

1994

African-American Family and Society on the Lands of the Yorktown Naval Weapons Station, 1862-1880

Bradley Michael McDonald
College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd>



Part of the [African American Studies Commons](#), [African History Commons](#), [Military History Commons](#), [Social and Cultural Anthropology Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

McDonald, Bradley Michael, "African-American Family and Society on the Lands of the Yorktown Naval Weapons Station, 1862-1880" (1994). *Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects*. William & Mary. Paper 1539625861.

<https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-fwam-br27>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, & Master Projects at W&M ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects by an authorized administrator of W&M ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@wm.edu.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN FAMILY AND SOCIETY
ON THE LANDS OF THE
YORKTOWN NAVAL WEAPONS STATION, 1862-1880

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

by

Bradley M. McDonald

1994

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts



Author

Approved, May 1994



Norman F. Barka



Kathleen J. Bragdon



Dennis B. Blanton

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	.iii
LIST OF FIGURES .	.iv
LIST OF TABLES	.vi
ABSTRACT	.vii
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND . . .	.2
CHAPTER II: THE ROAD TO FREEDOM THE CIVIL WAR AND EMANCIPATION . . . . .	.9
CHAPTER III: THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN EXTENDED FAMILY IN YORK COUNTY . . . . .	.21
CHAPTER IV: ECONOMIC SURVIVAL THROUGH KINSHIP	.59
CHAPTER V: CONCLUSIONS .	.85
APPENDIX	.90
ENDNOTES	.117
BIBLIOGRAPHY	.124

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank the staff of the Public Works Office at the Yorktown Naval Weapons Station for their help in the production of this paper. I also wish to express my gratitude to the staffs of the following libraries and archives for their help and support: the National Archives of the United States in Washington, D.C., Virginia State Library and Archives, Williamsburg Regional Library, York County Public Library, Newport News Public Library System, Huntington Library at Hampton University, Earl Gregg Swem Library at the College of William and Mary, and the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Library. The National Park Service, the Valentine Museum, the York County Office of the Commissioner of the Revenue, and the College of William and Mary Department of Anthropology also deserve recognition. There are also many individuals who deserve my thanks. First of all, Kenneth Stuck whose help in this thesis has been unlimited. Mr. Alexander Lee, Mr. James Payne, Mrs. Alice Roache, Mr. and Mrs. Caesar Carter, and Mrs. Beulah Christian Scott who graciously consented to be interviewed. Without their knowledge and generosity, this paper would not have been possible. I would also wish to thank Jim Haskett of the National Park Service, Martha McCartney, David Daulton, Jennifer Jones, Teresa Roane, and Izabella Cieszynski. I would also like to extend my gratitude to the members of my thesis committee, Kathleen Bragdon, Norman Barka, and Dennis Blanton for all of their help and support. Finally, I would like to thank my wife, Beth for help and unending patience. Her support made this thesis possible.

LIST OF FIGURES

1	Locator Map Showing Study Area .	. 3
2	Population of York County, 1860	.10
3	African-American Land Holdings, 1919 .	.23
4	York County Population, 1860-1920	.25
5	African-American Families: Personal and Real Estate Values . . . . .	.27
6	Map of Country Between James and York Rivers, 1863 (Source: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Library).	.29
7	Population Trends Among African-Americans, 1860-1870 . . . . .	.31
8	Map of Major Roads and Landmarks Used by African-Americans . . . . .	.32
9	Population Distribution of African-Americans in York County, 1870-1910 . . . . .	.34
10	Map of Country Between James and York Rivers, 1871 (Source: Old Dominion Land Company Records, Newport News Public Library). . . . .	.36
11	Agricultural Census Figures for the Nelson District, 1880: Average African-American and White Farm Production Values . . . . .	.39
12	Fox Family Genealogy, John and Mary Fox	.52
13	Fox Family Genealogy, John and Nellie Fox	.53
14	Fox Family Genealogy, Henry and Charity Fox	.54
15	African-American Families, Persons Per Household, 1870-1910 . . . . .	.56
16	White Families, Persons Per Household, 1870-1910	.56
17	Occupations Among Males in York County, 1870 .	.61
18	Occupations Among Males in York County, 1880 .	.61
19	Occupations Among Males in the in the Nelson District, 1870 . .	.63

20	Occupations Among Males in the in the Bruton District, 1870 . . .	.63
21	Occupations Among Males in the in the Nelson District, 1880 . . . . .	.64
22	Map of Government-Owned Freedman's Bureau Farms on the Peninsula, 1866 (Source: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Library) . . . . .	.66
23	Map of African-American Year of Land Acquisition . . .	.68

LIST OF TABLES

1	Percentage of families with individuals over 21 years of age still present in the household, Bruton Township, York County, 1870 . . . . .	.46
2	Percentage of families with individuals over 21 years of age still present in the household, Nelson Township, York County, 1870 . . . . .	.47
3	Percentage of families with another married couple present within the same household, Bruton Township, York County, 1870 . . . . .	.47
4	Percentage of families with another married couple present within the same household, Nelson Township, York County, 1870 . . . . .	.48

ABSTRACT

Throughout the course of anthropological and historical writing, researchers have viewed the structure of the African-American family through the lens of Western beliefs and culture. The view has not produced an accurate portrayal of the organization of the black family. This paper proposes to look at African-American family networks, through the use of documentary records and oral histories. The York County population that is under study is not the "culturally-stripped" mass of people that has been previously described by scholars. Knowledge gained from Africa and the common experience of slavery had a hand in shaping the world view of this population. After the Civil War, this group of people had to rely on their own kin, as well as networks that had been established with other families to survive the new challenges brought on by emancipation. In her book, All Our Kin, Carol Stack documents the social and economic networks established by urban-dwelling African-Americans. This thesis will prove that African-Americans and whites, living in a depressed rural setting, established the same social and economic ties as the families living in an urban environment.

BRADLEY M. MCDONALD
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY IN VIRGINIA

AFRICAN-AMERICAN FAMILY AND SOCIETY
ON THE LANDS OF THE
YORKTOWN NAVAL WEAPONS STATION, 1862-1880

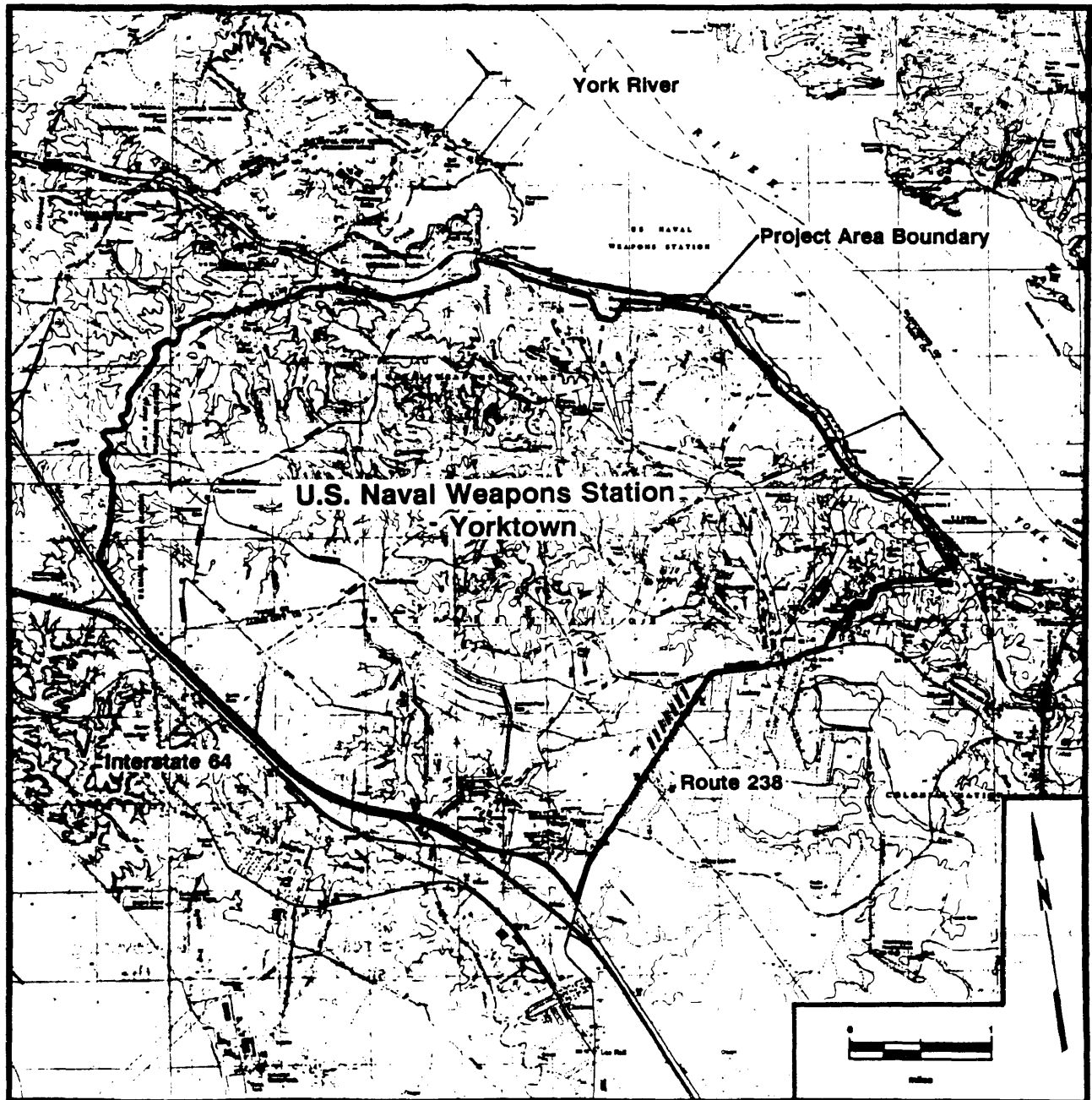
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In 1865, African-Americans across the United States found themselves in a new and unfamiliar position. With the Civil War at an end, the slaves had been freed from bondage. Unfortunately, this new freedom left many African-Americans in a position worse than slavery itself.

During the course of war, freed slaves flocked to the Virginia Peninsula seeking the safety of Union occupation. As a result, over 70,000 freedmen migrated to the Tidewater area of Virginia. Many of these ex-slaves settled in the Williamsburg-Yorktown area, specifically on lands which are now the property of the Yorktown Naval Weapons Station (Figure 1). Hundreds of African-American families made this area their home. With the African-American population in a state of relative freedom, people were able to reestablish family ties that had been cut by slavery. Many of the descendants of these freedman's families still live in the area today. The nature of this study in York County will be to look at the extended family structure of the black population. As stated earlier, the extended family was a strong social and economic force that allowed many communities to survive the turbulent years just after emancipation.

The structure and inner workings of the African-American family have long been a subject of study for anthropologists and historians alike. In the 1930s and 1940s, researchers focused on the structure of the family itself. These studies

FIGURE 1
LOCATOR MAP SHOWING STUDY AREA



postulated that the African-American family was based and highly dependent on the mother. This so-called "maternal family" was the most common and typical type according to Davie:

In this type of family organization the mother is the head of the family, the dominant and most stable element, and its chief economic support; the father not only plays a subordinate role but frequently is not even present.¹

Davie goes on to explain how this structure can be attributed to the days of slavery when males were often sold and women were frequently kept for their work and ability to bear children.² A later study in 1976 by Roger Harvey Rubin, concurs with Davie's findings. "Slavery thus gave rise to a matricentric type of family among the Negroes. Emancipation did not significantly alter this".³ Writings such as these, spawned the notion among researchers the African-American families were unstable because they were missing one or more family members.

Because of the nature of slavery, families did have a difficult time staying together.⁴ However, as Herbert Foster argues, "The obsession of anthropologists with the nuclear family within the extended family stems from an ethnocentric bias which prevents Westerners from seeing anything larger than the nuclear family with which they are familiar."⁵ African-American families however, recognize and identify with their kin in a way that is different from most Western groups. Black families can be grouped into nuclear families of mother, father, and children. This grouping however, is subordinate

to the larger grouping of the extended family.⁶ In order to more fully understand this, one must look back to the continent of Africa to discern purely African systems of kinship and family. When Africans were married, they did not start new and independent families, as the case would be in Western society. Instead, they would join an already existing group of families.⁷ The extended family can be defined in many ways. It is typically defined as the existence of another married couple living within an already established household. This paper will also look at the extended family in terms of economics. In other words, how goods and services were exchanged both within the family unit and between groups of families, family networks. According to Foster:

The extended family was a unit in which the basic production and distribution of material goods and services took place. It was an efficient economic mechanism because its relatively large size and composition, including both sexes and members of all generations. Its size and the division of labor by sex and age made it possible for all persons within it to contribute to the economic activities that took place outside the domestic unit as well as within it.⁸

The extended family, not the nuclear family (or conjugal unit) was entrusted with the responsibility of teaching children the necessary social skills, enforcing social "laws" and providing security in the form of companionship and counselling.⁹

From this discussion, one can see the importance of looking at the African-American family in the context of "cultural baggage" that was brought to the New World by

enslaved Africans. Unfortunately however, anthropologists and historians have ignored the African context in their works dealing with the black family in America. In 1976, Stanley Elkins stated that "there was so 'much cultural diversity among African tribes involved in the slave trade' that it is impossible to generalize about the survival of African culture". Elkins carries the argument even further, stating that the shock of capture, the long march to the sea, sale to the European slavers, the Middle Passage, and finally enslavement, destroyed any vestiges of African culture.¹⁰ It is with this example in mind, that anthropologists should try to understand the processes and manifestations of African culture and how it was transplanted and transformed on American soil. African survival models such as "Pan-Africanism" and "Historical Materialism" are not however, incompatible with a phenomenological approach. Eleanor Engram writes:

While it has been an American sociological tradition to view the blacks as culturally stripped, many anthropologists have rejected this position. When the anthropological framework is carried over to the phenomenological study of black communities, the communities are viewed as tenable cultural structures that embody world views, and ideologies for survival, just as other societies do.¹¹

After the Civil War, despite efforts to the contrary, the condition of the ex-slave population did not improve. Once again, as in the days of slavery, many African-Americans had to rally around their kin for survival and support. This period of history represents a time when the influence of the

extended family was greatly strengthened.¹² Many families found themselves in another form of slavery called the tenancy system. For those involved in the system, the larger the family, the more workers could be put into the fields. Therefore, greater wages and amounts of food could be brought into the family house and on to the dinner table. The structure of the family in Yorktown reflected this need for economic survival.

The purpose of this thesis is two-fold. First, this paper intends to show that during the period 1862 to 1880 the extended family existed in York County. The ties that existed, both within the family, and between groups of families allowed for the exchange of social ideas and mores. The extended family also acted as an engine for the exchange of crucial goods and services that allowed the kin groups to survive. Secondly, this paper will show that because of the situation in York County in the post-Civil War years, both white and black family structure developed along similar lines. Both groups of people relied on the mutually supportive network of families, in order to survive the difficult economic times and the poor quality of the farmland. Chapter II will provide a historical background for the area and its population. Chapters III and IV will comprise the bulk of the text. Chapter III begins with an analysis of the family structure itself, again utilizing data from census records and the testimonies provided by oral history informants. This section

also provides a case study of a typical African-American kinship system. Chapter IV will be devoted to the economy of the family. Economy will be discussed in light of what types of jobs were available to African-American families and how family members utilized the landscape. The landscape was used in order to obtain food for themselves and make money in the marketplace. This section will include the reminiscences of the oral history informants. Finally, Chapter V will bring together the data and offer some final statements about the theoretical significance of this study.

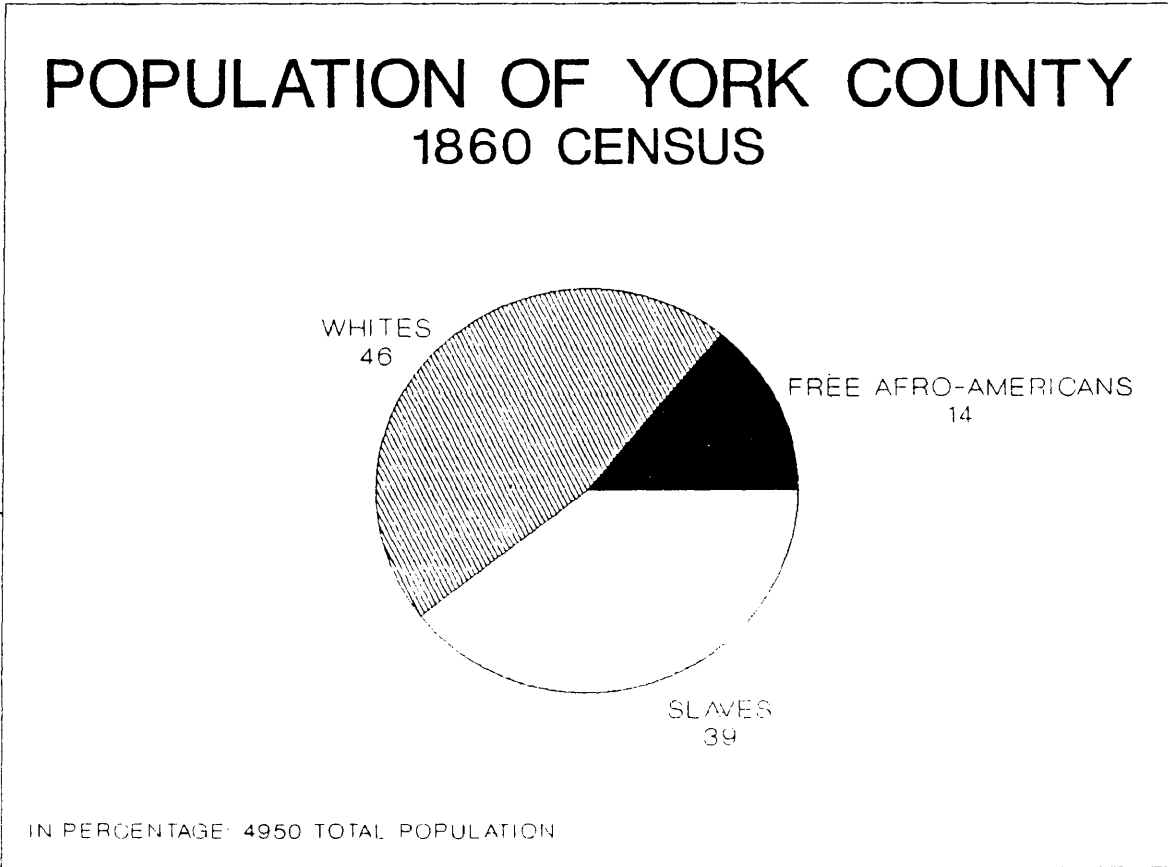
CHAPTER II

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM: THE CIVIL WAR ERA AND EMANCIPATION

Before beginning the discussion of the extended family and family networks, one must first understand the events which shaped the history of this area. The events surrounding the Civil War had a profound effect on the lives of the men and women living in the Yorktown area.

On the eve of the Civil War in 1860, the white population of Virginia was 1,047,299, while the slave population stood at 490,865. Virginia also had one of the highest free black populations in the country with 58,042 (Figure 2). Not all African-Americans that lived in the United States before the Civil War were enslaved. Free African-Americans comprised a significant part of the population, especially in states such as Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. Opinions about the free blacks ran a wide spectrum, some saw them "a valuable class of citizen", while others thought the ex-slaves to be "degraded" .¹ Slaves could be freed by deed or by will or those with special skills could buy their own freedom.² Free African-Americans migrated to areas such as Tidewater Virginia looking for work and found a marginal existence there. The high occurrence of free blacks in the Peninsula area played an important part in the post-Civil War African-American family structure. Adding to the problems facing the freed backs during this period, was the depressed economic condition of the region, especially of Yorktown itself. On the Virginia

FIGURE 2
POPULATION OF YORK COUNTY, 1860



Peninsula, the small hamlet of Yorktown had transformed from one of the colony's leading ports in the 1740's to a ghost town by the eve of the Civil War. In 1854, Putnam Magazine published an article entitled "Yorktown in 1854". This article gives a graphic account about the state of the town itself in the antebellum period. The article opens with the passage:

What Yorktown was three quarters of a century ago, few are alive to tell; but to see it now, a quiet, unobtrusive little town of between twenty and thirty houses, half of them uninhabited, with the ruins of the tenements destroyed during Cornwallis' siege, meeting you at every turn, one can scarcely realize that it was once the scene of a contest, more portentous to the welfare of the human race than any that has occurred since the dawn of the Christian Era.³

The article goes on to describe the historical background concerning the siege that took place in 1781. The anonymous author then describes his first sight of the town.

The next day, about sunset, we came into sight of what now remains of Yorktown. It is very pleasantly situated on the south bank of the river, on the brow of the hill, whence you have a view extending into the Chesapeake Bay, reaching almost to the Virginia capes. The town has a fine harbor, and formerly enjoyed quite a valuable West Indian trade; but this is now all gone. Like most other southern villages, it is dull, silent and monotonous place; and it requires no little effort of the imagination to repeople the hills and fields and waters of the present day, with that of grim throng of stern and busy men which seventy-three years ago met here in deadly conflict.⁴

Little changed as a result of the Civil War. The Virginia peninsula's economy, stagnant before the war, was nearly destroyed by the end of the conflict.

Once the fighting began in 1861, the Union and Confeder-

ate armies moved back and forth across the state of Virginia. Like the Confederate objective of the Northern capitol, Washington, D.C., during the campaign of First Bull Run, the Union strategy behind the Peninsula Campaign was to take the Confederate capital of Richmond. The campaign fell under the charge of George B. McClellan. McClellan's objective, was the Confederate capital of Richmond, which he approached from the east, beginning at Fort Monroe.

In the early part of April 1862, McClellan amassed over 100,000 men at Fort Monroe. McClellan's first objective in the campaign was to lay siege to Yorktown. By the beginning of May, Union forces marched into Yorktown as Confederate forces retreated towards Richmond. After the taking of Yorktown, Union forces moved towards Williamsburg. The Union advance continued up the peninsula at a steady pace, until the campaign stalled during the Seven Days' Battles only a few miles outside of Richmond.⁵

As the Union army went through the area, it confiscated all property, including slaves.⁶ Since the army went through the Williamsburg-Yorktown area in 1862, most slaves in the region got a taste of freedom before other slaves would see freedom through the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863. Archie Booker, who was an ex-slave living in Hampton, Virginia after the war, gives an account of what happened when the Union army came through the Williamsburg-Yorktown area. "When de Civil War come, ah foller de army

back. It wuz den dat ah saw de battle o' Yawktown. It happen in de evenin' ah wuz follerin de army fum Williamsbu'g to Yawktown. Two battleships come up an' hep de troops. Dey laid round Yawktown a long while. A great numbuh o' slaves follered de army roun. Govu'ment supported em".⁷

The government supported the ex-slaves and the ex-slaves supported the government. In many cases, ex-slaves or runaway slaves labored in Northern cities or Northern-occupied cities in the South, all the while helping the Union war effort. Some ex-slaves served as spies and guides while many attached themselves directly to the army serving as foot soldiers.⁸

The Civil War dragged on until 1865. At the end of the war, the nation was left in complete ruin, hundreds of thousands of people had lost their lives and around four million slaves found themselves in a state of freedom, unsure what to do or where to go.

"My friend, you was once a slave. You are now a freedman. Your experience in this new position has been brief. Your knowledge of what may rightly be expected of you is limited. There is much for you to learn".⁹ This is how an 1865 Freedman's School textbook begins. It shows how the ex-slave could be overwhelmed by the reality of emancipation. Indeed, according to some freedmen, the promise of freedom was much more frightening than slavery ever was. "Sometimes ah think slavery wuz bettuh den freedom in one sense. Ef ye wuz sick, ye hadda doctuh. Den ye git food too. But now ef ye

git sick an' ye hain' got no money, ye jis die. Dat's all!".¹⁰

To most slaves, freedom meant movement. Most freedmen moved off the plantations where they were kept, for fear of re-enslavement.¹¹ Many feared to accept work for the same reason.

Fortunately for the free African-Americans and impoverished whites, there were nearly one hundred privately financed freedman's aid organizations. The work of these organizations can be closely paralleled with that of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.¹² The Freedman's Bureau, as it was popularly known, was established in March of 1865 as a branch of the War Department. Among the many services that were offered by the Freedman's Bureau was a "health program, distributing a total of some twenty-one million rations, establishing forty hospitals, and treating nearly half a million cases of illness over its seven year existence".¹³ The Bureau served as a guardian for almost four million freedmen. One of its most successful acts, was the establishment of over 4,000 schools, which ranged from elementary levels through college.¹⁴

During the course of the Civil War, about 70,000 freedmen gathered in the lower Peninsula of Virginia. Many of these freedmen settled near the village of Yorktown, where General Isaac J. Wistar and his troops laid out a village of cabins for the freedmen called Slabtown. Slabtown was just one of many freedmen's villages near the York River and Yorktown. Most people in this area were engaged in the oystering and

fishing industries.¹⁵

In April 1865, the United States military established a territorial government in Virginia. The government promised civil rights for all, regardless of color. By March of 1867, Virginia became Military District Number One. The government sought to attract freedmen with the slogan "forty acres and a mule". Large numbers of African-Americans congregated in communities like Alexandria, Fort Monroe, Hampton, Norfolk, and Yorktown looking for better living conditions for their families.¹⁶

Living conditions for the African-Americans during the Reconstruction varied with their economic and social status. At the end of the war, some rural freedmen were able to buy inexpensive farms. Most farmers had to buy in areas where the soil had been exhausted through overfarming and built log cabins for their families. Some African-Americans became tenant farmers, renting land on old plantations. The tenants built rough cabins and worked for a stake in the crop, rather than a straight payment. Often tenants received the right to cut wood on the estate and a small plot of ground next to the house for a garden, or to raise a cow or a pig. Farm laborers were those who contracted for a specific wage. The laborers were usually housed in old slave cabins on the property of their employer. Most African-Americans and poor whites lived under the same conditions. A farm laborer received weekly rations for his or her work. These rations usually consisted

of three pounds of bacon, a peck and a half of corn meal, and occasionally some vegetables. The hardships faced by African-Americans and poor whites were much the same and many died immediately following the war, because of poverty or disease brought on by the sudden end of the conflict.

Under the wing of the Freedman's Bureau, African-Americans had more opportunities for employment, with better terms. The Bureau required that all labor agreements be made in writing and copies be made available to the subcommissioner of the Bureau. His approval was necessary in order for the contract to become valid. The Freedman's Bureau acted as a watchdog to ensure that employers would not take unlawful advantage of the African-Americans. Contracts often provided for rations, shelter, and a set wage. Many freedman preferred to work on cotton, corn, sugar, and rice farms for a share of the crop. In Virginia, the share system, as it was called, went as such, "if the proprietor supplied team, forage, and implements and cabin and fuel for the tenant and his family, he received one-half to three-fourths of the produce, the proportion varying with the fertility of the soil, the character of the crops, and other similar conditions. On the other hand, if the tenant furnished the teams and the implements, which he was rarely able to do, the proprietor was paid from one-fourth to one-third of the products".¹⁷

In spite of the Bureau's efforts, African-Americans were often treated unfairly. Farmers paid lower wages. In many

counties, an African-American could not work without a written recommendation from his or her former master. A system of fines and penalties was set up though which even the most efficient worker's wage was reduced to almost nothing.¹⁸

Because of the insecurity of the farm labor system, many African-Americans sought other occupations. Some worked for factories, mechanical trades, and business.¹⁹ Ex-slaves were especially attracted to the railroad industry. In 1860, the state of Virginia had over 1,771 miles of track by 1870, 1,483 additional miles were laid out.²⁰ One of the most lucrative occupations for the African-American was the oystering and fishing industry.

The 1865 census of the free African-American population in the York County area, listed oystering as one of the more predominant occupations among African-Americans. According to oral history informant Caesar Carter, whose father George Carter, lived on the land that is now the Yorktown Naval Weapons Station, if a person did not work in the oyster industry, they did not make it.²¹ The oystering industry was especially important in Virginia, because sharecropping would only work well in instances in which "the landlord was honest, the worker was industrious, the strip of land was productive, and the cotton crop brought a good price".²² If these were the criteria for a successful share system, York County, Virginia already had two strikes against it. The honesty of the employer and the industry of the worker mattered little

because the land had been depleted of all its resources in the 17th and 18th centuries with the production of the tobacco crop. With the fertility of the soil depleted, the small cotton crop in York County would not get a high price on the market.

In 1865, there were 4,283 free African-Americans in York County, 651 of which depended on the government for some type of support. Most of these government-dependent freedmen were concentrated at a place called Newtown. Newtown may have been Fort Monroe, a government installation at the eastern end of York County. Newtown, Slabtown, and Tinsley Farm were places where African-Americans gathered hoping that there would be strength in numbers. With the hardships that newly freed African-Americans had to face, perhaps the worst threat to their well-being was disease. Historian Henderson Donald wrote, "Partial census reports indicate that in 1865-1866 the Negro population lost as many by disease as the whites lost in the war".²³ Donald goes on to write, "It was reported that in the 'contraband camps' and the mushroom Negro colonies in the cities the sanitary conditions were horrifying. Epidemics, of which smallpox was the deadliest, swept away great numbers, while the ravages of tuberculosis were heavy".²⁴

In 1865, the two most important events in the life of the African-Americans, were the collapse of the Confederacy and the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. Despite the deep sadness and sense of loss at the news of the death of the

President, there was a reason to feel optimistic. "Slavery was dead, and they [the African-Americans] had played a part in bringing this to pass. Taking inventory of the war's four years, the Negroes felt that now they had a stake in America, that their future was here and not in Liberia, Haiti, or elsewhere. The Civil War had deepened the Negro's sense of identity with the land of his birth, giving him the feeling that he mattered, that he belonged".²⁵ The African-American made it through this difficult time by working hard, keeping a sense of identity, both as an individual and a group, and having faith in religion. The ex-slaves had a long road ahead of them, however. Sadly, the promise of freedom for the slaves had a hollow ring. "For many former slaves life scarcely changed. Katie Darling [one former Virginia slave] said, 'missy whip me after the war just like she did 'fore. She has a hun'erd lashes up for me now'".²⁶ The slaves and freed slaves still had their culture and traditions, the roots of which reached back past the date of 1619. Many of these beliefs were the same ones which the African-American in post-Civil War York County held--the same ones which he had learned from his parents and grandparents. This was the situation in York County in the years during and immediately following the Civil War. One can see that the opportunities for African-Americans and impoverished white were few. The area was suffering economically because of the war, the fertility of the farmland was exhausted, and blacks were living in a

society that really did not seem to care about them. It was to this situation that the African-American people had to respond. They responded by turning to their kin for help and support.

CHAPTER III

THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN EXTENDED FAMILY IN YORK COUNTY

Sources and Methods

In order to gather data concerning the nature of family structure in post-Civil War York County, a variety of sources were utilized. Census data and land ownership records were the two primary record groups that were used in this process. The population figures gathered from the United States Census Records from 1860 to 1880, will help show the growth or decline of the population in the area. The use of secondary sources helps to show the reasons for any population changes discovered in the census records. Once the population of the area has been established, the land ownership records contained in the York County deeds can show community settlement patterns. The deeds will also give the dates of African-American land purchases, which is helpful in determining the economic development of the African-Americans.

The population figures used in this thesis come directly from the United States Census Records from 1860 to 1880. By taking the figures directly from the Census Records, the figures are at the mercy of certain biases in the records. For example, the 1860 and 1870 census list the people by family unit and dwelling, with the possibility of more than one family unit residing in each dwelling. The 1860 and 1870 census do not, however, list the relationship of each member

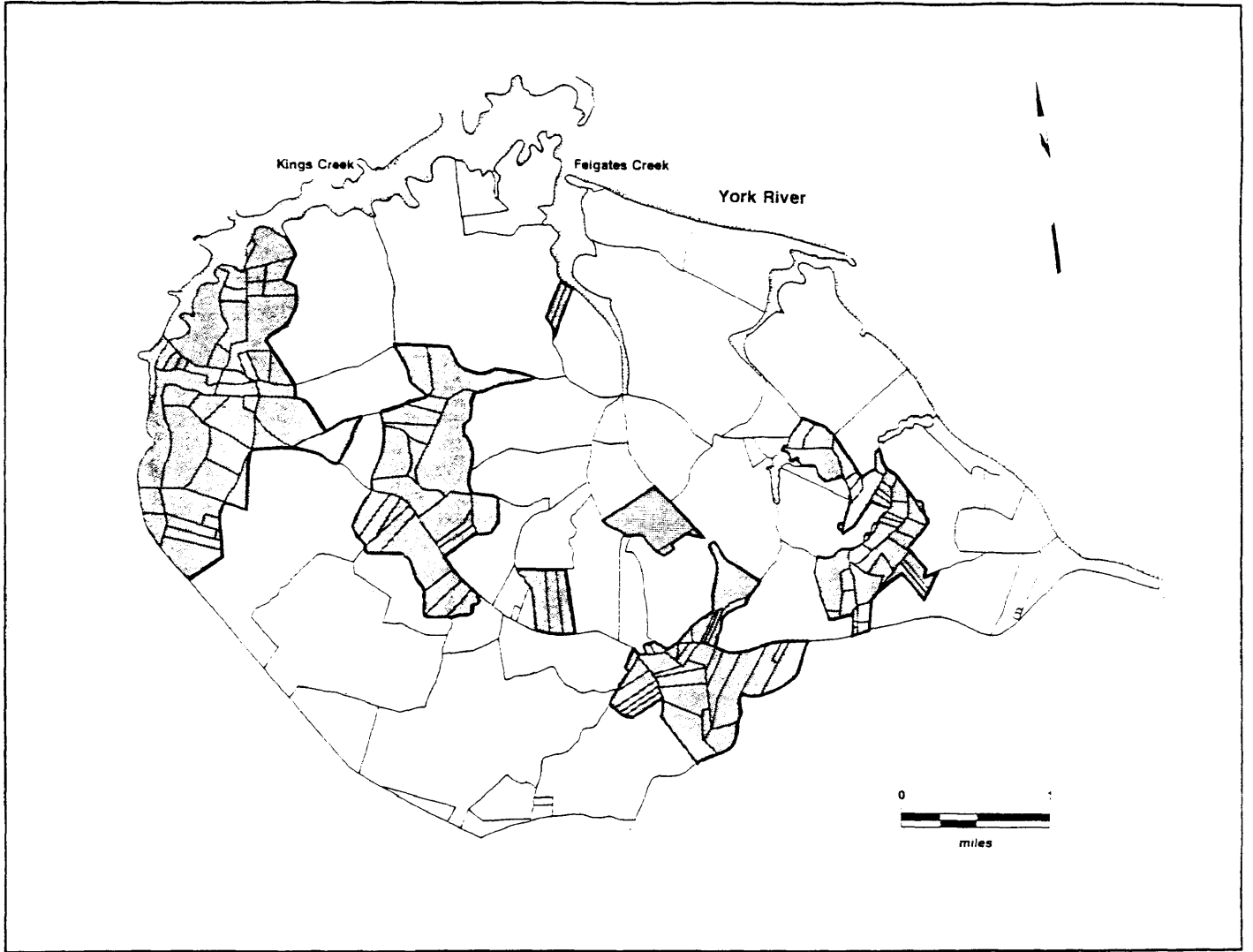
of the dwelling to the person listed as the head of house, thereby making it more difficult to determine family patterns from the two census. Beginning with the 1880 census, family relationships to the head of house are listed.

When dealing with the census materials, it was necessary to create a system of copying the records that would be inexpensive and give the author the information needed. The system created involved the use of columnar pads similar to those used by accountants and bookkeepers. The columns were used to organize the information hand-copied from the micro-filmed census records. The information included the dwelling number and family number for each family recorded, the name of the head of house, their spouse, sex of the individuals, race, occupation, and number of children. The 1860 and 1870 census also included information on real estate and personal estate values. After the name of the head of house and spouse were written down, the number of remaining members of the household was recorded. This methodology allowed for the investigation of household size, family size, and allowed the head of house to be tracked through the deed and tax records at the York County Courthouse, as well as through the later census.

A reverse methodology was used to discover land ownership and acquisition by African-Americans. The cover map of the 1919 Official Atlas of the Navy Mine Depot, shows the property lines and owners of the land in 1919 (Figure 3). Using the names of the property owners of 1919 and the names of African-

FIGURE 3

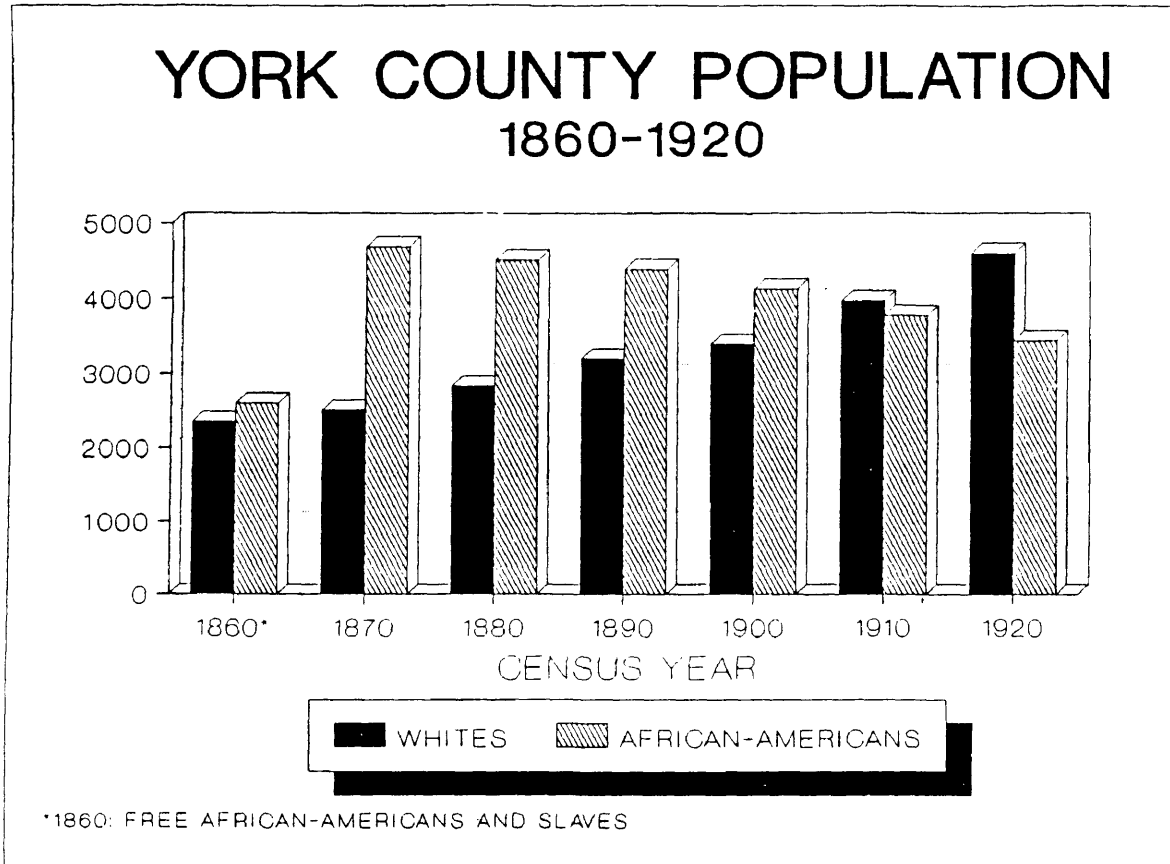
AFRICAN-AMERICAN LAND HOLDINGS, 1919



Americans listed in the Bruton District and Nelson District divisions of the 1910 census, matches between the same names were made. Not all African-American property owners were matched up, but more than enough were identified to create a large sample. Once the African-American landowners were known, the Grantee index for deeds for the time period was consulted. A Grantee Index is an alphabetical index of buyers of land that shows who the land was bought from and in which deed book the deed can be found. In looking under "United States of America" in the Grantee Index, all transactions needed to create the Naval Weapons Station were found. Then, the African-American landowner names were matched to the names in the Grantor, or seller, column. When each African-American landowner was found, a form in his or her name was created. This form allowed the researcher to take notes on the buyer, seller, acres of land, and boundaries. The form also allowed the researcher to record the location of the deed that showed the transaction from the seller to the United States. Then, the deed was looked up to see if it referenced the land back to the previous deed to show how the land was purchased by the 1919 seller. All deeds were traced in this manner until the trail stopped and there were no more references, or until the period of the Civil War was reached. The result of this research is called a chain-of-title and it allows the researcher to pinpoint the date African-Americans first bought a specific piece of land.

FIGURE 4 .

POPULATION OF YORK COUNTY, 1860-1920



The African-American Population of York County, 1862-1880

The population of York County from 1862 to 1880 is representative of two things: the steady increase of the white population and the steady decrease of the African-American population after a large increase between 1860 and 1870. African-Americans were in the majority in York County until 1910 (Figure 4). While this overall view of the county population is a good starting point, it is necessary to look at each census individually, in order to produce a clearer understanding of African-American life in the study area.

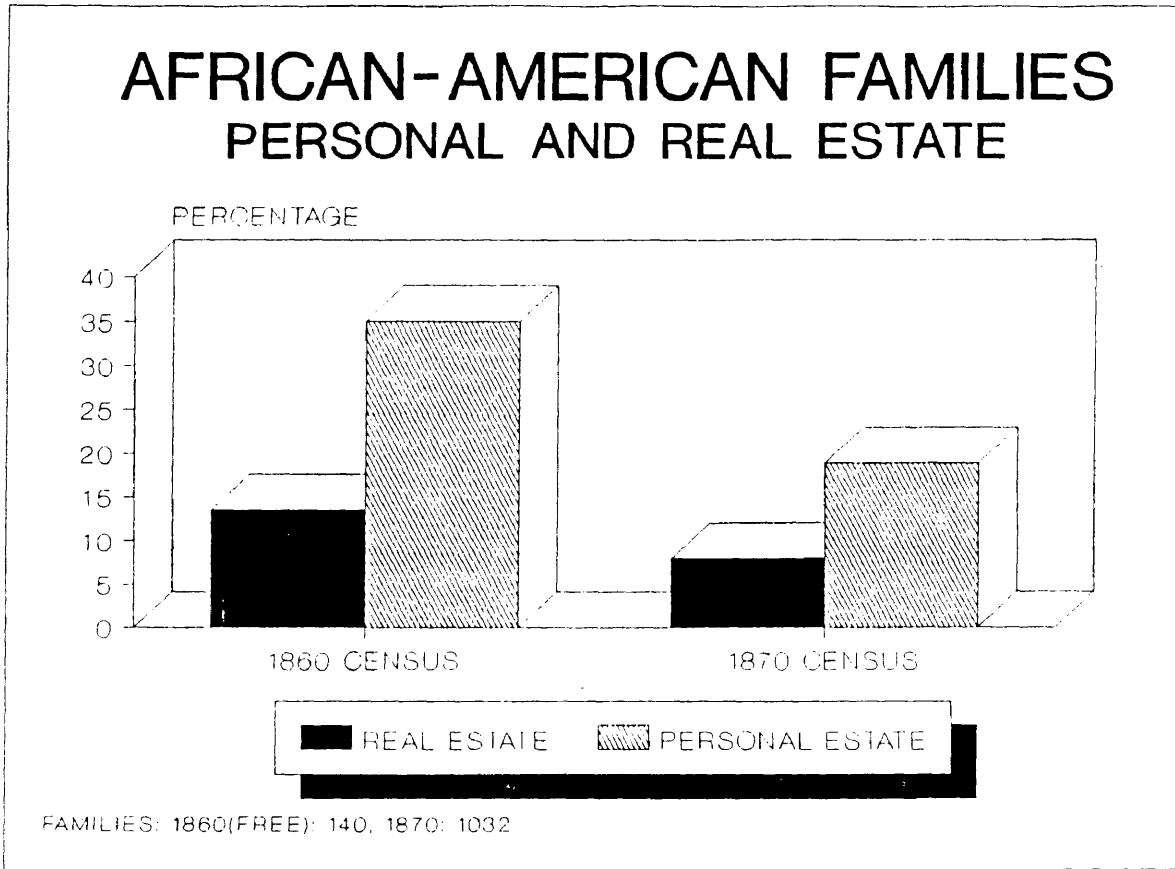
The 1860 census included whites and free African-Americans.¹ Slaves were counted separately from the rest and were grouped by age and sex under the owner's name. No slave names were recorded. The 1860 census also recorded the county's population in a continuous roll. By 1870, the county had been split into four districts with the census listing the residents by their districts. The 1860 census listed a total county population of 4950, of which 2599 were African-Americans. Of the African-Americans, 1926 were listed as slaves and 673 were listed as free, constituting 39 percent and 14 percent of the total population, respectively (see Figure 2). Free African-Americans constituted a large percentage of the York County population in the years before the Civil War.

African-American Occupations and Land Holding Patterns, 1862-1880

The life of a free African-American on the eve of the Civil War was different from that of the slaves, but very

FIGURE 5

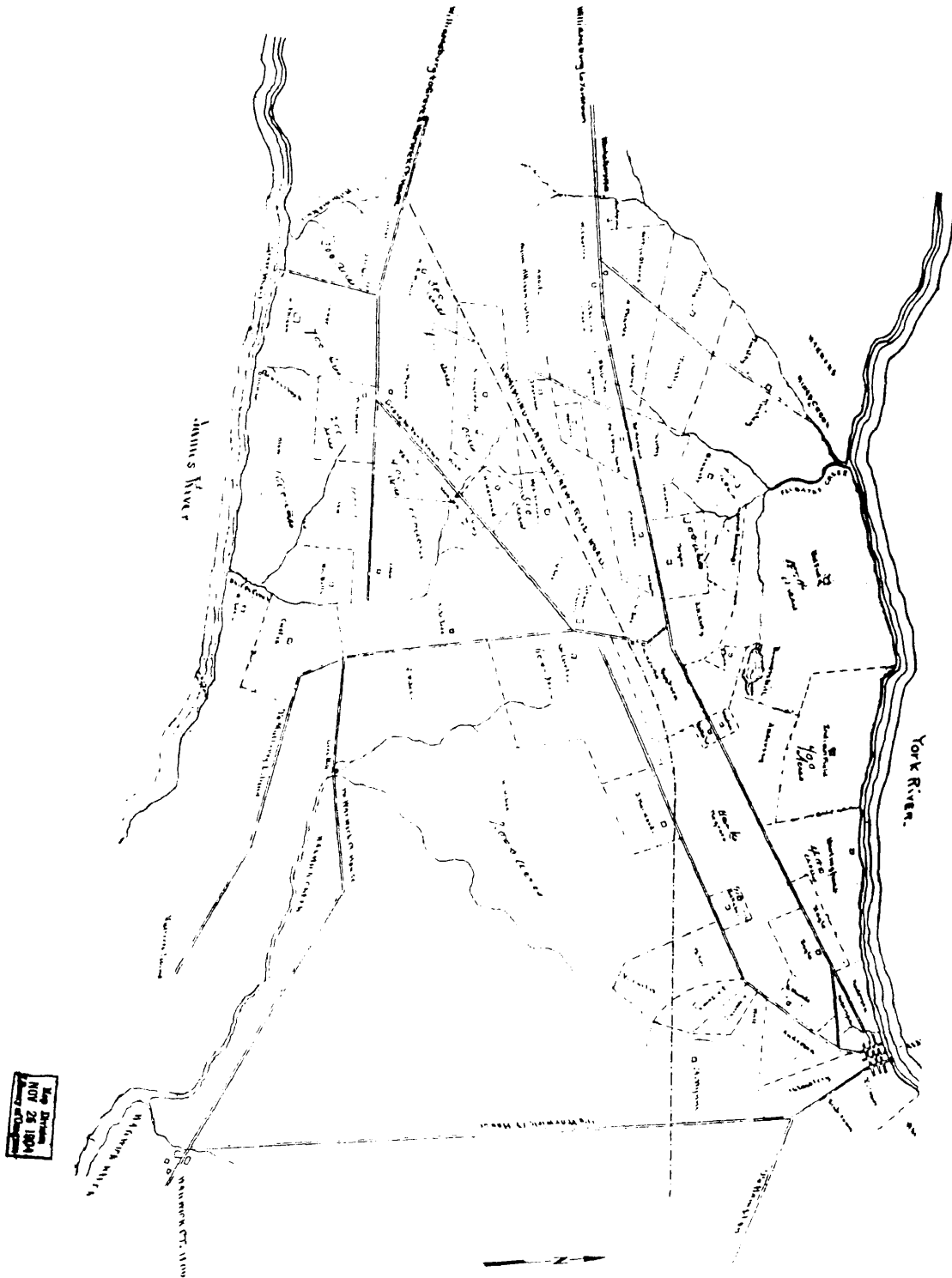
AFRICAN-AMERICAN FAMILIES: PERSONAL AND REAL ESTATE VALUES



little is known about this group of people. The 1860 census records 140 free African-American families in York County, as recorded by head of house. Of these heads, 19 are recorded with real estate value and 49 are recorded with personal estate value (Figure 5). A search of the York County deeds produced no deeds that could prove African-American land-ownership before the war. The 1859 Land Book, which records the value of land and personal property and the tax paid on both, records 19 heads of house who can be matched with the heads of house reporting estate value in the 1860 census.² Of the 19 heads of house, 3 are listed in the 1859 Land Book, but have no estate value listed. The other 16 are listed with estates that contain mainly cattle, sheep, or pigs, and a small monetary value for other possessions. Of the total values listed, only 2 exceed the values recorded in the 1860 census. The other 14 have values that are considerably less than the 1860 values. The 1859 Land Book does help establish that some African-Americans did have estate values before the Civil War. The 1859 values however, do not support land-ownership by free African-Americans, unless land value is part of the "other" category. This provides an interesting discrepancy in the records. While census records indicate that some families did own their own land, no land records for these owners can be found at the courthouse. This may be a bias in the records themselves or it could indicate that the ex-slaves were living on abandoned lands with no real legal

FIGURE 6

MAP OF COUNTRY BETWEEN JAMES AND YORK RIVERS, 1863
(Source: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Library)



basis. A second document that clarifies the possibility of free African-American land-ownership is a map of the James-York peninsula from 1863 (Figure 6). This map shows property lines and owners from Williamsburg to Yorktown and beyond, and from river to river. A piece of property near Yorktown is labeled "Banks" and below that is written "negroes". It could be that this is the area that contains free African-Americans, but that is not certain. The 1859 Land Book does show that the life of a free African-American before the Civil War was probably one of subsistence farming. Cattle, sheep, or hogs supplemented a diet that included wild game that had been hunted.

In 1865, the Civil War ended and African-Americans in the South were freed from the yoke of slavery. York County African-Americans had basically been free since the Union army occupied the area after the Peninsula Campaign of 1862. In March, 1865, shortly before the war ended, a census was taken of the African-American population in York County. This census listed every man, woman, and child, their age, their place of residence, and various other things including if the person was dependant on the government, in whole or in part, for survival.³ Two interesting figures emerge from this census. The first is the total African-American population of 4283, which is almost 1700 more than in 1860. This figure, more than anything else, illustrates that when the Union Army came through, slaves deserted the plantations in order to

FIGURE 7

POPULATION TRENDS AMONG AFRICAN-AMERICANS
IN YORK COUNTY, 1860-1870

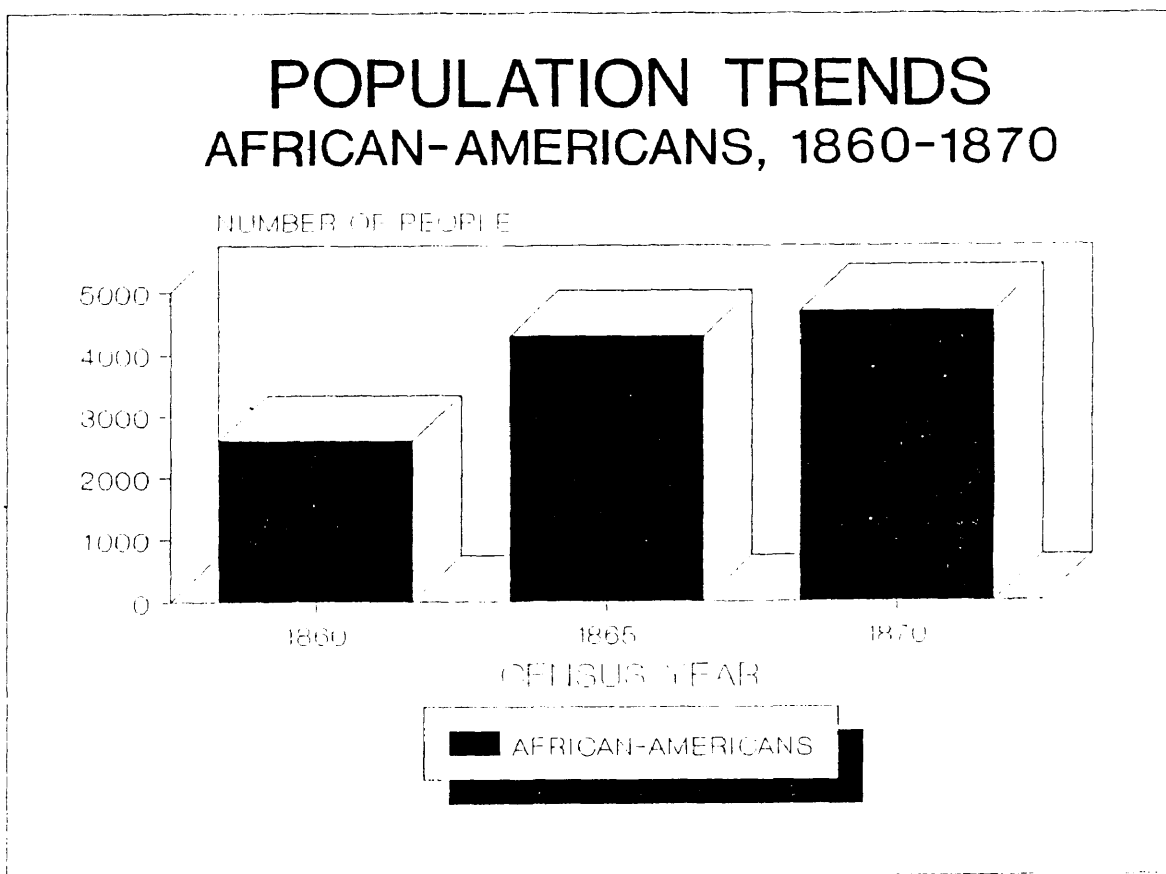
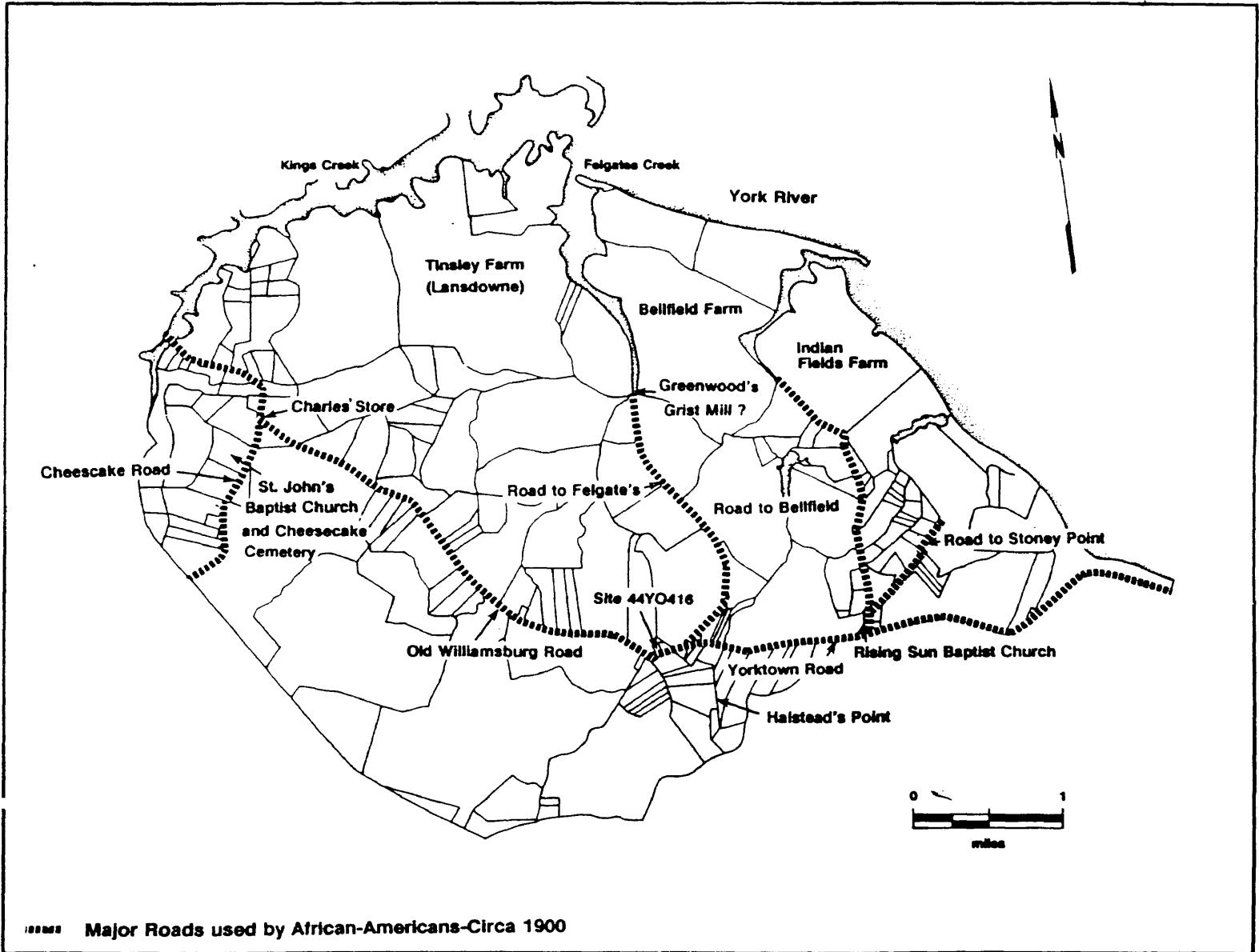


FIGURE 8

MAP OF MAJOR ROADS AND LANDMARKS USED BY AFRICAN-AMERICANS

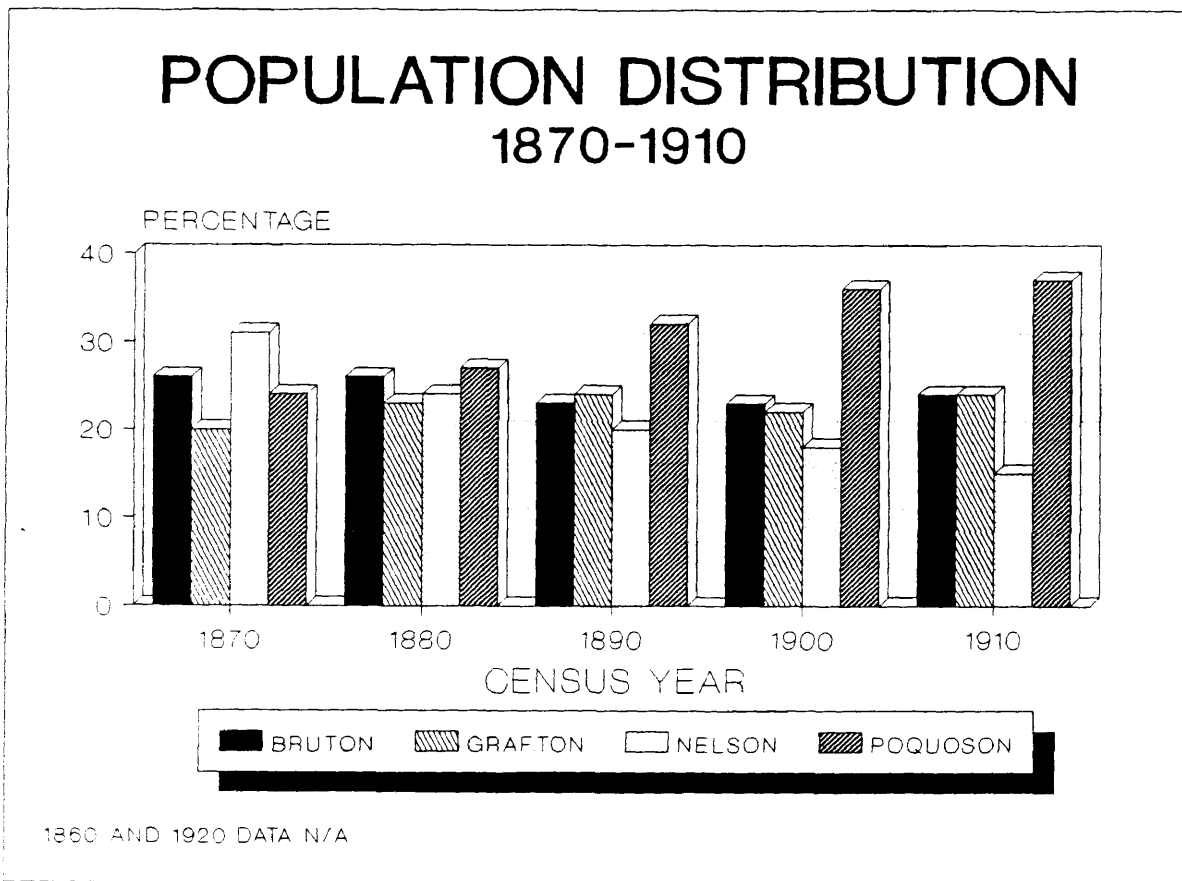


follow the army and be in Northern occupied territory (Figure 7). The second interesting figure is that of the 4283 African-Americans recorded, only 651 are government dependents. The rest of the African-Americans were surviving on their own, and since many of them were listed as residents at the old plantations such as Tinsley Farm (Lansdowne), Bellfield, and Indian Fields, as can be seen in Figure 8, these plantations are great tracts of land which border on the York River. After the liberation of the area by Union forces, the study area was inundated by freed slaves. These old plantation lands become the "reservation" land that is referred to by the oral history informants. According to the 1865 census, the African-Americans seem to be farming the lands of the captured plantations for their own benefit. This does not mean that the African-Americans owned the land, only that they were taking care of themselves at the end of the Civil War.

By 1870, many things had changed in York County. African-Americans had seen the rise and fall of the Freedmen's Bureau. Freedmen in the South were using their new freedom to leave the areas to which they had been bound. It has been estimated that 35,000 African-Americans moved from the South to the Southwest between 1865 and 1867.⁴ Yet, this large flight of African-Americans does not seem to have affected York County. The 1870 census recorded 4690 African-Americans, an increase over 1865, in four newly created magisterial

FIGURE 9

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS, 1870-1910

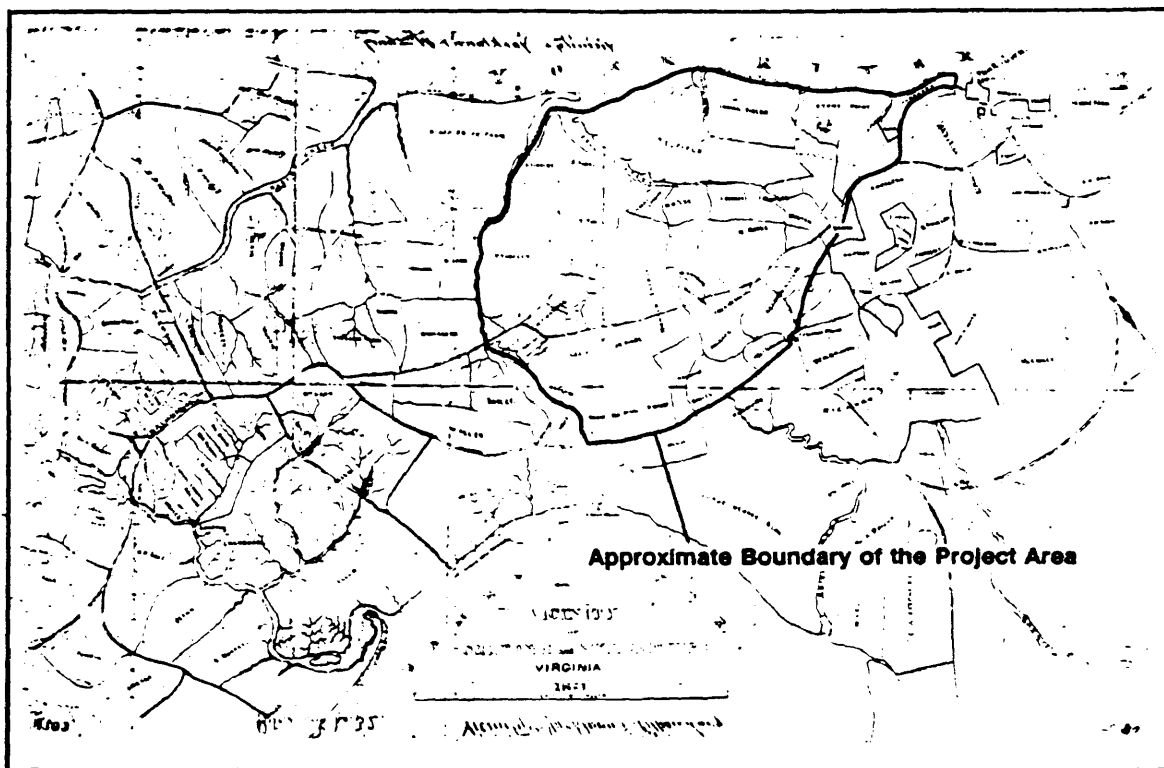


districts (Figure 9).⁵ The four districts were Bruton, Grafton, Nelson, and Poquoson and were formed for census and tax purposes. The boundaries of these districts are elusive, but research has shown that the Bruton District, in the section of York County just east of Williamsburg, and Nelson District, east of the Bruton District and bordered by the York River, contain most of the land area covered by this thesis. It is these two districts that now become the focus of this chapter and study.

As stated above, the 1870 census recorded 4690 African-Americans in York County, almost double the number of whites. Bruton and Nelson Districts contained 3412 African-Americans, with the ratio of African-Americans to whites in Bruton being almost 4 to 1, and in Nelson close to 7 to 1. Bruton and Nelson contained a combined total of 780 families, 59 of which owned real estate value and 140 of which had personal property listed. Even though there was an increase in the number of families reporting estate value, the percent of African-American families reporting such value, decreased across the county due to the greater number of families. Once again, as in 1860, the reports of land-ownership and the facts to back up the claims are in disagreement. It was not possible to check the 1869 Land Book to run the same type of comparison as was done for 1860. Records show that the first piece of land purchased by an African-American from a white occurred in 1865⁶, the second occurred in 1868.⁷ Other than these two

FIGURE 10

MAP OF COUNTRY BETWEEN JAMES AND YORK RIVERS, 1871
(Source: Old Dominion Land Company Records, Newport News)



deeds, no land in the project area was owned by African-Americans in 1870. A map drawn of the Peninsula in 1871 (Figure 10) that showed property lines and owners, failed to record the correct owners of these two pieces of property. Instead, the map showed them still owned by the white owners. Life for the African-Americans still revolved around the old plantation lands.

By 1880, the African-American population of York County had declined with the county-wide population falling to 4512 of the 7349 citizens of the county, creating a ratio of 1.6 African-Americans to every one white (see Figure 4).⁸ In Bruton and Nelson, the African-American population was almost even at 1552 and 1530, respectively. While the figures for Bruton show a slight, natural increase from 1870, the figures from the Nelson District show a drop of slightly over 400 people. Where these ex-slaves are migrating is unclear, but since the other districts cannot account for the loss, it must be assumed that the African-Americans were leaving the county, specifically the Nelson District. Lack of jobs and the poor quality of farm land in the Williamsburg-York County area may be a reason for the out-migration of African-Americans.

Although the 1880 census does not list estate values, documentary sources again raise the question of African-American land-ownership. Between 1870 and 1879, five land transactions involving a white seller and an African-American buyer, have been documented by deed research, bringing the

total number of such transactions since 1865 to seven. A companion to the 1880 census, called the 1880 Agricultural Census, again raises questions about the definition of land ownership.

The 1880 Agricultural Census represents the Nelson District only.⁹ It lists 224 male farmers, of whom 168 are African-Americans. (Figure 11) The African-Americans in the Agricultural Census were discovered by matching names from that census to names in the regular 1880 census. The similar order in which the names on the two censuses were listed, indicates they were probably taken at the same time. Not everyone listed as a farmer in the regular 1880 census, was listed in the 1880 Agricultural Census. In questioning the definition of land-ownership by African-Americans, the deeds show only 7 owners by 1880, whereas 69 of the 168 African-American farmers listed in the Agricultural Census classify themselves as owners. There seems to be no way to account for or explain this discrepancy, unless the African-Americans listed in the Agricultural Census had ownership that was more de facto than de jure. This means that the men claiming to be owners felt they were land-owners, with or without the deed, because no one even challenged their right or claim to the land. It may also be that during the break-up of the large plantations the land-owners gave the African-Americans pieces of land to farm at no cost and no deeds were recorded (see Figure 10). Whatever the answer, the fact that 69 African-

FIGURE 11

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION VALUES IN
YORK COUNTY, VIRGINIA, 1880

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, 1880
AFRICAN-AMERICAN AND WHITE FARMS

	<u>AFRICAN-AMERICANS</u>	<u>WHITES</u>
NUMBER OF FARMS	168	56
ACRES OWNED	895.5	2781
ACRES RENTED	935	1064
ACRES SHARECROPPED	209	503
TOTAL ACRES	2039.5	4348
ACRES UNDER TILL	1523.5	1991
1879 TOTAL PRODUCTION	\$9763	\$11708
1879 AVG. PRODUCTION	\$58.11	\$209.07

DATA REPRESENTS THE NELSON DISTRICT

American farmers claim to own land in 1880 in Nelson district, York County, shows that not all African-Americans were sharecroppers at this time.

As the 1880 Agricultural Census illustrates however, sharecropping was also common. The term sharecropper takes on two different meanings, however. One type of tenant farmer owned his own equipment and rented a piece of land and a house for a fixed price.¹⁰ Eighty-nine of the 168 African-American farmers in the Nelson District were this sort of tenant farmer. The second type of sharecropper, as traditionally defined, was a farmer who had everything supplied to him and who gave a set amount of the harvested crop to the owner of the land.¹¹ Surprisingly, only 10 African-American farmers classify themselves as sharecroppers. Once again, figures such as these begin to redefine a time period and a culture.

Immediately following the Civil War, York County had a large African-American population, concentrated mainly in the Bruton and Nelson Districts. Starting in 1880, the African-American population in the Nelson District began a downturn that continued until 1920. Bruton District also experienced a decrease in its African-American population, but of much smaller proportions and not until 1900. While the African-American population of the Bruton and Nelson Districts was decreasing, African-American land acquisition was slowly increasing, until it reached its peak after the end of Reconstruction. With the passage of time in the 19th century,

more African-American families were able to purchase their own property. The reestablishment of family stability and structure, had a great deal to do with this relative success in difficult economic times.

Archaeological Correlates of African-American Land Holding Patterns

Archaeological excavations conducted on the Naval Weapons Station lands in 1989 provide some information about the layout of a poor-to-middling African-American farmstead in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Site 44Y0416 is a farmstead, probably, occupied by Thomas Jackson and his family, consisted of a wooden-framed dwelling house set on brick piers, measuring approximately 10 by 16 feet with a brick end chimney, a well, and a small shed. This farmstead, like many others, was oriented along a well-travelled road. In this case the structure was located approximately 60 feet from the Old Williamsburg Road (see Figure 8). Research has indicated that this piece of land was first purchased by an African-American, Peter Coles, in 1889.¹²

African-American Families in Slavery and Freedom

Before emancipation, when Africans were captured by the slavers and brought to the Chesapeake region, the slaves found it difficult to band together into a single unified force. These peoples came from many different areas of Africa, all of which had different languages and ideas about how a society was to be organized. Historian Allan Kulikoff writes:

Though African immigrants did not bring a unified West

African culture with them to the Chesapeake colonies, they did share important beliefs about the nature of kinship. Africans modified these beliefs in America to legitimate the families they eventually formed.¹³

Kulikoff adds:

They saw kinship as the principal way of ordering relations between individuals. Each person in the tribe was related to most others in the tribe. The male was father, son, and uncle; the female was mother, daughter, and aunt to many others. Because this kinship system was so extensive, West Africans included kinfolk outside the immediate family in their daily activities.¹⁴

Despite the constant threat of sale, slaves on a plantation would quickly develop personal relationships with other slaves. Often many people would live in a single cabin with little privacy. This would set the stage for social intercourse. Intra- and inter-cabin relations were strong. Slaves were unified by blood ties and the common threat of the overseer. It is on plantations that the slaves continued the sense of community they knew from their homeland. Indeed, on many plantations, slave cabins were kept out of the sight of the landowners. Slaves freed by the Emancipation Proclamation continued to huddle together in close-knit communities in order to preserve their kin ties. The study of African-American family life for the most part however, can only begin with the years following 1865. Before that time, most African-Americans were in a state of slavery and marriages within the group were not considered valid by the at-large white society. Even if a man and a woman considered themselves married, the "family" they had was always in jeopardy because of the threat of sale or trade to one, or all, members

of the family.

The end of the Civil War changed this situation. "For several months after the war freedmen throughout the South sought to reestablish family ties that had been severed during slavery. Many wandered about from place to place searching for their wives, husbands, parents, and children".¹⁵ Families were reunited and those who could not find their old families, established new relationships. A stable family structure had been returned to the ex-slaves, a structure many might not have had since the time they were brought to America. Even though the African-Americans family was united and legal in the eyes of the law, things were far from easy for the ex-slaves during their first years of freedom. Despite the hardships however, most families seemed to be able to survive.

Historians interested in the structure of the African-American family, have identified four basic family types. The first type of the family is the maternal. In the maternal type, the mother is seen as the most important figure. Importance placed on the mother, was a leftover from the time before the Civil War. The mother had to take charge, because the father either did not take responsibility, or because he had been sold. Children often did not know who their fathers were. After the war, this pattern continued in many areas. Men were often not around the family because, to them, freedom meant movement. To stay in one place for any length of time, only increased one's chance of being reenslaved. The woman,

often with the added responsibility of children, had to find a steady job in order to provide for the family.

The second type of family, is that type where the father not only has an interest, but he may be an outright figure of authority. This type of family can also trace its roots to back before the Civil War. In this case, often free black families were permitted to exist by the whites and by the church. In addition to having legal marriages, the family was able to own a piece of land. This solidified the father's position as master of the house. The third and fourth types of families involve African-Americans who lived in isolated communities away from the main areas of settlement.¹⁶

Many historians of African-American history, write that the maternal type family was the most common, especially among the poorer groups. The family where the father had a great deal of interest was more common among the wealthier groups.¹⁷ This pattern does not follow for the York County area after the Civil War. According to United States Census records for York County from 1865 up into the 20th century, the father was present in the family 64 percent of the time, not counting those families where widowed females were listed as head of household.¹⁸ Even though these families were extremely poor and it would stand to reason that the father would not stay in the family, there are several factors which may account for this discrepancy.

The first of these, is the fact that York County had a

high population of free blacks in the 1860 Census. Before the Civil War, the free black population of York County was 14 percent of the whole (see Figure 2). These families, while maybe not owning their land outright, at least rented it for money or a share of the crop. In Figure 5, it can be seen that out of 140 free African-American families in 1860, 14 percent of them were listed on the United States Census as having some sort of real estate. Thirty-five percent of them were listed as having personal estate. Many families had a piece of their own land and the members of the family did not have to worry about being sold or traded.

The Civil War did not have a great effect on the York County area in terms of military activity and damage to the landscape. For most of the Virginia Peninsula, the Civil War lasted only about a year. After the spring of 1862, the area remained in Union hands for the duration of the war. Ex-slave testimonials and census record data indicate (see Figures 4 and 7) that African-Americans flocked to the area during and after the Civil War, seeking the relative safety of freedom that Union occupation brought. The African-American residents of York County had a three year head start on the rest of the nation, in terms of getting families together into a single unit. According to Herbert Gutman, a historian who wrote a landmark study of the African-American family in slavery and freedom, "Black Americans were almost all poor in the period covered by this study, whether they lived in the North or in

the South, in cities or on farms. But poverty did not entail household disorganization".¹⁹ Despite hard economic times and the low quality of land, many families, both African-American and white, stayed in the area for generations.

Upon further examination of the census records from 1870, one can calculate the frequency of the extended family within the study area. Each family in the 1870 census, both white and black, was investigated to see if an adult was present, over 21 years of age, within the household (Tables 1 and 2). Data gathered for white families appears in the next chapter. For African-American families, in 1870 in the Bruton District, 103 out of 302 families, had a person over the age of 21 present within the house. In the Nelson District, 116 out of 438 total African-American families, had an adult located within the house. These figures do not take into account family members who lived nearby, but not necessarily within the same house.

TABLE 1

Percentage of families with individuals over 21 years of age still present in the household, Bruton Township, York County, 1870

1870 BRUTON TOWNSHIP	# OF FAMILIES	PERSON(S) OVER 21 YEARS OLD	PERCENTAGE
WHITES	84	25	29%
BLACKS	302	103	34%

Source: 1870 United States Census Records

TABLE 2

Percentage of families with individuals over 21 years of age still present in the household, Nelson Township, York County, 1870

1870 NELSON TOWNSHIP	# OF FAMILIES	PERSON(S) OVER 21 YEARS OLD	PERCENTAGE
WHITES	57	26	45%
BLACKS	438	116	26%

Source: 1870 United States Census Records

TABLE 3

Percentage of families with another married couple present within the same household, Bruton Township, York County, 1870

1870 BRUTON TOWNSHIP	# OF FAMILIES	MARRIED COUPLE IN HOUSEHOLD	PERCENTAGE
WHITES	84	10	12%
BLACKS	302	39	13%

Source: 1870 United States Census Records

TABLE 4

Percentage of families with another married couple present within the same household, Nelson Township, York County, 1870

1870 NELSON TOWNSHIP	# OF FAMILIES	MARRIED COUPLE IN HOUSEHOLD	PERCENTAGE
WHITES	57	6	11%
BLACKS	438	16	4%

Source: 1870 United States Census Records

For example, James and Sarah Cook, two African-American residents of the Bruton District in 1870, had eight children. One of these children was over 21 years old and Sidney Cook, James' 65 year old father is also present within the house. Taken individually, this group of people could be considered a family network. Members of the same kin group, have settled closely to one another in order to facilitate social and economic relations. In addition to this, on the very next space provided on the census form after the James Cook family, is the Augustus Cook family. Judging by the age of Augustus and his wife, he was probably a son of James' who had moved out of his house of birth, but has built or purchased a house next door to his parents. This pattern is seen quite often in the census records and is indicative of the close ties among kin groups in this community.

In order to provide evidence for the existence of the

extended or more married couples living within the same space (Tables 3 and 4). It is interesting to note that both races had small, but comparable percentages of extended families in York County in 1870.

From the analysis of census records, there are several points that can be made about the African-American family. For the purposes of this analysis, a 10 percent sample of the 1880 Nelson District enumeration was taken. Unfortunately, no data from the 1870 census could be recorded because familial relationships were not noted. During the research, all the given information was recorded for every tenth African-American family that was listed.

The first statistic calculated, was the average age of the mother at the birth of her first child. For the Nelson District of York County in 1880, the average age of the mother at the birth of her first child was 21.6. Most mothers listed in the census continued to have children into the later years of childbearing. Within the collected sample, African-American families seemed to have children about every two and one half years. On the surface, this data would appear to provide evidence for a very large number of children among African-American families. This does not however, appear to be the case. According to the collected sample, families in the Nelson District had an average of between three and four children.

A possible explanation of this phenomenon, could be a

high infant mortality rate. When one considers the condition of African-Americans at the close of the Civil War and the years immediately following it, this explanation becomes plausible. Many ex-slaves amassed themselves on to government run farms that were usually confiscated plantation lands. Within this environment, disease was rampant. In April of 1866, Superintendent Vining wrote of the ex-slaves:

I see nothing but poverty and suffering for them, until they are more distributed over the country. In camps, as they are now, they will undoubtedly be as poor next year as they now are, and more degraded.²⁰

Because of this poverty and inadequate medical facilities diseases, such as smallpox and malaria, took a constant toll on the African-American population of the area.

This possible rise in the infant mortality rate was paralleled by a drop in the overall fertility of African-American women as a whole. Reynolds Farley, author of a book dealing with the historical demography of the African-American population describes a dramatic decrease in the rate at which women bore children. The decrease is long and steady, with the pronounced drop occurring from the years 1890 to 1920. However, the overall drop began with the end of the Civil War and continued until the eve of World War II.²¹ This data indicates that African-American families in York County not only had a father present, but also had a fair amount of children present within the household who stayed in the local area once they reached adulthood. Evidence of this type of family organization can be witnessed through the Fox family

genealogy.

The Fox family tree (Figures 12, 13, 14) represents what is known only through the marriage records. Birth and death records would have added a great deal of information to this tree, but unfortunately, these do not exist. The family tree then represents only the married members of the Fox family. For example, John and Mary Fox could have had more than four children, but it is known that Henry, Mary, John, and George were married. The birth dates of the individuals on this chart were arrived at by subtracting the person's age at marriage from the year of their wedding. This chart spans a time period from before the Civil War up into the 1930s.

It can be seen at the top of the chart (see Figure 12), that John and Mary Fox were born in 1820 and 1825 respectively. According to the 1865 African-American population census taken in York County, John and Mary Fox were listed as a married freed slave couple living on the land of the Bellfield plantation.

In 1856, Mary Fox gave birth to their first son Henry Fox. Henry was born while his parents were still slaves. This shows that though marriages between slaves were not considered legal, John and Mary still considered themselves married. This also shows the idea of a matrilineal African-American household is not always a valid one.

After the war, John and Mary were still a couple and had at least three more children. All of these children and their

FIGURE 12

FOX FAMILY GENEALOGY, JOHN AND MARY FOX

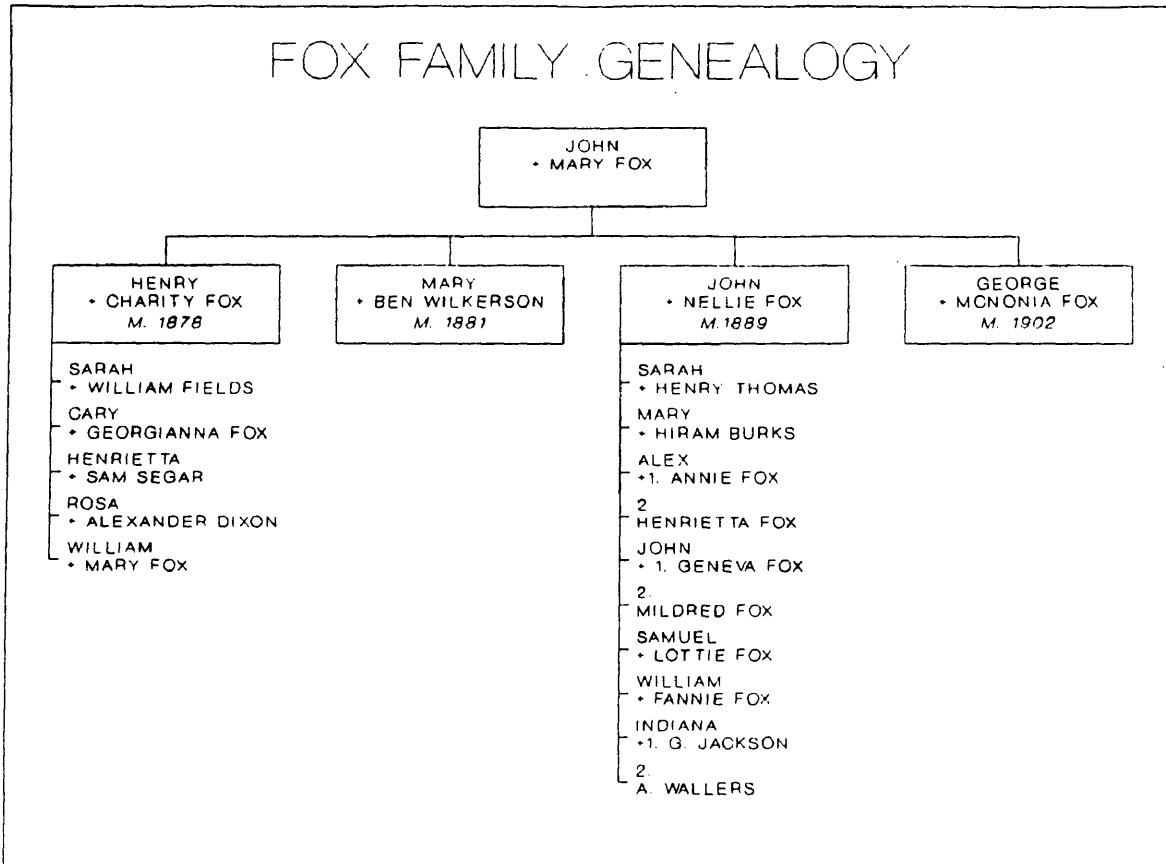


FIGURE 13

FOX FAMILY GENEALOGY, JOHN AND NELLIE FOX

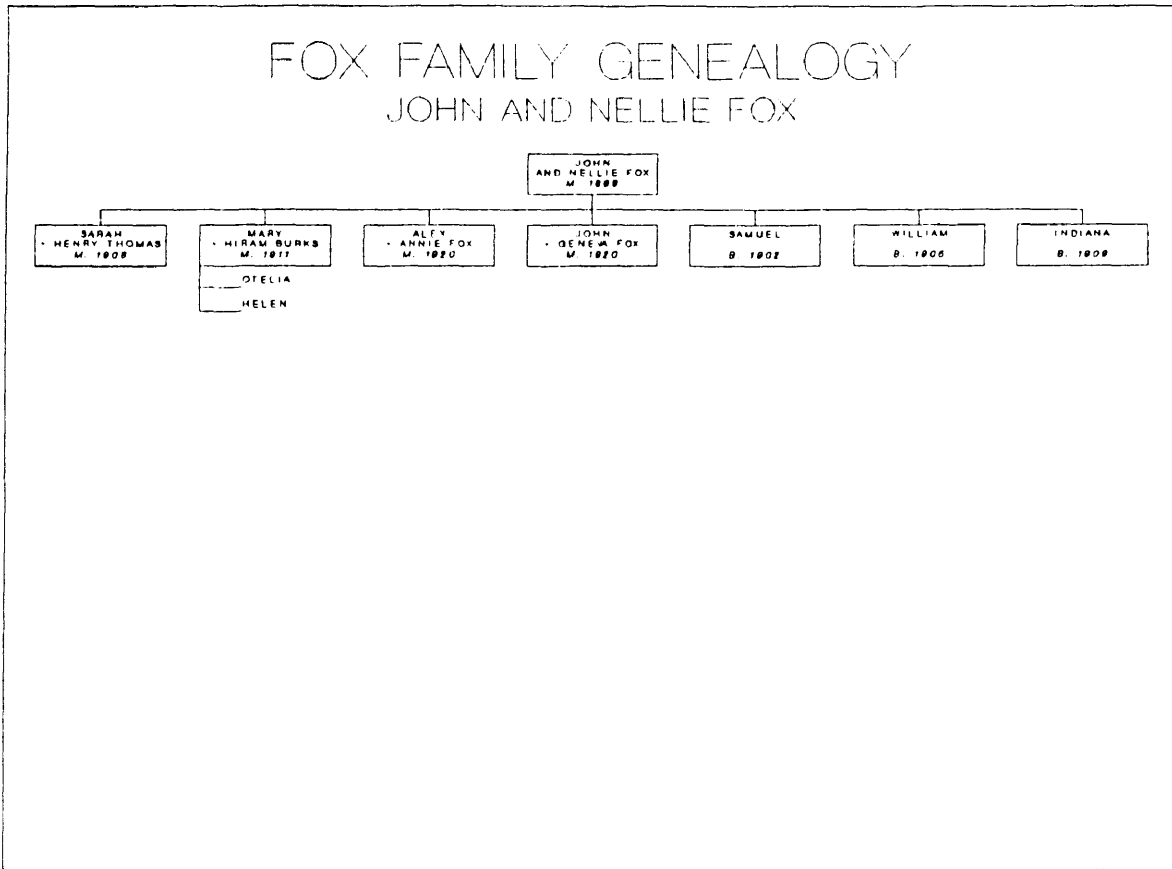
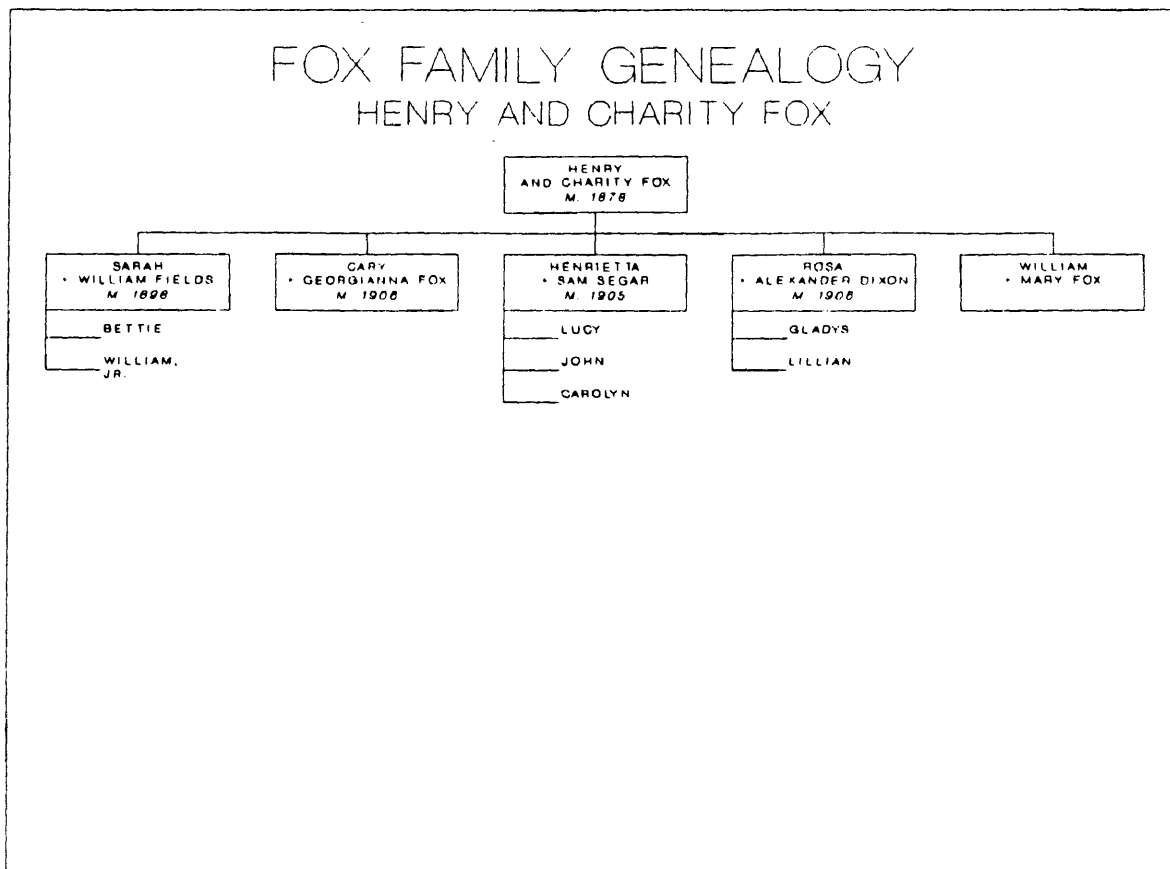


FIGURE 14

FOX FAMILY GENEALOGY, HENRY AND CHARITY FOX



152

children's children remained in the area, and their names continued appear in York County's marriage records. Of the children that John and Mary Fox bore, Henry Fox, who was married to Charity Ransom, and John Fox, who was married to Nellie Fields, owned property at Bellfield. Of the children that Henry and Charity bore, it is known from deeds that Sarah, Henrietta, and Rosa and their respective spouses stayed in the area. The same information applies to John and Nellie Fox's child, Sarah who remained in the area after her marriage to Henry Thomas. This analysis provides an example of the work dealing with extended families that was conducted by the Martins in their book, The Black Extended Family. By looking at the family tree of the Fox family, one can see how a family might have managed to survive. The typical African-American family was not large, averaging between four and five individuals per household (Figures 15 and 16), but the children did tend to stay in the local area. There was a mutually supportive relationship between children and their parents. White families living in the area had a comparable number of individuals living within the household.

The African family has several important responsibilities. "The extended family was a unit in which the basic production and distribution of material goods and services took place."²² Because of the wide variation of ages and the inclusion of both sexes within the group, the extended family was an efficient way to survive economically. In addition to

FIGURE 15

AFRICAN-AMERICAN FAMILIES, PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD, 1870-1910

AFRICAN-AMERICAN FAMILIES PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD, 1870-1910

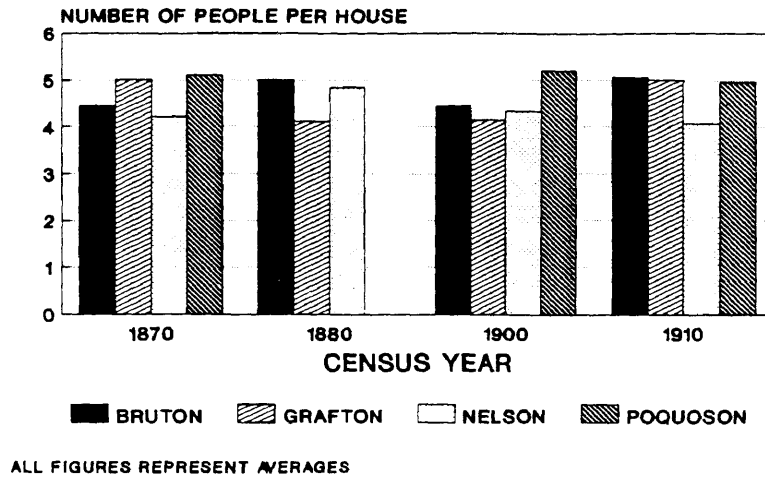
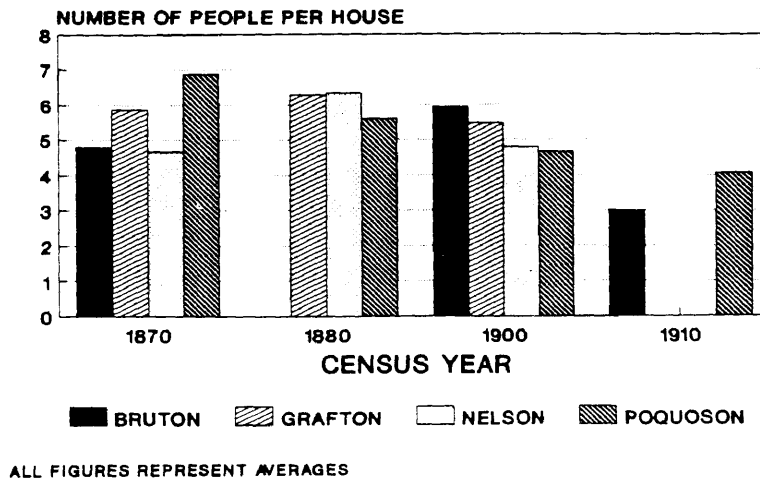


FIGURE 16

WHITE FAMILIES, PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD, 1870-1910

WHITES FAMILIES PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD, 1870-1910



economics, the family had several social obligations. Anthropologist Niara Sudarkasa characterizes these four principles as respect, restraint, responsibility, and reciprocity.²³ "Respect" was perhaps the most important of the four principles. It governed family behavior, the way people spoke to one another, and recognized those that had authority or seniority. Sacrifice can be used as a synonym for "restraint" which was the second principle. In this case, the needs of the group or family always outweigh those of the individual. The third principle, "responsibility" grew out of restraint. Members of an extended family should have always felt and took responsibility for one another. Finally, "reciprocity" was the activity which bound the extended family together. Without this bond, none of the other principles would stand.²⁴ Mrs. Beulah Christian Scott, a oral history informant, discusses the intimacy of family life:

Well, in the evenings, I remember...This is the time we'd always have dinner. Everybody'd sit around the dinner table and we'd find out "what'd you do today" How was your schooling and everything, and go over our lessons, and then my father would tell us what kind of a day he had. My mother would say, well she was taking care of the children because at that time mother didn't go out to work, the fathers worked and the children stayed in, the mother home to take care of the children. So she said I had a hard day, her day was usually harder than anybody's, you know. But, this is what we'd do and we taught poems and we taught the Bible and this is what we'd do in the evenings because everybody was home.²⁵

Despite the hardships of disease and difficult economic times, the African-American family in York County survived. Immediately after the end of the Civil War, the African-

American population increased dramatically. Earlier in this chapter, it was discussed that many of the freed slaves were placed in close quarters on government run farms. This is a situation not unlike that of slavery. Historian Allan Kulikoff writes that in the 1740s, the density of black population and the proportion of slaves in the population of Tidewater increased. During this time, more slaves were brought into a plantation system and this enabled the slaves, both within a single plantation and with other farms as well, to unite into a single network.²⁶ This mutually supportive network was reflected in the increased instances of runaway slaves. Runaways often needed the assistance of other blacks to evade capture. Kulikoff cites the increased frequency of runaway slave notices in the local newspapers as evidence for the fact that slaves were becoming increasingly difficult to capture.²⁷ Goods and services between slaves would also flow along these same lines of relationship. It stands to reason, these networks so often used in slavery, would also serve a useful purpose for African-Americans once they attained freedom. For the families of post-Civil War York County, commodities such as food, clothing, or money probably flowed along lines already established by kin or other social relationships forged during a time when they were still enslaved. The mutually supportive network of the extended family is what allowed the African-American family to survive economically as well as socially.

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC SURVIVAL THROUGH KINSHIP

When studying the family structure of the African-Americans, the most telling data comes from economic statistics and accounts of economic conditions. Often, the family was one of the only things that many African-Americans could truly call their own.

There are several data groups which should be examined when studying the economic history of a population. The first, and perhaps, the most useful source of information are the United States Census records. The United States Bureau of the Census not only took a count of the population every tenth year but also took an inventory of all agricultural and industrial activities in the area as well. The 1880 Agricultural Census for the Nelson District of York County was especially helpful in the research. The Agricultural Census listed information such as the name of the landowner, whether this person owned or rented their land, the value of the farm, how many acres comprised the farm, and what each farm was producing in terms of crops and monetary value. Similar information was listed for the 1880 Industrial Census as well. Other important sources were deeds of property exchange and tax records. These records can be found at local county or city courthouses. For the purposes of this research, the author used the records of the York County Courthouse in Yorktown, Virginia.

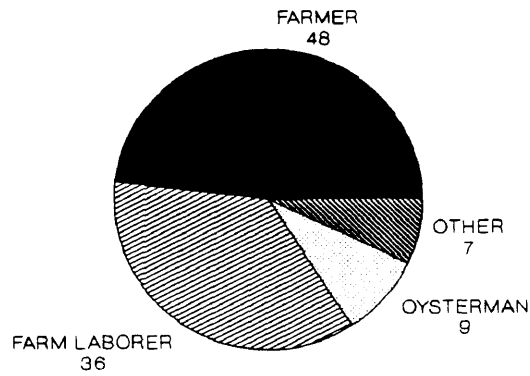
A deed of property exchange is a written document which legally records the sale of a piece of land from one party to another. A deed records the buyer and the seller, the price for which the land was sold and the size in terms of acres. Through a process of deed research, a chain-of-title can be created. A chain-of-title shows who owned a particular piece of land over a period of time. In the case of this report, the author was concerned with the period of time between the end of the Civil War in 1865 and 1880. Deeds and chains-of-title gave the author an idea of when African-American families began to buy land for their own. The other type of record which can be found at the courthouse, is tax information. Tax records show the value of the land and property. If one is interested in the value of a particular piece of property in 1870, all the researcher needs to know is the 1870 landowner's name and this can then be traced in the 1870 tax assessment book. Again, the landowner's name can be given through deed research. The last, and perhaps the most telling, sources are oral histories. The observations and remembrances of real people help to give life to the numbers and names provided by the documentary records. Oral history testimonials helped provide information about how families earned a living in times of economic distress.

According to United States Census records in 1870, 48 percent of the African-American males in York County called themselves farmers, 36 percent were farm laborers, and 9

FIGURE 17

YORK COUNTY MALE AFRICAN-AMERICAN OCCUPATIONS, 1870

OCCUPATIONS IN YORK COUNTY MALE AFRICAN-AMERICANS, 1870

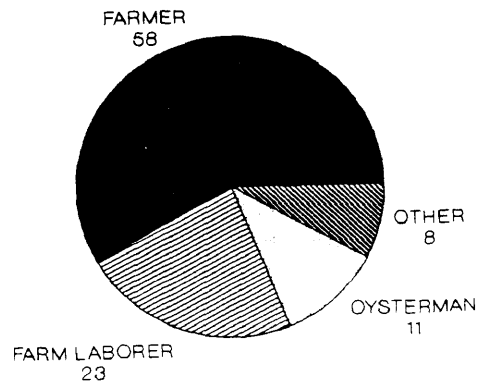


PERCENTAGE SHOWN, TOTAL: 840 JOBS

FIGURE 18

YORK COUNTY MALE AFRICAN-AMERICAN OCCUPATIONS, 1880

YORK COUNTY, 1880 MALE OCCUPATIONS



PERCENTAGE SHOWN, TOTAL JOBS: 571

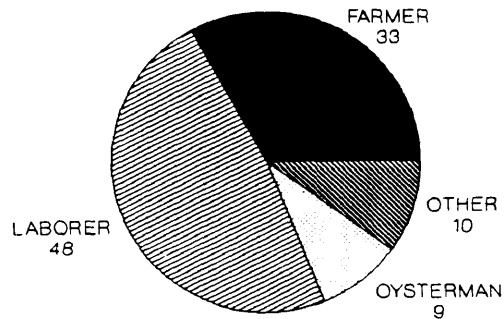
percent worked the water as oystermen (Figure 17). By 1880, the percentage of farmers has gone up to 58 percent, while the percentage of farm laborers shrank to 23 percent, and 11 percent called themselves oystermen (Figure 18). Occupation figures are also given for males in 1870 and 1880 for the Bruton and Nelson Districts of York County, the two districts which fell within government property in 1918 (Figures 19, 20, 21). On all charts, the "other" category represents a grouping of jobs where only one or two people were represented. Occupations in the "other" category include, but are not limited to, jobs such as, barber, preacher, ferryman, teamster, and cooper. It is easy to see from the male occupation figures, that most African-Americans devoted their time to being a farmer or working on a farm as a laborer. Were it not for the county's proximity to the York and James Rivers and their oyster grounds, the farming percentage probably would have been much higher. It is the oysters in the James and York Rivers which allowed the African-Americans to keep their heads above water financially.

At the end of the Civil war, most freedmen first wanted a piece of their own land. This hope was strengthened by the Freedman's Bureau promise that ex-slaves would receive forty acres and a mule. This promise however, was never fulfilled. In some southern states, such as South Carolina, many African-Americans were still able to purchase land either through

FIGURE 19

NELSON DISTRICT MALE AFRICAN-AMERICAN OCCUPATIONS, 1870

NELSON DISTRICT OCCUPATIONS MALE AFRICAN-AMERICANS, 1870

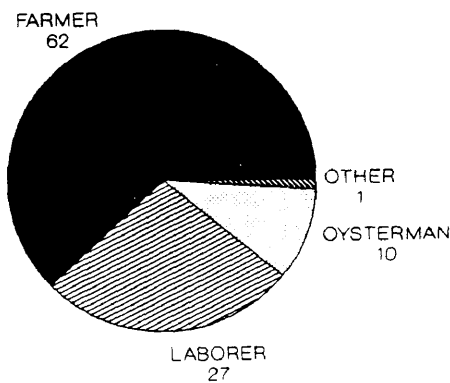


PERCENTAGE SHOWN, TOTAL JOBS: 379

FIGURE 20

BRUTON DISTRICT MALE AFRICAN-AMERICAN OCCUPATIONS, 1870

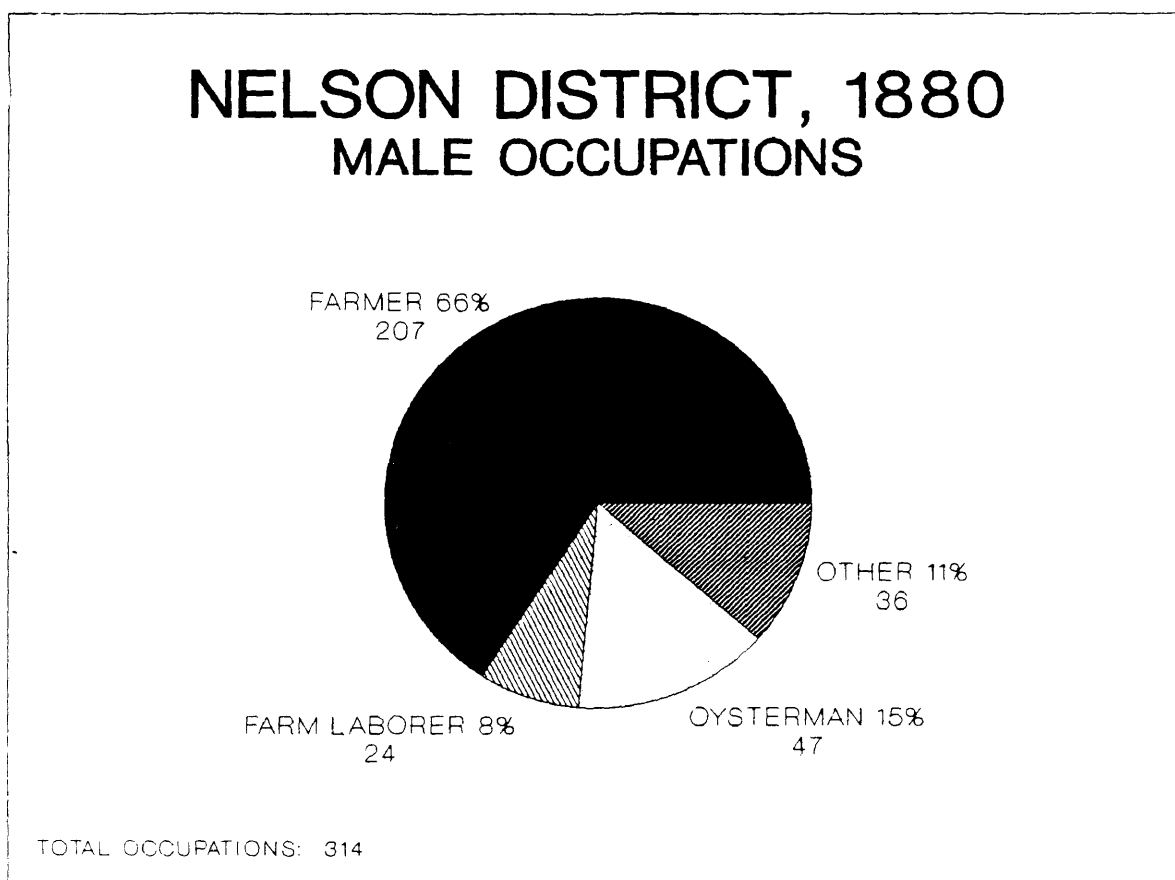
BRUTON DISTRICT OCCUPATIONS MALE AFRICAN-AMERICANS, 1870



PERCENTAGE SHOWN, TOTAL JOBS: 276

FIGURE 21

NELSON DISTRICT MALE AFRICAN-AMERICAN OCCUPATIONS, 1880



private exchange or by forming a cooperative among themselves.¹

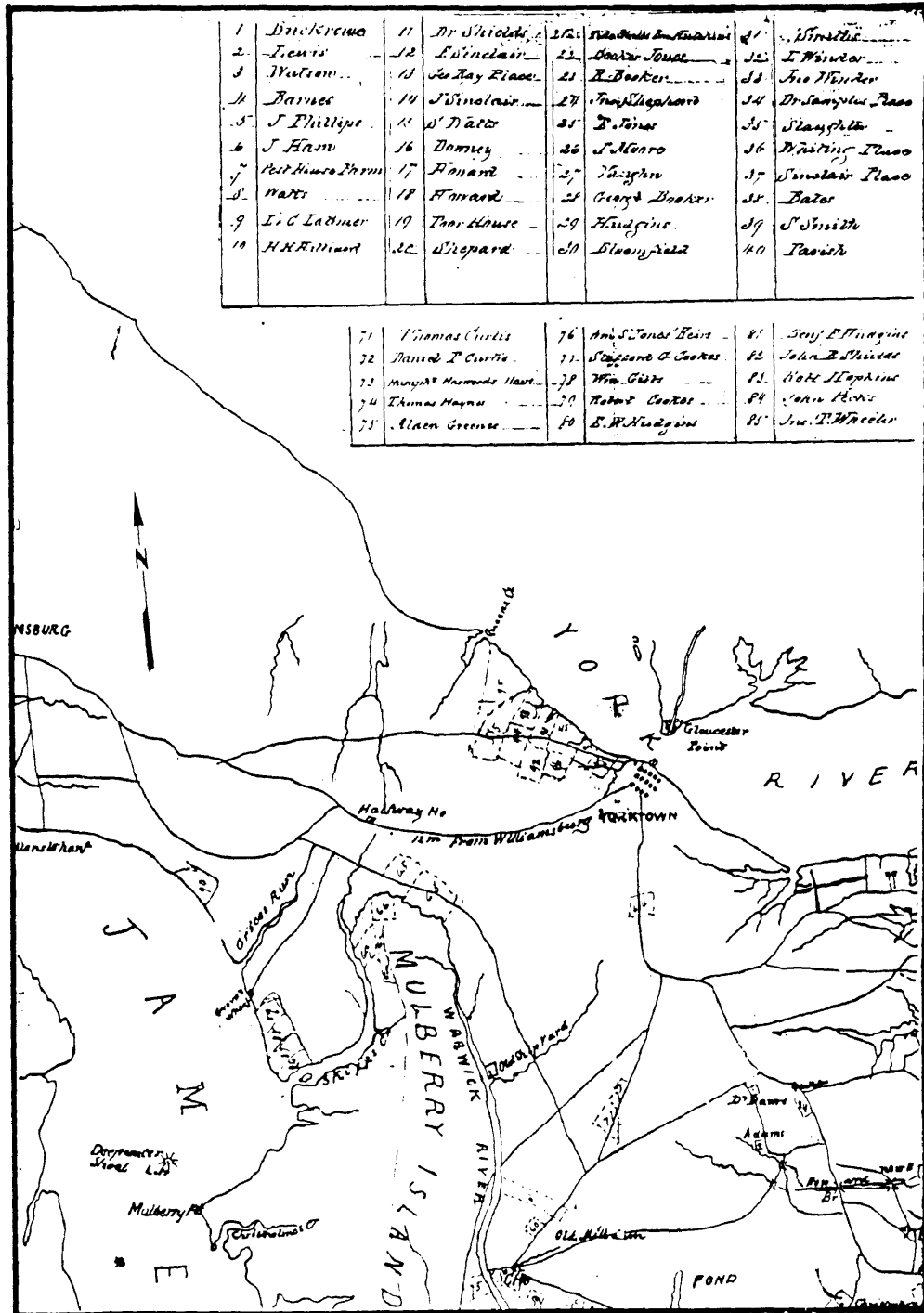
In York County in 1865, most African-Americans were huddled into small communities across the landscape (Figure 22). Most gathered at Fort Monroe, where many depended on the government for their survival.² Others lived on the old plantation lands where 32 percent were farmers and 23 percent were farm laborers. Even though 32 percent of African-Americans in York County in 1865 called themselves farmers, they most likely did not own their land. This is verified by the lack of deeds of property exchanged at the county courthouse. African-Americans of this time were most likely renting their land from someone else or simply "squatting" on abandoned plantation lands.

With the abolition of slavery and the amount of destruction brought by the Civil War, the plantation system, as the South had known it, could no longer survive. White landowners believed that ex-slaves would remain on their plantations, surviving with wages instead of food or shelter. What actually resulted however, was very different from what both whites and African-Americans had foreseen.

In Virginia, less than five years after the Civil War had ended, the same people who had voted for secession from the Union in 1861 were back in power in the state government. Virginia was again part of the United States, but some of the laws it passed in the years following the war continued to

FIGURE 22

MAP OF FREEDMAN'S BUREAU FARMS ON THE PENINSULA, 1866
 (Source: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Library)



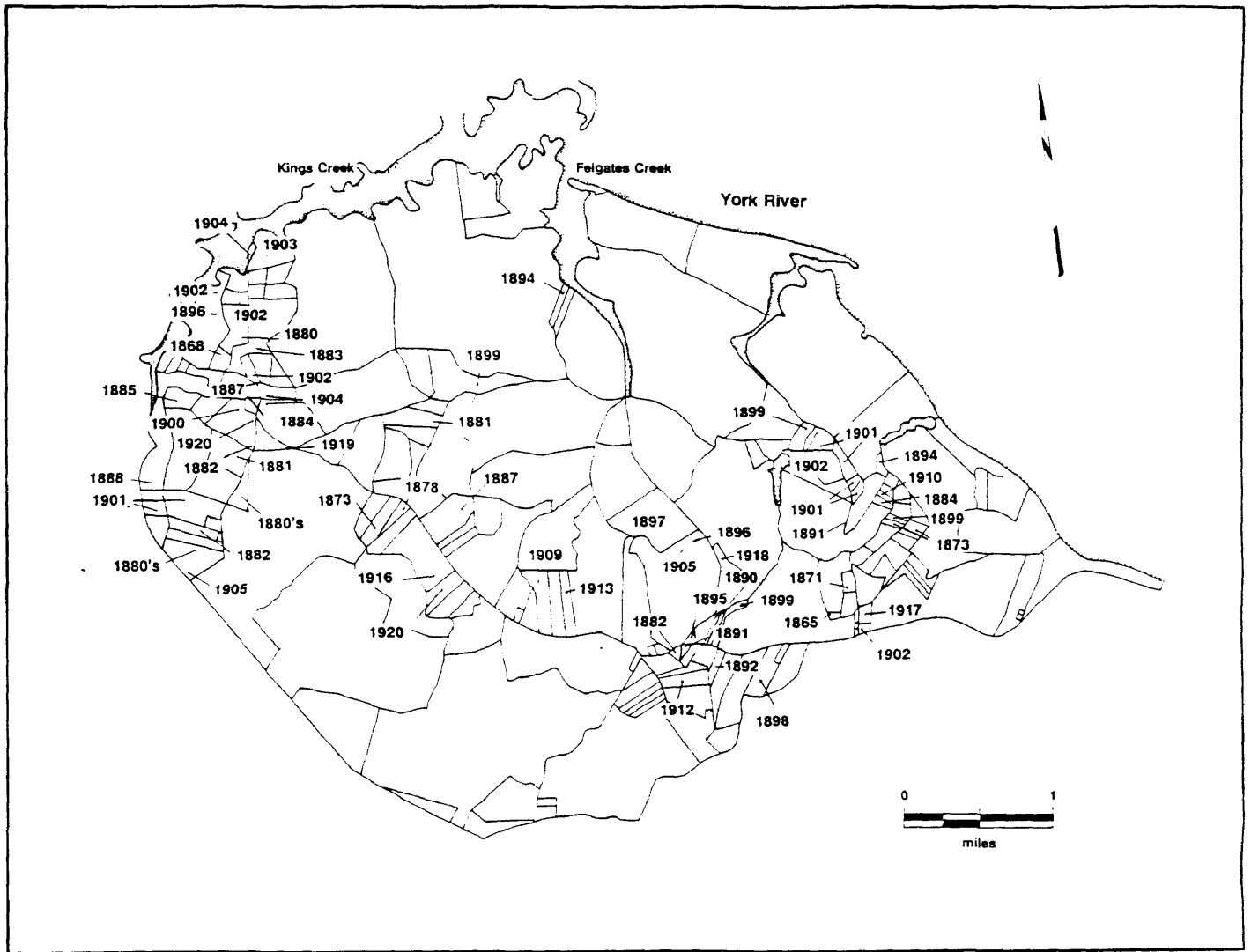
treat African-Americans as property rather than people. One such set of laws were the Black Codes. These laws were passed so that southern states could again control the African-American. While the codes did give ex-slaves the right to own property and work freely, the laws put strict controls on the terms of ownership.³ One of these strict terms, was that African-Americans could only work with the permission of whites through a wage labor contract.

During the Reconstruction period, the freedmen had objected to working under wage labor contracts. Such work often involved laboring in gangs under close supervision, an arrangement reminiscent of slavery. Unable to acquire land of their own, the freedmen sought an arrangement that would allow them to cultivate a plot of land in relative freedom. Planters, often lacking a ready supply of cash, welcomed a system that would enable them to acquire the necessary labor to cultivate their plantations. The result was the emergence of a tenancy system with many variations.⁴

In the York County area however, sometime between 1865 and 1880, African-Americans families became stable enough to buy their own land. This information is reflected in the deeds as well. Figure 23 shows the land in York County for which this study is concerned. This map shows what year, according to deed records, African-American families first bought a piece of land from a white landowner. It can be seen that after 1880, African-Americans began to buy land for their own as the old plantations broke up.⁵ For this area of York County, it took African-American families at least 15 years to acquire their own land. This may seem like a great deal of time, but when this figure is compared to the rest of the South, the

FIGURE 23

MAP OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN YEAR OF LAND ACQUISITION



freedmen in York County did not do poorly in this respect. The following are the figures for a few Southern states in 1900, "only 14 percent of black farmers in Georgia owned their farms. In Mississippi just a little over 11 percent of the black farmers had been successful in acquiring land of their own".⁶ "For the entire South roughly one-fourth of the black farmers were owners".⁷ As in York County, Virginia differed from the parts of the deeper South in terms of African-American land ownership.

In the states of the upper South, where the plantation economy was less pervasive, black farm ownership was more extensive. In 1900, nearly three-fifths of Virginia's 44,600 black farm operators owned their farms, which together with their livestock were valued at 13 million dollars.⁸

In York County, the high percentage of free blacks in the population and the relatively short duration of the Civil War in the area could also contribute to African-Americans having a greater opportunity to buy their land.

Although African-Americans did own a high percentage of land in York County and Virginia in general, their lives were difficult. Farms owned by African-Americans were small and the land was of poor quality, this was especially true of York County. The figures shown in Figure 11 summarize some data from the 1880 Agricultural Census in the Nelson District of York County.

These figures clearly show that African-American farms in the Nelson District of York County in 1880 were much smaller and of much lower quality than the surrounding white farms.

A glance at Figure 23 will show the reader that most African-Americans living on the land which became the Naval Weapons Station, were farming parcels on the perimeters of the old plantations and on marshy lands near creeks and rivers. The predominant soil types were a fine, sandy loam now called Slagle, and an acidic loam known as Craven-Uchee. Slagle loam, usually found on upland terraces, is characterized by only moderate drainage, and is best suited to fodder crops and pasturage. This soil type also requires amendments such as lime and fertilizer for successful cultivation, and responds best to a regimen of crop rotation and an intermixing of grasses and legume crops.⁹ Craven-Uchee loam is typically found on sloping ground and in wooded areas. It is poorly drained and easily eroded, and unsuited to cultivated crops or pasturage.¹⁰ Because of the poor quality of the soil, it was unlikely that the African-American's farms would be highly productive.

It is difficult to visualize from this description exactly how most families managed to survive. The answer is through a complex system of family networks. One of the definitions of the extended family and kin networks explains how it can be classified as an economic unit with all of its component individuals pulling together to act as one. Everyone in the family was expected to help out as well. Mrs. Roache recalled her daily routine as a child:

You came home from school, you [shelled] corn for the chickens, you did your chores. You brought in the wood,

the kindling, the chips, whatever. You did all this before you had supper--gathered up the wood. And then after supper, you did your homework, and you went to bed.¹¹

The 1880 Agricultural Census also listed the products of the of the farms, as well as acreage and production value. According to the Agricultural Census, the average African-American farm was slightly over nine acres, with a production value of \$58.11, or \$6.40 an acre, as compared to thirty-five and a half acres, \$209.07, and \$5.88 for the 56 white farms recorded on the census (see Figure 11). African-American farms produced mainly corn and Irish and sweet potatoes growing on average 10.89 bushels, 47.6 bushels, and 71.8 bushels an acre, respectively, as compared to 13.96, 71.0, and 55.9 for white farmers. Many residents of the "reservation" recall that people planted a variety of crops in order to get by. Beulah Scott remembered:

My father had the land he had. Where we lived, we could walk out of our backyard, we had a barnyard, then we had like a cornfield, to raise corn, and then we'd go through the woods sort of. Then he had another big field back there that he raised corn, and vegetables, and what have you.¹²

While neither the African-Americans, nor the whites were able to grow much on their land, the figures seem to indicate that the white farmers had the better land, what little of it there was. Most of the white-owned land was well-drained and had some sort of access to the river. Most of the land in the area however, had been farmed for over 200 years without fertilizer and was farmed out by the 1880s. With little

coming from the ground, it must be assumed that the supplementing of the diet must have come from the river and from hunting. Cattle, in the form of milk cows or other cattle, were present on 91 African-American farms, but only six of the farms reported slaughtering any of the cattle, and even then only a total of seven cattle were killed. This also points to working the water and hunting as a supplement to crop agriculture.

The 12,000 acres which is now the Yorktown Naval Weapons Station, is bordered on the north by the York River. Feeding into the river are several small tributary creeks, among these King's Creek, Felgate's Creek, and Indian Field Creek. The African-Americans used two resources from the river: fish and oysters. Fishing was usually only a supplement however, to the large and sometimes lucrative oystering business. The writer of this report came to learn about this business through some of the oral histories conducted during the course of research.

Mr. Alexander Lee was born in 1914 to John and Martha Lee, who lived on Felgate's Creek. Alexander's father, John, had 66 acres of land and 60 fruit trees. According to Alexander Lee, his father farmed the land that he owned, but also had a productive oystering business. Lee explained that they would farm and fish in the summer. In the wintertime, the family would turn to oystering.¹³ Each person interviewed during the course of research spoke about farming and oyster-

ing being the two main ways to stay employed. Mr. Caesar Carter put it most bluntly when he said that if a family did not farm and oyster, that family simply did not make it.¹⁴

Of the people interviewed, most spoke fondly of the oystering business. Mr. James Payne recalls:

Oh yeah, most of my mother's people were living in that vicinity, and they were Hundley's, my mother was a Hundley...her brothers were watermen, too. They had, from what I can remember, they had motorboats. My uncle also worked the river. He was an oysterman. He used to take oysters to Richmond, as far as Richmond. Leave over the weekend, take his produce to Richmond, and sell them there...Humphrey Payne [his uncle], he was self-employed, he had his own oyster-grounds, he worked the water, he made a pretty good living there.¹⁵

Mr. Alexander Lee owned a farm, but his main occupation was oystering:

My father was an oysterer...He worked at the James River in the wintertime, at the oyster season, he planted oysters...he had his own boat; him and his brothers had their own business...the majority of the people in the area were farmers and...worked the river...oysters and fishing.¹⁶

The oral history informants spoke of the people docking their boats at Felgate's Creek, each person owned their own plot of water and oysters.¹⁷

The picture painted by these statistics and the previous writings of historians, is a bleak one for African-Americans. However, as individuals and as a group, the people who lived on the land which is now the Naval Weapons Station survived. Examples of survival through these difficult conditions can be found in accounts from all over the South. As pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, the survival can be attributed

to the operation of the family networks. One of the four principles upon which the African extended family was based was reciprocity and without this, none of the other principles would be able to stand. Carol Stack in her book, All Our Kin, describes the exchange network both between and within extended families in a black community.

Through exchange transactions, an individual personally mobilizes others as participants in his social network. Those engaged in reciprocal gift giving are recruited primarily from relatives and from those friends who come to be defined as kin."¹⁶

Marcel Mauss discusses in The Gift the importance of gift exchange in societies. It is the system by which most people are judged. This quote from All Our Kin embodies all four of the principles which govern African extended families, this amount of respect, sacrifice, responsibility, and reciprocity can be found in the community at the Weapons Station as well. The author is quoting Ruby Banks, a twenty-three year old member of the community.

I swap back and forth with my mother's family. She wouldn't want nobody else to know how much I'm doing for her, but hell, that's money out of my pocket. We swap back and forth, food stamps, kids, clothes, money, and everything else. Last month the AFDC people had sent me forty dollars to get a couch, I took my money over to Mama's and divided it with her. I gave her fifteen dollars of it and went on to wash because my kids didn't have a piece clean. I was washing with my hands and a bar of face soap before the money come. I took all the clothes I had, most of the dirty ones I could find, and washed them. It ran me up to six dollars and something with the cab that my sister took back home. I was sitting over at the laundry worrying that Mama didn't have nothing to eat. I took a cab over there and gave her ten more dollars. All I had left to my name was ten dollars to pay on my couch, get food, wash, and everything. But I ignored my problems and gave Mama that

money I had. She didn't really have nothing after she paid some bills. She was over there black and blue from not eating--stomach growling. The craziest thing was that she wouldn't touch the rent money. I gave the last five dollars out of the rent money. She paid her sister five and gave me five to get the kids something to eat. I said, "What about my other ten?", but she put me off. She paid everybody else and I'm the one who's helping her the most. I could have most everything I needed if I didn't have to divide with my people. But they be just as poor as me, and I don't want to turn them down.¹⁹

Families did not just keep to themselves, entire groups of families got together to help others. Alexander Lee remembers:

My grandfather went into the woods and cut logs for the church. Everybody pitched in, and they built their homes and churches.²⁰

The African-American community survived by banding together, both within the single family and outside of that unit with other families as well. Mr. Payne, a former resident of the "reservation", recalls the cooperation between families,

And most of the people were very close neighbors. They worked together...When the time came to harvest, they would go to each other's farm, and assist them in harvesting, butchering, and things like that.²¹

Typically, children and relatives did not leave the area where they grew up. Mr. Payne maintains that most of his family still lives in the Williamsburg-York County area.²² The community was united through both common situation and a common heritage from which everyone could draw.

Throughout most of the country, African-American families had to face a hardship that was much more of a challenge than lack of money or land, prejudice. Many whites resented that

African-Americans were becoming their equals. The period before the Civil War provided a window showing how many freed slaves would be treated during the Reconstruction. Before the war, free African-Americans led a difficult life because they owned land and were in direct economic competition with the white landowner.²³ The whites resented this and by using their voice in the government, were able to have laws passed limiting the free black.

In 1831 a group of white mechanics in Culpeper county asked the state to pass a law 'forbidding any Negro to be apprenticed to a trade'. In the same year white mechanics of the city of Petersburg petitioned the legislature that a law be passed forbidding any Negro to pursue a trade without the supervision of a white overseer.²⁴

Once the war ended, white attitudes towards the African-American were clear. In the cities, the white resentment focused on the African-American's political activities. Many whites still believed that ex-slaves should have no voice in the government despite the fact that in many areas they outnumbered the whites in population. As time passed however, whites adopted a "If we have to have them let's make them as useful as possible" attitude.²⁵ In short, there was definitely a strain when it came to whites viewing African-Americans, but few chose to face the problem, much less try and solve it.

Despite these problems which seemed to occur in the urban areas throughout the South, "in the early eighteen-eighties, in Tidewater Virginia, the Negroes were found to be amiable, good-natured, and happy. In the entire region, the relations between them and the white people appeared to be wholesome and

happy".²⁶ Concerning the land which was to become the Naval Weapons Station in York County, the above quote seems to be fitting for the time period. For each one of the interviews the writer conducted, not one informant had anything negative to say about relations between the African-Americans and the whites during that time. Mrs. Beulah Scott of Washington, D.C. was born on the "reservation" land a few years before the government came. Below is an excerpt of the interview she generously gave:

Interviewer: Were there any problems between the two groups [blacks and whites], at all?

Mrs. Scott: Oh, no, no, no, no indeed! We played, like I said we did everything together, other than going to school and this is what we couldn't understand.²⁷

Earlier in the interview, Mrs. Scott said that her family was good friends with a white family, the Ripley's. This is her recollection of the relationship between her family and the Ripley's:

Yes, there was one other family that was friends of ours, they were the Ripley's. This lady had two children. I can never remember her husband. I imagine the husband died before I could remember him. But there were the Ripley's and she had two girls. They were very close friends of ours. We just ate together, played together, slept together, and we just couldn't understand why we couldn't go to school together.²⁸

The troubles that occurred between the races in many part of the United States, did not seem to occur in the York County area of Virginia. In fact, the lives of both the blacks and the whites in the study area seemed to parallel each other rather closely. The size of the white family that lived in

the "reservation" area was, on average, either about the same size or smaller than that of the African-American kin group. According to the 1870 census, white families in the Bruton and Nelson districts of York County, averaged 4.8 and 4.67 persons per family, respectively (see Figure 16). The whites had between four and five people in the household, just as in the African-American families that were documented. Although there were exceptions, most whites that lived in the area seemed to be in the same financial straits as the blacks. Hortense Powdermaker conducted a study of a black community in the Deep South in the 1930s. In her study, she found much the same situation for the whites of the area. Powdermaker writes:

The Poor Whites live chiefly on small farms or individual plots of land which they work as renter or sharecroppers. Their cabins are certainly neither cleaner nor more commodious than those of the poorest Negroes. In many cases they seem to be less so.²⁹

It is interesting that both the whites and the African-American population in the "reservation" area had similar family sizes and relationships within these structures. For example, in her Ph.D. dissertation, "White Families in the Central South, 1850-1880", Mary Stovall writes that in a society such as the South in the years just before and after the Civil War, the only thing in which many people could identify with was their family. The family became a symbol for something larger where more than just the father, mother, and their offspring were included.³⁰ What Stovall is advocat-

ing for the poor white families of the South is a structure much like that of the African-Americans. Historians of the family however, have written that white families, no matter the differences in culture, have shown a tendency to form around the classic example of the nuclear family, rather than the extended family structure. Peter Laslett and Michael Anderson, two sociologists who have studied the structure of families through time have written about English, French, and American white families. Laslett and Anderson write:

households of any form more complex than this simple family household were in a minority...; in fact the classic nuclear family of man, wife, and children formed the household, with or without servants, in more than half of the Western European cases, and in a third of the others.³¹

Interestingly enough however, there is evidence in York County for an extended family structure amongst its white residents. According to the 1870 census, in the Bruton District of York County, 25 out of the 84 white families, 29 percent, have an individual over the age of 21 living within the household. In the Nelson District, 26 out of the 57 families, 45 percent, have an "extra" adult within the household structure (see Tables 1 and 2). For example, Edward Darlington, owner of the Stony Point farm, had four children in his household in 1870, two of whom were over 21 years old, in addition there was an 86 year old female living in the house named Susan Hawley who seems to have been Mr. Darlington's wife's mother. Furthermore, 12 percent of white families in 1870 Bruton Township, and 11 percent of white families in 1870 Nelson Township, had

more than one married couple living within the same house (see Tables 3 and 4)

This data suggests that the resulting family structure that predominated the rural South, the "reservation" area of York County included, was formed because of economics as well as culture. The 19th century South provided few hospitals, orphanages, or rest homes for its residents, therefore only family remained as a source of care.³² Family structure and size was based on economics as well. The enormous amount of work on a farm had to be divided between the various members of the family.

Conventionally, men performed the field labor and women performed the indoor labor, which consisted of work within the homestead and its immediate environs. With their sons to help them, men were expected to perform most of the work of planting, plowing, harvesting, and other related activities that were crucial to making a crop. They also served as the family's representative to the outside world. They would conduct the family's business affairs (such as they were); they would conduct the family's legal affairs, attend court, serve in the militia and on juries, and vote.³³

Women's work included that of gathering the cotton and wool, cooking, cleaning, and making clothes for the rest of the family.

The similarities between white and African-American families are based on a situation and a common response to economic conditions. Many African-Americans in the study area received their land from the old plantation lands. White landowners such as Darlington and McCandlish are constantly referred to in the deeds as selling property to African-

Americans who were possibly their former slaves. White and African-American economies were also dependent upon each other. The African-Americans were dependent on the whites because they controlled most of the land in the area. Chances were if you were black and you wanted to acquire a piece of land, it had to be done with the knowledge and permission of the whites.

Just as the African-Americans depended on the whites for their economic survival, the whites were reliant on African-American capital. There were only a few examples of industrial development in the area. This development came in the form of flouring and grist mills, all of which were owned by whites. One was owned by George Greenwood, who according to the 1880 Industrial Census for the Nelson District of York County, owned one of the three flouring and grist mills in the county, and the only one within "reservation" lands, on Felgate's Creek. Greenwood reported gross income for 1880 of \$1500.00, and employed one assistant, who was paid \$50.00 per year. The mill ground 300,000 pounds of corn meal and 6,000 bushels of other grain with the total value of ground products coming to \$3600.³⁴ White owners were dependent on the business brought in by African-American farmers.

Even though the whites owned the majority of land in this area, African-Americans in the Nelson District had 168 farms according to the 1880 Agricultural Census. With the majority of African-American farms producing Indian corn, the landowner

would have to have someplace to have the corn ground for flour. Whites depended on this business in order to stay in operation. Whites also operated retail stores in the area, such as the grocery stores at Halstead's Point operated by Mr. Knight and J. Clements.³⁵ These businesses would also depend on the African-American families in the area to be regular customers.

The people and families who lived in the community were poor and did not have much in terms of material wealth. These people were however, rich in terms of family and the relationships they shared. The Fox family tree is only one example, there are hundreds of trees like it, showing how rich this community was in society and culture. The people survived through hard work and a sense of loyalty toward one another. Alexander Lee remembered:

The problem was that people had a lot of land, but no money. I praise my great-grandfather, grandfather, and father because they came out of slavery with nothing, but with wisdom and foresight, they planned things. They had to pitch in and do it themselves.³⁶

People were happy with the life they led. Mrs. Alice Roache said, "When it was time to come home [from church], you closed up, fed the chickens, put them up for the night. You did your chores, and you went to bed...And you didn't know any differently so you were satisfied with what you had".³⁷

Mrs. Roache's quote reflects the world view of the African-American community in York County, one characterized by several patterns of thought.

The first and most basic pattern, is that the world is filled with people and it starts with you and your family. Mrs. Scott of Washington, D.C. told us that the only thing that should matter is that you, as an individual, are happy. Your next responsibility is to your family, then, and only then, should you try to help others.³⁸ If this view was shared by other members of the community, most people must have felt fairly secure about themselves and their families, because many people spent many hours and days helping others, whether it be helping in the construction of a house or helping a friend harvest his crops. Indeed, many people did seem to be content with their lives.

Alice Roache spoke of being "satisfied with what you had".³⁹ She went on to say, "And people worked, they took in laundry, they did the things that were available to them. They were good and decent. They earned a good living".⁴⁰ Most people did not see too far beyond the area of the "reservation", because this was where their friends and family were located and most people had no intention of leaving. From the Fox family genealogy, it can be seen that there are records of the Fox family in York County area from the early 1800's up into the 1950's and their presence continues today. Again, it is the notion of trust and sense of responsibility that one person may have for their fellow community members. Magnolia, an informant from Carol Stack's book, describes friendship within her community:

Friendship means a lot, that is if you can trust a friend. If you have a friend, you should learn to trust them and share everything that you have. When I have a friend and I need something, I don't ask, they just automatically tell me that they going to give it to me. I don't have to ask. And that's the way friends should be, for how long it lasts.⁴¹

One of the last things the writer has learned from the interviews, is about having faith in your ability to triumph over adversity. Mr. Lee talked about how his forefathers triumphed over slavery. They came out of bondage with nothing and they planned and saved as much as they could. The legacy they left behind for the Lee family of 1919 was a profitable oystering business.⁴² At the end of the 1910s however, the government announced that it was going to take over, not only the land of the Lees', but 12,000 acres of land in that area. The way Mr. Lee remembers this event is again a triumph over adversity:

It was a hurt to the people, but after all, it was fortunate, something...happened that really in the long run, helped. It made people own homes they probably never would have owned...because the land was transferred down through the families, but with the change, people spread it out, we had better schools and everything else.⁴³

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Carol Stack in her book, All Our Kin, states that the African-American families and non-kin who were regarded as kin have evolved patterns of co-residence, kinship-based exchange networks, and elastic household boundaries. Stack theorizes that "these highly adaptive structural features of urban black families comprise a resilient response to the social-economic conditions of poverty".¹ The types of family structures and kin networks in post-Civil War York County are similar to those identified by Carol Stack.

In the years after the end of the Civil War, the African-American population of York County, Virginia was thrust into an entirely new situation. With their freedom won, the African-American population had to adopt new strategies for survival.

Negative attributes generally assigned to poor families such as instability, disorganization, and lack of a father do not apply to the African-American population of York County. According to the 1870 and 1880 United States census records the father was present 64 percent of the time. The family tree of the Fox family also demonstrated a continuity in the African-American family over time. The descendants of John and Mary Fox, two ex-slaves, were still present in the York County area in the 20th century. Oral history informant, J.H. Payne, maintains that most of his family still lives in York

County.

Social and economic exchange was also facilitated by the existence of extended families. Defining the term as two or more married couples and their offspring, kin or non-kin, sharing the same house, extended families are the driving force behind the socialization of individuals, especially children, and the maintenance of reciprocal relations. According to the 1870 census records for the Bruton and Nelson Townships of York County, thirteen percent of the African-American families in the Bruton Township were sharing a house with another married couple. Four percent were sharing a house in the Nelson Township. This network that existed both within families and among other groups of families is what allowed the African-American population to survive their first years of freedom in York County.

With their freedom gained, most freedmen wanted their own land. In York County most people made a living by either working the land as a farmer or the water as an oysterman. Despite their hard work African-Americans faced two major difficulties. The first, was the overall economic depression Virginia was experiencing because of the recent war. The second affected those who chose to work the land as farmers. The soil of York County had been exhausted from hundreds of years of cultivation and the quality and quantity of the freedman's crop suffered for this. The result was that most black families had to become tenant farmers, not landowners,

giving a portion of their crop or a sum of money to another landowner in exchange for land and a house. It was in this economically depressed situation that large intra- and inter-family networks helped the population to survive. The oral history informants spoke of swapping goods for services and vice versa. By 1880 however, African-American families began to buy their own land. By 1880, 40 percent of African-American families who lived in the study area had purchased their own property. This figure is much higher than the 25 percent average that existed for the rest of the South during the same time period.

Ironically, the end of the Civil War left most white families in as desperate a situation as most of the newly freed blacks. Although more white families did own their land than the blacks, most of the white farmers were bound by the same constraints of poor soil quality and low market prices that plagued their African-American neighbors. In response to their economic situation, white families organized themselves in much the same fashion as the African-Americans. In the Nelson Township in 1870, eleven percent of whites shared a house with another family. Twelve percent of the white families in the Bruton Township lived in extended family households. Beulah Christian Scott, an oral history informant, stated she never remembers any problems between the races in York County. Racial harmony may have been the effect of both groups depending on each other for survival. Many

whites owned the local businesses such as the grocery store, lumber mill and grist mill. African-Americans depended on these businesses in order to go about their daily lives, just as the white business owners surely depended upon the patronage of their African-American neighbors. The supportive network of goods and services that allowed the community to survive was not hindered by the barrier of racial tensions.

In their book, The Black Extended Family, the Martins write that not only did the extended family and family network encourage good and mutually supportive relations between members of the same family, it also fostered a positive community spirit as well. The extended family network however, may have also served a functional purpose. The more members in a household, the more people could be put in the fields, bringing in more wages. Like the families discussed in Stack's book, the population of post-Civil War York County was in a poverty-stricken economic situation. Families relied on an active network of social and economic exchange based on both kin and non-kin individuals.

This data helps to not only reaffirm, but advance Stack's data about life in the city for African-Americans. Carol Stack's study was undertaken in an urban environment. The daily life of the families that Stack researched would have been different from the rural, farm-oriented families of post-Civil War York County. Both groups however, despite their different environments, responded to their economic troubles

in a similar fashion. Additionally, the instances of white extended families occurs as frequently in the census records as it does for African-American families. This data suggests that the use of the extended family as an economic network is not racial or "cultural". Instead, both groups, whites and African-Americans, responded to their situation in a similar fashion. Moreover, according to the oral history informants, the good relations between African-Americans and whites were fostered by exchanges of goods and services that crossed racial lines.

APPENDIX A

The following are the transcripts of the four recorded oral history interviews conducted for this report. As accurately as possible, the transcripts have been reproduced from the tapes of the interviews in order to provide a visual reference source.

MR. ALEXANDER LEE
INTERVIEW, WILLIAMSBURG, VA, OCTOBER 17, 1991

Interviewer: The first thing I wanted to ask you was - do you have any relatives, or anybody that you know personally, who lived on the Weapons Station property before it was built by the Navy?

A. LEE: Yeah...

Interviewer: You do? Who can you trace back? Was it somebody in your family, or friends that you knew?

A. LEE: Friends that I know...yeah, some family people, but there not in this area...Raymond [Redcross]...he lived around the base. [Betty-Lynn Asheby Orange]...she lived there...two people is all I can think of now, I know many more...we get together sometimes and talk...any other questions?

Interviewer: Yes...from what your friends used to say, and what you can remember personally...what do you remember about living in the area?

A. LEE: Well I remember I was seven years old when we moved out of the area...Around 1919, right after World War I, the notice went up that they were going to take the homes down in that area...I lived down on the York River...what is known as [Fellgates] Creek...that's where I was from...then the news went out...they issued a warning to everybody that they were going to take the place...people began to get around place to place looking for places to go...Everybody knew that they had mines and explosives that they brought back from Germany and they wanted to use that area as storage...In 1921 I moved out of [Fellgates]...January, 1921, my family moved. There were more than 300 families affected by this, so I was told by this woman...They took...from [Fellgates] Creek all the way down to

what is known as [Lackey]...where the Naval Weapons Station is now...All that used to be...living quarters. The government foreclosed and took all of that for mines and T.N.T that was brought back from over there.

Interviewer: And where did you and your friends go after you were told that you had to move out?

A. LEE: Well, my family - my father brought me to this area; the majority of these people in this area, especially the older people, came out of the Weapons Station. Some went to Newport News, some went to York, to Hampton, some scattered to Williamsburg...That's when the little town known as [Lackey] was formed...people just moved across the road and formed a little town...[Lackey].

Interviewer: If you can remember...when you were living on the Naval Weapons Station Property, what types of jobs were available? What did your father do, or your mother do for a living?

A. LEE: My family were oysterers. My father was an oysterer, he dealt with oysters, you see. He worked at the James River in the wintertime, at oyster season, he planted oysters...he had his own boat; him and his brothers had their own business...The majority of the people in the area were farmers and...worked the river...oysters and fishing...Some worked the shipyard in Newport News - a few of them; they lived in Newport News and worked the shipyard, but farming and oystering was the biggest business.

Interviewer: In addition to work, how did you spend most of your free time? Was the church an important factor?

A. LEE: Well, the church was moved out too, that whole community was taken out...Two churches were affected by that, one was St. Johns Baptist, and the other was known as [Little Zion], which is down on route 60...[Little Zion] was for people that lived over in what is known as the 'reservation'; the Naval Weapons Station is what we call it; but the people, at that time, called it the 'reservation'.

Interviewer: Did you and your family spend a lot of time at church? Was that a place where people could usually gather?

A. LEE: Well that was about the only gathering place, at that time, to my remembrance. On weekends, people went to church...school was taught in church. That was the only outlet of gathering for people, was the church, because everybody was working...parents were working to keep things...

Interviewer: Now lets see...how did you feel about the Navy coming in and taking away the land? Did they compensate you for that? What types of feelings did you have?

A. LEE: Well, it was quite a setback because the Navy didn't give anybody enough...Heck, I could talk a lot about my family, because we were the first, my family, and 6 families down in that area, were the first to move out. That was where the first...what was known as 'kitch', they called it 'kitch' at that time...in other words, that's where they stored the first explosives, and mines they brought in. But they never compensated people enough...My father owned about 66 acres, and they took all the 66 acres, and he bought 20 acres which includes where I'm living now...And they only gave people 200 dollars for your house, regardless...which was a great setback to the people...Oysters - you plant them and wait 3 years for them to mature...my father was caught in the middle, because the oysters weren't old enough to catch. The government only offered 50 dollars...for 3 acres of oysters and he didn't accept this, so he didn't get anything. It was a great setback for the people...Penniman, which is known as Cheatham Annex now, but known as Penniman then, was the place that was set up...during World War I. That's where a lot of people came in and worked - at Penniman during World War I. As soon as the war was over, they closed that up...It was quite a hurt to the people, it set them back quite a bit, it caused them to form new communities.

Interviewer: The place that you lived on the Weapons Station up by [Fellgates] Creek...What was it like? Do you have happy memories there?

A. LEE: Yeah...about 6 families lived right in that area. We were right on the water - right on the York River...a lot I remember about me going back...They allowed us to go back down there until they really established a place for the explosives. We could go back there to...boat. We used to go back and boat down on [Fellgates] Creek...The majority of the people farmed and worked the river...and in the wintertime, planted oysters.

Interviewer: Did the 6 families that you said lived in that area...was your family close to them?

A. LEE: We weren't all relatives, but we all lived in that area.

Interviewer: In terms of daily life, what kind of food did you eat, and where did you get it? Did you get it from the oysters?

A. LEE: Well, we bought food...You only eat oysters, at that time, nine weeks a year...People worked, and they farmed, they raised hogs, cows, and horses...People lived good according to that day...so, as far as food is concerned, there wasn't whole lot of money, but you had no need for a whole lot of money since everything was cheap...You would come to Williamsburg, that's where we would come to shop...People down on the lower end went to Yorktown to shop; people on the upper end would go to Williamsburg. We'd go there to buy groceries. We had what was known as 'country store', but the majority of the groceries that we bought, were bought in Williamsburg, which is about 8 miles.

Interviewer: A lot of your friends that were farmers, were they tenants or did they have -

A. LEE: No, no, no!

Interviewer: Everybody owned their own land?

A. LEE: Their own land.

Interviewer: How do you remember relations with the whites in the area?

A. LEE: Up in the area where I lived, there were just a few white families. Down in Yorktown, next to [Lackey]...approximately...from what I can understand...only affected 150 - 200 white families, of the 800 families...There weren't too many whites in that area, but they got the same...thing...as the blacks. The government, at that time, said "I wanted it." They took it. (laugh) You couldn't set a price...they only allowed you 200 dollars for your home,

regardless. Everybody got 200 dollars...

Interviewer: Now was the 200 dollars for the house only, and you could get more depending on how much land you owned?

A. LEE: Well, your land was different...You weren't getting a profit. Like I said, my father got 50 dollars an acre. He bought this place up here at 125 dollars an acre. Now land didn't jump to 125 dollars, but he was only allowed 50 dollars for land down there, so he took all he had...to get another home...and he got less land...from 66 to 20...

Interviewer: That's about all I have to ask. Do you have anything else that you would like to add? Is there anybody in the area that you know of...that we could possibly talk to?

A. LEE: Well, you could talk to Raymond [Redcross] right up here on Oak Drive. He was one of the men that came out of the 'reservation'. He remembers a little more than I because he's a little older than I...

(At this point, something is whispered to Mr. Lee. He then refers to an interview that took place 4 or 5 years ago. Apparently, he has a transcript of the interview, which he hands to the interviewer. He then returns to his earlier train of thought.)

I think you could find a lot of information...up in the 'reservation' where...[Cheesecake] Graveyard...is located...Where I lived out on [Fellgates] Creek, where I was born, it was about 3 miles up the road where [Cheesecake] was, and the church...the biggest group of families lived in that area.

Interviewer: Now did you go to church there?

A. LEE: Yes. The church was moved. Both churches were moved...St. John's was moved down on Penniman Road, [Little Zion] is down in [?????]. So both churches were moved.

Interviewer: Do you remember, at [Cheesecake], how many people were buried there?

A. LEE: Nobody knows. [Cheesecake] was a graveyard, from what I can understand, people just buried there...it was an Indian graveyard, that's where it gets its name...All my family that died up to 1922 was buried there, in 1923 that's when they moved the church. All the families...white, Indians, whatever you are, were buried there...Who does it belong to? (laugh) I know the government still keeps it...

Interviewer: Yeah, we were just out there a couple days ago as a matter of fact...

A. LEE: ...some of the tombstones...after all these years...were still visible.

Interviewer: One more question, what types of houses did you all live in? Were they mostly a wood frame?

A. LEE: Frame houses, yeah. I don't know of any brick houses in that area...frame was the style.

Interviewer: Yeah, the only brick house I remember out there is the Lee House, were you familiar that one?

A. LEE: Yeah...the Lee's can be traced back. That's when my father was born down in that area...in the slavery times, my grandfather, not my father, but my grandfather...where they got the name, I don't know. You can never find any record about that. At that time, for blacks, there was no record. Before the war, whenever a slave was sold, he carried the name of the buyer, so the name changes. There were only a few families, from my understanding, that could stick together, you see. I do have some history, some remembrance of the area you're talking about...there were only two boys - David Lee, and Monroe Lee...and those two Lee boys...were taught trades. My grandfather was a carpenter. His brother was a painter, and a sailor. He could build boats, and sail boats. My grandfather...built houses, and he carpented until his death in 1917. I just slightly remember his image...I was too young to remember...the only things I can remember is what I was told by my parents, and brothers, and sisters. He was born down in that area, that's why we lived down in...[Fellgates]...I guess we talked about the oyster grounds that my father had and how they only offered 50 dollars for them.

Interviewer: Well, that's all the questions I have, if you had anything else to add, you're more than welcome.

A. LEE: Well...since the Weapons Station...I worked and retired from the Weapons Station...

Interviewer: Oh, you worked for the Weapons Station?

A. LEE: Yeah...I've been retired 21 years...I retired in 1970...what I remember from when I was working there...I used to go around to a lot of places, I could spot where people lived...I think if you get a chance to read through that paper, there's a lot of information in there, so much I have just forgotten, but when I hear these things, it will come back...(long pause)...Schools...they had but one school down there for the blacks, that's why most of the children went to school at church. When we moved up here to the upper part of York county...this is James City...some of the people moved to James City. Like my family, many of the families found problems getting into the upper part of York county. We had to go to school in Williamsburg, because they had no schools for blacks in the area.

Interviewer: Did the majority of people go to school?

A. LEE: Yeah, the majority in that area was in school, at least Elementary. We didn't have any high schools. We had to go away for high school...to Hampton, Petersburg, or Richmond. The beauty part of it was those that had a chance to go away to school came back and helped and taught the others. They made a great contribution. They didn't look for the money...One of the greatest misfortunes was when during the slavery times, they taught many of the black people trades, but they didn't teach them to read and write...one of the shortcomings. Therefore, the only history we can get is translated down, we have no written proof - just tie two and two together - what you get from this one and what you get from that one.

Interviewer: Were you always told stories about...your ancestors? Was that how things were passed on?

A. LEE: Yeah, that's one of the greatest things that was passed on. Even in the court house we have no records...(long pause)...It was 11000 acres that was taken - people lived

there - to build the Weapons Station...when I worked there, it was known by the name of [??????] in 1938, and when I retired, they named it the Weapons Station...I understand there's talk they may change the name again.

Interviewer: That's what I hear...

A. LEE: It was a hurt to the people, but after all, it was fortunate, something...happened that, really in the long run, helped. It made people own homes they probably never would have owned...because the land was transferred down through the families, but with the change, people spread it out, we had better schools and everything else...(long pause)...Do you have any other questions?

Interviewer: I think that's about it.

A. LEE: I'll tell you, Ray [Redcross]...he lived off the section where I was born, and raised...the [Fellgates] section. They lived up in what was known as Charles [Corner]. That was the place where they had a little store and a post office...everything that people would come to buy was...in the stores...in Charles [Corner]...The church...and [Cheesecake] Graveyard...were in that area.

Interviewer: Ok, well I think that's about it.

END OF INTERVIEW

MRS. ALICE ROACHE
INTERVIEW, LACKEY, VA, OCTOBER 18, 1991

Interviewer: What can you remember about the time before the government came to the Fort Eustis area and Mulberry Island?

A. ROACHE: I don't remember too much about Mulberry Island. It just had a funny name to me. But my grandfather was a storekeeper, so he must have had a store over there, too. To have brought one over this way and establish a store on this side. And farming was a way of life - hunting, fishing. And there had to be some water down that way - that they could fish - but that was the way of the land - fishing, hunting, gardening, whatever.

Interviewer: So most people were farmers, or they worked as oystermen?

A. ROACHE: Farmers or oystermen...the ladies probably did days work - housekeeping, and things of that nature. There had to be one or two teachers - a few teachers - because my mother was one. But the requirements for a teacher then were much less than they are now. If you finished 5th or 6th grade, you could teach the younger students who came up. And there was a [???] Memorial College in Richmond that my mother attended. And that entitled her to become a school teacher...I can remember that much. My father was a barber. He had a barbershop of his own, probably right at that corner, right there where the people next door live. All of that was a part of the same plot of land. He was a barber. I can remember them saying they worked on the Baltimore Steamer. There was a Baltimore Steamer. They got jobs on the Steamer, going up and down the river - cooks and bakers, and what have you. You did what you had to do. You did what was available to do, and you made it.

Interviewer: In addition to the jobs that people had, how did you spend your free time, your leisure time? What did you do during those times?

A. ROACHE: You came home from school, you [shelled] corn for the chicken, you did your chores. You brought in the wood, the kindling, the chips, whatever. You did all of this before you had supper - gathered up the wood. And then after supper, you did your homework, and you went to bed. You went to church on Sunday, you went to Sunday School, you stayed for

church service. And that was it. You played in your own backyard -because - you didn't venture out too far - because neighbors - everybody was doing the same thing you were doing, doing your chores in the afternoon. And you met on Sunday, and that was it.

Interviewer: You mentioned the church, was that an important factor in your family's life?

A. ROACHE: Yes, of course it was. We lived right next door to it after we came on this side, and they moved the church from there to where the present church is right over there. That was it. Sunday school in the morning; morning worship once a month, on the third Sunday; but there was a B.Y.P.U. in the afternoon, and that was where you met all your friends...They had programs and singing - that was the highlight of the day. When it was time to come home, you closed up, fed the chickens, put them up for the night. You did your chores, and you went to bed...And you didn't know any differently so you were satisfied with what you had.

Interviewer: You can even do this for your children, as well as what happened to you and your parents...children that grew up at that time, did they try to stay in the area after the government came, or did they go somewhere else, or what did they try to do?

A. ROACHE: I am trying to think what I can remember...A lot of people went away to work. You would meet someone who knew someone that needed someone to work for them, perhaps on these trips back and forth up the river, on the Baltimore Steamer. And you went away to work. You went to New Jersey, you went to Philadelphia, and places along the Steamer's line, and you worked in private service.

Interviewer: And what were the schools like? Any personal recollections you have? I know you were telling me about what it took to become a teacher. Did a lot of people go to school?

A. ROACHE: When I went to school, we had a nice high school because it moved down to Yorktown. It was a one story, and there were nine rooms. And I never went to a one-room school. There were people who did, because in the lower end of the county, they had one-room schools down there. And I never went to a one-room school. I always wondered how they

functioned. But York County Training School was a large school, and as we grew older, they assigned teachers at the ratio of thirty to one. There were at least thirty students in the classroom, and when the enrollment increased, you would get another teacher. You went to the 10th grade, but before I got into high school, they had an 11th grade, and that was as high as it went. And you went from 11th grade - You had to pay tuition which made a lot of people drop out. Once they went passed 7th grade to go into high school, they dropped out because their parents were unable to make the tuition. They had to go out and work to bring in money for the younger one. And before my sister entered high school, the tuition would drop, so she finished high school and she got a scholarship. She went to Virginia State. But it all depended on the scholarship. And people worked, they took in laundry, they did the things that were available to them. They were good and decent. They earned a good living.

Interviewer: What do you remember your parents telling you about the time when the government came, to take the land? Did the government compensate your family for that?

A. ROACHE: Yes...and you're speaking mainly of the Weapons Station...

Interviewer: But also your experience at Fort Eustis...

A. ROACHE: Oh, Fort Eustis wasn't a pleasant one. My grandmother always thought that more was coming to her. But from the article that you read when the people came out of the Weapons Station, or Naval Mine Depot, as it was then, they made houses. They were sturdy houses, they weren't log cabins, they were frame buildings, and they had porches, and flowers - they made it good. And some of the houses lasted a long time, but as with anything else, unless it's kept up, as people grew up and moved away, the old buildings deteriorated to a degree to where they were taken down. But they built nice houses. Of course you had a well, because there was no water. Took a long time for water to come through. You had a well. A lot of people had horses, you know, to do there farming with. Some had cows, and those people that had cows sold milk to those that didn't have it. And everybody raised a garden. You raised hogs - and your close friends - when one person would kill, they would send a certain portion of meat to all of their friends. When the next person killed, then they would send fresh - they called it 'fresh' - they would send it to all of their friends. And it just went around like that.

And by 1939, when the CC Camp came in, they made a great deal of difference, because a lot of the young men who had no jobs - they played at the golf course, they were caddies at the golf course, which is now the Park Service - and they got 45 cents a round. But that wouldn't take care of a whole lot. But you'd see them going by early in the morning, going down to the golf course to put their numbers down, so when Bobby Cruikshank, and people of that sort, Norm Snead, came down and played, they would get to caddie for those people. And when CC Camp came in, people came from everywhere. They had several companies down there in Yorktown, and our boys, young men, went to the CC Camp, and you can see where they worked on parkways. You know they developed that Park Service back across there. And when the CC Camp broke up...oh, hundreds of men were employed on the Naval Mine Depot. And the people on this side provided homes for them. Anybody that had a room, like you saw in that article, if it was a [silo] or a closet, could rent it, because there were over a hundred young men right in this area. And that added to a lot. And getting the Naval Mine paycheck, oh, they got like \$14.77...\$16.77...14...16, and when you had been there a long time, you got 18 and some dollars, a week. That was a tremendous amount of money. And it flourished, the area flourished.

They were still doing things in little dance halls, a couple of dance halls opened up. Because these young men were used to going somewhere, doing things. Because we used to go to the CC Camp to dances that were sponsored down there. And then a couple of dance halls opened up here. That was your evening. You had to be out of the house by seven, if you were going, and in the house by nine. And that was it.

Interviewer: Do you remember other family names that lived around you that you were friends with?

A. ROACHE: Sure...the Morris's; the Dixons; the Brights; the Fox's; another group of Dixons; the Wiggins'; the Edwards' - that was my schoolteacher, Miss Edwards; the Allens; the Brights - another set of Brights;...the Roberts; the Wyatts;...the Stubbs;...the Johnsons;...Redcross;...Wright; and Wallace; and that took you all the way up to the county line. And then it developed from the back...the Claytons; the Robinsons; the Reeds;...Brookins; [Sigger] - a number of families named [Sigger]; Fox; Anderson;...Burks, a large number of Burks's; a large number of Fox's; Edwards;...Taylor;...another set of Edwards's; some more Burks's; Fields - Fields was a large family, you know it just branched off, Fields; only one set of Harpers, though. (laugh) That was about it. Only one set of Harpers.

Yeah...there was a lot of names.

Interviewer: Now everybody that you mentioned, did they own their own land?

A. ROACHE: Yeah.

Interviewer: Were there many tenant farmers in the area?

A. ROACHE: No.

Interviewer: No? That's interesting.

A. ROACHE: Everybody bought a little piece of land.

Interviewer: And how do you remember, and also maybe from what your parents told you, how do you remember race relations being? How did you get along with the whites that were in the area?

A. ROACHE: There weren't any.

Interviewer: There weren't any?

A. ROACHE: There weren't any.

Interviewer: Really?

A. ROACHE: They came later...There weren't any...They were in Yorktown, but not in this area. ...Maybe twenty or thirty years ago; maybe fifty years ago, I guess they began to come in, but there weren't any. And that man that wrote that article about the store on the corner, Herman Smith, had maybe 5 or 6 children, and there were some boys. Well, those boys played with the boys in the community just as though they were white, because they had no choice. They didn't have anybody else to play with, so they played together, they fought together. But the fights didn't last, fifteen or twenty minutes, then they were back doing the same thing, playing again. The race problem didn't come in until way later. There just weren't any...There was maybe one white family on

this side of the road that were white. And the Smiths, they were poor people that came over here from Gloucester. My sister was always an accomplished dressmaker and she made clothes...[????????]...just like we did. They got along well. It wasn't until later that the race relationship deteriorated. (laugh) But it wasn't bad...

You went to the store, you got your groceries, and you came home. You stopped and played with the little girls up at the store, if they were out there playing. Their parents were getting groceries. You played with them, and after a certain period of time, you came home. No, race didn't get into it until much, much later. And it was a normal country life. Of course we're bound now, there's only one way in, because there's a huge development down there in Baptist. During the war, houses were built on the station to house the military people. And after the war was over, those houses - well there were apartment houses all along here, all down this way - they destroyed those houses. And the ones that were on the station were bought by one of the merchants up here, and they were sold to the people back down on the [????]. And those people took those houses, and improved them, and they're nice houses. And as the younger generation came along, they took those houses - they were cottage-type houses - they would raise them up, put in another floor, put a deck on them, brick them, they did everything. All that was in there. Because he rented them to white people, at first, until a certain time. And then he just sold them, as he grew older and his health began to fail. Hornsby was the name, I know you've run into that name, he sold them to the people of color. And they made good homes out of them, and they're still down there. They came from right over there on the Station. And there was maybe ten long apartment buildings right across there called Cook Terrace, and as the need for more developed - down the highway about a mile and a half - they had the Cook Terrace Annex. And after the war ceased, and people were, you know - money flourished more after that, and they were able to do things on their own, and they...that's what those townhouses are probably made out of. And the Park Service took over [Rentforce] Monument Lodge in Yorktown, and for that piece of land he was given Cook Terrace Annex. And that's where that place got built up so those townhouses and things are down there.

But during that time that I went to school as a child, our house and the church was the last house on this side until you got at least three miles down the highway. And there were two houses down there, and what is [Gously] Road now, there was nothing until you got to the point where [Gously] Road met Crawford Road. Of course, we didn't know it as [Gously] Road, then it was just a back road. That point down there, there was a couple of houses right on the end, and then further

back. But everywhere now, development is taking place, and it's filled with houses. But there weren't any then...If you had to go to Yorktown, you had your choice of going this way down the back road and coming up through Yorktown, or you could go through the woods and come out way down at that point where the Park Service put a log cabin for the ranger that would stand there on guard. You would come out right at that point. And, at first, everybody had to walk to school. And finally, a man from Seaford bought a bus. It was a green wooden bus. And he brought the children from Seaford and down there, all up to the York County Training School. And then he considered the children in this area. You could ride the school bus for three cents a day. And my mama, being a widow at that time, she would start us riding with one of the teachers for our first two years, and then you'd have to get out and walk. But fortunately, the bus came along before it was my turn to get out to walk. (laugh) I didn't have to walk. But that's the way it was - I can remember that - three cents a day. And they called that bus the 'Coffee Can'. Then the county, you know, put buses on. We had two busloads of children up here every day going to school. He'd bring these children up here - two loads - and then go back to Grafton with the other children. And he drove a bus for a number of years.

END OF INTERVIEW

MR. JAMES H. PAYNE
INTERVIEW, WILLIAMSBURG, VA, OCTOBER 23, 1991

Interviewer: Mr. Payne, if you can remember, where did your parents live on the Weapons Station property before the Navy came?

J. PAYNE: Charles' Corner. My parents lived on Charles' Corner. There were two stores. One store was called Waterstone - Jim Waterstone and Henry Charles. We lived there when I was about the age of twelve. Then we moved to the present site.

Interviewer: What do you remember your parents telling you about what life was like in the area before the Navy came in 1916?

J. PAYNE: Well, the Navy didn't have much effect on my parents because they were...self-employed...in the water and farming at the time. In fact, my dad never worked at the Weapons Station, but he worked at Cheatham Annex which is right across the river from - it was called 'Penniman' at that time. He used to work for [Duport], that was a powder magazine, or powder factory...

Interviewer: What do you remember about living in the area? What were working conditions like? Now you said your father was a waterman and also a farmer. Were most of the other people in that area - did they have the same occupations or...?

J. PAYNE: Well, the community was not very thickly settled. There wasn't too many people there. As I remember, there wasn't much work going on - it would have to be farming, or working in the river. I don't know of any industrial, or whatever.

Interviewer: If you can remember, or remember what your parents told you, could you just give us some names of other families that lived in your area? You said it wasn't that thickly settled, but do you remember other family names?

J. PAYNE: Oh yeah, most of my mother's people were living in that vicinity, and they were Hundley's, my mother was a

Hundley...her brothers were watermen, too. They had, from what I can remember, they had motorboats. My uncle also worked in the river. He was an oysterman. He used to take oysters to Richmond, as far as Richmond. Leave over the weekend, take his produce to Richmond, and sell them there. And most of the people were very close neighbors. They worked together...When the time came to harvest, they would go to each other's farm, and assist them in harvesting, and butchering, and things like that. And I had an uncle Payne, Humphrey Payne, he was self-employed, he had his own oyster grounds, he worked the water, he made a pretty good living there. But most people were happy or nicely taken care of, but they owned their own property. So everybody fared pretty well, I think.

Interviewer: Were there any tenant farmers that you knew of?

J. PAYNE: No...any tenant farmers in that...we didn't have any plantations nearby. There wasn't a plantation.

Interviewer: And how would you say, you know, in addition to what everybody did for a job and everything like that, how did you and your family spend your leisure time? What did you do?

J. PAYNE: Well, there wasn't but one thing to do, and that was go to church on Sundays. I don't remember...well, the first of the year, we would come to Williamsburg. They would have Emancipation Day. And they used to have blacks parading the streets. Some of them were riding in wagons, and the band would be...the children, all, would be riding in wagons drawn by mules. And the name of the bandleader, if I remember correctly, was - they used to call him Chink Green. I don't know whether that was his real name - the 'Chink' part, but he was known as Chink Green. And they had services on Sunday...and Christmas was a big time for us. We used to go to church and have Christmas trees, and exchange gifts quite a bit. I don't remember any other outstanding affairs that went on...And they used to have at the church - Christmas boxes - you'd sell boxes. The men, the young men especially, they seemed to enjoy buying their girlfriends boxes. They would say "that's so-and-so's box. I'm going to bid on that." They would raffle them off. There wasn't very much to do in those days.

Interviewer: Where did your family go to church?

J. PAYNE: St. John's Baptist Church, the same church that we're attending now was in the reservation on - the property was called 'Black Swamp'. It's still in the reservation, or the Weapons Station, now. And our school was a one-room school, and that was located on Mill Hill. I don't know why the name was called Mill Hill, or Black Swamp Hill. But as you know, a part of the Weapons Station is quite hilly, so I imagine they got the school name from - Mill Hill - because there used to be a watermill there...I don't know that to be a fact. I was quite young, I was twelve years old when we moved from the reservation.

Interviewer: What do you remember about going to school?

J. PAYNE: Well, I remember we used to have to start the fire, cut the - well, they brought the wood - but we had to get kindling to get the fire started. One stove would heat the building. We used to have one hour for lunch, we'd go out and play. I think the children learned more in those days than they do nowadays. It was a fine school. I don't say I learned so much. (laugh) I know my parents were pretty good students. My dad could write and read; my mother, too - both of them.

Interviewer: Were most of the people in the area literate? Did most people go to school?

J. PAYNE: Oh yeah, yeah, sure

Interviewer: Let's see...after the Navy came, where did your family go? Did you move to where we are now?

J. PAYNE: Well, let me tell you some more about the Weapons Station...we had one Justice of the Peace, and his name was...Roberts. That's where we get this 'Roberts District' here in James City now. He used to sign birth certificates. I remember we used to refer to ourselves as 'black' a few years ago, but in 1912, he was using the same word on my birth certificate - it says 'black', it didn't say 'colored'. He was a Justice of the Peace. We had one sheriff, Henry Charles. He was white. And all of our laws were transacted at Yorktown. We had a judge that would come from Williamsburg - Judge [Armistead]. That building still stands - the [Armistead] building still stands on Duke of Gloucester Street, now, if I remember...what was your question about schooling?

Interviewer: Well, the first thing I asked you was - did a lot of people in your area go to school?

J. PAYNE: In my days, everybody went to school.

Interviewer: Everybody went to school?

J. PAYNE: Everybody went to school. Evidently, as I forestated, ...they must have been doing some kind of teaching during my parents' age, because my dad could read and write real good, my mother, too.

Interviewer: Were there other schools in the area? Did some people go to school in the church?

J. PAYNE: Yeah. That's where I went to school in my early days, in the church. I didn't go to this one-room school. That was just about deteriorated when I went to school. Most of my schooling in the Weapons Station was in the church. When I left the church, we came here, and we used to go to Springfield School. That was a one-room school - a little larger than the one we had on the Weapons Station.

Interviewer: Well, that leads into my next question...where did most people go after the Navy came and bought land?

J. PAYNE: Oh yeah. Most of the people - my relatives on my mother's side went to Hampton. A place called Lincoln Park, in Hampton, now. That's on Queen Street, somewhere. Some settled in Newport News, and the majority of the people came up here to Williamsburg - in this vicinity. The land was selling for 100 dollars an acre, here, at that time. And my daddy - he bought 5 acres, and all of us settled...right here. Most of us lived here. We have a street out here - Payne's Road. It was seven of us, each one of us has his or her property. Some of the children didn't build here, but the grandchildren are here.

Interviewer: Do you remember your mother or father saying anything about what kind of compensation your family got from the navy?

J. PAYNE: For the land?

Interviewer: For your land, yeah, that was on the reservation.

J. PAYNE: I don't remember how much they got, but it wasn't very much. It wasn't enough to rebuild, and buy the property. We got by somehow.

Interviewer: Were there a lot of whites in the area?

J. PAYNE: The only whites that I remember were the two men that ran the stores - Jim Waterstone, and Henry Charles. Henry Charles was the sheriff. Most of the white people lived in the place called [Horace's] Point. I don't know if there were too many blacks on the reservation, we call it the 'reservation', but the Weapons Station. The first I remember of the Weapons Station - when working in the river, we used to come out of the creek - [Fellgates] Creek - and we could see the airplanes up on the , let's see, what was the name of the.....Bell Field, it was Bell Field, that's where they used to land the planes in the Weapons Station. But I really didn't know what was going on back then. I wasn't too interested in government. As a matter of fact, I didn't know much about government at that age, you know. So, I can't tell you too much - what's your next question?

* Mr. Payne may have meant to say 'whites'...

Interviewer: Let's see, I think that's about it, really.

(At this point, the tape was turned off, only to be turned back on again in mid-sentence of a second interviewer who is letting Mr. Payne know that anything he would like to share would be listened to with interest. The first interviewer then returns to his line of questioning...)

Interviewer: A question I was personally interested in...were things passed on through storytelling; or your mother and father telling you the way things used to be; or did you read to each other a lot? What did you do when you got together as a family?

J. PAYNE: The Payne family is kind of small. I didn't know my grandparents on my father's side. They died before I remembered. No, they didn't pass us much history. History

wasn't too valuable in those days. They didn't keep much of a record.

Interviewer #2: A question that I have - When family members got married, did they usually stay around in the same area with the family?...While you were you on the Weapons Station, or even after you all moved out here to Penniman {road}. When a family member would get married, would they still stay in the general area where the family was?

J. PAYNE: Most of them did. Now, in my family, those that moved to Hampton, they stayed in Hampton. Some of them went to Richmond. My immediate family - only one out of the seven is not in Williamsburg today, the other one is in New Jersey. My wife - she wasn't born in this vicinity. She was born in Lynchburg. Most of her people - the immediate family moved here, and they spread all over. Some in New York, some in New Jersey, some here in Williamsburg. My two daughters - they're in northern Virginia. They're up in the Washington area. They work for the Fairfax county school system. My son-in-law is there, working for the government...He's from North Carolina. He's planning on going back to North Carolina.

END OF INTERVIEW

MRS. BEULAH CHRISTIAN SCOTT
INTERVIEW, WASHINGTON, D.C., NOVEMBER 11, 1991

Interviewer: You and your parents lived on the Weapons Station before the Navy bought the land?

B. SCOTT: Yes. At the time we lived there it wasn't called the Weapon Station, It was the reservation. This is a portion of land that was given to the slaves after being free, it was called the reservation. My mother, my grandmother, and her children was born there, not my grandmother wasn't born there, but her children were born there and there's a house in there called Lee's old brick house. Do you know anything about that?

Interviewer: Yes, we've seen that.

B. SCOTT: Uh-hum, Robert E. Lee. That's where my mother and her brothers and sisters were born. That's where they lived. I was born there, me and my brothers and sisters, not in Lee's old brick house but in the, in the reservation, or on the reservation, this is what they called at that time. So, my sister, there was five of us, two brothers and three sisters. Let's see, as I (cough) as I say my grandmother was a slave, my mother's mother, but she didn't live at any time, other than on the reservation then later she moved, across the street when the government, you know, took the land. Then we moved across the road, that's what we called it at that time. My grandmother was born right in Lee Hall, there's a, I think they once said they were going to make a shopping center. Lets see its Old Williamsburg Road, now its known. There's a farm there this is where my grandmother was born as a slave. She was 16 years old when the Civil War ended. So it was the Curtises that owned her.

Interviewer: And what was her name?

B. SCOTT: My Grandmother's name was Sarah Waller, she was a Sarah (Armstead?) Waller, she never did take the slave name. This was the lady that hum, and they taught her to read and to write. She stayed in and took care of the children in the big house.

Interviewer: So she was a Curtis then?

B. SCOTT: Yea a Curtis, of the Curtises. I think it was two houses there but I think this is the smaller house that remains there now.

Interviewer: Well, do you remember some of the other family names that lived around you?

B. SCOTT: Hum, It was Thomases, they're all passed, there was the Foxes, they're all passed, there was Curtises, they're all passed, there was, gosh, cause I was rather young, I was six or seven, but I remember. I always liked history, you know. My little world was smaller there, at that time, but I liked to here about things, you know, my grandmother she used to tell me about a lot of things. She passed in 1948. So she was something like 104 when she died. So she told me about a lot of things that happened and told me about the war and everything, you know, that she could remember. But umm, lets see there was uhh, Carters, the Wiggins, all these people passed, I can't remember the rest of the names. And there was a white family that lived, but I can't remember his name, but I remember that he had a horse, and today I'm afraid of horses because I was just that little, and he would go down the highway, you know, on this horse and he would say, "little girl, do you want a ride?" and he put me up on this horse and it seemed so tall, you know, so far up from the ground, but he'd take up on this horse and, he's probably an englishman or something cause he dressed in all these, like you see in, like riding when they go fox hunting. This was the way he would dress and with his top hat and everything, and he would come by and he would put me up on this horse, which was frightening and then he would get up it seemed, but anyway, I'm afraid of horses today. Which is rather stupid. I can't think of right off-hand of anymore of their families, the names of the families that lived there.

It was during the, the epidemic of some kind of disease. I think it was flu, something like that. It just wiped out a lot of families and then a lot of families that either older children passed on or the mother or the father of you know, I remember that. I remember we being ill with it, but my father was the only one that wasn't ill. So he put us all in bed with my mother in the same room, you know, he'd go for...remember that. The Pointers, some Pointers lived there. They were first cousins. Siggers, did I say the Siggers? I probably should have all this together. But I just can't think. I've been running ever since you called me. I mean, going to the doctor, having some work done.

Interviewer: You said that when the Navy came to buy the land that you moved across the road. Did you move to Lackey or did you move to Grove?

B. SCOTT: I moved to Lackey.

Interviewer: And do you remember how your father felt about that? Did he feel that he was compensated fairly from the Government?

B. SCOTT: No he wasn't. They didn't pay him anything for it.

So many people they didn't pay anything for, they just moved them out and they had to just cut branches off the trees and make, they used to call them "brush hoven" and live there. They just moved them out. Of course my grandmother on my father's side, they had two houses in there, but they did move one of the, the smaller house, they moved that out across the road. But they weren't interested in what they did, they just moved us out. And my father wasn't compensated at all.

Interviewer: What types of jobs were available in the area? Like what did your father do for a living?

B. SCOTT: My father had the land he had. Where we lived, we could walk out of our backyard, we had a barnyard, then we had like a cornfield, to raise corn, and then we'd go through the woods sort of. Then he had another big field back there that he raised corn, and vegetables, and what-have-you. He had some men working for him. And he, I don't know if he went around gathering up men or whether he had other lands that he would take care of doing this or not, but I remember my brother and I used to take the men their lunches at noon time in one of the fields by the river, and then we would walk down to the river and sit there and eat a little of the sandwiches that my mother had fixed, which was biscuits or whatever with, because that was before sliced bread. So she would have biscuits, cake, or whatever she had, a vegetable and a meat, you know, and we would take a little bit of this and then we would walk down to the river bank and we would sit there and eat it, now naturally we weren't supposed to have tea, because at that time they didn't give kids tea or coffee. So we had a Prince Albert tobacco box that we always saved and we would put a tiny bit in there, enough for him and I to taste it, and this is how we (laugh), we were very young, but those were the little smart things that we got away with.

Interviewer: Well how did you and your family spend what leisure time you had. What did you do in the evenings or on weekends?

B. SCOTT: Well, in the evenings, I remember, always as if we're going to school. I started school at 12, at 5 I mean, instead of 6, which was early for me. This is the time we'd always have dinner. Everybody'd sit around the dinner table and we'd find out "what'd you do today? How was your schooling? and everything, and go over our lessons, and then my father would tell us what kind of day he had. My mother would say, well she was taking care of the children because at that time mothers didn't go out to work, the fathers worked and the children stayed in, the mother home to take care of the children. So she said I had a hard day, you know, naturally she meant hard day, her day was usually harder than anybody's, you know. But, this is what we'd do and we taught

poems and we taught the Bible, and this is what we'd do in the evenings because everybody was home. Then on the weekends, and naturally we would, everybody had a job to do, everyone at their assigned job, and then they could play, you know. They could visit the neighbors and go play with the other kids, whatever. This is what we did. And then we went to church and we'd go to different church socials or whatever they had programs in and things like that.

Interviewer: Which church did you go to?

B. SCOTT: My grandfather founded the Rising Sun Baptist Church. His name was Chelson (spelling?) Warrell. I don't know anything about my grandfather and his people. After the war my grandmother went to Chester, PA, and that's where she was raised but I don't know how they correspond, but what they did, they did correspond and when she came to VA she married him, she'd never seen him before. Married him and had 10 children. That was true love.

Interviewer: When children in the area grew up, did they more-or-less stay in the area or did they go, did they leave the area, and if they did, where did they go? Did they stay close?

B. SCOTT: At that time, when we were on the reservation, we stayed in that area because there were little out-groves that were so small, because see there weren't cars, people couldn't have cars and things like that. They weren't plentiful like now. So you really stayed, you went to Newport News and Williamsburg, and the other little, but you know, that was really just to visit. But you stayed in that area. But since they moved across, you know, but of course they're all older now, from your point.

Interviewer: Now you say you remember one white family in the area. Were there any other whites on the reservation land that you know of?

B. SCOTT: Yes, there was one other family that was friends of ours, they were Ripply's. This lady had two children. I can never remember her husband. I imagine the husband died before I could remember him. But there were Ripply's and she had two girls. They were very close friends of ours. We just ate together, played together, slept together and we just couldn't understand why we couldn't go to school together. But we did everything together and just, Rippley's and then another friend of my mothers, that lady's name I can't remember her. Her first name was Russel. That's who my sister is named after. But I can't remember her last name because we just called her Russel and she had one son. They were very good friends. They stayed with us a lot, you know. She and her.

Her husband was killed that I know, by a car. I think he was on a wagon or something, and a car ran into him, into the wagon. I remember those. But there's some more white families in there but I can't remember those. They were farther, you know, farther away from us. I would see them at the post office and store but I can't remember their names.

Interviewer: Were there any problems between the two groups, at all?

B. SCOTT: Oh no, no, no, no indeed! We played, like I said we did everything together, other than going to school and this is what we couldn't understand. But we had our schools on the reservation and I don't know where their schools at, I think it was at Yorktown. So even after we moved across the street, it was the same thing, we went to this little school, let me show you my old school. Reunion last year. That's the little school we went to (obviously showing Interviewer picture of school) after we moved to... That was from first grade or, we used to call them primary at that time, until the 11th grade, and then the next 2 years they put in the 12th grade.

Interviewer: What type of house did your family live in? Was it just a frame house or did everybody live in the same type of house?

B. SCOTT: Uh hum, yea, they'd all have their own homes built.

Interviewer: Did everyone own their own land?

B. SCOTT: Yea, everyone own their own land. Yea, because like I said, after slavery, this land was given to them. It was handed down from generation to generation.

Interviewer: Do you remember, like as far as the reservation goes, do you remember the boundaries of how far that went out? Were there defined boundaries to it or...

B. SCOTT: It was from that road. Have you been down there? (Yes.) Okay, it was from that road, when you go in that gate, that goes all the way back to the York River and thats what... A lot of those people lived from fishing and hunting, you know. This is what they did. And trapping, you know, they trapped. Do you know what trapping is? (Yes.) Okay, they'd trap and sell the skins, and things like that. And some of them had their own boats and what have you.

Interviewer: That's about it for the questions that I have on my list. Do you have anything else that you wanted to ask (Speaking to other Interviewer)? Not that I can think of. If there is anything else you would like to add...

B. SCOTT: No, I can't think of anything, yet. This fell apart, you see I put the little bands around it to save it. That's why it was down here. You know my grandmother kept this for years.

Interviewer: That's an incredible picture.

B. SCOTT: Isn't that something.

Interviewer: This is your grandmother?

B. SCOTT: No, no. That is the lady that owned her.

Interviewer: That was the lady that owned her, she was the Curtis.

B. SCOTT: My grandmother's mother's name, she must, my great grandmother also, she was an Armstead. My grandmother's maiden name was Armstead. So after the war my grandmother and my great grandmother and one other sister went to West Chester, PA. So that's where they stayed. My grandmother came back, she was a Quaker. She had to get out of the old place and this is where she was raised up. And so I went away from home to school, I went to school in Philadelphia, so when I went to PA, at that time they used to, you could put an ad in the paper for free, it would run for as long as a month or so and I tried to find my grandma's son or her people or her daughters but I never could, I never got any answer.

Interviewer: What were your parents names?

B. SCOTT: My parents name was, my mother's name was Sarah Waller Christian, WALLER and my father was Edgar E. Christian.

END OF INTERVIEW

NOTES

CHAPTER I

- 1 Maurice R. Davie. Negroes in American Society. (New
York: McGraw-Hill Book Company), 1949, p.206.
- 2 Ibid., p.207.
- 3 Roger Harvey Rubin. Matri-Centric Family Structure and
the Self-Attitudes of Negro Children. (San Francisco:
R and E Research Associates), 1976, p.5.
- 4 Taylor, p.170-175 and Davie, p.206-212.
- 5 Herbert J. Foster. "African Patterns in the Afro-
American Family". Journal of Black Studies. Vol.14, No.
2, December 1983, p.210.
- 6 Foster, p.214.
- 7 Niara Sudarkasa. "African and Afro-American Family
Structure" in Johnetta B. Cole, Anthropology for the
Nineties. (New York: The Free Press), 1988, p.186.
- 8 Foster, p.215.
- 9 Ibid., p.216-217.
- 10 Ibid., p.201-202.
- 11 Eleanor Engram. Science, Myth, and Reality. (Westport,
CT: The Greenwood Press), 1982, p.22.
- 12 Elmer and Joanne Martin. The Black Extended Family.
(Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 1978, p.97.

CHAPTER II

- 1 Rayford W. Logan. The Negro in the United States, Volume
1: A History to 1945, From Slavery to Second-Class
Citizenship. (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company),
1970, p.19.
- 2 Benjamin Quarles. The Negro in the Making of America.
(New York: Collier Books), 1964, p.84.
- 3 Anonymous. Putnam Magazine. "Yorktown in 1854", p.37.
- 4 Ibid., p.38.

- 5 John S. Bowman (ed.). The Civil War Almanac. (New York: Facts on File, Inc.), 1982, p.95-105.
- 6 James MacPherson. The Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era. (New York: Oxford University Press), 1988, p.489.
- 7 Charles L. Perdue, Jr. et.al. (eds.). Weevils in the Wheat: Interviews with Virginia Ex-Slaves. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), 1976, p.53.
- 8 Herbert Aptheker. Essays in the History of the American Negro. (New York: International Publishers), 1945, p.192-193.
- 9 William Jay and James Freeman Clarke. The Free People of Color. (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times), 1969, p.1.
- 10 Perdue et.al., p.54.
- 11 Henderson H. Donald. The Negro Freedman: Life Conditions of the American Negro in the Early Years After Emancipation. (New York: Henry Schuman), 1952, p.1-2.
- 12 Quarles, p.127.
- 13 Ibid., p.128.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Richard L. Morton. "'Contrabands' and Quakers in the Virginia Peninsula, 1862-1869", Virginia Historical Magazine. Vol 61, p.419.
- 16 Alrutheus Ambush Taylor. The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia. (Lancaster: Lancaster Press, Inc.), 1926, p.255-258, 269-274.
- 17 Donald, p.14.
- 18 Taylor, p.348-349.
- 19 Donald, p.28.
- 20 Taylor, p.370.
- 21 Mr. and Mrs. Caesar Carter. Personal interview. 11/1/91.
- 22 Quarles, p.150.

23 Donald, p.154.

24 Ibid.

25 Quarles, p.124-125.

26 Edward D.C. Campbell, Jr. with Kym S. Rice (eds.) Before Freedom Came: African-American Life in the Antebellum South. (Charlottesville: The Museum of the Confederacy and University Press of Virginia), 1991, p.99.

CHAPTER III

1 Population Schedules of the United States, 8th Census, 1860. United States Census Office, 8th Census, 1860, Microfilm Reel 1385.

2 1859 Land Book. York County Courthouse, Yorktown, Virginia.

3 Census of African-Americans in York County, March, 1865. Microfilm Copy, York County Public Library.

4 Henderson H. Donald, "The Negro Migration of 1916-1918." in The Journal of Negro History, Vol. VI, No. 4. Another good description of the post-Civil War years in Virginia comes from A. A. Taylor, The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia. (Lancaster, Lancaster Press, Inc., 1926).

5 Population Schedule of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870. United States Census Office, 9th Census, 1870, Microfilm Reel 1682.

6 York County Deed Book 17, Page 271. York County Courthouse, Yorktown, Virginia.

York County Deed Book 17, Page 123. York County Courthouse, Yorktown, Virginia.

8 Population Schedule of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. United States Census Office, 10th Census, 1880, Microfilm Reel 1394.

9 1880 Agricultural Schedule: Nelson District. United States Census Office, 1880.

10 Maurice R. Davie. Negroes in American Society. (New York, McGraw Hill Book Company, Inc., 1949).

11 Davie, 1949.

- 12 Ecology and Environment, Inc. Additional Phase II
13 Cultural Resource Investigations at Site 44YO416 Naval
14 Weapons Station, Yorktown, Virginia. Lancaster, NY.
- 15 Allan Kulikoff. Tobacco and Slaves. (Chapel Hill:
University of North Carolina Press), 1986, p.354.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Arnold H. Taylor. Travail and Triumph. (Westport, CT:
Greenwood Press), 1976, p.161.
- 18 Maurice R. Davie. Negroes in American Society. (New
York: McGraw-Hill Book Company), 1949, p.206-212.
- 19 Arnold H. Taylor, p.170-175 and Maurice Davie, p.206-212.
- 20 United States Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules
from 1860-1920.
- 21 Herbert Gutman. The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom,
1750-1925. (New York: Pantheon Books), 1976, p.432.
- 22 Richard L. Morton. "'Contrabands' and Quakers in the
Virginia Peninsula, 1862-1869", Virginia Historical
23 Magazine. Vol. 61, p.423-424.
- 24 Reynolds Farley. Growth of the Black Population.
25 (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company), 1970, p.51-61.
- 26 Herbert J. Foster. "African Patterns in the Afro-
American Family" in Journal of Black Studies. Vol.14,
No.2, December 1983, p.215.
- 27 Sudarkasa., p.197.
- Ibid., p.197-198.
- Beulah Christian Scott. Personal interview. 11/6/91.
- Allan Kulikoff. Tobacco and Slaves. (Chapel Hill: The
University of North Carolina Press), 1986, p.340.
- Ibid., p.343.

CHAPTER IV

- 1 Ibid., p.71.
- 2 According to the 1865 Census of the African-American
Population in York County, there is a heavy concentration
of government dependent African-Americans at Newtown.

Newtown is most likely the freedman's camp at Fort Monroe, near Hampton, Virginia.

3 Benjamin Quarles. The Negro in the Making of America.
(New York: Collier Books), 1964, p.129-131.

4 Taylor, p.75.

5 There were several plantations in the project area.
Among these large farms, owned by whites, were Bellfield,
Landsdowne, Indian Field, and Stony Point.

6 Taylor, p.72.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

9 Department of the Navy. Soil Survey Report: Yorktown
naval Weapons Station, Yorktown, VA. Department of the
Navy, Norfolk, VA, 1982, p.36.

10 Ibid., p.58-59.

11 Alice Roache. Personal interview. 10/18/91.

12 Beulah Christian Scott. Personal interview. 11/6/91.

13 Alexander Lee. Personal interview. 10/17/91.

14 Caesar Carter. Personal interview. 11/1/91.

15 James Payne, interview.

16 Alexander Lee, interview.

17 Ibid.

18 Carol Stack. All Our Kin. (New York: Harper and Row
Publishers), 1974, p.43.

19 Ibid., p.35-36.

20 Alexander Lee, interview.

21 James Payne, interview.

22 Ibid.

23 James Johnston. Race Relations in Virginia and Miscege-
nation in the South, 1776-1860. (Amherst: University of
Massachusetts Press), 1970, p.57.

- 74 Ibid., p.58.
- 75 Ibid., p.103.
- 76 Henderson H. Donald. The Negro Freedman: Life Conditions of the American Negro in the Early Years After Emancipation. (New York: Henry Schuman), 1952, p.198.
- 77 Mrs. Beulah Scott. Personal interview. 11/6/91.
- 78 Beulah Scott, interview.
- 79 Hortense Powdermaker. After Freedom: A Cultural Study in the Deep South. (New York: Russell and Russell), 1939, p.21.
- 30 Mary Elizabeth Stovall. White Families in the Central South, 1850-1880. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Chicago, 1983, p.80-82.
- 31 Ibid., p.98-99.
- 32 Ibid., p.100.
- 33 Bill Cecil-Fronsman. Common Whites: Class and Culture in Antebellum North Carolina. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky), 1992, p.134.
- 34 United States Bureau of the Census, 1880 Industrial Census.
- 35 Caesar Carter, interview.
- 36 Alexander Lee, interview.
- 37 Alice Roache. Personal interview. 10/18/91.
- 38 Beulah Scott. Personal interview. 11/6/91.
- 39 Alice Roache, interview.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Carol Stack. All Our Kin. (New York: Harper and Row Publishers), 1974, p.57.
- 42 Alexander Lee, interview.
- 43 Ibid.

CHAPTER V

- ¹ Carol Stack. All Our Kin. (New York: Harper and Row Publishers), 1974, p.124.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adler, Mortimer (Ed.)
1969 The Negro in American History, Volume II: A Taste of Freedom, 1854-1927. William Benton Publishers.
- Alexander, William T.
1887 History of the Colored Race in America. New York: Negro Universities Press.
- Alvarez, Joseph A.
1971 From Reconstruction to Revolution: The Blacks' Struggle for Equality. New York: Atheneum.
- Anonymous
1854 "Yorktown in 1854", Putnam Magazine. Vol. IV, July to December 1854, p.37-41.
- Aptheker, Herbert
1945 Essays in the History of the American Negro. New York: International Publishers.
1948 To Be Free. New York: International Publishers.
- Ayers, Edward L. and Willis, John C. (Eds.)
1991 The Edge of the South: Life in Nineteenth-Century Virginia. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.
- Bardolph, Richard
1961 The Negro Vanguard. New York: Vintage Books.
- Berlin, Ira
1974 Slaves Without Masters. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Berry, Mary Francis and Blassingame, John W.
1982 Long Memory: The Black Experience in America. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bitting, Samuel T.
1915 Rural Land Ownership Among the Negroes of Virginia. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
- Boles, John B.
1983 Black Southerners: 1619-1869. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.

- Boles, John B. (Ed.)
1988 Masters and Slaves in the House of the Lord: Race and Religion in the American South, 1740-1870. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.
- Bowman, John S. (Ed.)
1982 The Civil War Almanac. New York: Facts on File, Inc.
- Bragdon, Kathleen J., (Comp.)
1987 The Reminiscences of Mrs. Fannie Epps. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.
- Brawley, Benjamin
1921 A Social History of the American Negro. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Brotz, Howard (Ed.)
1966 Negro Social and Political Thought, 1850-1920. New York: Basic Books, Inc.
- Bruce, Philip A.
1970 The Plantation Negro as a Freedman. Williamstown, MA: Corner House Publishers.
- Brunner, Edmund
1923 Church Life in the Rural South. New York: Negro Universities Press.
- Campbell, Edward D.C., Jr. with Rice, Kym S. (Eds.)
1991 Before Freedom Came: African-American Life in the Antebellum South. Richmond and Charlottesville: The Museum of the Confederacy and the University Press of Virginia.
- Carter, Caesar
1991 Oral interview. November 1, 1991.
- Cassity, Michael J.
1984 Chains of Fear: American Race Relations Since Reconstruction. Westport and London: Greenwood Press.
1985 Legacy of Fear. Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Cecil-Fronsman, Bill
1992 Common Whites: Class and Culture in Antebellum North Carolina. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.

- Clowes, W. Laird
1891 Black America: The Study of the Ex-Slave and his Late Master. Westport: Negro Universities Press.
- Cohen, David W., and Greene, Jack P. (Eds.)
1972 Neither Slave Nor Free: The Freedmen of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Cohen, William
1991 At Freedom's Edge. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- Cole, Johnetta B.
1988 Anthropology for the Nineties. New York: The Free Press.
- Conrad, Earl
1966 The Invention of the Negro. New York: Paul S. Eriksson, Inc.
- Coombs, Norman
1972 The Black Experience in America. New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc.
- Cox, LaWanda and Cox, John H. (Eds.)
1973 Reconstruction, the Negro, and the New South. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Curry, Leonard P.
1981 The Free Black in Urban America, 1800-1850. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Davie, Maurice R.
1949 Negroes in American Society. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.
- Davis, Daniel S.
1972 Struggle for Freedom: The History of Black Americans. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovonovich.
- Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census
1895 Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census, 1890. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.
- 1922 Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920, Volume III: Population 1920: Composition and Characteristics of the

Population by States. Washington, D.C.:
Government Printing Office.

- Donald, Henderson H.
1952 The Negro Freedman: Life Conditions of the American Negro in the Early Years After Emancipation. New York: Henry Schuman.
- Dowd, Jerome
1926 The Negro in American Life. New York: The Century Company.
- DuBois, W.E.B.
1924 The Gift of Black Folk. Boston: The Stratford Company.
- Earnest, Joseph
1914 The Religious Development of the Negro in Virginia. Charlottesville: The Michie Company.
- Ingram, Eleanor
1982 Science, Myth, and Reality. Westport, CT: The Greenwood Press.
- Farley, Reynolds
1970 Growth of the Black Population. Chicago: Markham Publishing Company.
- Foner, Philip S.
1975 History of Black Americans. Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Fordham, Monroe
1975 Major Themes in Northern Black Religious Thought, 1800-1860. Hicksville: Exposition Press.
- Foster, Herbert J.
1983 "African Patterns in the Afro-American Family" in Journal of Black Studies, Vol. 14, No. 2, December 1983, p.201-232.
- Franklin, John Hope
1974 From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Frazier, E. Franklin
1932 The Free Negro Family. New York: The Arno Press.

- 1939 Negro Family in the United States. Chicago:
University of Chicago Press.
- Frederickson, George M.
1971 The Black Image in the White Mind: The 1971
Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny,
1817-1914. New York: Harper and Row.
- Gatewood, Willard B.
1975 Black Americans and the White Man's Burden,
1898-1903. Urbana: University of Illinois
Press.
- 1990 Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880-
1920. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana
University Press.
- Genovese, Eugene D.
1976 Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves
Made. New York: Vintage Books.
- Geschwender, James A.
1978 Racial Stratification in America. Dubuque:
William C. Brown Company Publishers.
- Gibson, J.W. and Crogman, W.H.
1969 Progress of a Race or The Remarkable
Advancement of the American Negro. Miami:
Mnemosyne Publishing, Inc.
- Goldstein, Rhoda L. (Ed.)
1971 Black Life and Culture in the United States.
New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company.
- Goldston, Robert
1968 The Negro Revolution. New York: The Macmillan
Company.
- Goode, Kenneth G. and Winthrop D. Jordan
1969 From Africa to the United States and Then...
Glenview: Scott, Foresman and Company.
- Greenhorne and O'Mara, Inc.
1989 Archaeological Evaluations at the Yorktown
Naval Weapons Station, York County, VA.
Greenbelt: Greenhorne and O'Mara, Inc.
- Gutman, Herbert
1976 The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-
1925. New York: Pantheon Books.

- Hall, Robert L. and Stack, Carol B. (Eds.)
1982 Holding on to the Land and the Lord: Kinship, Ritual, Land Tenure, and Social Policy in the Rural South. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Hamilton, Charles Horace and Garnett, William Edward
1929 The Role of the Church in Rural Community Life in Virginia. Blacksburg: The Virginia Agricultural Experimental Station.
- Harding, Vincent
1980 The Other American Revolution. Los Angeles and Atlanta: Center for Afro-American Studies, University of California and Institute of the Black World.
1981 There is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America. New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovonovich, Inc.
- Haskett, Jim
1991 Personal interview. October 22, 1991.
- Helm, Mary
1909 From Darkness to Light. New York: Negro Universities Press.
- Hine, Darlene Clark (Ed.)
1986 The State of Afro-American History: Past, Present, and Future. Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press.
- Holmes, S. J.
1966 The Negro's Struggle for Survival: A Study in Human Ecology. Port Washington: Kennikat Press, Inc.
- Huggins, Nathan I. (Ed.)
1971 Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience, Volumes I and II. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovonovich, Inc.
- Jay, William and Clarke, James Freeman
1969 The Free People of Color. New York: Arno Press and The New York Times.
- Johnston, James
1970 Race relations in Virginia and Miscegenation in the South, 1776-1860. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

- Johnston, Ruby F.
1954 The Development of Negro Religion. New York: Philosophical Library.
- Kinzer, Robert C.
1987 Kinship and Neighborhood in a Southern Community: Orange County, North Carolina, 1849-1881. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press.
- Krehbiel, Henry Edward
1914 Afro-American Folksongs: A Study in Racial and National Music. New York: G. Schirmer, Inc.
- Kulikoff, Allan
1986 Tobacco and Slaves. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Land, Aubrey C. (Ed.)
1969 Bases of the Plantation Society. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Lee, Alexander
1991 Oral interview. October 17, 1991.
- Levine, Lawrence W.
1977 Black Culture and Black Consciousness. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lincoln, C. Eric
1969 The Negro Pilgrimage in America: The Coming of Age of the Blackamericans. New York, Toronto, London: Bantam Pathfinder Editions.
- Logan, Rayford W.
1954 The Negro in American Life and Thought. New York: The Dial Press, Inc.
- 1970 The Negro in the United States, Volume 1: A History to 1945, From Slavery to Second-Class Citizenship. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company.
- Magdol, Edwards
1977 A Right to the Land: Essays on the Freedmen's Community. Westport and London: Greenwood Press.
- Martin, Elmer P. and Joanne Mitchell Martin
1978 The Black Extended Family. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Matner, Mildred
1976 Tall Tales and True of James City County.
Unpublished. Williamsburg Regional Library.
- MacPherson, James
1988 Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era.
New York: Oxford University Press.
- Matthews, Victoria Earle
1898 Black-Belt Diamonds. New York: Negro
Universities Press.
- McConnell, John Preston
1910 Negroes and Their Treatment in Virginia from
1865 to 1867. Pulaski: B.D. Smith and
Brothers.
- McGee, Leo and Boone, Robert
1979 The Black Rural Landowner: Endangered
Species. Westport: Greenwood Press.
- McNeil, Genne Rae and Winston, Michael R.
1988 Historical Judgments Reconsidered.
Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press.
- Meier, August and Rudwick, Elliot M.
1966 From Plantation to Ghetto. New York: Hill and
Wang.
- 1986 Black History and the Historical Profession,
1915-1980. Urbana and Chicago: University of
Illinois Press.
- Morris, Robert C.
1980 Freedmen's Schools and Textbooks: An AMS
Reprint Series, Volume 4. New York: AMS
Press, Inc.
- Morton, Richard L.
1919 The Negro in Virginia Politics, 1865-1902.
Charlottesville: The University of Virginia
Press.
- 1953 "'Contrabands" and Quakers in the Virginia
Peninsula, 1862-1869", Virginia Historical
Magazine. 61:419-429.
- Moses, Wilson Jeremiah
1978 The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850-
1925. Hamden: Archon Books.

- Nicholls, Michael L.
1990 Aspects of the African-American Experience in Eighteenth Century Williamsburg and Norfolk. Unpublished. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.
- Nieman, Donald G.
1979 To Set the Law in Motion: The Freedman's Bureau and the Legal Rights of Blacks, 1865-1868. Millwood: KTO Press.
- Novak, Daniel A.
1978 The Wheel of Servitude: Black Forced Labor After Slavery. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.
- Oakes, James
1982 The Ruling Race. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
- Olson, James S.
1983 Slave Life in America: A Historiography and Selected Bibliography. Lanham, New York, London: University Press of America.
- Oubre, Claude F.
1978 Forty Acres and a Mule: The Freedmen's Bureau and Black Land Ownership. Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press.
- Owens, Leslie Howard
1976 The Species of Property. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Payne, James
1991 Oral interview. October 23, 1991.
- Peery, Nelson
1975 The Negro National Colonial Question. Chicago: Workers Press.
- Pendleton, Leila Amos
1971 A Narrative of the Negro. Freeport: Books for Libraries Press.
- Perdue, Charles L. Jr., Barden, Thomas E., and Philips, Robert
1976 Weevils in the Wheat: Interviews with Virginia Ex-Slaves. Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press.
- Powdermaker, Hortense
1939 After Freedom: A Cultural Study in the Deep South. New York: Russell and Russell.

- Price, Richard (ed.)
1979 Maroon Societies. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Quarles, Benjamin
1964 The Negro in the Making of America. New York: Collier Books.
- 1988 Black Mosaic: Essays in Afro-American History and Historiography. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. and Forde, Daryll (Eds.)
1950 African Systems of Kinship and Marriage. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Roache, Alice
1991 Oral interview. October 18, 1991.
- Roark, James L.
1977 Masters Without Slaves. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.
- Robert, Charles Edwin
1971 Negro Civilization in the South. New York: Books for Libraries.
- Rose, Willie Lee
1982 Slavery and Freedom. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rubin, Roger Harvey.
1976 Marticentric Family Structure and the Self-Attitudes of Negro Children. San Francisco: R and E Research Associates.
- Schwartz, Michael
1976 Radical Protest and Social Structure. New York: Academic Press.
- Scott, Beulah
1991 Oral interview. November 6, 1991.
- Sobel, Mechal
1988 Trabellin' On: The Slave Journey to an Afro-Baptist Faith. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Stovall, Mary Elizabeth
1983 White Families in the Central South, 1850-1880. Ph.D. Dissertation. The University of Chicago.
- Streets, David H.
1986 Slave Genealogy: A Research Guide with Case Studies. Bowie: Heritage Books, Inc.
- Stubbs, Aleine
1991 Oral interview. November 17, 1991.
- Stuckey, Sterling
1987 Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory Foundations of Black America. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Suggs, Henry Lewis (Ed.)
1983 The Black Press in the South, 1865-1979. Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies, Number 74. Westport and London: Greenwood Press.
- Sutlive, Vinson, et. al. (Eds.)
1986 Ethnohistory: A Researcher's Guide. Williamsburg: College of William and Mary, Department of Anthropology.
- Swint, Henry Lee
1967 The Northern Teacher in the South, 1862-1870. New York: Octagon Books.
- Synnestvedt, Sigfried
1972 The White Response to Black Emancipation. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Tadman, Michael
1977 Speculators and Slaves in the Old South: A Study of the American Domestic Slave Trade, 1820-1860. Ph.D. Dissertation. Unpublished. University of Hull.
- Taylor, Alrutheus Ambush
1926 The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia. Lancaster: Lancaster Press, Inc.
- Taylor, Arnold H.
1976 Travail and Triumph. Westport: Greenwood Press.

Toppin, Edgar A.

1969 A Biographical History of Blacks in America Since 1528. New York: David McKay Company, Inc.

United States Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands

1870 Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Virginia, 1865-1869. Washington, D.C.: United States National Archives.

1870 Records of the Superintendent of Education for the State of Virginia, 1865-1870. Washington, D.C.: United States National Archives.

United States Census Office

1860 Population Schedules of the United States, 1860: York County, Virginia. Washington, D.C.: United States Census Office, Eighth Census.

1865 Population Schedules of African-Americans in York County, Virginia. Washington, D.C.: United States Census Office.

1870 Population Schedules of the United States, 1870: York County, Virginia. Washington, D.C.: United States Census Office, Ninth Census.

1880 Population Schedules of the United States, 1880: York County, Virginia. Washington, D.C.: United States Census Office, Tenth Census.

1880 Agricultural Schedules of the United States, 1880: York County, Virginia. Washington, D.C.: United States Census Office, Tenth Census.

1880 Industrial Schedules of the United States, 1880: York County, Virginia. Washington, D.C.: United States Census Office, Tenth Census.

1900 Population Schedules of the United States, 1900: York County, Virginia. Washington, D.C.: United States Census Office, Twelfth Census.

1910 Population Schedules of the United States, 1910: York County, Virginia. Washington,

D.C.: United States Census Office, Thirteenth
Census.

United States Congress

1918 Naval Appropriations Act of 1919. Public Law
Number 182, 65th Congress. Washington, D.C.

Virginia Gazette

1918 "Eleven Thousand Acres Taken by Unlce Sam".
Vol. 180 (Old Series) Vol. XXVI New Series 18.
August 29, 1918.

1919 "Government To Take Property". Vol. 180
(Old Series) Vol. XXVI New Series No. 39.
April 10, 1919.

Virginia Writer's Project

1940 The Negro in Virginia. The Hampton Institute,
United States of America.

Waterbury, M.

1971 Seven Years Among the Freedmen. Freeport:
Books for Libraries Press, Inc.

Wesley, Charles H.

1927 Negro Labor in the United States, 1850-1925: A
Study in American Economic History. New York:
Russell and Russell.

Wesley, Charles H. and Romero, Patricia W.

1967 Negro Americans in the Civil War. New York:
Publishers Company, Inc.

White, Deborah Gray

1985 Ar'n't I a Woman: Female Slaves in the
Plantation South. New York and London: W.W.
Norton & Company.

Williamson, Joel

1965 After Slavery: The Negro in South Carolina
During Reconstruction, 1861-1877. Chapel
Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Wilson, Walter

1933 Forced Labor in the United States. New York:
International Publishers.

Wilson, President Woodrow

1918 Executive Order Number 1472, August 7, 1918.

Woodson, Carter G. and Wesley, Charles H.

1922 The Negro in Our History. Washington, D.C.:
The Associated Publishers, Inc.

- Woodson, Carter Godwin
 1930 The Rural Negro. Washington, D.C.: The
 Association for the Study of Negro Life and
 History, Inc.
- Wynes, Charles E.
 1961 Race Relations in Virginia, 1870-1902.
 Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
- York County, Virginia
 1865-1926 York County Deed Books 17, 18, 19, 20,
 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30,
 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 35A, 36, 39, 39A, 41.
 Yorktown: York County Courthouse.
- 1859 Land Book of 1859. Yorktown: York County
 Courthouse.
- 1917 Land Book of 1917. Yorktown: York County
 Courthouse.
- 1919 Land Book of 1919. Yorktown: York County
 Courthouse.
- 1954 Marriage Register Book 1, 1856-1954.
 Yorktown: York County Courthouse.
 Yorktown, VA.

VITA

Bradley Michael McDonald

Born in York, Pennsylvania on September 10, 1968. Graduated Dallastown Area High School in June 1986. Graduated Mary Washington College in Fredericksburg, Virginia in May 1990 with a B.A. in Historic Preservation. Entered the College of William and Mary in August 1990. Enrolled as an M.A. candidate in the Department of Anthropology. The course requirements and thesis for this degree have been completed.