron
Milly Fountain	B	Kent
May Gaskins	M	Kent
Rebecca Gray	B	Loudoun
Elizabeth Hawkins	B	Kent
Martha Ming	B	Kent
Winney Morgan	M	Loudoun
Margery Spence	B	Kent
Sally Tospott	B	Cameron
Ann Walls	B	Cameron
Catherine Walls	B	Cameron

Washerwoman

Ester	B	Stewart
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Baker

Charles Butler	M	Loudoun
Susanna Butler	B	Braddock

Fidler

Mike Barnett	M	Braddock
Peter Ransom	B	Loudoun

Hostler

Peter Besick	B	Loudoun
Dennis Johnson	B	Loudoun

Laborer

Charles	B	Kent
Nat Burwell	B	Cameron
Ned Butler	B	Cameron
Ned Crawbar	B	Loudoun
Samuel Duland	-	-----
John Fortune	B	Cameron
John Gardner	-	-----
James Gray	B	Loudoun
Sandy Gray	B	Cameron
Benjamin Hamilton	M	Braddock
Simon Hawkins	B	Kent
James Heatt	B	Kent
John Lafferty	B	Kent
Robert Mingo	B	Braddock
Ned Morgan	B	Cameron
William Prim	M	Cameron
Marc Randolph	B	Loudoun
Timothy Tospott	B	Loudoun
Ned Wheatley	M	Cameron

Midwife

Nelly Quin	M	Cameron
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Spinster

Betty	B	Dodson
Nancy	B	Loudoun
Susanna Ball	B	Loudoun
Suzanna Buzzard	M	Loudoun
Rebecca Canter	B	Kent
Elinor Garnham	M	Loudoun
Molly Gaskin	B	Braddock
----- Gray	B	Cameron
Betty Hawkins	B	Loudoun
Kitty Hawkins	B	Cameron
Nelly Hawkins	B	Kent
Jude Jones	B	Loudoun
Patty Mingo	B	Braddock
Nancy Morgan	M	Cameron
Charlotte Ransom	M	Loudoun
Ginny Robinson	B	Cameron
Else Spencer	B	Braddock
Sarah Tospott	B	Loudoun

Waiter

----- Hetter	-	-----
Daniel Weas	B	Cameron
Charles Robinson	-	Loudoun

Blacksmith

Dennis (Front Royal)
 Isaac Harris
 Levy Lewis
 Bill Robertson
 Tompson Tasko
 Is Wiath

Carpenter

Armistead Bundy
 Fortune Natus
 Jack Randall
 John Robinson

Cooper

Ben Allen
 William Marlow

Distiller

Dennis
 Jefferson Newman

Farmer

Simon Allen
 Jack Barber
 Elijah Brown
 Jack Gumby
 Anthony Harris
 Manuel Jackson
 George Johnston
 Nelson Jones
 John Newman
 Tom Robinson
 Sam Runnells
 James Thompson

near Wapping
 Smoke Town

House Servant

Dianah
 Elia
 Sally Miller
 Rachael
 Celia Brutus
 Kitty Miles

Laborer

Edward
 Lewis
 Manuel
 Nelson
 Patty
 Polly
 Suzy
 Tom
 Elijah Alford
 Sam Hackney Jr.
 James Johnston
 John Johnston
 Sam Nelson
 Jack Tompson
 Aaddus Walker
 George Wells

Shoemaker

Jack
 William Robinson

Wagon Maker

Israel

1850 CENSUS

Baker

Moses Leonard	49	B
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Barber

Sawney Bell	28	M
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Blacksmith

Thomas Brown	18	M
Henry Champ	25	B
Enoch Jenkins	30	B
Lewis Jenkins	27	B
Harrison Murry	35	B
James Tolcas	22	M

Brickmoulder

Alexander Barbour	32	B
William Williams	16	M

Carpenter

James Sisco	55	B
-------------	----	---

Cooper

John Bark	22	M
George Smith	30	M
John Wallage	21	M

Druggist

Alexander Robinson	39	B
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Huckster

Isaac Gray	48	M
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Shoemaker

James Brumback	--	-
Philip Henderson	30	M
James Ranson	22	B
Franklin Robinson	37	B
George Spencer	37	M
Talifaro Stribling	60	M
John Williams	--	-

Skindresser

Thomas Byrd	28	M
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Tanner

Alfred Newman	15	B
---------------	----	---

Baker

Fanny Taylor - 45

BlacksmithHenry Champ - 26
Enoch Jenkins - 28
Lee Jenkins - 27
Jonathan Taylor - 30CookJanus Brown - 24
Betsy Cary - 28
Lydia Coleman - 40
Mary Coleman - 13
Lucy Jackson - 24
Susan Jenkins - 30
Charlotte Posey - 50
Sarah Verrie - 35
Martha Wonder - 17CooperMartin Jones - 42
George Smith - 26
John Wright - 21Farmer

Harry Wells - 65

HousekeeperAlcinda Allen - 25
Henny Fletcher - 52
Lavennia Fletcher - 14
Susan Fletcher - 30
Fanny Forge - 18
Chrissa Jackson - 22
Alamanza Jenkins - 22
Martha Ann Jenkins - 25
Charlotte Johnson - --House ServantMartha Coleman - 12
Lucy Forge - 16
Catherine Jefferson - 21
Mary Jenkins - 22
Elizabeth McKay - 27
Eliza Smith - 20
Lucinda Wells - 18Knitter

Polly McKay - 70

PotterBenjamin Howard - 26
Abram Spenser - 63SawyerGeorge Brown - 30
William Peterson - 30Seamstress

Delilah Williams - 23

ShoemakerLewis Ambrose - 35
Richard Cain - 19
James Fletcher - 63
Monday Robinson - 70
Issac Wormly - 36Spinner

Atria Dial - 45

Spinner and CookFlora Cary - 60
Martha Cary - 30StoneblowerThorton Fletcher - 20
Lee Jackson - 25WagonerMadison Sower - 30
Robert Verrie - 40WagonmakerJesse Helm - 40
Henry Johnson - 45
Levi Johnson - 35WasherMary - 45
Christinna Armstead - 35
Hanna Champ - 20
Fanny Taylor - 35
Henry Wells - --
Rachel Winters - 60Washer and Cook

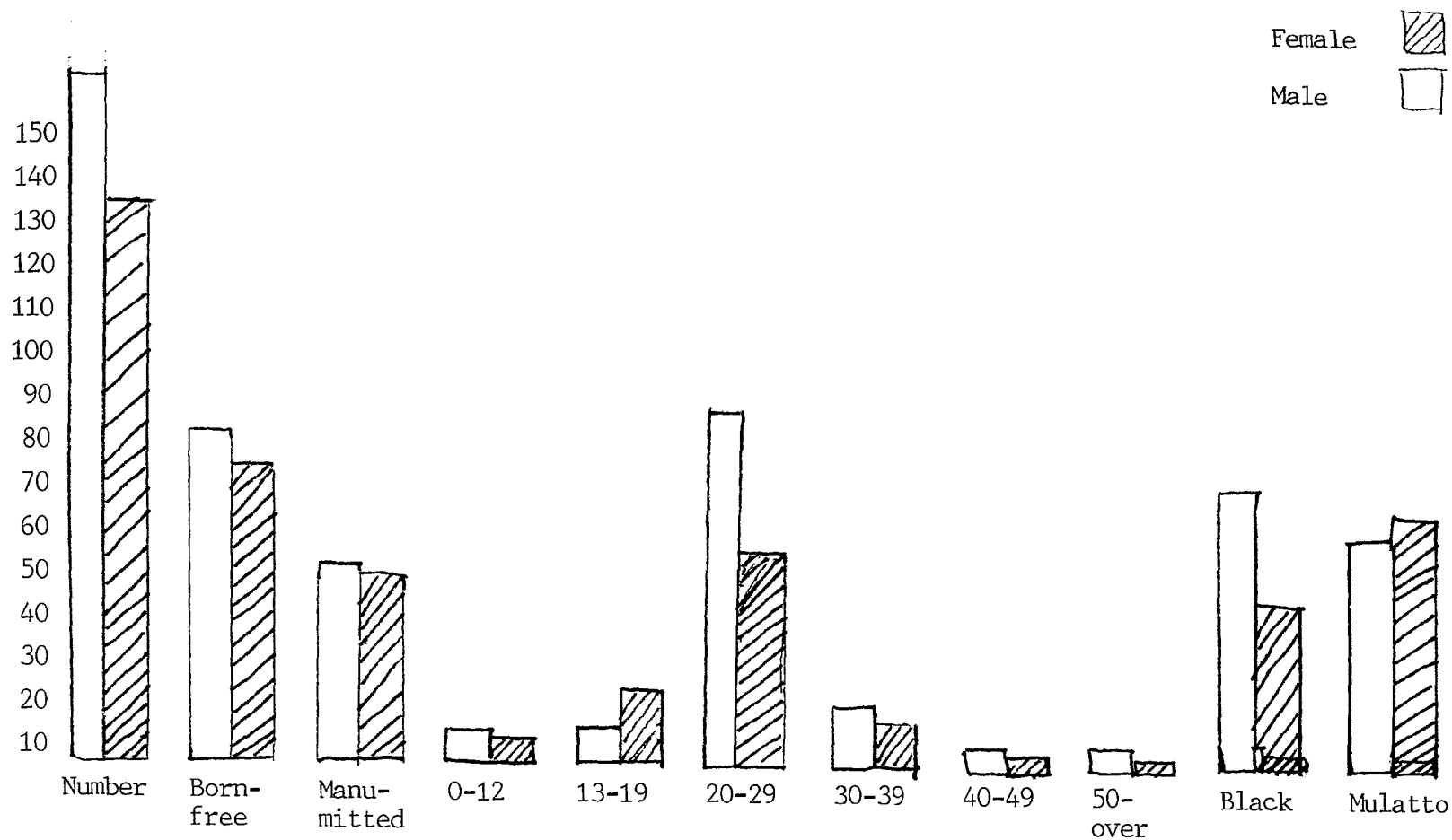
Jane Wells - --

Washer and Housekeeper

Phoebe Forge - 45

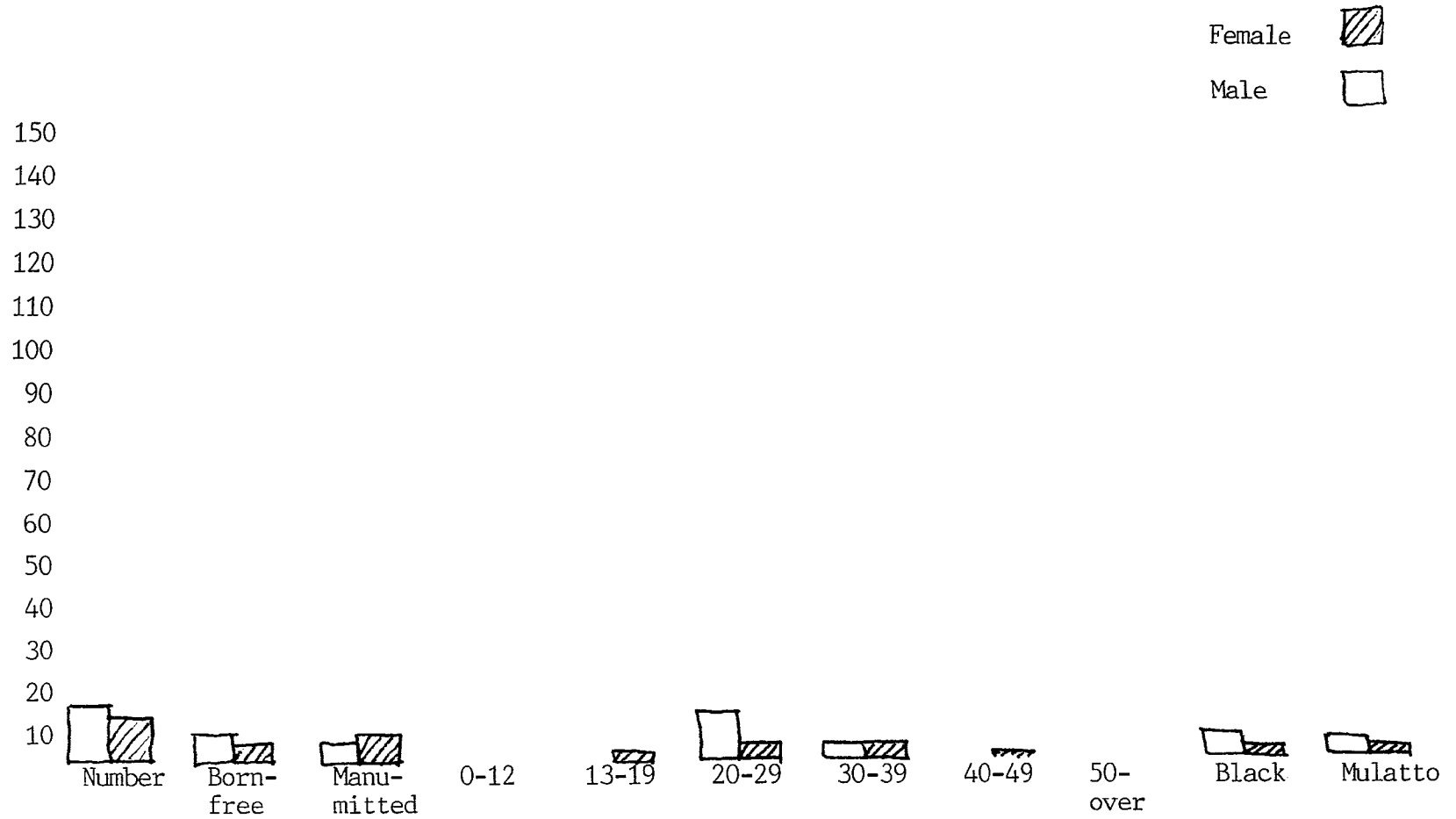
WivesSarah A. Ambrose
- 34
(wife of Lewis)
Jane Sower - 33
(wife of Madison)

APPENDIX 2 CERTIFICATES OF FREEDOM
1790-1860

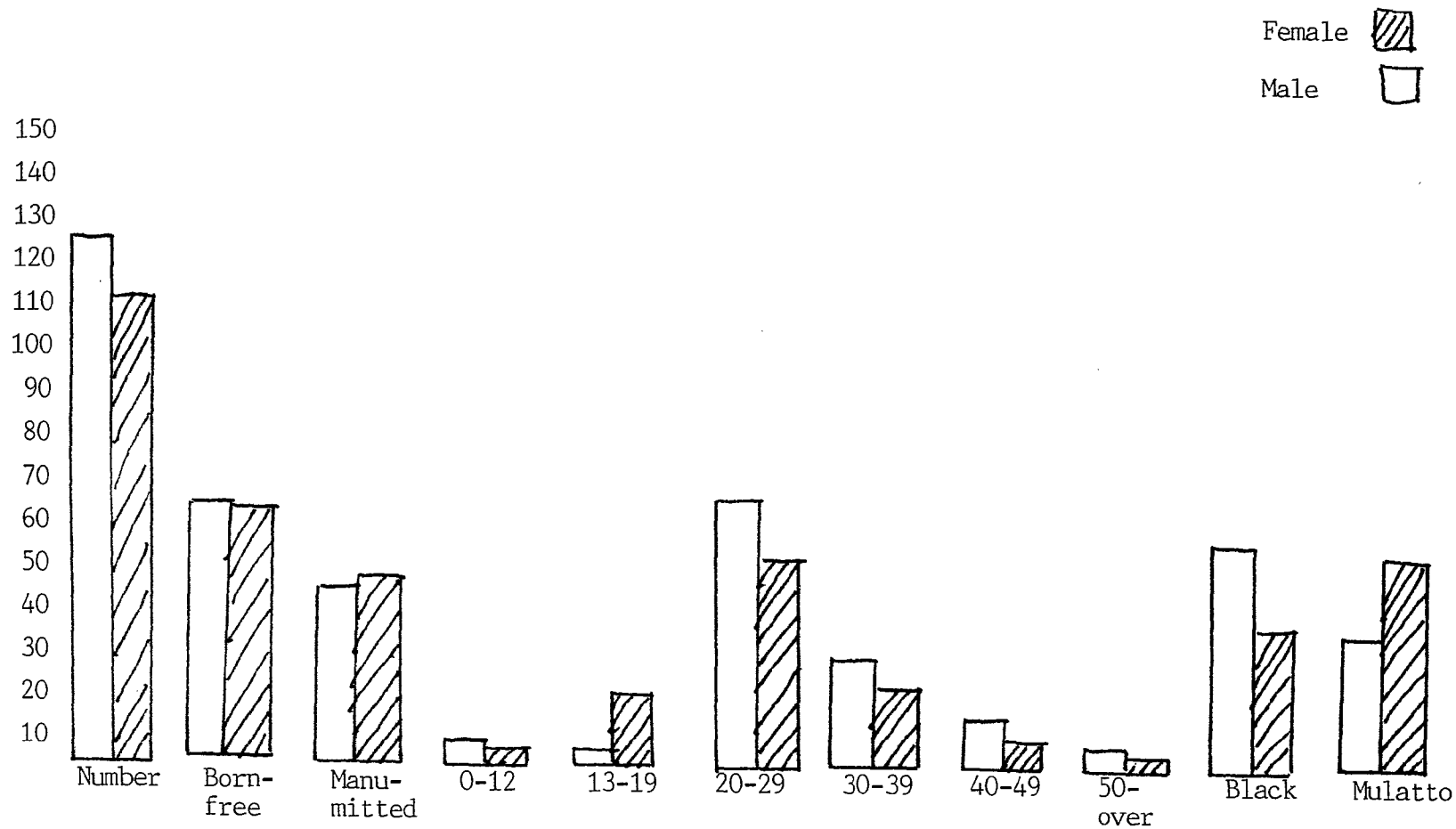


Data compiled from: Virginia State Archives, Frederick County Virginia Clerk's Office Papers, Certificates of Freedom, 1796-1860, incomplete.

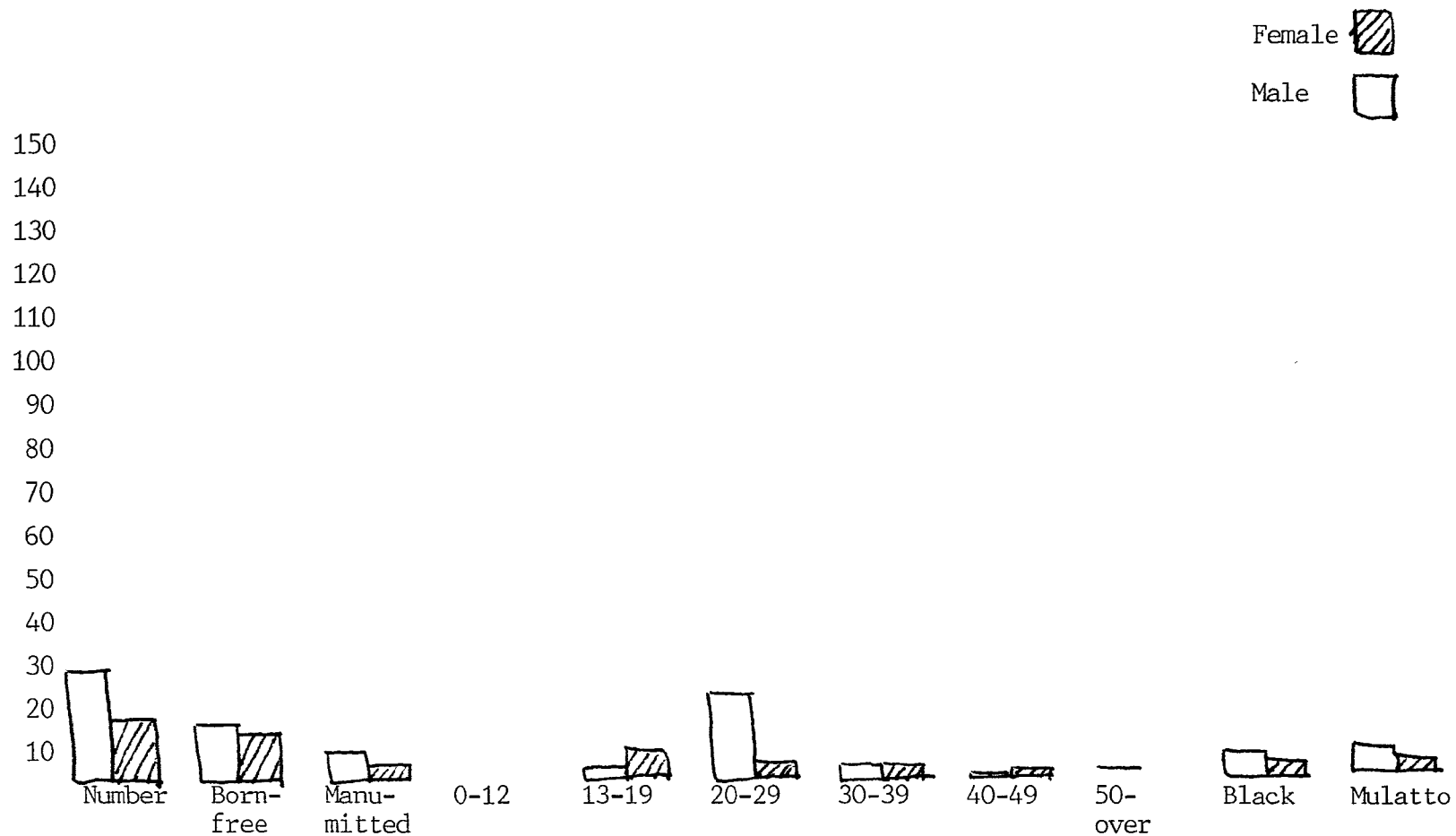
CERTIFICATES OF FREEDOM
1790-1835



CERTIFICATES OF FREEDOM
1840-1849



CERTIFICATES OF FREEDOM
1850-1860



ENDNOTES

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¹John W. Wayland, Twenty-five Chapters on the Shenandoah Valley 2nd ed. (Harrisonburg, Virginia: C.J. Carrier County, 1976), p.14.

²Warren R. Hofstra, A Separate Place (White Post, Virginia: Clarke County Sesquicentennial Committee, 1986), p.3.

³Ibid., p.5-6.

⁴Thomas K. Cartmell, Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and Their Descendants (Winchester, Virginia: by the author, 1908; reprint ed., Berryville, Virginia: Chesapeake Book Company, 1963), p.18.

⁵Hofstra, p.11.

⁶Ibid., p.21-22.

⁷Cartmell, p.126-127.

⁸Ira Berlin, Slaves Without Masters (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), p.135-138.

⁹June Guild, Black Laws of Virginia (Richmond, Virginia: Whipp, Whittet and Shepperson, 1936), p.106.

¹⁰Berlin, p.174-175.

¹¹John H. Russell, The Free Negro in Virginia, 1619-1865 (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1913; reprint ed., New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1962, p.87.

¹²Frederick County Deed Books, Frederick County Clerk's Office, Winchester, Virginia, Book 21, p.717. (hereafter cited as Frederick County Deed Books).

¹³Ibid., Book 59, p.31.

¹⁴Ibid., Book 29, p.18.

¹⁵Ibid., Book 40, p.194.

¹⁶Ibid., Book 55, p.22.

¹⁷Ibid., p.385.

¹⁸Berlin, p.59.

¹⁹Frederick County Deed Books, Book 26, p.236.; Book 27, p.134, 420; Book 28, p.17, 330.

DEMOGRAPHICS AND FAMILY PATTERNS

¹Guild, p.95.

²Patty Robinson, Certificates of Freedom, Frederick County Clerk's Office Loose Papers, Virginia State Archives, Richmond, Virginia, 1791-1860. (hereafter cited as Certificates of Freedom).

³Ibid., Susan Carey, 1795-1812.

⁴Ibid., Becky Gorman, 1813-1818.

⁵Ibid., George Fletcher, 1853-55.

⁶Ibid., Mary Morgan, 1853-55.

⁷Ibid., Louise Miller, 1847.

⁸Ibid., Clarence Jefferson Miller, 1847.

⁹Berlin, p.135.

¹⁰U.S. Census Records, Frederick County 1820, p.4.

¹¹Ibid., p.7.

¹²Ibid., p.24.

¹³Ibid., p.27.

¹⁴Ibid., p.31A.

¹⁵Ibid., p.41.

¹⁶Ibid., p.44.

¹⁷Ibid., p.41.

¹⁸Ibid., p.44.

¹⁹Ibid., p.42.

²⁰U.S. Census Records, Frederick County, 1850, p.250.

²¹Ibid., p.325.

²²Ibid., p.338.

²³Ibid., p.210.

²⁴Ibid., p.228.

²⁵Ibid., p.208.

²⁶Ibid., p.306.

²⁷Ibid., p.276.

OCCUPATION AND RESIDENCY

¹Berlin, p.224-225.

²Guild, p.25.

³Winchester, Virginia Personal Property Tax Lists, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia, 1805,1810. (hereafter cited as Winchester Personal Property Tax Lists).

⁴Ibid., 1805, 1810, 1815, 1819.

⁵Ibid., 1821, 1825.

⁶Ibid., 1805, 1810.

⁷Frederick County Personal Property Tax Lists, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia, 1803, 1804, 1813, 1834, 1835. (hereafter cited as Frederick County Personal Property Tax Lists).

⁸Ibid., 1803-1805, 1810.

⁹Ibid., 1803, 1804, 1810, 1813, 1833.

¹⁰Ibid., 1803-1805, 1810, 1813.

¹¹Ibid., 1805, 1811-1813.

¹²Ibid., 1806.

¹³Ibid., 1807.

¹⁴Ibid., 1820.

¹⁵Ibid., 1809.

¹⁶Ibid., 1820.

¹⁷Ibid., 1803.

¹⁸Ibid., 1809.

¹⁹U.S. Census, Frederick County, 1850, p.275.

²⁰Ibid., p.305.

²¹Ibid., p.290.

²²Ibid., p.310.

²³Ibid., p.307.

²⁴Ibid., p.298.

²⁵Ibid., p.308.

- ²⁶Ibid., p.312.
- ²⁷Ibid., p.350.
- ²⁸Ibid., p.222.
- ²⁹James Johnston. Race Relations in Virginia and Miscegenation in the South 1776-1860. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1970), p.58.
- ³⁰Jackson, p.111
- ³¹Frederick County Deed Books, Book 40, p.172.
- ³²Ibid., p.187.
- ³³Frederick County Land Tax Records, Virginia State Archives, Richmond, Virginia, 1782-1820.
- ³⁴Land Tax Books, Frederick County Clerk's Office, Winchester, Virginia, 1841-45, 1860. (hereafter referred to as Frederick County Land Tax Books).
- ³⁵Frederick County Deed Books, Book 65, p.317.
- ³⁶Frederick County Land Tax Books, 1850.
- ³⁷Ibid., 1851.
- ³⁸Ibid., 1852.
- ³⁹U.S. Census, Frederick County, 1850, p.305.
- ⁴⁰Ibid., p.292.
- ⁴¹Ibid., p.210.
- ⁴²Ibid., p.305.
- ⁴³Ibid., p.222.
- ⁴⁴Ibid., p.305.
- ⁴⁵Ibid., p.307.
- ⁴⁶Land Tax Books, Winchester Clerk's Office, Winchester, Virginia, 1860.
- ⁴⁷Frederick County Deed Books, Book 21, p.1011.
- ⁴⁸Ibid., p.1065.
- ⁴⁹Frederick County Deed Books, Book 45, p.389.
- ⁵⁰Will Book 25, Frederick County Clerk's Office, Winchester, Virginia, p.502 (hereafter cited as Frederick County Will Books).

BLACK WHITE INTERRELATIONS

- ¹Jackson, p.1.
- ²Legislative Petitions of Frederick County, November 8, 1795, Legislative Petitions, Virginia State Archives, Richmond, Virginia (hereafter referred to as Legislative Petitions).
- ³Jackson, p.6.
- ⁴Legislative Petitions, October 13, 1812.
- ⁵Ibid., November 18, 1812.
- ⁶U.S. Census, Frederick County, 1820, p.7.
- ⁷Russell, p.132-133.
- ⁸Legislative Petitions, December 12, 1816.
- ⁹Ibid., December 6, 1823.
- ¹⁰Ibid., 1836-1838.
- ¹¹Ibid., February 12, 1838.
- ¹²Ibid., 1847-1850.
- ¹³Guild, p.100.
- ¹⁴Certificates of Freedom, 1840-44 "Indentures," September 10, 1823.
- ¹⁵Ibid., 1821-35, August 21, 1821.
- ¹⁶Ibid., 1840-44, November 7, 1821.
- ¹⁷Ibid., 1840-44, October 16, 1821.
- ¹⁸Guild, p.136, 137.
- ¹⁹Personal Property Tax Lists, Frederick County, "List of free Negroes offered for hire..." 1853, 1859.
- ²⁰Ibid., 1851, 1853.
- ²¹Ibid., 1853, 1859.
- ²²Jackson, p.21.
- ²³Cartmell, p.201-202.
- ²⁴Market Street Methodist Church Minute Book, 1842-1876, Market Street United Methodist Church Records, The Handley Library, Winchester, Virginia.

²⁵John Mann Church File, Ellsworth Turner Collection, The Handley Library, Winchester, Virginia.

²⁶Cartmell, p.174.

²⁷Personal Property Tax Lists, Frederick County, 1803.

²⁸Ibid., 1815.

²⁹Frederick County Deed Books, Book 48, p.486.

³⁰Frederick County Will Books, Book 24, p.370.

³¹Frederick County Will Books, Book 25, p.264.

³²Ibid., p.296.

³³Cartmell, p.111.

³⁴Court Order Books, Frederick County Clerk's Office, Winchester, Virginia, 1858-1861.

³⁵Frederick County Will Book 8, p.315.

³⁶Ibid., p.346.

³⁷Frederick County Deed Books, Book 11, p.307.

³⁸Ibid., Book 15, p.357.

³⁹Ibid., p.358.

⁴⁰Chancery Order Book, 1828-1829, Frederick County Clerk's Office, Winchester, Virginia, p.337.

⁴¹Frederick County Deed Book 65, p.49.

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- Winchester, Virginia. Frederick County Clerk's Office. Order Books, 1743-1860, incomplete.
- Winchester, Virginia. Frederick County Clerk's Office. Will Books, 1743-1860.
- Winchester, Virginia. The Handley Library Archives Room. Ellsworth Turner Collection.
- Winchester, Virginia. The Handley Library Archives Room. Market Street United Methodist Church Records.
- Winchester, Virginia. Winchester Clerk's Office. Deed Books, 1790-1860.
- Winchester, Virginia. Winchester Clerk's Office. Land Tax Books, 1850-1860.
- Winchester, Virginia. Winchester Clerk's Office. Will Books, 1794-1860.