

SLAVEHOLDING AND INDENTURED SERVITUDE IN
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY MARYLAND, 1674-1699

by
Philip Marshall Payne

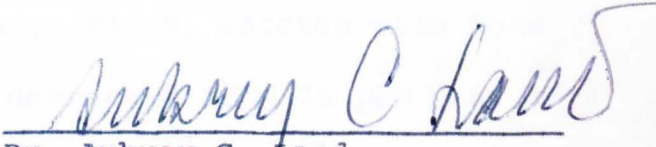
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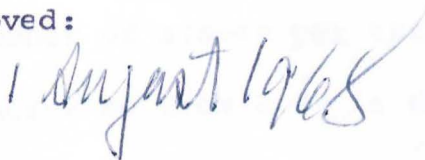
Title of Thesis: Slaveholding and Indentured Servitude in
Seventeenth Century Maryland, 1674-1699

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ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: Slaveholding and Indentured Servitude in
Seventeenth Century Maryland, 1674-1699

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This thesis is concerned with the characteristics of slaveholding and indentured servitude in seventeenth century Maryland, so far as these can be delineated from quantitative data. On the basis of a quantitative analysis of personal estates in the Inventories and Accounts of the Probate Court, several conclusions are apparent. These can best be stated in summary form in six propositions. First, estates with bond labor (slaves and/or servants) decreased from 36 per cent of the total number of estates during the period 1674 to 1679 to 24 per cent in 1695 to 1699. Second, the percentage of estates with slaves (slaves only or slaves and servants) increased from 24 per cent of those estates with bond labor in the period 1674 to 1679 to 72 per cent in 1695 to 1699. Third, the average number of slaves per estate (of those estates holding slaves) increased from 2.89 in the period 1674 to 1679 to 5.50 in 1695 to 1699. The average number of servants per estate (of those holding servants) decreased from 2.88 in the period

1674 to 1679 to 2.15 in 1695 to 1699. Fourth, those who invested 0 to 20 per cent of their total income in bond labor decreased, while those who invested 21 to 40 per cent of their total income in bond labor remained fairly constant. Those who invested 41 to 70 per cent of their total income in slaves and/or servants increased during the twenty-six year period. Fifth, there appeared to be a concentration of slaves in the hands of the wealthy. Over the twenty-six year period, 17.6 per cent of the estates with bond labor held 52.2 per cent of the total number of slaves. Sixth, the average value of male slaves during the period was between L21 and L25; the average value of a female slave was L16 to L20 for the first several decades and L21 to L25 for the last decade. The average value for servants ranged from L1 to L10, with the value increasing as the time of service increased.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. THE PROBLEMS AND THE METHOD	1
Secondary Source Material	2
Primary Source Material	8
II. CHESAPEAKE SOCIETY: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT	17
III. THE DEMAND FOR LABOR: NEGRO SLAVERY	34
IV. COMPOSITION AND DISTRIBUTION OF ESTATES WITH AND WITHOUT BOND LABOR	61
Estates with and without Bond Labor	61
Slaveholding Estates	76
V. SLAVES AND SERVANTS: COMPOSITION AND VALUE	82
Composition of Slaves and Servants	82
Value of Slaves and Servants	95
VI. SLAVEHOLDING AND INDENTURED SERVITUDE IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY MARYLAND: THE CONCLUSION..	119
BIBLIOGRAPHY	125

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Large and Small Estates, 1674-1699	24
2. Indians Listed as Servants or Slaves in the Inventories and Accounts, 1674-1699	42
3. Negroes Listed as Servants in the Inventories and Accounts, 1674-1699	50
4. Number of Estates With and Without Bond Labor by Counties, 1674-1699	64
5. Percentage of Estates With and Without Bond Labor by Counties, 1674-1699	65
6A. Percentage of Estates With and Without Bond Labor According to Income, 1674-1679	66
6B. Number of Estates With and Without Bond Labor According to Income, 1680-1699	67
7. Rates of Change, 1674-1699	68
8. Percentage of Total Income Invested in Bond Labor, 1674-1699	71
9A. Estates with Slaves and Servants by Size of Estates (of those Estates with Bond Labor), 1674-1679	74
9B. Estates with Slaves and Servants by Size of Estates (of those Estates with Bond Labor), 1680-1699	75
10. Number and Percentage of Estates with Slaves and Servants (of those Estates with Bond Labor), 1674-1699	83
11. Average Number of Slaves and Servants per Estate (of those Holding Bond Labor), 1674-1699	85

Table	Page
12. Maryland Population Statistics, 1640-1730	87
13. Estates with <u>Eight</u> or More Slaves (of those Estates Holding Slaves), 1674-1699	88
14. Number of Servants per Estate (of those Estates with Servants <u>Only</u>), 1674-1699	90
15. Number of Slaves per Estate (of those Estates with Slaves <u>Only</u>), 1674-1699	92
16A. Number of Slaves per Estate (of those Estates with <u>Both</u> Slaves and Servants), 1674-1699	93
16B. Number of Servants per Estate (of those Estates with <u>Both</u> Slaves and Servants), 1674-1699	94
17. Value of Male Slaves by Age, 1674-1699	97
18. Value of Female Slaves by Age, 1674-1699	100
19. Value of Male Slaves, 1674-1699	102
20. Value of Female Slaves, 1674-1699	103
21. Value of Slaves without Differentiation (no Reference to Sex and/or Individual Value), 1674-1699	104
22. Time of Servitude of Male Servants, 1674-1699 ...	107
23. Time of Servitude of Female Servants, 1674-1699 .	108
24. Value and Time of Servitude of Male Servants (Men), 1674-1699	110
25. Value and Time of Servitude of Male Servants (Boys), 1674-1699	111
26. Value and Time of Servitude of Female Servants (Women), 1674-1699	112
27. Value and Time of Servitude of Female Servants (Girls), 1674-1699	113

Table	Page
28. Value of Servants Without Differentiation (no Reference to Time and/or Individual Value), 1674-1699	116
29. Value of Male Servants, 1674-1699	117
30. Value of Female Servants, 1674-1699	118

LIST OF MAPS

Maps	Page
1. Percentage of Small Estates, 1674-1699	25
2. Percentage of Estates with Bond Labor (of the Total Number of Estates within Each County), 1674-1699	70
3. Percentage of Slaveholding Estates (of the Total Number of Estates within Each County), 1674-1699	77
4. Percentage of Slaveholding Estates (of those Estates with Bond Labor within Each County), 1674-1699	80

LIST OF GRAPHS

Graph	Page
1. Correlation Between Time to Serve and Value of Indentured Servants, 1674-1699	115

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEMS AND THE METHOD

For many years historians have speculated about the nature of slaveholding and indentured servitude in the Chesapeake region during the seventeenth century. Little concrete evidence, however, has been produced that would support the historical propositions that have been advanced. Few historians have done in-depth studies of the trends and characteristics of American Negro slavery and white indentured servitude in Maryland during this period. Arguments dealing with controversial matters are put forward, yet the data used to verify such arguments is often vague and incomplete. Many of the theories that have been presented are no more than educated guesses proposed by historians who lacked the factual and statistical knowledge that would lend validity to their suppositions. Not until such information is obtained will historians be able to state, with any degree of accuracy, that their hypotheses are indeed correct.

Secondary Source Material

The lack of statistical evidence and quantitative analysis in historical research can be seen in the secondary source materials dealing with seventeenth century Maryland. One major problem has been the questionable quality of the secondary source material itself and the methods historians have used in drawing their general conclusions. Much of the early literature which was published was written by persons in the non-academic world, leaving much of their research opened to question. There have been many historians who have referred to these earlier studies and who have used them as adequate proof for their own historical conclusions. The drawback to this is obvious. If the original study failed to deal adequately with the problem at hand, then those studies which followed and which were often based on the earlier publications could not possibly be accurate. What present day historians must do is to remove themselves entirely from these secondary source materials and concentrate instead on primary research.

Secondary source material dealing with slaveholding and indentured servitude in seventeenth century Maryland can be divided into three classes. First, there are the state histories, which for the most part were written in the

eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹ Basically, these state histories were chronological studies of Maryland with a strong emphasis on provincial political and administrative development. Since few of these early authors had been members of the formal academic world, most lacked the necessary training so fundamental in conducting primary research. In addition, many found it difficult, if not impossible, to view the Negro or the institution of slavery in any other form than a paternalistic arrangement between the master and his slave. This tended to destroy any hope of a realistic evaluation of Negro slavery as it actually existed. What these studies did provide was the initial step in collecting and presenting some basic factual history of Maryland. Much more work is needed, however, to present a truly comprehensive picture.

A more valuable source of information are the general studies dealing with the social and economic development of

¹Matthew P. Andrews, History of Maryland: Province and State (New York, 1929); John Leeds Bozman, The History of Maryland, From Its First Settlement in 1633 to the Restoration in 1660 (Baltimore, 1937); William Hand Browne, Maryland: The History of a Palatinate (New York, 1884); Clayton C. Hall, The Lords Baltimore and the Maryland Palatinate (Baltimore, 1902); Newton D. Mereness, Maryland as a Proprietary Province (New York, 1901); James McSherry, History of Maryland From Its First Settlement in 1634 to the Year 1848 (Second Revised Edition, Baltimore, 1848); John Thomas Scharf, History of Maryland From the Earliest Period to the Present Day (Baltimore, 1879).

the Chesapeake society. Some of the standard works, such as Charles H. Andrews' The Colonial Period of American History, Edward Channing's History of the United States, Herbert L. Osgood's The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, and Wesley F. Craven's The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, all offered an adequate background into the social and economic growth of early Maryland.²

There were also several basic studies which dealt with the agricultural nature of the Chesapeake economy. Easily the most thorough was Lewis C. Gray's History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860 which offered excellent background material covering the economic position of Maryland during this period. Avery O. Craven's Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland was also of great help.³ All of these general studies, however, provided only the beginning for the research that was needed in the field of social and

²Charles H. Andrews, The Colonial Period of American History (New Haven, 1934-1938); Edward Channing, History of the United States (New York, 1905-1925); Wesley F. Craven, The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689 (Baton Rouge, 1949); Herbert L. Osgood, The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century (New York, 1904-1907).

³Lewis C. Gray, History of Agriculture in the United States to 1860 (Gloucester, Massachusetts, 1958); Avery O. Craven, Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860, Vol. XIII of the University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences (Urbana, Illinois, 1926).

economic history in seventeenth century Maryland.

A third class and perhaps the least rewarding were the studies dealing with the institution of slavery in America. Much has been written about American Negro slavery, but little primary research has been done concerning the institution in seventeenth century Maryland. Portions of Jeffrey R. Brackett's The Negro in Maryland dealt with the seventeenth century, but little was said about the social and economic effects of the institution of slavery.⁴ James M. Wright covered the status of the free Negro in Maryland, but the bulk of his study involved the free Negro in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, thus offering little valuable information concerning the seventeenth century.⁵ Several major works, such as Elizabeth Donnan's Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America, Helen T. Catterall's Judicial Cases Concerning American Negro Slavery and the Negro, John C. Hurd's The Law of Freedom and Bondage in the United States, and William W. Hening's The Statutes

⁴ Jeffrey R. Brackett, The Negro in Maryland: A Study of the Institution of Slavery, Extra Vol. VI of the John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science (Baltimore, 1889).

⁵ James M. Wright, The Free Negro in Maryland, 1634-1860 (New York, 1921).

at Large, offer a close look at the documents and legal procedures surrounding the institution of slavery, but make no analysis of the position of slavery in the social and economic structure of the early colonies.⁶

In addition to the three main classes, there were several studies on population statistics which were helpful in determining the approximate number of people in the colonies during this period. Most of these studies were based more on estimates derived from mathematical formulas and scattered information than on concrete evidence. Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington examined the existing census figures and tax lists to determine the American population before 1790.⁷ The United States Bureau of Census also compiled a study which lists comparable figures for the same period. Perhaps the most accurate study, however, was done by Arthur E. Karinen in 1958.⁸ Two chapters of his

⁶Helen T. Catterall, Judicial Cases Concerning American Negro Slavery and the Negro (Washington, D. C., 1926); Elizabeth Donnan, Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America (Washington, D.C., 1930); William W. Hening, The Statutes at Large, 13 Vols. (Richmond, 1819-1823); John C. Hurd, The Law of Freedom and Bondage in the United States (Boston, 1858).

⁷Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790 (New York, 1912).

⁸Arthur E. Karinen, "Numerical and Distribution Aspects of Maryland Population" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1958).

dissertation were later published in the Maryland Historical Magazine.⁹ In his study, Karinen tabulated and recorded the population distribution of seventeenth and early eighteenth century Maryland, county by county. This by far is the most accurate and valuable analysis yet made of the early population distribution of Maryland.

Two final studies need to be mentioned. One is Vertrees J. Wyckoff's "Sizes of Plantations in Seventeenth Century Maryland."¹⁰ In this study Wyckoff chose seven Maryland counties and determined for each the different sizes of plantations, according to pre-arranged classifications. Although he chose only seven counties out of a total of eleven, his research added valuable information which, when combined with supplementary data, pointed to several developing trends.

One last secondary source of significant importance was Elizabeth Hartsook and Gust Skordas' Land Office and

⁹
Arthur E. Karinen, "Maryland Population 1631-1730," Maryland Historical Magazine, LIV (December, 1959), 365-407 and "Numerical and Distribution Aspects of Maryland Population 1631-1840", Part II, Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. LX (June, 1965).

¹⁰
Vertrees J. Wyckoff, "The Sizes of Plantations in Seventeenth Century Maryland", Maryland Historical Magazine, XXXIII (September, 1937).

Prerogative Court Records of Colonial Maryland.¹¹ This publication offered considerable background material concerning the Prerogative Court records and their use. Included was a description of the court records, a list of the colonial probate officers, and an introduction to the history of the court and its procedures.

Primary Source Material

This present study is designed to offer a quantitative analysis of slaveholding and indentured servitude in seventeenth century Maryland. By no means does it profess to answer all of the questions concerning the institution of slavery. This, of course, would be impossible. Rather its purpose is to add to existing information and to point to new areas of study where further research is needed.

Maryland has been extremely fortunate to have preserved most of the early land and probate records. Early in the colonial period the record-making agencies within the province were centralized. Located first at Saint Mary's City, and after 1694 at Annapolis, the land records were under the control of the general assembly -- a body deeply concerned with the property rights of persons within the colony. With the exception of two early mishaps when some of the records

¹¹ Elizabeth Hartsook and Gust Skordas, Land Office and Prerogative Court Records of Colonial Maryland (Annapolis, 1946).

of Saint Mary's and Calvert Counties were destroyed by fire, the records have been well protected and are quite complete.¹²

Some of the most valuable primary source material dealing with slaveholding and indentured servitude in the seventeenth century can be found in the series, Inventories and Accounts, at the Hall of Records in Annapolis. The probate court of Maryland, known as the Prerogative Court in the colonial period, had jurisdiction over the inventories and accounts as well as the wills and testamentary proceedings. In 1674 a separate series was established for recording both the inventories and accounts. This arrangement lasted until 1718 when the inventories and accounts were divided and put into two separate series.¹³ There are approximately 240 volumes of inventories and accounts, twenty of which deal with the seventeenth century. These records which list slaves, servants, debts, and personal property are about as nearly accurate as any evaluations one is likely to find for the colonial period.¹⁴

¹²Hartsook, Land Office and Prerogative Court Records of Colonial Maryland, p. 7.

¹³Ibid, p. 104.

¹⁴Aubrey C. Land, "Economic Behavior in a Planting Society: The Eighteenth Century Chesapeake", The Journal of Southern History, XXXIII (November, 1967), p. 471.

These volumes are rich in information which, if used properly, could make clear many of the misconceptions historians have about seventeenth century society.

The Prerogative Court, like other institutions of Maryland, was a product of gradual evolution.¹⁵ In 1632 a charter was granted Lord Baltimore which gave him complete control over the newly formed colony. Unwilling to leave England, however, Lord Baltimore commissioned his brother, Leonard Calvert, Lieutenant General. Delegating power to those beneath him, Lord Calvert named John Lewger Secretary of the Province and made him responsible for recording the proceedings of the Lieutenant General and his Council.¹⁶ In January of 1637 Lewger was appointed Commissioner . . .

in causes testamentary, to prove the last wills and testaments of persons deceased, and to grant admraon of the estates of persons dying intestate within our said Province and to take inventories and accompts and the same to record, and to give discharge thereupon; and to minister an oath to any person or persons witnesse or witnesses exquitors or admrators as often as there shall be cause.¹⁷

¹⁵Hartsook, Land Office and Prerogative Court Records of Colonial Maryland, p. 82.

¹⁶Lewger himself was a member of the Council which had been created to advise and assist Leonard Calvert.

¹⁷Hartsook, Land Office and Prerogative Court Records of Colonial Maryland, p. 83.

When the head of a household within the province died, the court appointed four persons to draw up an inventory of "all and singular the goods and chattels" of the deceased. In most cases, each inventory was made by two appraisers appointed by the county, assisted by the nearest relative (often the heir) and the largest creditor.¹⁸ In this manner a fair and accurate inventory was compiled which tended to satisfy all those concerned. Most inventories listed all the personal property of the deceased, but made no mention of real property, such as landholding, outbuildings, and the like, for this was recorded elsewhere. Everything a person owned was usually included, no matter how trivial it may have seemed. Slaves, servants, cattle, sheep, wearing apparel, furniture, kitchen utensils, farm equipment, and personal belongings were all included in the personal estate of the deceased.

In addition to the personal property of the deceased, a list of outstanding debts was made. Usually they were listed in three categories: good, bad, and desperate. Good debts were those which the estate would most likely be able to collect without legal action. Bad debts were those which might require legal action but where there was a chance that

¹⁸Land, "Economic Behavior in a Planting Society", p. 471.

the debt would be paid. Desperate debts were those that would never be collected simply because the debtor himself had left the county without notice or was deceased and left no heirs that could be held responsible.

After the inventory had been completed and the creditors and survivors of the estate had been satisfied, the executor of the estate would then submit the inventory to the office of the Deputy Commissioner who would take any necessary legal action before he recorded the inventory in his own books. Periodically, usually once or twice a year, the Office of the Deputy Commissioner would send all the inventories and accounts that had been collected to the Prerogative Court Office in the provincial capital where the inventory would again be recorded and filed. After this last step had been completed the estate was legally registered.¹⁹

There were several limitations which specifically applied to the Land Office and Prerogative Court Records of colonial Maryland. First, there were often discrepancies which existed between the original inventory made at the time of death and the inventory which was later duplicated

¹⁹ Hartsook, Land Office and Prerogative Court Records of Colonial Maryland, p. 84.

and filed at the Prerogative Court Office in Annapolis. Since every conceivable item was listed in the inventory, it was inevitable that mistakes would be made due to accidents and carelessness on the part of clerks and minor officials. Therefore, articles sometimes found in the original inventory were not found in the duplicate. Furthermore, it was quite possible for a county official to lose or destroy inventories in his possession and subsequently fail to report it.

Second, there was never any set scale of values which the appraisers could use in evaluating the estate of the deceased. As a result, the value placed on personal property was not as accurate as might have been desired. There was no uniform standard of values which could be applied to the particular articles which made up the total personal estate. Slaves and servants valued at L20 in one county could very well have been valued at L17 in another. Many times the estimated value of personal property was too high or too low. Also, the condition of the personal property itself had a great deal to do with the final settlement. Often the value of an article was the direct result of a compromise between the nearest living relative and the largest creditor. Thus no standard value was established throughout the province. Although there were

differences in personal property values, the inaccuracies were not so great that they completely destroyed the method of establishing an approximate value for most articles. The differences which existed were usually only a matter of degree.

Third, one minor difficulty was the fact that there were several boundary changes during this period which effected the number of inventories for some of the counties. Since this study covered only the years from 1674 to 1699, only two major changes occurred. In 1674 Cecil County was formed from parts of what was then Baltimore County, thus reducing the total number of estates for Baltimore County. The population of Baltimore County dropped from 1,200 in 1670 to 900 in 1680 and did not reach the 1670 level until the end of the century.²⁰ The formation of Prince George's County in 1695 did not have the same effect on its surrounding counties because much of the land involved in the creation of the new county was located in the western part of the province, away from the more established areas.

Finally, only a small number of persons ever appeared in the inventories and accounts during the seventeenth century. Because of the many legal restrictions and property

²⁰Karinen, "Maryland Population: 1631-1730: Numerical and Distribution Aspects", p. 405.

qualifications only free men or women who were deceased heads of a household were listed. This eliminated all slaves and servants and those who were not considered heads of households. Furthermore, it is questionable whether all heads of households were included in the inventories. Many yeoman farmers in outlying portions of the province never came into contact with a county official and therefore would not know the procedure involved in probate cases. This would tend to eliminate many of those in the frontier areas. Certainly this must be considered in any study dealing with the social structure of the province during this period.

Primary source material for the present study was derived, in large part, from the Inventories and Accounts, volumes 1 through 20. For each of the twenty-six years, from 1674 to 1699, the following information was compiled: the name of the deceased person; the county in which the person lived; the date of death;²¹ the total value of the

²¹The date used in this study was the date on which the person died, and not the date on which the county clerk recorded the inventory. Since there was often the difference of one or two years between the two, the date of death is more accurate. During the seventeenth century, the English colonies used the Julian calendar which began the year on the twenty-fifth day of March, instead of the present day Gregorian calendar which begins the year on the first day of January. Thus from the first of January to the twenty-fourth of March, the days were considered part of the previous year. In the inventories such a date was often written 1674/75 or 1674/1675. For this study, the present day Gregorian calendar was used and those dates which fell from the first day of January to the twenty-fourth day of March were considered part of the new year.

deceased's personal property; the number, age, sex, and value of any slaves that were listed; and the number, age, sex, time left to serve, and value of any servants listed in the inventory. In addition, the twenty-six year period was divided into five separate time segments so that any trends which were presented would be easier to recognize. Each time segment was a five year period with the exception of the first, which was six. The five time segments were 1674 to 1679, 1680 to 1684, 1685 to 1689, 1690 to 1694, and 1695 to 1699, all dates inclusive. Comparisons were made when it was useful to point out the contrasts between two or more different situations. The inventories which were used provided an excellent source of primary materials which secondary source materials could never supply. Perhaps this is their greatest value to historical research.

CHAPTER II

CHESAPEAKE SOCIETY: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The initial form of agricultural organization in the tidewater area was the corporate enterprise. English investors, joined together through business corporations, envisioned a steady stream of profits derived from such adventures as the fur trade, the exploitation of mineral resources, land speculation, and the cultivation of land suitable to agriculture. Yet their dreams of success never materialized. Shackled with the enormous expenses of colonization and financial mismanagement, the British capitalists turned their attention elsewhere, abandoning their colonial enterprises which had proved to be complete business failures.¹

Private enterprises, operated and run by individual investors, emerged from the ruins of the earlier corporate associations. "Those [colonists] that remained were hardened and seasoned planters."² Benefiting from the

¹Wesley F. Craven, The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689 (Baton Rouge, 1944), p. 176.

²Terminology such as "planter" and "plantation" are misleading and often deceiving. In the early usage, "planter" meant "colonist". Those who populated the Chesapeake area initially were all considered planters in the sense that they, themselves, were planted in the New World. Not until later did the word planter have the connotation we apply to it today.

mistakes of their forebearers, the second generation of businessmen were not burdened with the tremendous initial expenses necessary for organizing and creating a company in the New World. The foundations had been laid by those who had failed. As trade increased and markets became available, the planter was faced with the realization that he could show a profit if he invested wisely and handled his affairs in a proper fashion.

Economic success in seventeenth century Maryland was determined, in large degree, by a man's ability to couple the existing resources of the colony to the most lucrative areas of investment. In order to gain an adequate supply of capital imports from England, it was necessary to produce a commodity for export: a commodity such as tobacco. If investments were high, full employment would result, which in turn would lead to profit inflation and rising prices. This economic cycle, if repeated often enough, would tend to increase the level of economic prosperity. Understanding the investment-price-profit spiral was essential if a planter was to be financially successful.

Few large planters in colonial Maryland could be classified simply as commercial farmers. Instead, "they were more nearly creative capitalists, entrepreneurs whose fortunes grew in rough equivalence to the economic growth

of the Chesapeake."³ In times of prosperity many reinvested their surplus capital in non-agricultural ventures. Manufacturing, moneylending, and trade all became profitable fields of investment. Gradually the planter-businessman gained control of the economic and political organization of the colony. There was also a tendency on the part of the well-to-do to consolidate their position in the social structure, even to the point that laws were passed that protected the upper class from the rest of society. Yet rigid class lines failed to develop.

Little class conflict occurred between the wealthy planter and the small farmer simply because there was always the opportunity for the yeoman farmer to rise above his economic status in society and advance towards the upper portions of the social scale. Social mobility served as a safety valve for the tensions which arose between the two groups. The very position of the wealthy planter offered the common farmer hope that some day he too could rise above his lowly agricultural state and become part of the social and economic elite.

³Aubrey C. Land, "Economic Behavior in a Planting Society: The Eighteenth Century Chesapeake", The Journal of Southern History, XXXIII (November, 1967), p. 471.

Although many avenues of personal economic advancement lay in the area of non-agricultural investments, the colonial economic system of the seventeenth century was based primarily on the agricultural activities of the yeoman farmer and the commercial planter. Individual businessmen merely laid the foundation for the commercially oriented system which was to emerge at a later date. The great majority of the population in seventeenth century Maryland were small farmers engaged in agriculture.

After the bayside land had been surveyed and sold, the frontier was opened for settlement. Many of the English settlers had come to America as indentured servants. Upon completing their contracts of obligation, a large number became independent farmers. An abundance of inexpensive land was waiting on the nearby frontier. This, together with the experience a man had gained during his indenture enabled him to strike out on his own.

As more and more indentured servants became free, they joined the already increasing number of yeoman farmers in the colony. A rising yeomanry and a general trend towards the division of estates caused the size of land holdings to drop. Maryland's pattern of development differed from that of Virginia in that the tobacco was of lower grade, the people were generally less prosperous, and the

plantations fewer in proportion to her farms.⁴

From 1620 to 1700, the characteristic economic unit in the tidewater area was the small farm.⁵ Large estates were rarely put under cultivation immediately. Land was accessible, but labor and capital usually were more difficult to obtain. During this early period, there was a considerable amount of fear concerning Indian uprisings and therefore much of the land lay fallow for long periods of time. A study of Maryland, based upon land conveyances from person to person, indicates a tendency toward smaller holdings throughout the period extending from the Restoration to the close of the century.⁶ From 1660 to 1669, 54 percent of the plantations in Maryland ranged from 50 to 250 acres in size. During the following decade, 1670 to 1679, the small farms increased from 54 to 69 percent. From 1680 to 1689, the number remained constant at 69 percent. The final decade of the century, 1690 to 1699, saw an increase of small farms to 75 percent. Thus during the last half of the seventeenth century, the number of small

⁴Ulrich B. Phillips, American Negro Slavery (Baton Rouge, 1918), p. 78.

⁵Craven, Southern Colonies, p. 400.

⁶Vertrees J. Wyckoff, "The Sizes of Plantations in Seventeenth Century Maryland", Maryland Historical Magazine, XXXII (1937), p. 332.

farms (50 to 250 acres) increased from one half of the total number of farms to three-fourths of the total number.⁷

To illustrate the economic stratification within the province, an examination of the value of estates listed in the inventories and accounts can aid in understanding the economic difference between social classes. The estates of those deceased were divided into five different time periods, beginning with 1674 and ending with 1699. The first interval was six years. The remaining four were each five year periods. The values of the estates were listed in pounds sterling, with the exception of the first period (1674 to 1679) in which the estates were listed in pounds of tobacco. Any estates valued from L0 to L100 (or 0 to 15,000 pounds of tobacco for the first period) were considered small or average estates. Those estates whose value ranged from L101 and up (or 15,001 pounds of tobacco and up) were considered large or above average estates. It was evident, upon examination of Table 1 that for the first period, 1674 to 1679, 63 percent of the estates listed were in the category of small estates; that during the second period, 62 percent were considered small estates; and that for the remaining three periods, the number of average or small estates were 70, 75, and 75 percent respectively.

⁷Wyckoff, "Sizes of Plantations", p. 332.

Map 1 indicates the percentage of small estates by county for the period 1674 to 1699. For each of the five periods from 1674 to 1699 the percentage of small estates within each county was compared with the percentage of small estates in the entire province. If the percentage for the county was six points below the percentage for the province during any of the five periods, then the county was rated as having a "low" percentage of small estates for that particular period. If the percentage within the county was either five points above or below the percentage for the province, then the county was rated as having an "average" percentage. Finally, if the percentage of small estates within the county was six points above that of the province, then the county was rated as having a "high" percentage. When the analysis was completed, Kent, Saint Mary's, and Prince George's Counties were found to have a somewhat higher percentage of small estates than the average for the province, while the counties of Charles, Baltimore, Cecil, Dorchester, and Somerset had an average percentage of small estates. Calvert, Anne Arundel, and Talbot Counties all had a lower than average percentage of small estates for this twenty-six year period. Yet the differences between the counties was slight and when measuring those differences, a few degrees determined the

TABLE 1
Large and Small Estates¹, 1674-1699

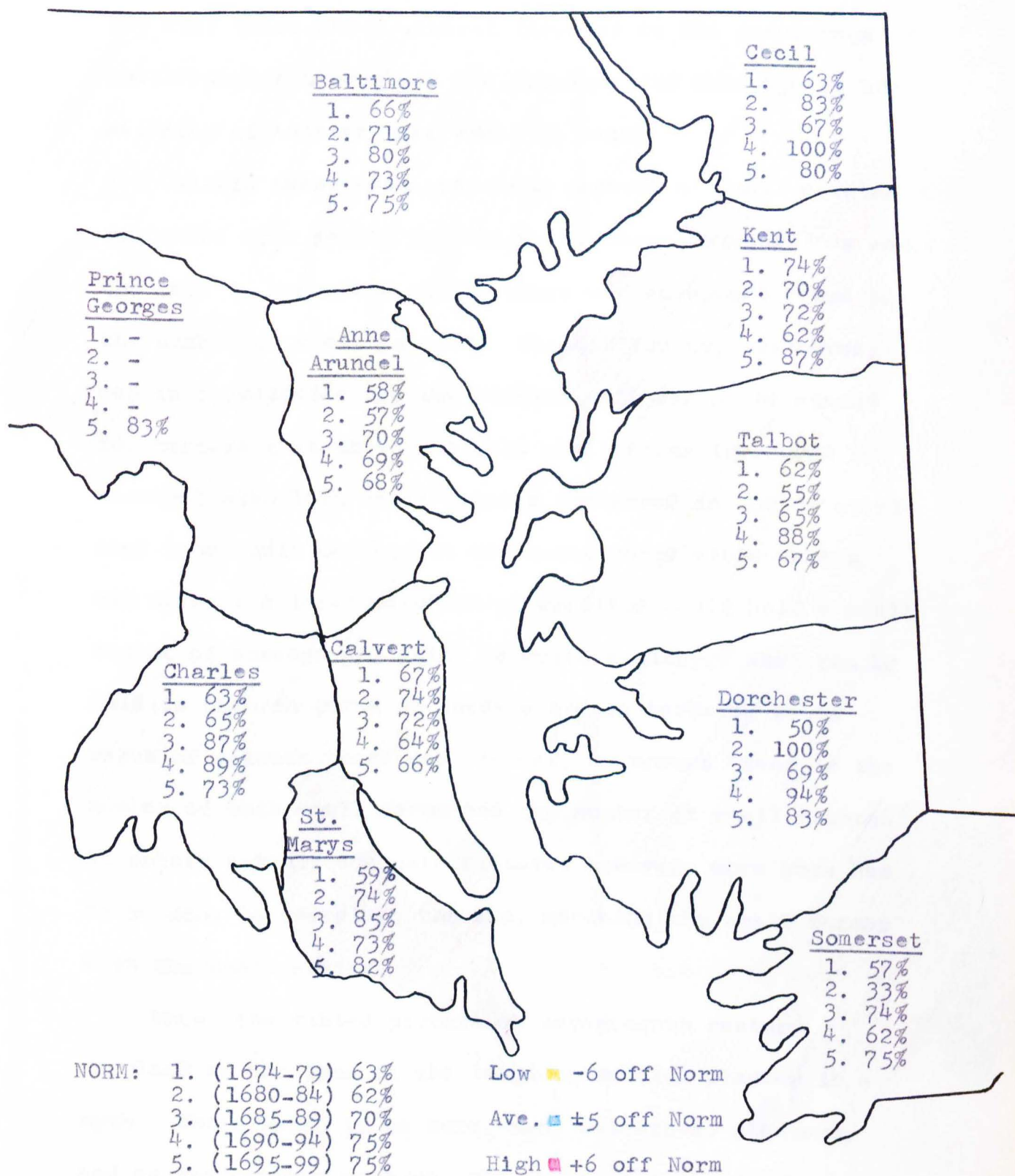
Time Period	# of Estates		% of Estates		% with Bond Labor		% with Slaves	
	Large	Small	Large	Small	Large	Small	Large	Small
1674-1679	228	384	37%	63%	74%	14%	22%	0.8%
1680-1684	92	177	38%	62%	68%	15%	30%	2.8%
1685-1689	143	403	30%	70%	77%	14%	45%	1.5%
1690-1694	70	209	25%	75%	84%	6%	71%	2.8%
1695-1699	202	577	25%	75%	75%	6%	58%	2.9%
TOTAL	735	1750	29%	71%	75%	10%	42%	2.0%

¹

Small Estates - Estates valued between L0-100 Sterling; L0-15,000 tobacco.

Large Estates - Estates valued at L101 Sterling and up; L15,001 tobacco and up.

PERCENTAGE OF SMALL ESTATES, 1674-1699



position of each individual county. It would be safer to say that there was a general increase in the percentage of small estates throughout the province and that always the majority of estates were small in size.

Within twenty-six years the percent of small estates increased from nearly two-thirds to three-fourths. As was the case in Wyckoff's study, there was an upward trend in the number of small estates. The difficulty, of course, was in correlating the two studies. It cannot be stated for certain that those who held small farms (measured by acreage) also left small estates (measured in pounds sterling) upon their death. It was quite conceivable that a man such as a local merchant or creditor could hold a small amount of acreage and still be quite wealthy. What can be said is that in terms of acreage and in terms of total value of estates there was, indeed, an upward trend in the number of both small farms and the number of small estates. To obtain a truly adequate picture, however, more work has to be done to correlate the two, matching the small farmer with the small estate.

Thus, the fabled picture of seventeenth century Maryland as the land of the large commercial planter is a myth. There were, to be sure, many well-to-do planters, and as the century wore on, the number increased substan-

tially. But, by and large, the colony was filled with little farms, a few hundred acres in extent, owned and worked by a sturdy class of English farmers.⁸ Prior to 1700, the most important element in the Bay area was the white yeomanry.

There are numerous examples of successful yeoman farmers in the lists of inventories and accounts for the province of Maryland. George Bockwith, of Calvert County, left an estate valued at L49:19:02.⁹ At the time of his death in 1679, the appraisers listed no slaves or servants in the inventory. William House of Cecil County left an estate valued at L76:19:06, which included no slaves or indentured servants.¹⁰ Finally, Edward Hurley of Somerset County died in 1686, leaving an estate of L92:15:5.¹¹ Again, Hurley had no slaves or servants. These are but a few men who were sturdy farmers, farmers who formed the backbone of colonial Maryland.

The desire for economic success drove the yeoman farmer in his search for wealth. If obtained, it would win him recognition as a member of the upper strata of society.

⁸Thomas J. Wertenbaker, The Planters of Colonial Virginia (Princeton, 1922), p. 59.

⁹1679 Inventory, Vol. VI, p. 9.

¹⁰1683 Inventory, Vol. VIII, p. 90.

¹¹1686 Inventory, Vol. IX, p. 34.

One prerequisite for the "gentlemen class" was success as a planter. If a man could obtain goods on credit, which he could then convert into an equipped labor force, it was possible for the yeoman farmer to rise to the top of society. The market for tobacco existed. All that was necessary was for the yeoman farmer to convert a subsistence agricultural system into a commercial agricultural system based on profits derived from surpluses.

The key to economic success in early Maryland was tobacco.¹² Although the tidewater soil was thin, and exhaustion and erosion were constant problems, the land was fertile enough to support the growth of the tobacco plant. A letter written by George Alsop, a colonist from Maryland, to Lord Baltimore illustrates the extent to which tobacco and the Chesapeake society were interwoven. "Tobacco is the only solid Staple Commodity of this Province. . . . It's generally made by all the Inhabitants of this Province; . . . tobacco is the current Coyn of Maryland, and will sooner purchase Commodities from the Merchant, than money."¹³

¹²Craven, Southern Colonies, p. 208.

¹³Clayton C. Hall, Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684 (New York, 1925), p. 363.

Each spring, between the middle of March and the middle of April, the tobacco seeds were placed in small beds, known today as cold frames. In late May or early June, approximately six to eight weeks after the initial planting, the farmer transplanted the tobacco and placed it in prepared rows which had been harrowed and smoothed. Constant attention was given the tobacco. Men rid the rows of weeds and the plant itself of premature leaves which might have caused the tobacco damage. Around the middle of September, the tobacco was cut and carried to the barns and nearby warehouses. After it had aged to perfection, "it was then tyed up in bundles and packt into Hogs-heads, and then laid by for the Trade."¹⁴

Between November and January, ships would arrive and the planter and the merchant would barter for the articles each wanted. This was the economic cycle of the tidewater planter. Each year the farmer could extend his holdings if he acted wisely. By re-investing, expanding, and improving the techniques used in cultivation, a small farmer could soon amass a sizeable estate. In 1660, however, all of this vanished. No longer did the opportunities present themselves as they had in the past. The cycle was

¹⁴ Hall, Narratives of Early Maryland, p. 363.

broken by the restoration to the British throne of the Stuart monarchy.

The ascendancy to the British throne of Charles II had a profound effect on the economic and social structure of the American colonies. Economically, two developments occurred. The need for labor was greatly intensified and the capitalist planter emerged as the leading economic force in the tidewater society of Maryland. Socially, the uncertain status of the Negro was clarified beyond any doubt: he was legally cast into slavery.

Beginning in 1660, the Chesapeake tobacco industry went into a state of depression. A drop in tobacco prices was triggered by the passage of the Navigation Acts of 1660 and 1661 by the British Parliament. What this meant to the yeoman farmer was a rise in costs and the disappearance of his margin of profit. The result was that small scale production was placed under a serious handicap. The small farmer, who had planted tobacco wherever he possibly could, now found it almost impossible to realize a profit. It was no longer feasible for the yeomanry to plant tobacco.

During the English Civil War, the British had lost a substantial portion of their foreign markets to the Dutch. Charles II instituted a mercantilistic policy in hope that it would enable England to regain at least some of the trade

which had been lost to other nations. By redirecting the colonial trade through English merchants, England was able to take much of the profits out of the hands of the colonial merchants.

The Navigation Acts were enforced for approximately twenty years, or until 1680. The sale of Chesapeake tobacco to England was strictly controlled by the British government. In addition, colonial tobacco had to be transported in English ships and could only be sold to England or other English colonies. Soon Maryland's trade with the Dutch, and other foreign markets, was cut off. The result was economic depression. The stage was now set for the emergence of the capitalist planter.

If the Chesapeake region was to survive and prosper, capitalism would have to be the dynamic force. Success was no longer visualized as a rise from small beginnings, but as a substantial initial investment in land, equipment, labor, and large commitments on credit. True, success was still possible, but for a smaller number of men. Those who succeeded were those who managed large tracts of land, commanded a substantial force of laborers, white or black, and could afford a sizeable yearly investment in the handling of his crop.¹⁵ Such a man was the large-scale commercial planter.

¹⁵Stanley M. Elkins, Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life (New York, 1959), p. 46.

The period 1680 to 1710 marked a new phase in the life of the capitalist planter. The plantation emerged as the basic unit of capitalistic agriculture. The market for Maryland and Virginia tobacco was restored, although there was no great increase in tobacco prices. What the planters of the Chesapeake did was to flood the European market with cheap tobacco and undercut their competitors. The returning prosperity meant more to the large planter, who had survived the drop in prices, than it did to the small farmer who had been pushed out of the tobacco market almost entirely.

Three basic ingredients were needed for the successful production of tobacco. First, the planter needed an abundance of fertile soil, for the tobacco plant drained from the earth the chemical elements necessary for continuous cultivation. When the land lost its fertility and was no longer capable of supporting the growth of tobacco, the colonists, with little or no knowledge of soil conservation, simply moved on to more fertile areas of production. In their wake, they left hundreds of acres of exhausted farm land.

Capital was the second necessary element. With the right connections, a planter could buy, on credit, the equipment required to operate a large-scale agricultural

unit. Without the monetary backing from English creditors, a farmer had little chance of converting his small plot of land into a sizeable plantation. The final, and most difficult of the three to obtain, was labor.

CHAPTER III

THE DEMAND FOR LABOR: NEGRO SLAVERY

The colonists in Maryland had been blessed with an abundance of natural resources and could usually obtain credit from England. But, in the tidewater region, as elsewhere, the shortage of labor had plagued the farmer from the very beginning. To reap the benefits of tobacco, a proved money crop, it was essential that the farmer have access to a cheap labor force.¹ So called "cheap labor" tended to eliminate the highly skilled artisan or mechanic. The successful production of tobacco did not need skilled labor or intensive cultivation. What it did require was the service of many hands.² This was not to imply, however, that the "many hands" had to be those of Negro slaves. "As late as 1669 large-scale agriculture had no idea of using massive Negro (slave) labor."³

During the initial stages of colonization, "the poverty of the companies prevented the immigration of capitalist

¹Wesley F. Craven, The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689 (Baton Rouge, 1944), p. 177.

²Thomas J. Wertenbaker, The Planters of Colonial Virginia (Princeton, 1922), p. 29.

³Oscar and Mary Handlin, "Origins of the Southern Labor System", William and Mary Quarterly, VII (April, 1950), p. 207.

farmers with their laborers."⁴ Therefore it was necessary to adopt a system which would fulfill the needs of the planter once he had arrived in the New World. The answer was servitude, based largely on the headright system. The goal of the Maryland planter, like that of his Virginia neighbor, was to acquire enough servants to develop the land under his own immediate supervision, and in the process to extend his holdings. It was this land policy in Maryland which tended to further the institutions of white servitude and Negro slavery.⁵

Theoretically, the system was developed to meet the economic demands of the Chesapeake area during its early period of settlement. Under the headright system, each person who agreed to settle in the tidewater region and remain there for a minimum of three years would receive fifty acres of land. This method would serve to populate the tidewater area. The head of the family would be granted an additional fifty acres for each dependent or servant he brought with him after the three year period had expired. Those who brought indentured servants, and later Negro slaves, would help meet the ever increasing demand for labor.

⁴James C. Ballagh, A History of Slavery in Virginia (Baltimore, 1902), p. 41.

⁵Craven, Southern Colonies, p. 29.

In practice, however, the system operated quite differently.

Many men made a business of importing colonists to the New World and in the process acquired large tracts of land for themselves. The number of indentured servants in the area was high; therefore the margin of profit and the amount of land gained from their headrights was considerable. "Most of the residents of the Chesapeake country were lower class and middle class Englishmen, at least half of whom had come to America as indentured servants."⁶ Speculators, often ship captains, agreed to pay the passage of a colonist, in return for the immigrant's headright (fifty acres). Legally, the land obtained under the headright system was supposed to be put under cultivation within three years. This, however, was seldom done.

Property owners would hold on to their grants as long as they possibly could in order to raise the re-sale value of the property and to increase their profits. Land taxes on the frontier were difficult to collect. The land itself was seldom surveyed properly, further complicating the situation. In most cases, property owners were men of influence; therefore there was little that could be done to alter the colonial land policy.

⁶ Richard Hofstadter and others, The American Republic (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1959), Vol. I, p. 44.

After the indentured servant completed his contract and was freed, the need for labor was only increased. The demand for labor always seemed to exceed its supply. Several possible solutions to the problem existed.

One answer to the labor shortage was the use of a greater number of white indentured servants as farm laborers. If the number of servants could be increased substantially, the dearth of labor might subside. A favorable view of the indentured system was offered by John Hammond in 1656, perhaps to counter the charges often made of the harsh conditions of the indentured servants system.

The labour servants are put to is not so hard nor of such continuance as Husbandmen nor Handcraftmen are kept at in England. . . . The Women are not (as is reported) put into the ground to worke, but occupie such domestic employments and housewifery as in England. . . . Those servants that will be industrious may in their time of service gain a competent estate before their Freedomes. . . . And whereas it is rumored that Servants have no lodging other than on boards, or by the Fire side, it is contrary to reason to believe it.⁷

Yet the influx of white indentures was never great enough to meet the demand. There were never enough men who wanted to come to the New World in a state of servitude. The voyage across the Atlantic Ocean was dangerous, the term

⁷Peter Force, Tracts and Other Papers (Washington, D.C., 1836), Vol. III, p. 114. Cited in Ulrich B. Phillips, Plantation and Frontier, 1649-1863, p. 340.

of indenture was long (usually five to six years), and there was no guarantee that a man would be successful after his term of indenture had expired. "If white servant's terms were reduced and conditions improved, more Englishmen would come."⁸ But if the term of indenture was shortened, the gap between the shortage of labor and the labor available to the commercial planter would only be enlarged. If the terms of indenture were reduced, the importation of servants would have to be increased. Improved conditions, however, meant more than just an increase in the shortage of labor. "Every improvement in the status of the white servant . . . served to damage the deepening significance of color and in effect to depress the black ever closer to a state of slavery."⁹

White indentured servants seemed to be "saucy, independent, and unreliable."¹⁰ Better conditions might make the situation even worse. White servants could and did make legal complaints to the courts; therefore, a planter had less latitude in the treatment and punishment of a bonded white servant than he did with a Negro slave. There was

⁸Handlin and Handlin, "Origins of the Southern Labor System", p. 210.

⁹Stanley Elkins, Slavery (New York, 1959), p. 40.

¹⁰Lewis C. Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860 (Gloucester, Massachusetts, 1958), p. 362.

always the distinct possibility that a servant would escape. The frontier was certainly large enough for a man to run away and never be heard or seen from again. An additional factor retarding the development of white servitude was the high expense of personal upkeep. "The cost of a white servant ran from L2 to L4 for each year's service while the upkeep of a slave was approximately L18 to L30 over a twenty-five year period, thus averaging out to about L1 per year."¹¹

Just as the indentured servant became trained in a particular trade and had gained enough valuable experience to be considered an asset to his owner, his indenture expired. Not only was the servant now free, he also became a new source of competition to his former owner. The freedman could apply the knowledge he had gained towards the start of his own business. If he was energetic and had good business sense, the independent farmer or artisan could become a successful planter.

Towards the end of the century, Britain forbade kidnapping, a means many had used to obtain the headright of the person that was sent to the New World against his will. Once servitude became voluntary, few migrated to Maryland and Virginia as indentured servants. The migration of

¹¹Wertebaker, Planters, p. 126.

indentured servants was further reduced when Virginia passed a law forbidding the importation of convicts, many of whom had come to the colonies prior to the restriction placed upon them.¹²

The possibility of hiring white wage earners was hindered by the fact that as soon as a man could buy and settle his own land he was usually unwilling to work for a wage. There were occasions, of course, that hired help could be obtained, especially for short periods of time, but the scarcity of white labor made the hiring of the wage earner very difficult. In a province whose economic base was predominantly agriculture, any hope that a large amount of white labor would become readily available was quickly destroyed.

Another possible alternative to the labor shortage was the use of the American Indian as an indentured servant or a slave. If the Indian could be brought out of his savage state and be versed in the ways of his white master, he might help solve the labor shortage. But the Indian proved impossible to tame, almost as if he was too primitive to be enslaved. Having no concept of money at all, the Indian could see no value in becoming a wage laborer.

¹²Ulrich B. Phillips, American Negro Slavery (Baton Rouge, 1918), p. 75.

Enslavement of the Indian often led to bloody Indian reprisals. The fear of the "savage Redman" led the colonists to pass laws against the enslavement of Indians. Yet there were a number of cases where Indians were enslaved or made servants contrary to existing laws, as seen in Table 2. Such cases, however, were comparatively isolated in a society where the majority of the labor force was comprised of white indentured servants and an increasing number of Negro slaves.

The Indian, as well as the white indentured servant, failed to produce a sufficient labor force capable of meeting the needs of the commercial planter. The only possibility that seemed to remain was the enslavement of the Negro. Tobacco had created a need for cheap labor, and this the Negro slave was able to furnish.¹³

To establish a direct correlation between the development of capitalistic agriculture and the inception and expansion of slavery, the historiographical argument over Negro slavery versus Negro servitude must first be

¹³ Newton D. Mereness, Maryland as a Proprietary Province (New York, 1901), p. 119.

TABLE 2

Indians listed as servants or slaves in the Inventories and Accounts, 1674-1699

<u>Estate of:</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Volume</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Description</u>
Colt Benjamin	Charles	1682	VII	98	1 Indian for life
Neal Clarke	Baltimore	1676	II	276	1 Indian servant
Baron Brooks	Calvert	1679	VI	480	1 Indian Woman-slave
John Thanks	St. Marys	1685	VIII	373	1 Indian Boy - 4 yrs. to serve
Thomas Ramsey	Cecil	1685	VIII	437	1 Indian servant
Thomas Truman	Calvert	1686	IX	160	1 Indian - 13 yrs. to serve 1 Indian - 9 yrs. to serve
Mary Truman	Calvert	1686	IX	205	2 Indians
John Baker	St. Marys	1687	X	111	1 Indian Boy - slave
Thomas Gant	Calvert	1692	XIV	108	1 Boy - 12 yrs. to serve
Ralph Smith	Charles	1698	XVIII	154	1 Indian Boy - slave

examined.¹⁴ If the English colonists in Maryland automatically assumed that the Negro was a slave, then capitalistic agriculture could have had no possible effect whatsoever on the inception of slavery in America. If, also, the early inhabitants of the Chesapeake area used Negro slaves as their primary labor force in a subsistence agricultural state when demand for a large scale labor force was negligible, then capitalistic agriculture would have had little initial effect on the continuation and expansion of slavery.

If, however, those Negroes who arrived in the early seventeenth century were considered indentured servants, then there certainly existed factors which caused a transformation of the status of the Negro from the state of servitude to the state of slavery. Consideration must

¹⁴Some of the studies which lend support to the "indentured servant theory" which states that the Negro was at first a servant, are James C. Ballagh's History of Slavery in Virginia (Baltimore, 1902); John H. Russell's The Free Negro in Virginia (Baltimore, 1913); U. B. Phillips' American Negro Slavery (Baton Rouge, 1918); Mary and Oscar Handlin's "Origins of the Southern Labor System", William and Mary Quarterly (April, 1950); Helen T. Catterall's Judicial Cases Concerning American Negro Slavery and the Negro (Washington, D.C., 1926); and John Hope Franklin's From Slavery to Freedom (New York, 1956). Those studies that support the so-called "slave theory", which states that the Negro was initially a slave, include Susie Ames' Studies of the Virginia Eastern Shore (Richmond, 1940); James M. Wright's Free Negro in Maryland, 1634-1860 (New York, 1921); and Wesley F. Craven's The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century (Baton Rouge, 1949).

also be given to the possibility that capitalistic agriculture, with its great demand for labor, furthered the continuation and expansion of an institution which may have died out. If there had been no great increase of Negro slaves around 1690, they may have eventually been absorbed into the population. This, of course, never occurred. Instead, Negroes were used in larger and larger numbers, and when it became evident that Negro slavery was profitable, the Negro had little choice but to serve his life in perpetual slavery.

The precise time of the inception of slavery seems vague and difficult to determine. To say the least, the matter is quite controversial. James C. Ballagh, in 1902, put forth the argument that, initially, Negroes were indentured servants and not slaves. Over a period of years, there was a gradual transition from servitude to slavery. "Servitude not only preceded slavery in the logical development of the principle of subjection . . . but it was the historic base upon which slavery . . . was constructed."¹⁵ The first step in the transition was the extension of the term of service to life. The Negro lost his right to ultimate liberty, although he retained many of the rights

¹⁵Ballagh, A History of Slavery, p. 39.

enjoyed by white indentured servants. Eventually, however, the Negro slipped down to the lowest possible level -- that of a chattel. "The distinguishing mark of the state of slavery was not the loss of liberty, political and civil, but the perpetuity and almost absolute character of that loss, whether voluntary or involuntary in origin."¹⁶

The first Negroes to arrive were not slaves in the full sense of the word. They were, of course, slaves politically, for they had been forcibly captured by the Dutch traders who had delivered them to the Virginia buyers. Yet once they were sold to the Virginia colonists, they were no longer considered slaves. Once in the New World, they regained their right to eventual freedom. American Negro slavery, as such, "could find no sanction until the absolute ownership in the bodies of the Negroes was vested by lawful authority in some individual."¹⁷

An act passed by the Maryland Assembly in 1663 stated that all Negroes or other slaves shall serve durante vita. Statutory recognition of slavery came in Massachusetts in 1641, in Connecticut in 1650, in Virginia in 1661, in Maryland in 1663, in New York and New Jersey in 1664, in

¹⁶Ballagh, A History of Slavery, p. 28.

¹⁷Ballagh, A History of Slavery, p. 29.

South Carolina in 1682, in Pennsylvania and Rhode Island in 1700, in North Carolina in 1715, and, finally, in Georgia in 1755.¹⁸

John H. Russell agreed with Ballagh's thesis that the Negro was at first a servant in temporary bondage and later a slave cast into perpetual servitude. Russell felt, however, that Ballagh had "overemphasized the importance of legislation in determining the origin of the institution"¹⁹ of slavery. Russell believed that slavery was sanctioned by customary law long before it was ever legalized by statutory law. "It appears certain that the greater part of the Negroes brought in after 1640 were not permitted to realize freedom."²⁰ This was twenty years before Maryland enacted laws restricting the freedom of the Negro.

Russell did agree with Ballagh on the fundamental question that the Negro was at first a servant. The "white population in the colony in 1619 had not been familiar in England with a system of slavery or with a model slave code"; therefore, "it is plausible that the Africans became

¹⁸ Ballagh, A History of Slavery, p. 34.

¹⁹ John H. Russell, The Free Negro in Virginia, 1619-1665 (Baltimore, 1913), p. 18.

²⁰ Russell, The Free Negro in Virginia, p. 31.

servants in a condition similar to the status of white servants who . . . were entitled to freedom."²¹

James M. Wright and Susie Ames rejected the conclusions of Ballagh and Russell. Wright believed that "Negroes were brought in as slave laborers."²² Supporting Wright's interpretation was Susie M. Ames. By examining the Eastern shore records cited by Russell and others, she believed that the evidence proved that their theses were inconclusive. "Some of the early Negroes were still in the possession of the families that brought them to Virginia. This would strengthen the theory of slavery rather than servitude."²³

There were various acts, Miss Ames pointed out, that showed the existence and recognition of slavery in America (slavery was a custom well established and already in use on the islands belonging to Great Britain). In the 1630's, Negroes were not allowed to bear arms. A Maryland law

²¹ Russell, The Free Negro in Virginia, p. 23.

²² James M. Wright, The Free Negro in Maryland, 1634-1860 (New York, 1921), p. 21.

²³ Susie M. Ames, Studies of the Virginia Eastern Shore in the Seventeenth Century (Richmond, 1940), p. 105.

stated that:

No Negro, or other Slave, fhall be permitted to carry Guns or other offensive Weapons, from off their Mafter's Land, without Leave; And any Slave, pre-suming so to do, may be carried before a Magistrate, and whipped; and the Gun or other Weapon fhall be forfeited to the Perfon seizing the same.²⁴

In 1660, anyone who ran away with a Negro "incapable of making satisfaction of additional time was required to serve for the time of the Negro's absence as well as for their own absence."²⁵ In 1662, mulatto children were free or slave according to the condition of their mother. Finally, in 1670, all servants not being Christian were slaves for life (speaking of Indians, but applied also to Negroes).²⁶

Wesley F. Craven supported Miss Ames' basic conclusions. Craven argued that slavery first developed as a custom of the country, considerably in advance of its sanction as an institution by law. There were no special laws covering the Negro prior to the Restoration, and the elaborate slave codes belonged primarily to the eighteenth century. This was not to say, however, that this delay

²⁴Thomas Bacon, Laws of Maryland at Large, 1637-1763 (Annapolis, 1765), Chapter 44, p. 33.

²⁵Ames, Studies of the Virginia Eastern Shore, p. 101.

²⁶Ames, Studies of the Virginia Eastern Shore, p. 101.

meant Negroes were servants. To accept this, according to Craven, would be a mistake. Negroes were small in number and therefore could be handled under the elaborate servant code which had evolved during this period. Craven did admit that there were Negroes freed at the end of fixed terms, but cases were few and it is neither wise nor safe to generalize from them.

Reaching a decision as to the soundness of the servant-slave theory is difficult indeed. The evidence is vague and often spotty, which further complicates the matter. It seems plausible that the few Negroes that were present could be handled under the servant codes which existed. Yet, how were they handled -- as servants or as slaves? During the first twenty years, or until 1640, the Negro was most likely considered an indentured servant. There did exist a precedent in Bermuda in 1623, and this may have been used by the North American colonists, but at a later date. It took time to establish a precedent, especially when news had to travel by word-of-mouth, over such a great distance. Certainly there were Negroes who were not considered slaves, as seen in Table 3. Many free Negroes were mulatto and subject to special laws passed by the Assembly. Some were children of free Negroes and were forced to serve

TABLE 3

Negroes Listed as Servants in the Inventories and Accounts, 1674-1699

<u>Estate of:</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Volume</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Description</u>
Wm. Tarcher	Calvert	1674	I	39	3 Negroes - servants
Thomas Meeres	Anne Arundel	1674	I	67	1 Boy - 17 yrs to serve
John Anderson	Anne Arundel	1676	II	252	1 Woman - 4 yrs to serve
John Wanshop	St. Mary's	1678	V	225	2 Negro men - servants
James Downs	Talbot	1684	VIII	193	1 Man - 4 yrs to serve
John White	Somerset	1686	IX	185	1 Girl - until she's 21
Lionel Copley	Calvert	1693	XII	45	1 Woman - 6 yrs to serve (mulatto)
Robert Towes	Calvert	1694	XIII	96	1 Boy - 10 yrs to serve (mulatto)
Wm. Smith	Charles	1695	XIII	278	1 Girl - 18 yrs to serve (mulatto)
Joseph Williams	Anne Arundel	1695	XIII	284	1 Man - 18 mos to serve
John Abington	Calvert	1695	XIII	320	1 Man - 1 yr to serve
Edward Pye	Charles	1697	XV	131	2 Boys - not slaves (mulatto)
Wm. Smith	Charles	1698	XVI	3	1 Girl - till she's 31
P. Burditt	Charles	1698	XVI	18	1 Man - 15 yrs to serve (mulatto)
David Browne	Somerset	1698	XVI	221	1 Woman - 12 yrs to serve 1 Girl - 2 yrs to serve

until they were thirty-one years of age.²⁷ Others were freed by their owners upon completion of a pre-arranged term of service. Yet these were the exceptions.

What is involved is not an absolute definition concerning the status of the Negro. It is rather a question of degree. It is doubtful that the original colonists had thought in terms of the intricate slave codes which would develop one hundred years later, if they thought in terms of slavery at all. They were confronted with a strange problem -- how to handle the newly arrived African Negro. What they most likely employed was a system of trial-and-error: almost an experiment in institutional government. As time passed and the colonists realized that slavery was economically necessary, they enacted laws that would insure the legal existence of the institution. This, however, was the final step.

Certainly slavery existed in custom before it existed in law. From 1619 to the 1630's there was some question as to the status of the Negro in society. By the 1640's the freedom of the Negro was in serious jeopardy. Negroes already in the Chesapeake area probably retained their freedom, but those arriving after this decade were most

27

Bacon, Laws, Chapter 44, p. 27.

likely considered slaves. By the 1660's there remained little question as to the position of the Negro in society. He was a slave. Both Maryland and Virginia had enacted laws placing the Negro in lifelong servitude.

It is doubtful that capitalistic agriculture, still in its embryonic stages of development in the first part of the seventeenth century, had any appreciable effect on the inception of slavery. True, there is evidence that points to an increasing tendency on the part of the wealthiest planters of this period to accumulate large numbers of slaves. Yet, the institution of slavery would probably have occurred without the existence of the commercial planter. The greatest effect of capitalistic agriculture was on the continuation and expansion of Negro slavery, not on its creation.

The reasons for slavery were many and complex. Negro slavery in the tidewater region grew out of economic need, isolation, discrimination, jealousy, and fear. What would have happened if there had been no great influx of Negroes after 1690, no one can say. Most likely the Negro would have become a disappearing element in the larger European community. This, however, was not to happen. The commercial planter destroyed any hope of slavery dying as an institution.

By 1660, white indentured servants could no longer be considered preferable to Negro slaves. As already mentioned, the average cost of a Negro slave over a period of twenty-five years was approximately L1 per year. This was compared to the cost of L2 to L4 per year for a white indentured servant.²⁸ Another competitive advantage of slave labor was that the Negro provided a stable supply of manpower. There was very little turnover in personnel because the slave was always available. The Negro could be moved to the point of economic opportunity at the discretion of his owner. When a sudden and unexpected need for labor arose, the planter did not have to recruit a labor force. There was no delay involved in hiring, no dispute over wages, and no possibility of strikes.

The competitive superiority of slave labor was important in regions favorable to the commercial production of staples -- staples that could produce cash crops, for it was here that the capitalist planter made his profit. Land, equipment, and supervision were costly, but they were also necessary if the planter employed indentured servants. One key advantage for the planter who used slave labor was that he could under-bid his competitor who used white labor, either wage or indentured.

²⁸Wertenbaker, Planters, p. 133.

The plantation system operated successfully for several reasons. To begin with, the capitalist planter usually had easy access to both foreign and domestic markets. The small farmer rarely possessed the necessary business connections enjoyed by the large planter. Costs of shipping tended to decrease as the distance goods traveled was shortened. Furthermore, the cultivation of staple crops was comparatively simple and required very little in the way of complex machinery. Methods of production were standardized and life on the plantation was reduced to a simple routine.

In addition, Negro slave labor was under the absolute control of the capitalist planter. The South had a longer growing season than the North, and thus the planter was afforded the maximum in climatic conditions for his crops and the assurance that his slaves could be continuously employed. During periods when the demand for labor was at a peak, such as the spring planting and the fall harvesting, the planter was able to use his Negro women and children as laborers, greatly increasing his productive capacity at critical moments.

Moreover, the larger an organization of a planter was, the easier it was for him to obtain credit. He was able, therefore, to purchase goods in quantity and thus was given priority over the small farmer. As a result, he was usually

able to obtain the best land, as well as the best supplies and equipment.

Negro slave labor worked best under certain economic conditions. It functioned ideally when the system involved the production of one or two staple crops, and where the work day could be reduced to a routine. It worked least well in the urban areas where the population was concentrated, such as the larger towns and cities. Slave labor functioned best where a labor force was employed year-round, and where the planter suffered no seasonal production loss caused by cold winters or prolonged rainy seasons.

Finally, slavery worked to perfection in those areas where large amounts of labor were employed on small amounts of land, under constant supervision. Appraisals of the slave labor system were made in terms of capitalized earning power, a concept appropriate to large operations rather than small, to long-term rather than short-term planning. It was, of course, only the man of means who could afford to think in this way. But then, he is the one who concerns us -- the man responsible for Negro slavery.²⁹

During the Restoration, the commercial planter was determined to make a profit despite the economic depression which had brought on low prices. Willing to undertake the

²⁹Elkins, Slavery, p. 48.

investments which were required to sustain a large farm operation, the commercial planter became the economic leader in his community. As the colonists moved northward along the Potomac, the predominance of large landholdings increased. Larger planters tended to segregate towards the seaboard, while the lesser farmers migrated toward the Western portions of the area.³⁰

By 1680, the large-scale planter enjoyed several distinct advantages over his smaller competitor. During the depression period of 1660 to 1680, the commercial planter had had a large establishment in which to train his slaves; the yeoman farmer, of course, did not. Many Negroes that were available then had not yet become fully acclimated to their environment and were not as well suited to the needs of the small farmer as were the white servants, the most loutish of whom brought to their task more of the skill and responsibility required than could any Negro fresh from the coasts of Africa.³¹ The small farmer was pressed by the need to exploit his labor immediately. The white indentured servants used by the small farmer were usually only obligated for a period of one to six years. This meant that

³⁰Phillips, American Negro Slavery, p. 77.

³¹Craven, Southern Colonies, p. 214.

they must be used during this span of time, no matter what state the economy was in. The larger planter, on the other hand, had a permanent labor force and was not under the pressure which was exerted on the small farmer.

In 1660, the system of capitalistic agriculture was just old enough to make clear the meaning of the second generation of native-born American Negroes. Slaves born on a large plantation were born to work. There was no longer a breaking-in period, for by 1660, Negroes born in America had been domesticized and taught the English tongue. In 1660, slaves were more valuable than ever before. By 1690, the demand for slaves was so great that the Royal African Company could not handle the increase. Parliament, in 1698, revoked the monopoly of the Company and threw open the slave trade to everyone concerned. After the African slave trade was opened, the influx of Negroes was so great that, by 1710, the number of white servants in America was negligible.³²

As time passed, there was increasing evidence that it was the large commercial planter who found the Negro most useful, a fact which points to the development of larger units of cultivation and the definite advantage in the use

³²Wertenbaker, Planters, p. 133.

of Negro slaves.³³ One such advantage of Negro slavery lay in the relative economy of the labor force itself. The initial cost of a Negro slave might have been greater than a white indentured servant, but the purchaser might expect to enjoy the services of the Negro for a lifetime and even to build up, over a period of years, a stock of labor which reproduced itself. The small farmer was in no position to purchase a Negro slave at such a high cost.

Until 1660, the Negro population in the Chesapeake had been quite small and had not been concentrated in any one particular area.³⁴ By 1700 this was no longer true. Planters were eager to use Negro slaves, but slaves were difficult to obtain. Not until the beginning of the eighteenth century did the supply of Negro slaves finally begin to meet the demand.³⁵ Many wealthy planters felt that slaves were the foundation of prosperity of their rivals in the Spanish tobacco colonies. This only served to strengthen their belief in the economic soundness of slavery.

By 1700, the employment of the Negro slave as the primary source of labor of commercial planters had accomplished

³³Craven, Southern Colonies, p. 401.

³⁴Handlin and Handlin, "Origins", p. 202.

³⁵Philip A. Bruce, Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century (New York, 1935), p. 572.

the overthrow of the old system of labor and had laid the foundations of a new social system.³⁶ As the eighteenth century approached, the earlier economic predominance of the yeoman farmer began to reverse itself. The small farmer lost out and the large-scale planter came to the forefront. The importation of slaves to the Chesapeake tended to make the rich planter richer and the poor farmer poorer. As a result, a small number of men in the tidewater region found it impossible to compete with slave labor and moved away. Most yeoman farmers, however, remained. Measured numerically, the small farmer always outnumbered the wealthy planter. As late as 1775 non-slaveholding estates in Maryland still comprised the majority of the population.³⁷ Yet economically, the yeoman farmer had slowly become the least affluent member of society. The wealthiest planters, who comprised only about two per cent of the total population, gradually became the great planters (those with over £1,000), political leaders, and businessmen of the community.³⁸ Without the use of Negro slaves

³⁶Handlin and Handlin, "Origins", p. 208.

³⁷George Terry Sharrer, "Slaveholding In Maryland, 1695-1775" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Maryland, 1968), p. 44.

³⁸Aubrey C. Land, "Economic Base and Social Structure: The Northern Chesapeake in the Eighteenth Century", Journal of Economic History, XXV (December, 1965), p. 646.

the small farmer had little hope of rising above his subsistence level.

Viewed in retrospect, Negro slavery would probably have been introduced in the colony even if the soil had been incapable of producing tobacco, but without tobacco it is doubtful that the institution of slavery could have obtained the momentum which made it a permanent fixture in Maryland until the Civil War. Perhaps in time, slaves may have become just a small part of the larger European community. Without the emergence of the capitalist planter, American Negro slavery may have died where it was born -- in the Chesapeake.

CHAPTER IV

COMPOSITION AND DISTRIBUTION OF ESTATES WITH AND WITHOUT BOND LABOR

By the close of the seventeenth century, Maryland had become a province of small farms. The majority of planters worked their land with no assistance from either servants or slaves. Occasionally a planter would hire a servant for a limited time, usually to work a crop or two of tobacco, but this was only a temporary arrangement. Farms with bond labor were the exception rather than the rule. As the population continued to grow, more and more land was put under cultivation. A common sight on the frontier was the small yeoman farmer clearing his land and planting his crop without the aid of servants or slaves.

Estates with and without Bond Labor

Initial settlement in Maryland centered around the Saint Mary's River, Kent Island, the Severn River in Anne Arundel County, and the Annemessex and Momokin Rivers in Somerset County.¹ As the population continued to increase at a rapid but uneven rate, areas of new settlement usually had a faster rate of population growth than did the older

¹Arthur E. Karinen, "Numerical and Distribution Aspects of Maryland Population" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1958), p. 82.

more established areas. During the decade 1640 to 1650 and the decade 1650 to 1660 the large increases were on the Western Shore, while in the decade 1660 to 1670 the largest gains were on the Eastern Shore. Table 12 illustrates the sharp drop in the rate of population increase after the decade 1670 to 1680. Although there was a decrease in the rate of growth after 1670, there was a steady increase in the total population throughout the seventeenth century.

As the population grew the number of planters increased proportionately. An examination of the total number of estates listed in the Inventories and Accounts for the period 1674 to 1699 reveals several important trends. Tables 4 and 5 indicate the number and percentage, respectively, of estates with and without bond labor from 1674 to 1699. Tables 6A and 6B indicate the number of estates with and without bond labor according to income. All four tables indicate that those estates without bond labor increased from 64 percent of the total number of estates during the period 1674 to 1679 to 76 percent twenty years later. Those estates with bond labor decreased from 36 percent of the total number of estates in the period 1674 to 1679 to 24 percent in the period 1695 to 1699. Both the increase in estates without bond labor and

the decrease of those with bond labor occurred at a fairly constant rate.

Although the general trend was towards a decrease in the percentage of estates with bond labor, there were differences which were often quite pronounced within the individual counties themselves. In reference to bond labor (both servants and slaves) several conclusions for the twenty-six year period can be drawn. Table 7 indicates that during this time span most counties had a decrease in the percentage of estates with bond labor, thus conforming to the overall trend within the province. The Eastern Shore counties of Kent, Talbot, Dorchester, and Somerset all showed a decrease in the percentage of estates with bond labor. The two northernmost counties of Baltimore and Cecil, however, remained fairly constant. On the Western Shore the counties were divided. Saint Mary's and Charles Counties showed a decrease in the percentage of estates with bond labor while Calvert and Anne Arundel Counties remained fairly constant. Prince George's County entered the province in 1695 and therefore no trend could be established, simply because no comparisons could be made.

A further comparison of estates holding bond labor within the individual counties would aid in understanding the economic structure of the province. Three categories

TABLE 4

Number of Estates With and Without Bond Labor by Counties, 1674-1699

County	1674-1679		1680-1684		1685-1689		1690-1694		1695-1699	
	With	Without	With	Without	With	Without	With	Without	With	Without
Saint Mary's	43	64	6	17	17	66	11	30	13	87
Kent	22	47	8	19	11	37	4	12	2	18
Anne Arundel	46	74	19	32	26	54	14	37	34	76
Calvert	33	58	15	38	39	71	14	28	32	69
Charles	23	34	12	23	9	38	3	16	22	68
Baltimore	12	41	6	15	3	12	8	29	13	48
Talbot	21	34	15	16	29	50	6	19	32	79
Somerset	3	4	4	5	15	27	7	18	15	50
Dorchester	15	13	1	0	5	11	2	14	10	49
Cecil	5	19	3	15	12	15	2	5	9	21
Prince Georges	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	27
Total	233	389	89	180	166	381	71	208	186	592
% of Total	36%	64%	33%	67%	30%	70%	26%	74%	24%	76%

TABLE 5

Percentage of Estates With and Without Bond Labor by Counties 1674-1699

County	1674-1679		1680-1684		1685-1689		1690-1694		1695-1699	
	With	Without	With	Without	With	Without	With	Without	With	Without
Saint Mary's	40%	60%	26%	74%	20%	80%	27%	73%	13%	87%
Anne Arundel	38%	62%	37%	63%	33%	67%	28%	72%	31%	69%
Kent	32%	68%	30%	70%	23%	77%	25%	75%	10%	90%
Calvert	36%	64%	29%	71%	35%	65%	33%	67%	32%	68%
Charles	40%	60%	35%	65%	20%	80%	16%	84%	25%	75%
Baltimore	22%	78%	29%	71%	20%	80%	21%	79%	22%	78%
Talbot	38%	62%	49%	51%	40%	60%	24%	76%	29%	71%
Somerset	43%	57%	45%	55%	36%	64%	28%	72%	23%	77%
Dorchester	54%	46%	100%	-	31%	69%	13%	87%	17%	83%
Cecil	24%	76%	17%	83%	45%	55%	29%	71%	30%	70%
Prince Georges	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13%	87%
Total %	36%	64%	33%	67%	30%	70%	26%	74%	24%	76%

TABLE 6A

Number of Estates With and Without Bond Labor
According to Income, 1674-1679

Income (L tobacco)		With	Without
0-	2000	0	45
2001-	4000	3	80
4001-	6000	2	61
6001-	8000	6	49
8001-	10,000	16	41
10,001-	15,000	26	55
15,001-	20,000	23	16
20,001-	30,000	32	19
30,001-	40,000	24	7
40,001-	50,000	26	7
50,001-	100,000	41	6
100,001-	200,000	15	3
200,001-	500,000	7	0
500,001-	1,000,000	0	0
1 million up		2	0
TOTAL		223	389
Percentage		36%	64%

TABLE 6B

Number of Estates With and Without Bond Labor According to Income, 1680-1699

Income (L Sterling)	1680-1684		1685-1689		1690-1694		1695-1699	
	With	Without	With	Without	With	Without	With	Without
0-10	0	25	0	58	0	39	0	115
11-25	0	40	1	105	0	61	0	155
26-50	6	51	9	105	5	54	5	155
51-100	20	35	45	80	7	43	30	116
101-200	22	25	58	26	25	10	61	42
201-300	22	1	17	5	11	0	33	6
301-400	5	1	18	2	5	1	20	1
401-500	6	1	3	0	4	0	13	1
501-1000	4	1	11	0	11	0	13	1
1001-2000	1	0	2	0	3	0	11	0
2001-3000	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3001-4000	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Total	89	180	166	381	71	208	186	592
Percentage	33%	67%	30%	70%	26%	74%	24%	76%

TABLE 7
Rates of Change, 1674-1699

County	% of small Estates	Estates with Bond Labor (within county)	Slaveholding Estates (of those with bond labor within the county)	Slaveholding Estates (of entire number of estates in county)
Saint Mary's	Increased	Decreased	Increased	Constant
Kent	Increased	Decreased	Increased	Constant
Anne Arundel	Constant	Constant	Increased	Increased
Calvert	Constant	Constant	Increased	Increased
Charles	Decreased	Decreased	Increased	Constant
Baltimore	Constant	Constant	Decreased	Constant
Talbot	Constant	Decreased	Increased	Increased
Somerset	Increased	Decreased	Increased	Constant
Dorchester	Increased	Decreased	Increased	Constant
Cecil	Increased	Constant	Constant	Increased
Prince Georges ¹	----	----	----	----

¹Became a county in 1695, therefore no comparisons could be made.

were established to compare the percentage of estates with bond labor. Those counties containing from 0 to 22 percent of their total estates with bond labor rated as "low." Those with 23 to 30 percent were rated as "average", and those with 31 to 50 percent as "high." Map 2 shows how each county rated. On the Eastern Shore, the counties of Talbot and Somerset had a high percentage of estates with bond labor, while Dorchester contained an average percentage and Kent a low percentage. The two northern counties of Baltimore and Cecil were at opposite ends of the rating scale. Baltimore County rated low in the percentage of estates with bond labor, while Cecil County rated high. On the Western Shore, the two counties of Anne Arundel and Calvert rated as high, while Saint Mary's County rated as low and Charles County as average. The reason that a county rated high or low in the percentage of estates holding bond labor is difficult to determine. In general, the more established areas rated higher than the newly settled areas, yet Saint Mary's and Kent Counties are glaring exceptions.

As the century progressed, planters invested more and more of their total capital in bond labor, as illustrated in Table 8. Those who invested 0 to 20 percent of their total capital in servants and slaves decreased during the seventeenth century, while those who invested 41 to 70 percent

BOND LABOR (TOTAL POPULATION WITHIN THE COUNTY) 1674-1699

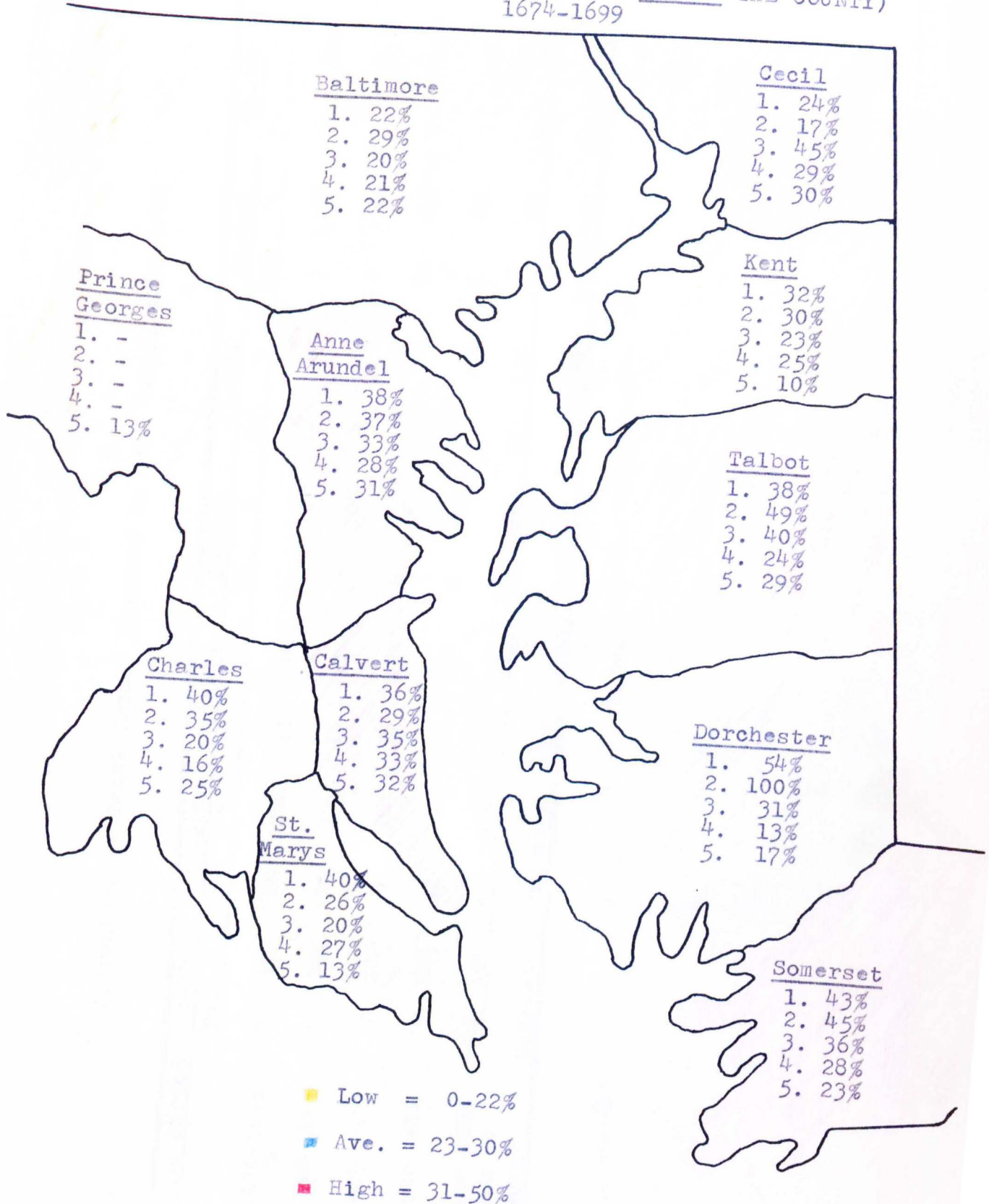


TABLE 8

Percentage of Total Income Invested in Bond Labor, 1674-1699

Time Period	0-10%		11-20%		21-30%		31-40%		41-50%		51-60%		61-70%	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1674-1679	77	35%	80	36%	41	19%	15	5%	8	4%	1	1/2%	1	1/2%
1680-1684	23	26%	30	33%	15	17%	17	20%	1	1%	3	3%	-	-
1685-1689	36	22%	58	36%	36	22%	21	12%	7	4%	5	3%	2	1%
1690-1694	10	14%	21	30%	15	22%	8	12%	11	13%	5	8%	1	1%
1695-1699	26	14%	45	23%	40	21%	31	18%	22	13%	14	8%	8	3%
Rate of Change	Decrease		Decrease		Constant		Increase		Increase		Increase		Increase	

increased. The middle category, ranging from 21 to 40 percent, remained fairly constant throughout the period 1674 to 1699. There appeared to be little connection between the size of an estate and the percentage of capital a planter invested in bond labor. There were planters with small estates (under L100) who invested a very small percentage of their total assets in servants and slaves. John Cole of Kent County had an estate listed at L50. Included in the estate was one indentured servant valued at L3, only 6 percent of the total estate.² Furthermore, there were planters with large estates (over L100) who had a considerable percentage of their total capital invested in a labor force. John Barcroft of Saint Mary's County left an estate valued at L250. Listed in his estate were eight slaves and three indentured servants. The total value of his labor force was placed at L153, 63 percent of the total estate.³

On the other hand, some of the biggest and wealthiest slaveowners had only a small percentage of their total assets invested in bond labor. For example, John Wells of Baltimore County had an estate valued at L1,482 which included eleven slaves and four indentured servants. His

²1693 Inventory, Vol. XII, p. 1.

³1694 Inventory, Vol. XIII, p. 1.

servants and slaves were valued at L230, only 18 percent of his total estate.⁴ Finally, there were many small planters who invested a large percentage of their total capital in servants and slaves. In 1699 Alexander Chappell left an estate valued at L41. Included in the estate was one slave, valued at L24.⁵ Mr. Chappell had invested 58 percent of his total capital in bond labor.

The total amount of capital invested in a labor force, however, often reflected the economic and social position of a planter in his community. The province was full of planters like Alexander Chappell; only a very few planters could consider themselves as prosperous as John Wells. There also seems to be a correlation between the total value of an estate and the number of slaves and servants the planter had. Tables 9A and 9B indicate that those planters whose total estate was valued at less than L100 seldom held bond labor and rarely owned slaves. Without the use of bond labor, and more specifically Negro slaves, the small yeoman farmer had little chance of reaching the economic position John Wells had attained in the last decade of the seventeenth century. John Wells had died rich. Without the services of the Negro slave, the yeoman farmer would die poor.

⁴1696 Inventory, Vol. XV, p. 8.

⁵1699 Inventory, Vol. 19-1/2, p. 9.

TABLE 9A
Estates with Slaves and Servants by Size of Estates
(of those Estates with Bond Labor), 1674-1679

Income (L tobacco)	Slaves only	Servants only	Both Slaves & Servants
0-2000	0	0	0
2001-4000	0	3	0
4001-6000	0	2	0
6001-8000	1	6	0
8001-10,000	0	16	0
10,001-15,000	2	24	0
15,001-20,000	1	22	0
20,001-30,000	0	30	2
30,001-40,000	0	16	8
40,001-50,000	0	18	8
50,001-100,000	2	20	19
100,001-200,000	0	9	5
200,001-500,000	0	2	5
500,001-1,000,000	0	0	0
1 million up	0	1	1
Total	6	169	48
% of Total	3%	76%	21%

TABLE 9B

Estates with Slaves and Servants by Size of Estates (of those Estates with Bond Labor),
1680-1699

Income	1680-1684			1685-1689			1690-1694			1695-1699		
(L Sterling)	Sl.	Ser.	B.	Sl.	Ser.	B.	Sl.	Ser.	B.	Sl.	Ser.	B.
0-10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11-25	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
26-50	-	6	-	1	8	-	2	3	-	2	3	-
51-100	1	16	4	-	40	5	2	3	2	10	11	4
101-200	-	20	2	11	31	16	8	7	10	16	22	17
201-300	4	10	8	1	8	7	1	1	9	10	8	14
301-400	-	1	4	-	5	13	1	1	3	5	1	12
401-500	1	2	3	-	1	2	1	-	3	7	2	4
501-1,000	-	-	4	-	1	10	7	-	4	6	-	7
1,001-2,000	-	1	-	-	-	2	1	-	2	-	-	11
2,001-3,000	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3,001-4,000	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	6	56	27	16	95	55	23	15	33	64	52	70
% of Total	7%	63%	30%	9%	57%	34%	33%	21%	46%	34%	29%	37%

Sl. --- Estates with slaves only

Ser. --- Estates with servants only

B. --- Estates with both slaves and servants

Slaveholding Estates

An analysis of slaveholding estates by county offered an in-depth picture of the distribution of estates with Negro slaves during the latter part of the seventeenth century. Two forms of comparison were used to determine the extent of slaveholding estates for the period 1674 to 1699. First, slaveholding estates within a county were compared with the total number of estates for that county. If the slaveholding estates within a particular county comprised less than 13 percent of the total number in that county, then the percentage of estates with Negro slaves was considered as "low." Furthermore, if the number of slaveholding estates was 13 to 20 percent of the total number, then the percentage of estates with slaves was considered "average." Finally, when the number of slaveholding estates exceeded 21 percent of the total number of estates, the percentage of estates with Negro chattels was considered as "high."

Map 3 indicates that there was a high percentage of slaveholding estates in three of the five Western Shore counties. Anne Arundel, Charles, and Calvert Counties all had a relatively high degree of slaveholding estates, while Saint Mary's percentage was low and Prince George's was average. The two northern counties differed somewhat;

SLAVEHOLDING ESTATES (OF TOTAL # OF ESTATES IN
EACH COUNTY) 1674-1699

Baltimore

1. 4%
2. 10%
3. 13%
4. 22%
5. 5%

Cecil

1. 8%
2. 11%
3. 15%
4. 28%
5. 17%

Prince
Georges

1. -
2. -
3. -
4. -
5. 13%

Anne
Arundel

1. 6%
2. 10%
3. 12%
4. 20%
5. 27%

Kent

1. 4%
2. 8%
3. 6%
4. 12%
5. 5%

Talbot

1. 8%
2. 13%
3. 8%
4. 16%
5. 18%

Charles

1. 16%
2. 23%
3. 11%
4. 20%
5. 21%

Calvert

1. 5%
2. 7%
3. 20%
4. 24%
5. 24%

Dorchester

1. 7%
2. 0%
3. 17%
4. 6%
5. 10%

St.
Marys

1. 14%
2. 13%
3. 11%
4. 27%
5. 9%

Somerset

1. 28%
2. 33%
3. 14%
4. 24%
5. 20%

Low = 0-13%

Ave. = 13-20%

High = 21-35%

Baltimore had a low percentage of slaveholding estates while Cecil had an average number. The Eastern Shore counties of Kent and Dorchester had a low percentage of slave-holding estates while Talbot County had an average and Somerset a high percentage. The analysis shows that the greatest concentration of slaveholding estates was on the Western Shore, with the exception of Saint Mary's County. The Northern and Eastern Shore counties all had a low or average percentage of slaveholding estates, with the exception of Somerset County.

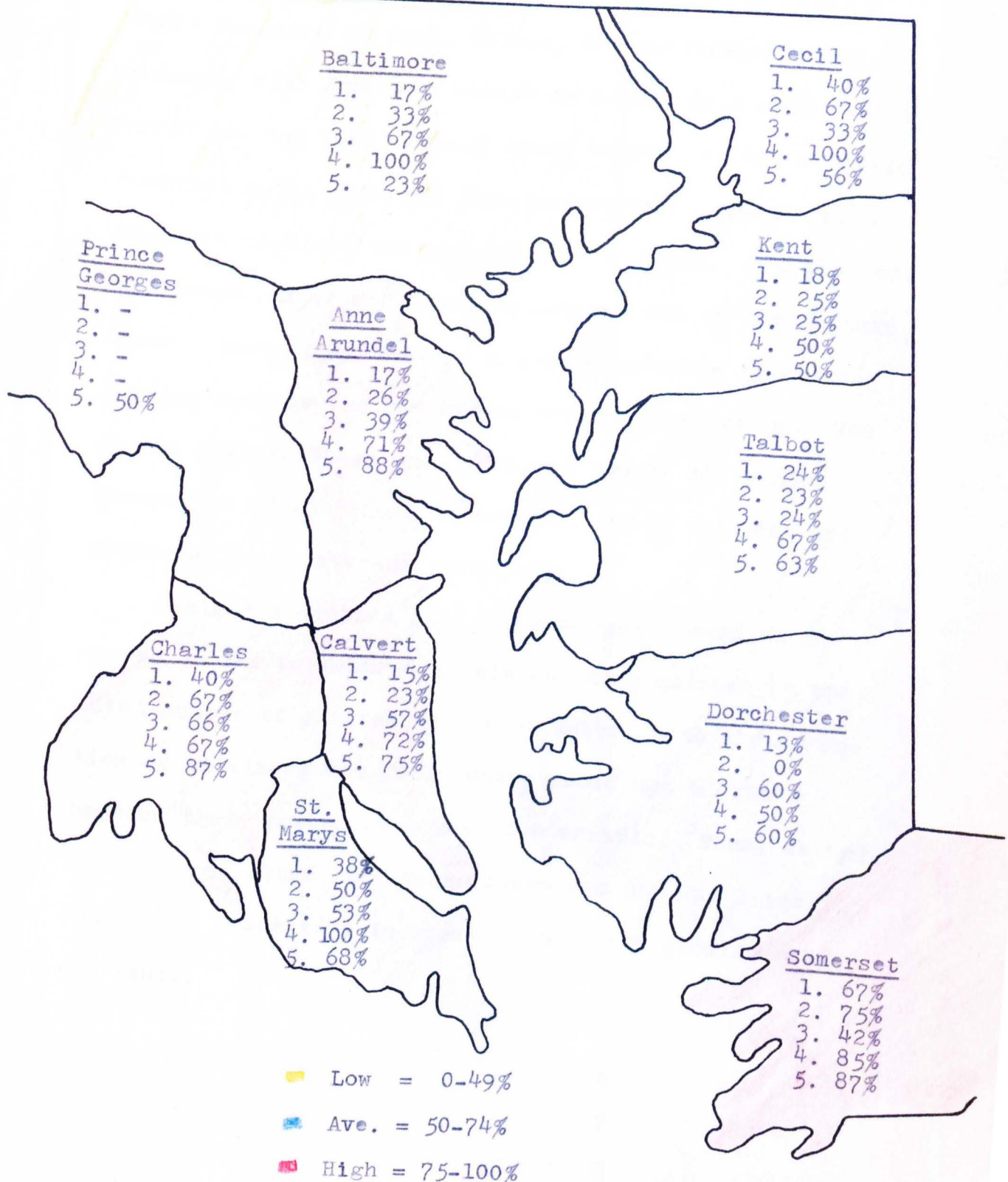
Table 7 indicates that no county during the twenty-six year period showed a decrease in the percentage of slaveholding estates to the entire number of estates. The Western Shore counties of Anne Arundel and Calvert showed an increase in slaveholding estates while Saint Mary's and Charles remained constant. Prince George's County entered too late to show any increase or decrease. The two northern counties again differed from one another. Baltimore County remained constant and Cecil County showed an increase in the percentage of slaveholding estates. The Eastern Shore counties of Kent, Dorchester, and Somerset remained constant, while Talbot showed an increase. Few generalizations can be made concerning the increase and decrease in the percentage of slaveholding estates to the

entire number of estates of the Eastern and Western Shore and the two northern counties simply because there was such a diversity among the counties themselves. Each area had counties which showed increases as well as those which remained constant. Again, all that can be said with certainty is that no county showed a decrease in the percentage of slaveholding estates.

The second comparison used to determine the extent of estates with Negro slaves was between the number of slaveholding estates within each individual county and the total number of estates with bond labor for each county. If the number of slaveholding estates of a particular county was less than 50 percent of the total number of estates with bond labor then the percentage of estates with Negro chattels was considered "low." If the number of slaveholding estates was between 51 and 74 percent of the total, the percentage was considered "average." Finally, if the number of estates with Negro slaves exceeded 75 percent, the percentage of slaveholding estates within the individual county was considered "high."

Map 4 shows that the Western Shore counties rated fairly high in slaveholding estates, while the Eastern Shore counties rated average. On the Western Shore, Anne Arundel, Calvert, and Charles rated high, while Prince

SLAVEHOLDING ESTATES (OF THOSE HOLDING BOND LABOR IN EACH COUNTY) 1674-1699



Geroge's and Saint Mary's rated average. The Eastern Shore counties of Kent, Talbot, and Dorchester rated average, with Somerset rating as high. Baltimore County rated low and Cecil County rated average as the northern counties again differed from one another. This second analysis confirms the results of the first. The greatest concentration of slaveholding estates was on the Western Shore. Three counties had a high percentage of slaveholding estates and two had an average percentage. Yet on the Eastern Shore only Somerset County had a high percentage of slaveholding estates, while the rest had either a low or average percentage.

Table 7 indicates that the counties showed an increase in the percentage of slaveholding estates to the total number of estates with bond labor, with the exception of Baltimore and Cecil which could not be rated because their percentages were too erratic. Thus, as the century progressed, the Negro slave was used in larger and larger quantities in order to meet the growing need for labor.

CHAPTER V

SLAVES AND SERVANTS: COMPOSITION AND VALUE

The patterns of slaveholding and the use of white indentured servants gradually changed as the seventeenth century progressed. Negro slavery slowly became an integral part of the social and economic structure of the colony, while the use of white indentured servants slowly began to fade. As the assets of the large planter increased, there was a tendency on his part to acquire more and more slaves in order to meet the growing need for an adequate labor force. The value of a slave, even by the latter part of the century was substantially higher than that of an indentured servant. By 1700, it was evident that Negro slavery was fast becoming a permanent institution in the province of Maryland.

Composition of Slaves and Servants

Table 10 shows the number and percentage of estates with slaves and servants of those estates with bond labor for the period 1674 to 1699. Those estates with bond labor listing servants only decreased from 76 percent of the total in the period 1674 to 1679 to 28 percent in 1695 to 1699. Those estates containing slaves only increased from 3 percent in the period 1674 to 1679 to 34 percent in

TABLE 10

Number and Percentage of Estates with Slaves and Servants
(Of those Estates with Bond Labor), 1674-1699

Time Period	Servants Only		Slaves & Servants		Slaves Only		Slaves Only/Slaves & Servants	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1674-1679	169	76%	48	21%	6	3%	54	24%
1680-1684	56	63%	27	30%	6	7%	33	37%
1685-1689	95	57%	55	34%	15	9%	71	43%
1690-1694	15	21%	34	48%	22	31%	56	79%
1695-1699	52	28%	70	38%	64	34%	134	72%
Rate of Change	Decreased		Increased		Increased		Increased	

1695 to 1699. Furthermore, those estates holding both slaves and servants increased from 21 percent of the total number in the period 1674 to 1679 to 38 percent in 1695 to 1699. If two categories of estates, those listing slaves only and those listing slaves and servants, are combined the increase in slaveholding becomes clear. The slaveholding estates in the combined categories were 24 percent of the total number of estates with bond labor in the period 1674 to 1679, while in the period 1695 to 1699 the number had increased to 72 percent. The period of greatest increase was between the periods 1685 to 1689 and 1690 to 1694. The number of slaveholding estates jumped from 43 percent of the total number in the period 1685 to 1689 to 79 percent in 1690 to 1694. Those estates listing servants only decreased from 57 percent to 21 percent.

Table 11 indicates that during the period 1674 to 1699 the average number of slaves and servants per estate, of those estates holding bond labor, slowly decreased from 2.88 servants per estate in the period 1674 to 1679 to 2.15 servants in 1695 to 1699. The period of greatest decline was between the periods 1685 to 1689 and 1690 to 1694, when the number decreased from 2.82 to 2.09. More significantly, the average number of slaves per estate

TABLE 11

Average Number of Slaves and Servants per Estate
(of those Holding Bond Labor), 1674-1699

Time Period	No. of Estates Hold- ing Slaves	Total No. of Slaves	Average No. of Slaves per Estate	No. of Persons Hold- ing Servants	Total No. of Servants	Average No. of Servants per Estate
1674-1679	54	159	2.89	214	618	2.88
1680-1684	33	155	4.69	81	211	2.60
1685-1689	71	272	3.77	152	429	2.82
1690-1694	56	319	5.50	43	90	2.09
1695-1699	134	737	5.50	117	252	2.15
TOTAL	352	1642	4.66	607	1600	2.63

increased from 2.89 in the period 1674 to 1679 to 5.50 in 1695 to 1699. Again, the greatest increase occurred between the periods 1685 to 1689 and 1690 to 1694, when the average jumped from 3.77 slaves per estates to 5.50.

Why such a shift occurred around 1690 is difficult to determine. Statistics shown in Table 12 indicate that there was no great increase in the total number of Negroes in Maryland at that time. The truly large increases in Negroes were to come after 1710. After 1670, the ratio of Negroes in Maryland to the total population remained fairly constant, staying around 9 percent. Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that although there was an increase in the number of people who held slaves, there was an even greater increase in the total number of people in the province, resulting in a decrease in the percentage of persons holding bond labor, including slaves. What may have occurred beginning around 1690 was an increasing concentration of slaves in the hands of a few.

Table 13 indicates that of those estates holding eight or more slaves during the twenty-six year period, 17.6 percent of the total number of slaveholding estates owned 52.2 percent of the Negro slaves. This simply means that a small percentage of the total population examined in this study owned over one half of the slaves in Maryland. The

TABLE 12

Maryland Population Statistics, 1640-1730

Decade	Total Population ¹	Percentage of ² Population Increase	Negro Population ³	Percentage of Negro Population to the Total Population
1640	430	---	20	5%
1650	1,410	212%	300	21%
1660	4,945	352%	758	15%
1670	12,925	122%	1,190	9%
1680	17,800	36%	1,611	9%
1690	22,900	28%	2,162	9%
1700	32,950	49%	3,227	10%
1710	42,681	26%	7,945	19%
1720	59,500	39%	12,499	20%
1730	82,875	39%	17,220	20%

¹Arthur E. Karinen, "Maryland Population: 1631-1730." Maryland Historical Magazine, LIV (December, 1959), p. 405.

²Ibid, p. 375.

³U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1957 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960), p. 756.

TABLE 13

Estates with Eight or more Slaves (of those estates holding slaves),
1674-1699

Time Period	# of Estates	% of Total Slave Estates	# of Slaves	Avg. # of Slaves per Slave Estate	% of Total # of Slaves	Low- High Estate	Average Value of Estate
1674-1679	2	3.6%	38	19	23.8%	L414-1,957	L1,185
1680-1684	5	15.1%	81	18	52.2%	L448-1,807	L 821
1685-1689	9	12.5%	102	11	37.5%	L326-3,444	L 897
1690-1694	15	25.9%	205	14	64.2%	L232-1,145	L 699
1695-1699	31	23.1%	435	14	59.2%	L211-1,800	L 768
TOTAL	62	17.6%	861	14	52.2%	L211-3,444	L 772

average assessed value of those estates was L722, putting them in the upper strata of society. The higher a planter progressed on the economic scale, the more likely he was to purchase slaves as a means of satisfying the demand for labor.

Individual ownership of slaves and servants varied among those who held both slaves and servants, those who held only slaves, and those who held only servants. Table 14 shows that the majority of servant-only estates listed just one or two servants per estate. The total of the percentages for these estates listing one or two servants varied from 61 percent of the total number of servant-only estates in the period 1674 to 1679 to 73 percent in the period 1695 to 1699. Servant-only estates were usually found among the lower economic groups: in particular, the small yeoman farmer whose estate was valued at less than L100. These were the people who generally lived throughout the frontier at a subsistence level. Seldom did these small farmers have more than the most basic tools necessary to exist. Most possessed household utensils, several items of worn clothing, and a bed. Many owned a gun, a sow or two, a few head of cattle, perhaps even a horse. Very few held bond labor, either in the form of slaves or servants.

TABLE 14

Number of Servants per Estate (of those estates with Servants Only),
1674-1699

Time Period	Number of Servants per Estate											
	One		Two		Three		Four		Five		Six	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1674-1679	64	- 38%	38	- 23%	23	- 13%	21	- 12%	13	- 8%	10	- 6%
1680-1684	25	- 44%	12	- 22%	10	- 17%	4	- 8%	5	- 9%	--	--
1685-1689	39	- 41%	23	- 24%	15	- 16%	6	- 6%	8	- 9%	4	- 4%
1690-1694	8	- 53%	4	- 26%	--	--	2	- 14%	1	- 7%	--	--
1695-1699	24	- 46%	14	- 27%	7	- 13%	5	- 10%	1	- 2%	1	- 2%
Rate of Change (#) ...	Decrease		Decrease		Decrease		Decrease		Decrease		Decrease	
Rate of Change (%) ...	Constant		Constant		Constant		Constant		Decrease		Decrease	

Those estates which included slaves only generally listed five slaves or less. Table 15 shows that the percentage of slave-only estates listing five slaves or less varied from 66 percent of the total number of slave-only estates in the period 1674 to 1679 to 64 percent of the total number in the period 1695 to 1699. Such estates were usually found among the middle class merchants and planters whose estates were valued between L101 and L500. Persons in this category enjoyed a higher standard of living than those at a subsistence level. Although few possessed any luxuries, most owned the principal items needed to afford them a moderate degree of comfort.

Tables 16A and 16B illustrate that those estates which listed both servants and slaves usually held fewer than three indentured servants and fewer than six slaves. Estates holding both servants and slaves were almost always found among the wealthy planters (those whose estates exceeded L500). Of those planters, the ones whose estates exceeded L720 usually held eight or more slaves. There were, of course, some middle class planters or merchants who owned both slaves and servants in large numbers, but this was the exception rather than the rule. Those with estates valued over L500 were most often persons both

TABLE 15

Number of Slaves per Estate (of those estates with Slaves Only),
1674-1699

Time Period	Number of Slaves per Estate									
	1 - 2		3 - 5		6 - 10		11 - 20		21 - 30	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1674-1679	2	33%	2	33%	1	17%	1	17%	-	-
1680 - 1684	2	33%	1	17%	3	50%	-	-	-	-
1685 - 1689	7	46%	6	40%	1	7%	1	7%	-	-
1690 - 1694	9	40%	6	27%	3	14%	3	14%	1	5%
1695 - 1699	27	42%	14	22%	16	25%	6	10%	1	1%
Rate of Change (#)	Increase		Increase		Increase		Increase		Constant	
Rate of Change (%)	Constant		Constant		Constant		Constant		Constant	

TABLE 16A

Number of Slaves Per Estate (of those estates with both Slaves and Servants),
1674-1699

Time Period	Servants											
	One		Two		Three		Four		Five		Six	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1674-1679	6	22%	8	30%	1	4%	3	11%	3	11%	6	22%
1680-1684	10	21%	5	11%	7	14%	9	19%	4	8%	13	27%
1685-1689	13	23%	15	29%	8	14%	7	12%	5	10%	7	12%
1690-1694	15	44%	6	18%	7	20%	2	6%	2	6%	2	6%
1695-1699	26	37%	26	37%	8	11%	6	9%	1	2%	3	4%
Rate of Change (#)	Increase		Increase		Constant		Constant		Constant		Decrease	
Rate of Change (%)	Increase		Constant		Constant		Constant		Decrease		Decrease	

TABLE 16B

Number of Servants Per Estate (of those estates with both Slaves and Servants),
1674-1699

Time Period	Slaves					
	1 - 2	3 - 5	6 - 10	11 - 20	21 - 30	31 Up
	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %
1674-1679	17 - 62%	4 - 15%	4 - 15%	1 - 4%	- -	1 - 4%
1680-1684	30 - 63%	16 - 33%	1 - 2%	- -	1 - 2%	- -
1685-1689	24 - 43%	20 - 36%	7 - 13%	4 - 8%	- -	- -
1690-1694	16 - 47%	7 - 20%	5 - 15%	6 - 18%	- -	- -
1695-1699	32 - 46%	14 - 20%	15 - 21%	6 - 9%	- -	3 - 4%
Rate of Change (#)	Constant	Constant	Increase	Constant	- -	Increase
Rate of Change (%)	Decrease	Decrease	Constant	Constant	- -	Constant

politically and socially active in their communities. These were the planters who could afford to purchase large numbers of Negro slaves, and as time passed, that is exactly what occurred. The large planter owned fewer and fewer white indentured servants and more and more Negro slaves. Often the wealthy planter would retain one or two white servants for his personal service, but this was more a matter of convenience than of economic survival. The capitalist planter relied, instead, on the Negro slave to meet the demand for an adequate labor force. Table 11 illustrates the decrease in the use of white servants and the increase in the use of Negro slaves by those who owned both slaves and servants.

Value of Slaves and Servants

The inventories and accounts offered a rich source of information concerning the value of slaves in seventeenth century Maryland. There was, however, one major limitation which prohibited a truly comprehensive analysis. The number of slaves whose age, sex, and value were listed separately was only a small percentage of the total number of Negroes who were included in the inventories. Many Negroes were listed in groups and the value assigned was that for the entire group and not the individual Negro chattels. For example, it was common for an appraiser to record entires

such as "five Negroes . . . old and young . . . L98"¹, or "two men, two women, and one child . . . L94."² In addition, the value of many children was included in the value assigned to their mothers (i.e., "one woman and child . . . L26"³). Three categories were established to determine the value of Negro slaves. In the first category, all slaves whose age, sex, and individual value appeared in the inventories were analyzed. In the second category, those slaves whose value and sex were listed were examined. Finally, all slaves whose sex, age, or individual value were not recorded were analyzed. After the statistical data for each category was collected, male and female slaves within each category were analyzed in order to determine the value of the slave population.

The information obtained from the first category indicates that the value of Negro slaves during the seventeenth century was determined by several factors. First, the age of a slave was of prime importance. Table 17 shows that the value of most male slaves between the ages of sixteen and thirty-five ranged from L21 to L25. Boys younger than sixteen and men older than thirty-five were

¹ 1694 Inventory, Vol. XIII, p. 118.

² 1694 Inventory, Vol. XIII, p. 128.

³ 1696 Inventory, Vol. XIV, p. 124.

TABLE 17

Value of Male Slaves by Age, 1674 to 1699

Age (Years)	L0-L5	L6-L10	L11-L15	L16-L20	L21-L25	L26-L30	L31-L35
0 - 5	14	23					
6 - 10	1	3	4	5			
11 - 15			2	8	6		
16 - 20		1	1	2	14		1
21 - 25		1			8	4	
26 - 30			1	1	12	2	
31 - 35					3	1	1
36 - 40				4	3	1	
41 - 45			1	1			
46 - 50		2					
51 - 55							
56 - 60		1					
61 - 65							
65 - 70							
71 - 75							
76 - 80							

generally valued at less than those who were in the prime of their life. Boys under five years of age were usually valued at L10 or less. The mortality rate of this group was probably quite high; therefore their value was proportionately less than those boys past the age of five. It is interesting to note that although a slave might be "beyond his labor" and unable to perform the more difficult tasks, he was still worth something. For example, a male slave owned by Henry Ward of Cecil County was classified as "very old", yet he was still valued at L5.⁴ As long as a slave was able to perform the most menial chores, he was considered an asset to his owner.

There appeared in the Inventories and Accounts for the period 1674 to 1699 a large number of Negro children indicating that an increasing portion of the Negro population was native born. Although some planters continued to rely on the importation of Negro slaves to meet the demand for labor, others relied on their own slaves to produce children, thus creating a continuing labor force.

Physical condition was another determinant for the value of slaves. Seldom did the Inventories list general

⁴ 1684 Inventory, Vol. XIII, p. 163.

physical condition, yet they sometimes mentioned the presence of a physical handicap. John Grosse of Talbot County owned a male slave who was blind. The slave was valued at L10,⁵ less than half the value of a male slave in his prime. A male slave, age 25, owned by Thomas Gant of Calvert County had only one arm. The value of the slave was L10,⁶ again less than one half the value of most male slaves twenty-five years old.

One final determinant for the value of slaves was the amount of training a slave had received in a specific skill. There were occasions when a slave was trained as a carpenter or a blacksmith. For example, a male slave, valued at L30 and belonging to Michael Lloyd of Talbot County, was listed as a carpenter.⁷ Lloyd owned forty slaves and was the second largest slaveholder listed in the Inventories and Accounts during the seventeenth century.

Table 18 indicates that the value of female slaves was lower than that of male slaves throughout the period 1674 to 1699. For a female slave in her prime (sixteen to thirty-five years of age) the value of most ranged from L16 to L20. Girls under sixteen were worth slightly more than boys of

⁵1676 Inventory, Vol. II, p. 127.

⁶1696 Inventory, Vol. XIV, p. 108.

⁷1697 Inventory, Vol. XV, p. 198.

TABLE 18

Value of Female Slaves by Age, 1674 to 1699

Age (Years)	L0-L5	L6-L10	L11-L15	L16-L20	L21-L25	L26-L30	L31-L35
0 - 5	11	10	3				
6 - 10	2	7	8	7			
11 - 15			1		4		
16 - 20				9	5		
21 - 25				2	4		
26 - 30		1		5	6		
31 - 35		1					
36 - 40		3	2		1		
41 - 45			1				
46 - 50		1	1	1			
51 - 55							
56 - 60							
61 - 65							
66 - 70		1					
71 - 75							
76 - 80	1						

the same age group. The greatest potential of a young female slave was the likelihood that she would bear children; therefore the value of female slaves was higher than might be expected.

Many inventories during the seventeenth century listed the value and sex of the slave but failed to mention the age of the Negro. Table 19 indicates that the majority of male slaves in this second category had a value that ranged from L16 to L25. Table 20 shows that the value of the majority of female slaves in the same category gradually increased from the L11 to L20 bracket in the period 1674 to 1679 to the L16 to L25 bracket in the period 1695 to 1699.

Unfortunately the largest number of slaves during the twenty-six year period fell into the third category. For most Negro chattels not enough was said about their age, sex, or individual value to make a thorough analysis. Table 21 indicates that the value of the majority of slaves, both male and female, in this category ranged from L16 to L25 throughout the twenty-six year period. From 1674 to 1679, 66 percent of the slaves in category three had a value which ranged from L16 to L25. From 1680 to 1684 the figure was 62 percent; from 1685 to 1689 it was 66 percent; from 1690 to 1694, it was 64 percent; and from 1695 to 1699 the figure was 58 percent. The figures for this category, of

TABLE 19
Value of Male Slaves, 1674-1699

Value	1674 - 1679 ¹		1680 - 1684		1685 - 1689		1690 - 1694		1695 - 1699	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
L0 - 5	2	5%	3	9%	2	5%	7	7%	10	7%
L6 - 10	5	13%	2	6%	6	13%	9	10%	30	16%
L11 - 15	7	20%	3	9%	8	18%	7	7%	18	9%
L16 - 20	10	29%	7	20%	15	34%	18	21%	26	13%
L21 - 25	12	33%	10	28%	12	28%	46	52%	77	40%
L26 - 30	-	-	9	26%	1	2%	3	3%	28	14%
L31 - 35	-	-	1	2%	-	-	-	-	3	1%
Total	36	100%	35	100%	44	100%	90	100%	192	100%

¹Since the value of slaves and servants was recorded in L tobacco during this period, it was necessary to convert L tobacco to L sterling. Several inventories were listed both in L tobacco and L Sterling and from them the following ratio was derived: L 1 Sterling = L 200 tobacco.

TABLE 20

Value of Female Slaves, 1674-1699

Value	1674-1679 ¹		1680-1684		1685-1689		1690-1694		1695-1699	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
L 0- 5	2	12%	1	4%	4	10%	6	12%	10	7%
L 6-10	6	38%	7	27%	7	19%	8	16%	37	23%
L11-15	2	12%	4	8%	9	24%	7	14%	20	13%
L16-20	6	38%	12	46%	13	35%	15	29%	33	21%
L21-25	-	-	2	15%	5	12%	14	27%	53	34%
L26-30	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2%	5	2%
L31-35	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	16	100%	26	100%	38	100%	51	100%	158	100%

¹Original values recorded in L tobacco.

Conversion scale: L 1 Sterling = L200 tobacco.

TABLE 21

Value of Slaves without Differentiation (No Reference to sex and/or individual value)
1674-1699

Value	1674-1679 ¹		1680-1684		1685-1689		1690-1694		1695-1699	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
L 0- 5	-	-	-	-	3	2%	20	12%	22	7%
L 6-10	20	21%	20	21%	23	11%	10	6%	33	9%
L11-15	13	13%	9	10%	42	20%	28	17%	80	22%
L16-20	36	33%	27	28%	106	50%	74	44%	74	20%
L21-25	36	33%	32	34%	36	16%	37	20%	143	38%
L26-30	-	-	4	5%	2	1%	2	1%	15	4%
L31-35	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
L36 & up	-	-	2	2%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	103	100%	94	100%	212	100%	171	100%	367	100%

¹Original values recorded in L tobacco.

Conversion scale: L 1 Sterling - L 200 tobacco.

course, were based on the average value of slaves listed in the inventories. For example, if five Negroes were valued at L125, then the average value would, of course, be L25 for each Negro.

There appeared to be very little difference between the average value of slaves within the individual counties. Apparently the value of Negro chattels was fairly well-known throughout the province and the appraisers acted accordingly. As the century progressed there was only a slight rise in the value of slaves, both male and female. Male slaves were rarely valued above L35, even if they had been trained in a particular trade. Female slaves were rarely valued above L30.

Negro slaves were only a part of the total labor force used in the province. There were, of course, a good number of indentured servants. To fully understand the value of the servant population in seventeenth century Maryland, it is necessary to analyze data drawn from the inventories and accounts. Statistical information concerning servants included their sex, their value, and their time of servitude. Like the Negro slave, the value of an indentured servant was influenced by age, physical condition, and the degree of training of the individual. Although the age of an indentured servant was rarely listed in the inventories, it

can be assumed that servants who were in the prime of their life and able to perform the most difficult tasks were worth more than those who were not. Physical condition influenced the value of a servant, although this too is only an assumption, for physical condition was rarely listed unless it was necessary to indicate a handicap. The value of a servant with a physical defect was, of course, less than that of a healthy servant. A female servant belonging to John Danharde of Cecil County was "lame" and only worth 400 pounds of tobacco (approximately L2). Her time of servitude was one year.⁸ Many servants were worth more if they were skilled in some trade, just as slaves had a higher value if they were skilled. William Tolbey of Prince George's County owned a male servant who was a taylor. The servant had two years to serve and was worth L8.⁹

The factor which probably had the greatest influence on the value of a servant, however, was the amount of time the individual was obligated to serve. Tables 22 and 23 show that the time of indenture varied greatly, but that the average term of servitude seldom exceeded four or five years. There were cases where persons would serve ten years, but this was rare.

⁸1676 Inventory, Vol. I, p. 28.

⁹1699 Inventory, Vol. 19-1/2, p. 92.

TABLE 22

Time of Servitude of Male Servants, 1674-1699

Time (Months)	1674-1679		1680-1684		1685-1689		1690-1694		1695-1699	
	Men	Boys	Men	Boys	Men	Boys	Men	Boys	Men	Boys
0-12	42	2	17	3	31	6	7	-	12	3
13-24	34	2	21	-	21	3	4	2	8	2
25-36	29	5	21	4	36	6	7	-	7	4
37-48	25	4	17	1	30	1	8	5	7	5
49-60	16	6	3	1	8	4	1	-	1	7
61-72	4	5	3	4	6	-	1	1	1	6
73 & up	2	4	3	4	9	7	1	4	2	7
Total	150	28	85	17	141	27	29	12	38	34

TABLE 23

Time of Servitude of Female Servants, 1674-1699

Time (Months)	1674-1679		1680-1684		1685-1689		1690-1694		1695-1699	
	Women	Girls	Women	Girls	Women	Girls	Women	Girls	Women	Girls
0-12	11	-	4	1	10	-	3	-	8	-
13-24	14	1	2	2	11	-	5	-	10	-
25-36	9	-	6	-	12	1	1	-	15	3
37-48	12	1	7	2	18	2	4	-	6	-
49-60	4	-	6	-	5	-	-	-	8	-
61-72	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-
73 & up	-	-	-	1	-	2	2	-	-	3
Total	51	2	26	6	57	5	15	0	48	6

Orphans would sometimes sign long contracts of indenture as a means of support. For example, the estate of Robert Noble of Anne Arundel County listed two orphans. One was a boy valued at L10 who was obligated to serve for nine years. The other was a girl valued at L10 who was to serve twelve years.¹⁰ The practice of hiring a person for a specific task was also quite common. Some servants were obligated to serve a "cropp of tobacco", others were obligated to serve several. A male servant belonging to Robert Carr of Charles County had to serve "3 cropps" before his contract expired. The servant was valued at L10.¹¹

There was a direct correlation between the value of a servant and the time the servant was obligated to serve. Tables 24 through 27 indicate that the value of the majority of servants, both male and female, ranged from L0 to L5 for those who had less than two years to serve and L6 to L10 for those who had two to four years to serve. After the fourth year of servitude, however, the value of the servant no longer increased in direct proportion to the term of indenture. For example, a servant with one year to serve might have a value of L3; a servant with two years to serve, L6; one with three years, L9; and one with four years, L12.

¹⁰1686 Inventory, Vol. IX, p. 125.

¹¹1683 Inventory, Vol. VIII, p. 50.

TABLE 24

Value and Time of Servitude of Male Servants (Men), 1674-1699

Time (Months)	L0-L5	L6-L10	L11-L15	L16-L20
0-12	102	7	-	-
13-24	27	58	3	-
25-36	14	73	12	1
37-48	2	63	20	2
49-60	-	23	6	-
61-72	1	10	4	-
73 & up	-	3	11	2

TABLE 25

Value and Time of Servitude of Male Servants (Boys), 1674-1699

Time (Months)	L0-L5	L6-L10	L11-L15	L16-L20
0-12	12	2	-	-
13-24	5	3	3	-
25-36	4	10	-	-
37-48	2	11	4	-
49-60	-	13	4	-
61-72	-	7	11	1
73 & up	3	14	9	-

TABLE 26

Value and Time of Servitude of Female Servants (Women), 1674-1699

Time (Months)	L0-L5	L6-L10	L11-L15	L16-L20
0-12	35	1	-	-
13-24	23	19	-	-
25-36	17	20	1	-
37-48	10	20	10	-
49-60	2	9	8	-
61-72	-	2	1	-
73 & up	1	1	-	-

TABLE 27

Value and Time of Servitude of Female Servants (Girls), 1674-1699

Time (Months)	L0-L5	L6-L10	L11-L15	L16-L20
0-12	1	-	-	-
13-24	3	-	-	-
25-36	1	3	-	-
37-48	3	1	1	-
49-60	-	-	-	-
61-72	-	-	-	-
73 & up	-	5	1	-

For each year the value increased L3. Yet a servant obligated to serve five years might only be worth L13, one who had to serve six years only L14. Thus for the fifth and sixth years of servitude the value increased only L1 per year, as compared with L3 per year for the first four years. Graph 1 illustrates this leveling-off process which occurred.

As was the case with Negro slaves, data dealing with indentured servants in the Inventories was not complete. The majority of indentured servants were listed only according to sex and individual value and not according to time of servitude. Furthermore, when the value of a servant was included, often it was combined with the value of other servants (i.e., "two men . . . two years each . . . L8"¹²). Table 28 indicates that the value of the majority of servants whose time of servitude or individual value was not listed ranged from L1 to L10. Again, this was just an average value. If four servants had an assigned value of L20, then the average for each would, of course, be L5. Although there was a decline in the use of indentured servants, their value (seldom more than L10 as indicated in Tables 29 and 30) remained constant throughout the twenty-six year period. Soon, however, more would fade from the scene, giving way to an ever increasing number of Negro slaves.

¹²1697 Inventory, Vol. XV, p. 234.

Graph 1

Correlation Between Time to Serve and Value of
Indentured Servants, 1674-1699

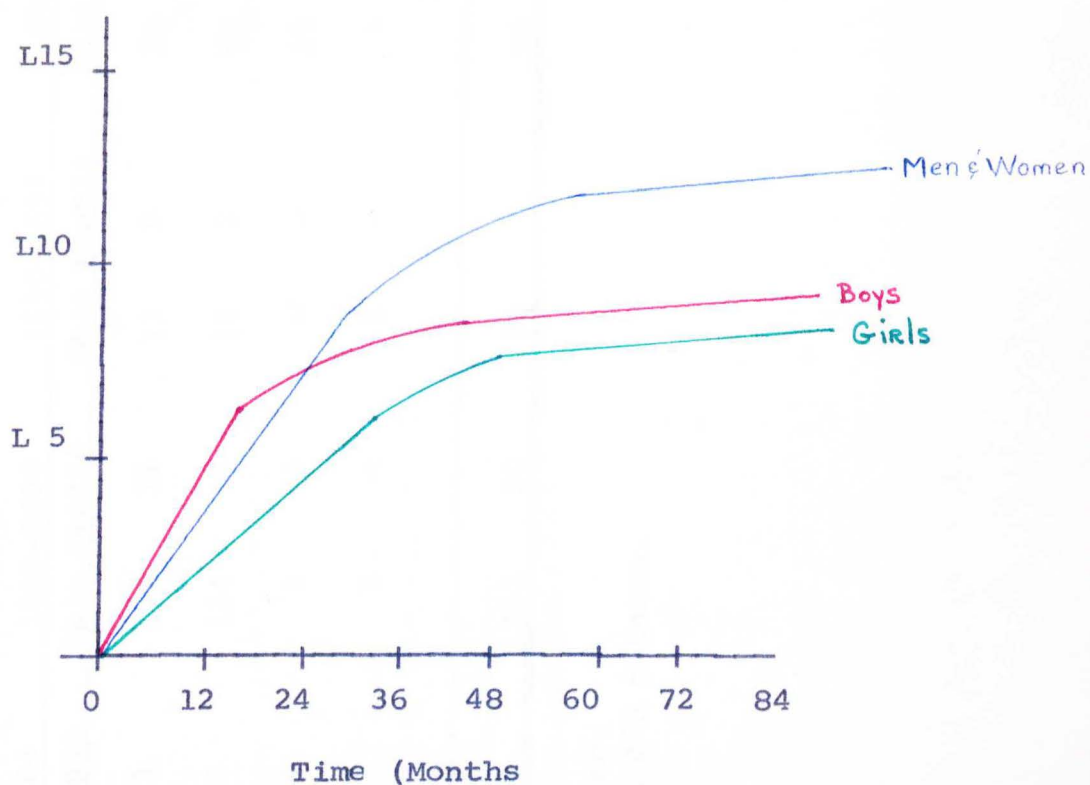


TABLE 28

Value of Servants Without Differentiation (No Reference to time and/or individual value)
1674-1699

Value	1674-1679 ¹		1680-1684		1685-1689		1690-1694		1695-1699	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
L0- 5	38	20	17	3	29	11	11	5	24	7
L6-10	211	40	46	5	124	15	24	2	50	22
L11-15	36	5	17	4	2	4	-	-	25	-
L16-20	2	2	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-
Total	287	67	80	12	157	30	36	7	99	29

¹Original values recorded in L tobacco.
Conversion Scale: L 1 Sterling = L 200 tobacco.

TABLE 29

Value of Male Servants, 1674-1699

Value	1674-1679 ¹		1680-1684		1685-1689		1690-1694		1695-1699	
	Men	Boys	Men	Boys	Men	Boys	Men	Boys	Men	Boys
L 0- 5	48	3	29	2	42	13	11	6	16	3
L 6-10	96	16	40	6	72	14	14	4	15	22
L11-15	5	8	15	9	25	7	3	2	7	9
L16-20	1	1	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-
Total	150	28	85	17	141	27	29	12	38	34

¹Original values recorded in L tobacco.

Conversion scale: L 1 Sterling = L 200 tobacco.

TABLE 30

Value of Female Servants, 1674-1699

Value	1674-1679 ¹		1680-1684		1685-1689		1690-1694		1695-1699	
	Women	Girls	Women	Girls	Women	Girls	Women	Girls	Women	Girls
L 0- 5	23	1	4	4	27	3	10	-	20	-
L 6-10	27	1	15	1	23	2	5	-	22	5
L11-15	1	-	7	1	7	-	-	-	6	1
L16-20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	51	2	26	6	57	5	15	0	48	6

¹Original values recorded in L tobacco.

Conversion scale: L 1 Sterling = L 200 tobacco.

CHAPTER VI

SLAVEHOLDING AND INDENTURED SERVITUDE IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY MARYLAND: THE CONCLUSION

When viewed in retrospect, seventeenth century Maryland can be seen as a society in transition. The basic concern of those who arrived on the Ark and the Dove in the fall of 1633 was that of survival. Food, shelter, and clothing were necessary to sustain the newly arrived inhabitants. Maryland's first permanent settlement, on the Saint Mary's River, was an ideal location. The small community grew rapidly as men hurried to build a temporary palisade and to get in the first seed, stopping only long enough to sleep and offer thanks to God in the rude dwellings left by the departing natives.¹

As time passed, self-confidence among the colonists increased. Men turned away from their subsistence agricultural state to search for a profitable livelihood which would afford them a moderate degree of wealth and prosperity. Many, in their search for comfort and security, diverted their energies to commercial farming. As capitalistic agriculture developed, the Negro was gradually cast into a state of perpetual servitude. Commercial planters, plagued by the unreliability of white indentured servants, gradually

¹Wesley F. Craven, The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689 (Baton Rouge, 1944), p. 194.

began to supplement their labor forces with Negro slaves.

By the end of the seventeenth century, slavery had become so intertwined in the province's social structure that there existed a marked difference between those who owned slaves and those who did not. Economically, the large planter employed Negro slaves as his primary labor force simply because no realistic alternative had been found that would enable the commercial planter to realize a larger margin of profit. Thus by 1700, there was little hope that the institution of slavery would disappear from the social and economic structure of the colony.

There occurred, during the seventeenth century, a basic shift in the economic and social development of Maryland. In the early period of growth the economy of the colony was based solely on a subsistence type of agricultural system; yet by 1700, the society had become more commercially oriented. With this in mind and on the basis of information derived from the Inventories and Accounts, several conclusions are suggested:

1. The planters who used bond labor, either in the form of slaves and/or servants, decreased in percentage as the century progressed. More and more small farmers cultivated their land with no help other than that which was supplied by their immediate family or nearby friends. There

were occasions when a farmer would hire a man for a short period of time, but only as a temporary arrangement. For the most part, Maryland was a province populated by small independent farmers, and, as time passed, the trend toward a decrease in the percentage of estates with bond labor seemed to continue.

2. Although the majority of planters in Maryland had no bond labor, the relatively small number who did gradually used more and more Negro slaves as their primary labor force. Planters slowly turned away from white indentured servants and towards the Negro slave in order to meet the increasing demand for labor. The average number of slaves per estate increased during this period while the average number of white servants decreased. Towards the end of the century, there seemed to be a concentration of Negro slaves in the hands of the wealthy. Large planters usually held the largest number of slaves, yet strangely enough seldom owned more than one or two white indentured servants. The small farmer, if he owned bond labor, generally held one or two servants, or perhaps a single slave. There seemed to be little connection between the percentage of total capital invested by a planter in bond labor, and the level of economic prosperity that he obtained. Many small farmers, in an effort to work their way up the social and

economic scale, invested quite a bit of their total capital in either slaves or servants, while many large planters invested very little of their total capital in a labor force. This is not to imply, however, that the wealthy did not own slaves and servants. It simply means that they did not invest a large percentage of their total income in bond labor. There did seem to be a correlation between the economic position of a planter in society and the number of slaves and servants he owned. In general, the wealthier a person was, the more slaves and/or servants that person tended to own. Since the basis of wealth in seventeenth century Maryland was agriculture, it is doubtful whether a planter could become prosperous without the benefit of bond labor, and as time passed, this tendency changed from bond labor to slave labor.

3. Unlike the eighteenth century when the value of Negro slaves increased substantially, the average value of Negro slaves rose only slightly during the seventeenth century. Male slaves in their prime were generally worth L21 to L25 while the average value of female slaves increased from L16 to L20 in the 1680's to L21 to L25 by 1700. One factor which may have caused the value of Negro chattels to remain fairly constant during this period was the availability of white indentured servants. True, the

number of white servants was decreasing rapidly, but not until their numbers had been reduced to a minimum did they fail to meet some of the demand for an adequate labor force. When white indentured servants became an insignificant part of the total labor force, as they did in the eighteenth century, Negro slaves increased in value as well as in number. During the seventeenth century, white servants were still used by the small farmer unable to purchase Negro slaves. Although more expensive over the long run, the initial value of a white indentured servant was about one half of that of a Negro slave. Not until the eighteenth century would the small farmer of average means be willing to invest in Negro slaves.

The social and economic development of seventeenth century Maryland was closely related to the expansion of American Negro slavery. As time passed, more and more large-scale commercial planters believed that slave labor was essential to their economic survival. Tobacco had brought prosperity to Maryland and when it became clear that commercial planters could overcome the inefficiencies of slave labor and make it a desirable source of labor, most planters were unwilling to part with the services of the Negro slave. In a fluid society with a high degree of social mobility, commercial farming was a means of rapid advancement. Whether

one was a successful entrepreneur or a small dirt farmer trying to improve his plight, economic and social prominence awaited those who could combine and utilize the principles of capitalistic agriculture and slave labor. The years 1634 to 1700 marked nearly seventy years of transition on the Chesapeake. Within this span of time the Negro had gone from a state of uncertain servitude to a state of absolute slavery -- a condition that would not change in Maryland until after the Civil War.

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