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Manakin Town: The development and demise of a French Protestant refugee community in colonial Virginia 1700–1750

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MANAKIN TOWN:
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THE DEVELOPMENT AND DEMISE OF A FRENCH PROTESTANT
REFUGEE COMMUNITY IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA
1700-1750

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of History
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

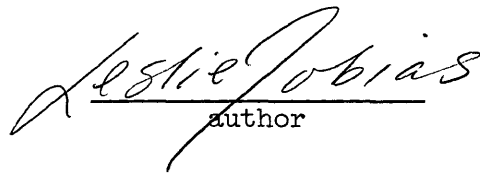
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Leslie Tobias

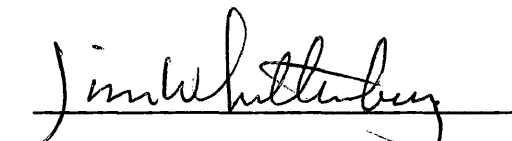
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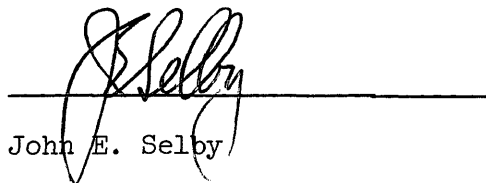
APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
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ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to describe and analyze the founding and eventual assimilation of a community of French protestant refugees who emigrated from England under the aegis of the British crown to settle in colonial Virginia.

Manakin Town was established in October 1700 by government decree to be the locus for French protestant migration to Virginia. This statement conveys, and is meant to convey, a sense of an artificially imposed structure on the settlement and this preconception of the settlement contributed to its unique character. Despite the initial desire of both the founders and settlers of Manakin Town to create a separate colony on the frontier of Virginia, the effort failed in the process of the French protestant refugees settling on Virginia land. The mechanism maintaining the separate community failed because the settlement did not remain isolated, the Indian threat lessened, the settlers accepted the Virginia way of life--agriculturally, linguistically, religiously, and culturally--and probably most persuasively because eventually no one wanted to maintain a separate community.

This paper traces the development of the Manakin Town settlement to its informal dissolution, beginning at its inception and founding, by examining the people of the community and by examining the community in which they lived.

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INTRODUCTION

The emphasis in the present day study of early American history has been to examine more minutely the character and structure of society. By studying the detailed and complex development of communities, historians hope to come to a greater understanding of the whole history of colonial America. In New England, the emphasis has been on the detailed study of towns; in the southern colonies, the emphasis is almost always on counties. Because the smallest unit of local government in the South--and more specifically, in Virginia--was the county, often served by one parish, and because the counties were more often settled by individuals rather than cohesive groups, historians of colonial Virginia have from necessity focused on larger political units of study than have New England historians.

The establishment and settlement of Manakin Town in Virginia is an exception to that rule. It was a clearly identifiable settlement contained within the larger community of the county. The records of Manakin Town are recorded in the vestry book of King William Parish, a parish that was a small part of Henrico, and then Goochland, County. The county records, like many colonial county records in Virginia, are not complete; the individual Manakin Town settlers did not record their experiences or if they did their account has been lost; and the vestry book and the few documents that are extant are sketchy and incomplete. Despite the imperfections inherent in the data, the study of

Manakin Town provides an excellent exercise and a controllable scope for a master's thesis because of the particularized focus on a small community.

Manakin Town, situated twenty miles up the James River from Richmond, was established by governmental fiat as the locus for French protestant migration to Virginia in October 1700. The French refugees themselves arrived in Virginia on July 23, 1700. It began as a community founded for the nurturing of Huguenot ideals, industry, and solidarity in a land distressingly prone to population dispersal and individual economic aggrandizement at the expense of economic stability. The Virginia government planned a community of French refugees who, by settling together, would reinforce fealty by close-knit ties of culture and thus initiate what the government had desired for so long and what had eluded them so successfully--the creation of towns in the colony to bolster the flagging economy. By 1750, as such a settlement, Manakin Town must be deemed a failure. Only fifty years after it was established, the settlement was not the community it was intended to be. The expectations of its founders, Virginian and French, did not lead to the reality of a center for French protestants in the colony. Not only was it no longer a community of Frenchmen held together by bonds of common culture, but it was no longer a cohesive community. Today even the exact site of the village is unknown; its impact on Virginia society was and is negligible.

The town of Manakin never really existed at all. The settlers at first lived together in the collection of huts abandoned by the Monacan Indians, but probably within three or four years had moved to individual farms. Certainly by the time their lands were patented, "Manakin Town"

referred to the ten thousand acre plot allotted to the French settlers and not to a compactly settled area distinguishable from the surrounding rural lands.

In addition, a profile of the French protestants who settled at Manakin Town needs to be determined. They followed the service and had accepted the beliefs of the Church of England before they left for Virginia. Part of the English government's willingness to allow the Frenchmen to establish themselves in the wilds of Virginia was due to the assurance that the French accepted the Anglican religion and the king of England as potentate of that religion. Strictly speaking, these refugees were not the Huguenots who escaped from France, or members of the reformed protestant communion founded by Calvin, because they were Anglican. In addition, they commonly had spent at least ten years after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in England and/or Holland before immigrating to Virginia. However, they were protestant, they had emigrated from France because of religious beliefs, and they have been commonly known as Huguenots in Virginia. The difference between Huguenot and French protestant refugees--which is how the settlers of Manakin Town are always described in contemporary records--is in this case pedantic and shall not be observed in this thesis.

The process by which Manakin Town devolved from a cohesive community of French protestant refugees, bound by necessity and purpose, to an amorphous assemblage of Virginians whose relationship was defined by geographic boundary rather than common heritage is an interesting one. The process was perhaps slower than might be expected because of the unique background of the settlers. They came to Virginia bound by religion, culture, language, poverty, and communal expectations. The

acceptance by the inhabitants of Manakin Town--a minority alien group in a larger society--of the dominant culture's economic and social structure led to the breakdown of the tenuous structure of the minority culture; thus the study of cultural uniqueness becomes an illustration of the development of Virginia society.

Frenchmen of varied social background and deep religious beliefs came to Virginia intent on transplanting a traditional communal society to new soil. The Virginia government in its turn desired the establishment of towns in the colony for its military and economic betterment. They proffered great advantages to those who would help them in this effort and their exertions on the behalf of the settlers of Manakin Town was no different. The settlers themselves expected to remain distinct from their fellow Virginians. In fact, they were chastised at one point for calling themselves a separate colony. They were bound to their fellow Frenchmen by ties of religion--they had faced an uncertain future in France because of the strength of their faith--and culture. The refugees spoke French and most correspondence written to the Virginia government was in French; the vestry book was recorded in French. They were also initially isolated geographically, and thus socially, from the rest of Virginia.

The Frenchmen were granted their own church with the advantages of maintaining their own French minister and parish and with the benefit of the relaxation of payment of tithes for seven years. Pro forma allegiance to the precepts of the Church of England was all that was required. The government at first actively discouraged English settlers from purchasing land in Manakin Town. The government also easily granted naturalization and land grants besides offering encouragement

through supplying the settlers with food, implements, building materials, and providing money to transport the immigrants to Virginia. In addition, the Virginia government, Colonel William Byrd (a powerful landholder in the area and the major instigator behind settling the Huguenots at Manakin Town), and other planters of first rank held themselves responsible for the continuing safety and well-being of the refugees.

The government, both Virginian and English, had practical economic and military reasons for creating and maintaining a colony on the outskirts of English settlements. The French settlers had religious reasons, as well as other cultural, ideological, and economic reasons for establishing a separate colony, but many factors discouraged the insular, almost utopian, ideal of Manakin Town. The very frontier which initially kept the French refugees separate from the rest of Virginia moved westward, lessening the threat of hostile attack and increasing the security of livelihood. At the same time the necessity of banding together decreased. As land became less available, sons and original founders moved on to better opportunities. Also new settlers moved into the area, inter-married with the original group, and brought with them a tobacco-planting, slave-owning economy. The gradual acceptance of tobacco as an agricultural product encouraged the assimilation of the originally envisioned community by changing the economic and social foundation upon which it was based. The inevitable assimilation brought about by the proximity of a non-hostile dominant ethnic group was further accelerated by the dynamic tobacco-growing society of Virginia in the eighteenth century.

The evolution of Manakin Town can be examined through the various extant documents. Records of the legislative bodies of both England and Virginia have been published; the Virginia Historical Society has published a collection of documents on the Huguenot emigration to Virginia; the vestry book for 1707 to 1750 has also been published (although the book for 1700 to 1707, if there ever was one, has been lost). Unfortunately, the county records are incomplete, as are marriage and birth records. Thus some important questions about the structure of this particular society must remain unanswered. An examination of the population as a whole is impossible in the absence of these records and without adequate census material. Despite these drawbacks, an examination of the process by which Manakin Town became a Virginia community can be undertaken.

A variety of questions can be asked of the Manakin Town data. What process of change occurred from Manakin Town's inception through the middle of the century? Was the change that the settlement went through less accelerated because of the unique character of its inhabitants? How is this change shown in available data? Did the social structure of the community change? Was there opportunity for servants and sons to remain within the community and flourish? Was the population of Manakin Town constantly changing? Did the original French settlers remain or did they move to be replaced by English settlers? How much migration occurred? And who moved? What was the effect of this mobility on the community?

We can see the process of change which occurred in Manakin Town by examining the relationship between man and the land. Distribution of land, distribution of servants or slaves, the changing of land

titles and connections between land ownership and length of time within the community can be determined from the data. Population growth and migration has a relation to land and its distribution. From such information we can draw conclusions about the stability of the community and the development of the society. Changes in economic structure, political organization, and social characteristics drastically change societies; Manakin Town thus changed in fifty years from a community of Frenchmen to a geographic location in the colony of Virginia.

CHAPTER I
EXPECTATIONS

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes was published on October 22, 1685, but even prior to that time protestants from all over Catholic Europe had begun immigrating to England. Ten thousand foreigners alone lived in London in 1621 and carried on 121 different trades.¹ These foreigners were variously received by the English. On the one hand, since their reformation the English traditionally saw their country as the asylum of persecuted fellow protestants. William of Holland was ruler of England and in some measure owed his accession in England to the French protestants who were the mainstay of the British military and naval force. His obligation to the Huguenots led to his support of the Protestant Relief Fund which substantially financed Huguenot migration to the colonies.² Fear of France, and especially the absolutism of Louis XIV, also contributed to the English acceptance of the French exiles. The xenophobic belief, however, that the French immigrants were bent not only on taking away the livelihood of Englishmen, but that they were also perhaps Roman Catholics in disguise and the progenitors of a popish plot against England resulted in divergent responses among the English public to the immigrants.

On a more practical level, the English authorities needed to find a means of support for the steady flow of protestants from a Europe disrupted by counter-reformation. A memorial presented to Bishop of

London Henry Compton in 1681 stressed "the absolute necessity there is to free the towns from the great number of Protestants who arrive daily from France and to procure them a settlement for gaining their livelihood."³ The protestants, however, seem to have been adept at earning their own living and at not depending on alms. They adapted so readily the common concern was that they were taking away business from English craftsmen. The problem was that not only did the foreign protestants bring "many industrious manufactures into this land; by which means, this nation hath equally been enriched with the merchant stranger," as Thomas Violet wrote in 1653, but that they did not follow the ordinances set up by English craft guilds. A number of English craftsmen believed that "the great falsehood and deceit practised by strangers in the making of their wares and their uttering the same at unreasonable prices, and their cunning and deceitful avoiding of the governors of trade" led to the advancement of the foreigners before the native born.⁴

Tension developed during the seventeenth century in England over the question of the aliens and many solutions were suggested. The assimilation of the foreign protestants was first preferred with the foreign congregations conforming to the Church of England. In an unpublished paper, Jon Butler suggests that the British government specifically discouraged the French protestant church and that the discouragement led to the breakdown of the Huguenot ethnic identity and to their rapid assimilation into English, and then American, society. "Faced with an enormous number of Huguenot migrants after 1680, with mounting political tension, and with the prospect of granting toleration to the detested English Dissenter, Anglican authorities sought to prevent the

establishment of a new, independent, French-speaking denomination."⁵
 They sought to destroy the instrument of Huguenot culture--their church.

In the face of these problems, the bishop of London and the crown of England took an active interest in the well being of the French communities and regulated disputes that arose in the towns. As early as 1615, it was suggested of the French protestants that "the wars and persecutions which drove them to England being over, they should be compelled to return; whilst others (as we have seen) complained that they multiplied, so fast as to enhance the price of provisions, lodging, etc. and by their ingenious machinery, usurped the trade from the English."⁶ A document which was sent to the bishop of London, Memoire touchant la maniere de recevoir et employer les proselytes et protestans qui se refugient en Angleterre, suggested that "to meet fresh incursions temporary buildings should be constructed, and that those who could not be so housed should be sent off in groups of twenty or thirty to Carolina."⁷ Christopher Kilby states that England was not so much overpopulated as she was desirous to transplant to the colonies those groups who were socially displaced persons without removing from England the industrious poor themselves.⁸ Increasingly, toward the end of the century and after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, those in authority believed that an alternative to assimilating the French refugees into English society was needed. The renewed outburst of persecution of the Vaudois and French protestants from Switzerland in 1699 and the subsequent migration of the exiles to England brought the problem of what to do with the refugees to a head.

The French refugees who eventually emigrated to Virginia were probably part of the late migration to England from France. The early

extant wills from Manakin Town, written in French, often identify the testator as coming from a particular place in France, indicating a still-strong affinity with their homeland. Most likely, the early immigrant to England assimilated more easily than later immigrants (causing the complaints that they were taking away English livelihood), and the later influx of protestants (Walloons, Vaudois, in addition to the Huguenots) created the need for a quick solution to the problem. Sending these "displaced persons" to Virginia--which was always chronically in need of people--seemed an obvious answer.

Nascent Virginia had proved a source of bewilderment to her mother country. Initial settlement had been a near disaster mainly because the colony was badly directed. The colonists and promoters alike expected to exploit the resources of the new land--mining gold, making glass, enslaving the native population--after the pattern developed by the Spaniards. John Rolfe's discovery of a new strain of tobacco reversed the decline of the disintegrating colony and changed the course of Virginia history.⁹

The planting of tobacco compelled its own economy, agriculture, and society. It was a crop which required vast quantities of land and large numbers of agricultural workers. Its production demanded a widely spread population which was solely dependent on the staple. At the end of the seventeenth century in Virginia the tobacco market was depressed, thus the entire economy was floundering; the population was dispersed and therefore vulnerable to attack. The Virginia government identified the colony's economic predicament with the single crop system. Diversification of the economy and the stability and independence it would bring remained the constant goal of leadership. The

desire of the government to control the economy of Virginia between 1650 and the early eighteenth century "was a critical factor in most major political decisions and disputes...The intensity of interest in economic and social transformation rose and fell, often but not invariably in response to trends in the tobacco market."¹⁰ Bacon's Rebellion of 1676 not only emphasized the vulnerability of Virginia's society to anarchy but it also expressed Virginians' grievances with their leadership's response to the economy.

The depression at the end of the seventeenth century led to great effort by the colonial government to encourage the building and settling of towns. This solution had been proffered before and would be proposed again, but in 1680 an act was passed to provide for the well-being of the Virginia economy. The act of cohabitation for the encouragement of towns expounded on "the great necessity, usefullnesse, and advantages of Cohabitation in this his Majesties country of Virginia, and observing and foreseeing the greate extremities his Majesties subjects must necessarily fall by the present and continued lownes of the price of tobacco, under the only commodity and manufacture of this (if the same be not by all prudentiall meanes and wayes prevented)."¹¹ The statute called for the establishment of towns where warehouses could be built and where special privileges were granted to those who lived there. As Colonel William Fitzhugh wrote in the same year, "we are going to make towns; if you can meet with any tradesmen that will come in and live at the town, they may have large privileges and immunitys."¹² The inhabitants of Virginia supported the act, hoping that it would increase the number of occupations of the colonists and perhaps diminish their dependence on England for manufactured goods, a dependence

particularly felt when the staple crop was depressed in value as it was at the end of the seventeenth century.

Virginia was, in addition, greatly under-populated. As Henry Hartwell wrote in 1697, "Virginia is very ill-peopled, the number of men over sixteen and of negro women (who are reckoned tithables) being under 20,000. The causes are the engrossment of great tracts (of land for tobacco) and the want of people." He was supported by Hugh Jones who wrote in 1724, "it is an undoubted truth, that in the multitude of inhabitants consists the welfare, riches and power of any people; especially when all center in obedience to the same civil power."¹³

The troubled economy of Virginia was not the only problem of the colony. Its dispersed population meant that it was vulnerable to attack as the colonists first discovered in 1622. The Indian massacre in that year only briefly halted the movement to dispersed farms. The vulnerability of the colony worried those in authority. An account of the Executive Council of Virginia gives voice to that fear. "This her Matys Colony and Dominion lyes very much exposed to the insults of our Enemyes in time of war having such large & open Frontiers both by Sea & land, and especially at this time it being credibly reported that a squadron of French men of war are speedily expected in the West Indies, which it is to be feared may make some attempt upon this Country."¹⁴ Therefore the government was encouraged to open land for settlement and quitrents which would be beneficial "to the act for seating the Frontiers with Cohabitations and Complying therewith & Consequently a Prejudice to his Majties Interest wch consists as well as in securing and provideing for the defence of this Colony by strengthening the Frontiers as in his quitrents."¹⁵

The menace of Indian attack was also present at the turn of the seventeenth century. Manakin Town was named after the Monacan Indians, a tribe who probably moved west out of the area between 1677 and 1699 and joined the Nahyssan (Tutelo) and Saponi.¹⁶ In 1705 Robert Beverley omitted the Monacans from his list of existing tribes in Virginia. He described the settlement of the Huguenots on land which was "formerly the seat of a great and warlike nation of Indians called the Monaccans, none of which are now left in these parts."¹⁷ The clearing and abandoned huts of the tribe were found serviceable enough to provide for the French refugees in 1700, but no doubt they also served to remind the settlers and neighboring landowners of the once ominous presence of the Indians.

The reason the French protestants wished to emigrate to Virginia was not specifically stated; their expectations, however, can be inferred from a statement in the Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series.

The French Refugees in their Petition to His Excellency do frequently call themselves the French Colony and [it appears] that the main differences that have arisen among the said Refugees do chiefly proceed from an opinion that their said Settlement is to be under a distinct Government from the rest of the Colony.¹⁸

The dispute alluded to here is never fully explained but seems to have developed between two factions of the Manakin Town settlers. One group, headed by Charles de Sailly, eventually split off from Manakin Town and moved to North Carolina. Evidently de Sailly, who was of a noble family in France, believed that he was the ruler of a separate colony. The issue of the settlement's autonomy led to the altercation which involved all positions of authority in Manakin Town. Eventually, the government rebuked the settlers and enforced the notion that Manakin

Town was part of Virginia.¹⁹ Thus the French refugees probably moved to Virginia not only for the abundance of opportunity there but also to establish their own colony, church, and community.

The idea of settling a colony of French protestants in Virginia with the beneficial purpose of relieving over-congestion in England, of profitably colonizing the New World, and--on the refugees' part--of settling with their own kind, was not new in 1700. Since the beginning of Virginia's history, Frenchmen had been desired for their expertise in viticulture and sericulture.²⁰ In 1621 a group of three hundred French and Dutch families petitioned the King for a colony in Virginia where they could live in political and religious equality with other Virginians in return for transport there. The petitioners eventually moved to New York. Various other schemes were devised during the seventeenth century to settle a colony of French refugees in Virginia with a goal of establishing a manufacturing and artisan center,²¹ for, as William Byrd wrote in his petition to the Lords of the Council of Trade and Plantations in 1698, it is "well known how usefull such Subjects [the French refugees] there is to this nation." Nicholas Haywood, William Fitzhugh, and George Brent, along with Byrd, were four prominent land owners who were interested in settling their large, unpeopled lands with French protestants.²² Fitzhugh alone, "ye French Refugees great friend," may have succeeded in his endeavor to attract Huguenots to his land before Byrd's successful campaign.²³ None of the plans reached fruition in Virginia, however, until 1700 when the first group of French refugees came from England to settle in Manakin Town.

Every official inducement to encourage the French protestant was therefore offered. A resolution was passed by the Virginia assembly

in 1700 that established the parish of King William, "making the French refugees inhabiting at the Manakin Towne and the parts adjacent a distinct parrish by themselves, and exempting them from the payment of publick and county levys for seaven years...for the encouragement of the said refugees to settle and remaine together as near as may be to the said Manakin towne." In October 1705, the exemption from public levies was extended until December 1708 with the added clause that the allowance settled by law for minister's maintenance should not apply to the King William Parish. The parish was granted discretionary powers over their minister's salary.²⁴

Governor Francis Nicholson in a communication to the King, also recorded in the Executive Journals of the Council of Virginia, reported on the settlement of Manakin Town.

There is a good deal of good land and unpatented where they may at present be together, which we thought it would be best for his Majesty's service and also that they would be a strengthening of the frontiers, and would quickly make a settlement, not only for themselves but to receive others when his Majesty shall be graciously pleased to send them. They may be prejudiced to his Majesty's interest and Service, by living long together, and using their own language and custom and by going upon such manufactures, and handicraft trades, as we are furnished from England; but according to duty, I shall endeavor to regulate these affairs.²⁵

The Virginia government was instructed by King William in a letter dated March 18, 1700, which required that all possible encouragement be given the French refugees. Accordingly, it was "Recommended to the Committee appointed to Revise ye Laws to Consider ye most proper method to be used for ye Naturalization Settlemt and Civill Govermt of the French Refugees."²⁶

The first few years of Manakin Town's existence were precarious. The King and the Protestant Relief Committee had granted monetary aid

for the transportation of the French refugees to Virginia, but once settled, the inhabitants of Manakin Town still depended on the benevolence of charitable persons for their support and relief. Robert Beverley wrote in 1705 that

the Assembly was very bountiful to those who remain'd at this Town, bestowing on them large Donations, Money, and Provisions for their Support; they likewise freed them from every Publick Tax, for several years to come, and address the Governor to grant them a Brief to entitle them to the Charity of all well-dispos'd Persons throughout the Country, which together with the Kings Benevolence, supported them.

The Executive Council and William Byrd noted that the settlers were barely surviving "and that unless they are in some Measure Relieved by the pious bounty and Charity of the Inhabitants of this Colony until they can Reap the fruits of their own Labour by this Next Cropp they must inevitably perish."²⁸ Byrd, a councillor and the nearest landholder to the settlement, recognized a responsibility to them and reported in May 1701 that the settlers had not attempted to cultivate their fields. Byrd told them that they "must not expect to enjoy the land unless they would endeavor to improve it, and if they make no corn for their subsistence next year they could expect no further relief from the country."²⁹

Undoubtedly, the settlers, in addition to experiencing the hardship of first settling a wilderness frontier, were unpractised at farming. Although the original occupations of the refugees are difficult to ascertain, several of them are identified as goldsmith, blacksmith, or gentleman. Probably they had lived in London or other towns in England before they migrated to Virginia. Opportunities to enter the agricultural communities in England would not have been great, and if the refugees indeed were dispersed among English farms they would not have been likely to be part of a group sent to the new world. This,

however, is mere conjecture. John Reys writes that one of the reasons Manakin Town had such an initial high rate of attrition was because "a large number of the Huguenots, possibly a majority, preferred to follow nonagricultural activities and migrated to one of the towns finally beginning to develop in Piedmont and elsewhere."³⁰ He gives no source for this information although it is a possible explanation for the early difficulty of Manakin Town.

The French protestants, then, came to set up a community in a situation that was doubly foreign to them. Not only were they unused to the livelihood they of necessity must practice--certainly they were unused to the agriculture of Virginia--but they were not familiar with the society in which they now lived.

The government was at some pains to maintain the integrity of these unsettled French refugees. As settlement moved westward in the few years following the establishment of Manakin Town, the government was hard pressed to keep Englishmen from buying land in the community. One John Woodson purchased land from the French refugees in 1707 and was cautioned "that for as the said

purchases tends to the destruction of that Settlement which this Governmt hath been at so great Charge to encourage & that none of the said Refugees have yet obtained right to the said land by patent & therefore any purchase he hath or shall make shall be accounted void & be excluded from any benefite thereof, and the Collo. Randolph is further desired to acquaint the said refugees that they will not be permitted to make sales of any of the lands given them by the Government of the Manacin town otherwise than to such of their own nation as actually reside and Inhabite there. And it is the opinion of the Council that it is proper for the Consideration of the next genll assembly to restraine & regulate the conferring the said lands so as the end for which it was first granted may be best answered.³¹

Woodson was accordingly warned and the surveyor of the land was

suspended for acting contrary to an order from the auditor, William Byrd.

Evidently the French protestants were also desirable settlers elsewhere because in March 1704, the Executive Council became afraid that

severall Intrigues and devices are secretly practised to withdraw ye French Refugees from their Intended Settlement for preventing whereof...his Majties Honble Councill doth hereby strictly Charge & require all his Majties loving subjects inhabiting within any of the Countys of Henrico Charles City New Kent & Surry that at their Utmost Perills they do not harbour Entertain or Receive into their houses as retainers there any of the Aforesaid french Refugees to the Hindrance of their Intended designe of Settlement.³²

It was resolved "that a proclamation be sent to every parish to forbid to receive, keep and maintain any of them without ye leave and discharge of their directors, and to order to ye s'd refugees, who run up and down, and have no place or condition to go up and work, to settle themselves."³³ Not only were Englishmen discouraged from destroying the unity of Manakin Town, but Frenchmen not associated with the community were encouraged to settle there.

The French themselves, in a letter to Governor Francis Nicholson, requested that "to prevent the dissolution of ye said Colony, your petitioners do beseech your Excell'y to give strict order to ye English to entertain none of the ffrench without permission."³⁴ The French settlers, when they left England for Manakin Town, circulated the news "that they sailed thither to put themselves in a capacity to receive such of their brethern as should afterwards imitate their Example."³⁵

Other French protestants did find their way to Manakin Town. In October 1704 "on the Petition of John Depp in behalf of himself and

the rest of the French Refugees living in King William County being five familys, Order is granted them for an equal Share of the land laid out at Manican Town for the French Refugees...they removing themselves immediately & settling upon the said land."³⁶ Because of the poverty of other French immigrants the Executive Council, "Commiserating their poor & low Condition and willing as

much as in them Lyes to find mean's for their present Support doe thereupon Order yt such and soe many of them as are willing to go and Inhabit at ye Manakin town where sevl french are Already settled may and shall receive releife from ye Contributions given or here after to be given towards the Support & Maintenance of such as shall there Inhabitt.

Those who showed any intention of leaving from Manakin Town were not to be allowed to have a share in the contributions for the maintenance of the French refugees.³⁷

Manakin Town, then, was established as a community whose members were exhorted to live always "in unity, peace and concord,"³⁸ even though at its inception it was little more than a frontier outpost settled in an abandoned Indian village. Vulnerable to attack, its inhabitants primitively sheltered, the settlement was precariously founded.

The exact location of the original village, consisting of about seventy huts, "being most of them, very mean," is difficult to discover.³⁹ Preliminary surveys done by the Virginia Research Center for Archaeology show a concentration of Indian artifacts in a likely location. Byrd, in his report to the Council, writes that he was taken to see a coal pit "w'ch is not above a mile and half from their settlement on the great upper Creeke, w'ch, riseing very high in great Raines, hath washed away the Banke."⁴⁰ Presumably this is where the first two churches of Manakin Town were constructed and where the assemblage of huts left from the Indian settlement was located. It is probable that the

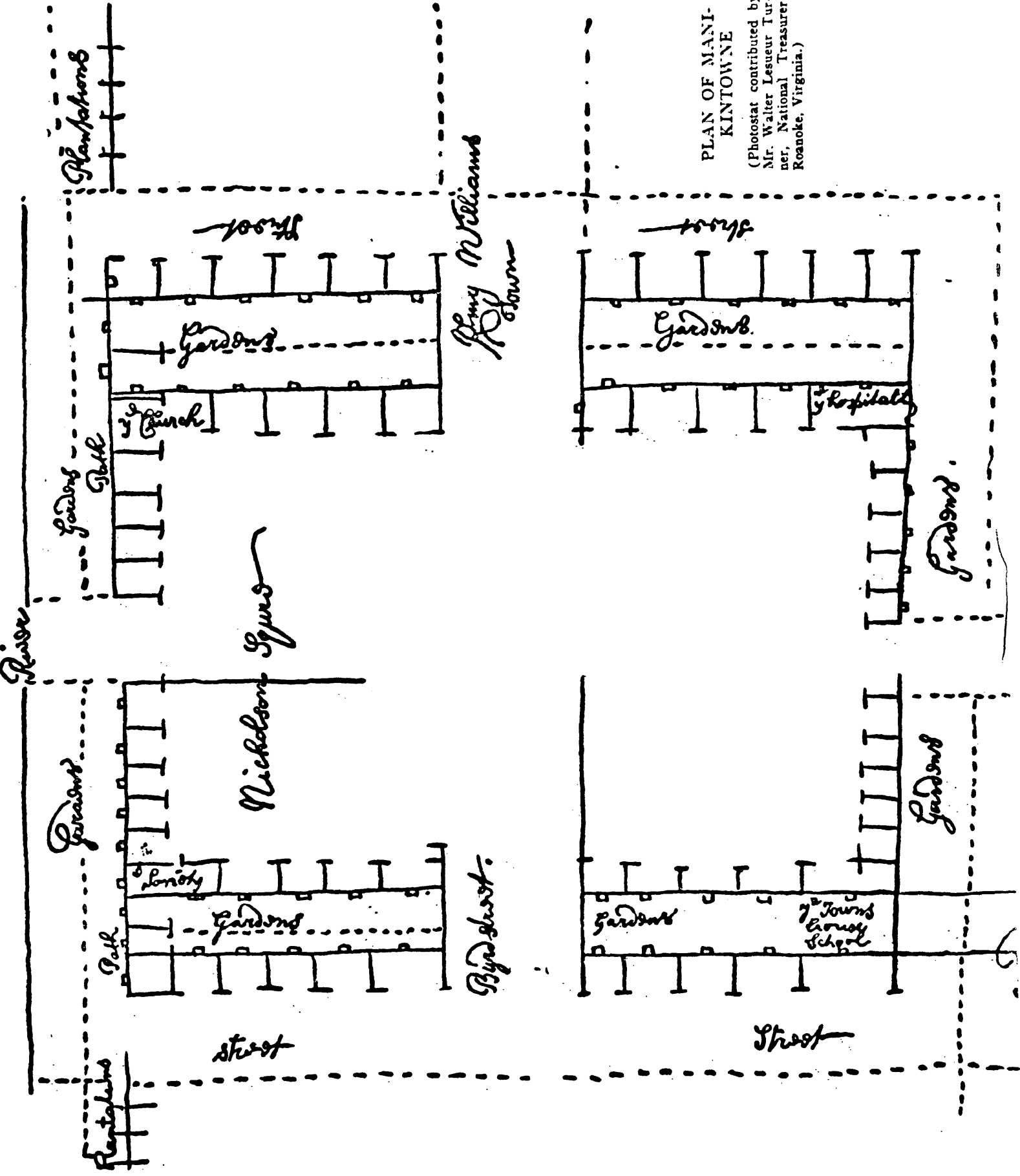
remains have been washed away, as the area is on a flood plain. No significant concentration of construction was found, although the archeologists indicate that a possible site for the town is on the James River, near to Norwood Creek (or the great upper creek that Byrd describes).⁴¹ The coal mines that Byrd perhaps went to see are marked on an 1887 map of Powhatan County. (See map on page 22A.)

The question of the exact location of the town of Manakin is not crucial to an examination of its history. The town itself probably only existed a few years--its inhabitants camping out in the Indian huts--until the settlers built up a livelihood and moved off onto farms they claimed in the area granted to them by the Virginia government.

Manakin Town was an interesting, if unsuccessful, experiment in community planning undertaken by the Virginia government. It was established to solve some of Virginia's economic and military problems and was intended, like earlier Virginia attempts at town planning, as an agricultural village on European models. This intention is nowhere else more obvious than in a plan of Manakin Town, probably drawn by William Byrd. Clearly at the basis of this social experiment was the belief that these settlers would live in harmony together, bounded by the institutions which would nurture them. The Frenchmen would settle systematically around the square, named after the governor of Virginia, and on each corner would be built a cornerstone of their society--the church, the school, the hospital, the parish house. John Reys points out that even if the houses were very small the dimensions of the square would have been 150 by 250 feet, an imposing and ambitious size. The plan reflects the traditional and communal precepts of its creator.⁴² Another facet of the experiment was that the settlers were

PLAN OF MANI-KINTOWNE

(Photostat contributed by Mr. Walter Lesueur Turner, National Treasurer, Roanoke, Virginia.)



also to be granted equal amounts of land. No one was to accumulate more land to the detriment of others.

That the plan was never adhered to makes it no less interesting. It is tangible evidence of an idealistic and communal expectation for Manakin Town. A process of evolution, similar to the process seen by such historians and anthropologists as Lockridge, Stone, and Deetz in England and New England can thus be seen in Virginia. In Manakin Town, the indications of a communal society can be seen not only in the plan above, but in official documents on the establishment of the town and in its efforts to maintain the integrity of the French refugee settlers in its early years.

The expectations of Manakin Town's founders and settlers were many and ambitious. A visible effort was made to establish a special community against numerous odds. Special laws were passed to establish a special parish, to exempt the settlers from paying levies for a certain time, to prevent the settlers from moving from the community, and to prevent the wrong kind of settlers from entering. Land was granted the French to hold as naturalized citizens of Virginia and ordinances were laid down for the equal distribution of land. Clearly an archetype of the community was envisioned by Manakin Town's planners and an ambitious plan was implemented in the attempted establishment of the ideal which, although never realized, was nonetheless influential in the subsequent development of the community.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER I

1. See Carl Bridenbaugh, Vexed and Troubled Englishmen, 1590-1642 (New York, 1968), 17-20.
2. See Doyce B. Munis, Jr., "The Sublettes: A Study of a Refugee Family in the Eighteenth Century," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, LXIX (1961), 45-46.
3. Edward Carpenter, The Protestant Bishop: Being the Life of Henry Compton 1632-1713, Bishop of London (London, 1956), 331.
4. Joan Thirsk and J. P. Cooper, eds., Seventeenth Century Economic Documents (Oxford, 1972), 725, 728.
5. See Jon Butler, "The Huguenots in New York and South Carolina: An Essay in Ethnic Pathology" (unpublished papers, Organization of American Historians, 1978), 14. Butler's thesis is that Anglican repression of distinctively French religious institutions crippled the Huguenot's ability to preserve ethnic loyalties in America and thus exacerbated the early assimilation of Huguenots into colonial society.
6. Bridenbaugh, Troubled Englishmen, 19.
7. Carpenter, Protestant Bishop, 341-342.
8. See Kilby's statement in Winthrop Bell, The Foreign Protestants and the Settlement of Nova Scotia (Toronto, 1961), 84.
9. For an examination of seventeenth century Virginia, see Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia (New York, 1975), 44-130.
10. John C. Rainbolt, From Prescription to Persuasion: Manipulation of Seventeenth Century Virginia Economy (Port Washington, N.Y., 1974) 773-98. See also Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom, 250-270; Thomas J. Wertenbaker, The Shaping of Colonial Virginia (New York, 1958); and Bernard Bailyn, "Politics and Social Structure in Virginia," in James Morton Smith, ed., Seventeenth Century America: Essays in Colonial History (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1959), 90-115.

For an examination of Chesapeake economy at the end of the seventeenth century, see Russell R. Menard, "Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1975).

11. See William Waller Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia..., II (Richmond, 1811), 471, hereafter cited as Hening. For discussions on the economic history of seventeenth-century Virginia and on the plans for the establishment of towns, see Philip Alexander Bruce, Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century: An Inquiry into the Material Condition of the People..., 2 vols. (New York, 1896), and John C. Rainbolt, "The Absence of Towns in Seventeenth Century Virginia," Journal of Social History, XXXV (1969), 343-360.

12. Fitzhugh to Captain Francis Partis, July 1, 1680, in Richard Beale Davis, ed., William Fitzhugh and His Chesapeake World, 1676-1701 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1963), 82.

13. See Hartwell to William Popple, Sept. 13, 1697, J. W. Fortescue, ed., Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies..., XV (London, 1904), 607, hereafter cited as Cal. State Papers, Col. Ser., Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia, 1724, ed. Richard L. Morton (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1954), 129.

14. M. R. McIlwaine, ed., Executive Journals of the Council of Virginia, II (Richmond, 1927), 320, hereafter cited as Exec. Jour. Va.

15. Ibid., 203. An act passed in August 1701 provided several measures for the strengthening of frontiers and for discovering the approaches of an enemy. The legislature sought to settle "cohabitations upon the said land frontiers within this government and (think) that the best method to effect the same will be by encouragements to induce societys of men to undertake the same." The government would make grants of land of between 10,000 and 30,000 acres with provisions for 200 acres for each settler. 3 Hening 204.

This plan was used several times in settling foreign protestants on Virginian soil, in particular the settling of German protestants in Germana, outside of Fredericksburg, in 1714 by Gov. Spotswood and in the attempted settlement of a group of Swiss on William Byrd's land on the Roanoke River in 1735. See Richard L. Morton, Colonial Virginia: Westward Expansion and Prelude to Revolution, 1710-1763, II (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1960), 444-446, 568-569.

16. See James Luckin Bugg, "Manakin Town in Virginia: Its Story and Its People" (M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1942), 20.

17. Robert Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, 1705, ed. Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1947), 282.

18. Cal. State Papers, Col. Ser., XX, 472.

19. Because one faction was "pretending to rule others to the manifest prejudice of that settlement; His excellency [Francis Nicholson] was pleased to order that the said Refugees shall not hereafter use the title of a Colony, and that for the future all Petitions they shall present to his Excellency be in the English tongue." Ibid.

20. During the company years in Jamestown, the French were sought to plant vines and to grow silk worms. See William Stith, The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia (New York, 1865), 118.

French protestants were generally acclaimed "a good sort of people, very ingenious and industrious, and would have been of great use for people this country and enriching it by trade." Hilary Rene to William Popple, May 30, 1700, Cal. State Papers, Col. Ser., XVIII, 293.

21. The most notable of these attempts was that of the Baron de Sance who in 1630 led a group of immigrants to present day Nansemond County. Nothing is known of the demise of this colony but its failure was cited as a reason for the French refugees of 1700 to settle on Byrd's land instead of on the border of Virginia and North Carolina. See R. A. Brock, ec., Documents, Chiefly Unpublished Relating to the Huguenot Emigration to Virginia... (Richmond, 1886), 6-7.

22. For information on the attempts to attract Huguenots to Virginia, see Bugg, "Manakin Town," 39-73. See also Fitzhugh's and Haywood's correspondence on a proposed settlement of French on their lands, in Davis, ed., Fitzhugh and his Chesapeake World, 189-191, 204 and Fairfax Harrison, Landmarks of Old Prince William, I (Richmond, 1924), 177-196.

23. Brock, ed., Huguenot Emigration Va., 44, and Bugg, "Manakin Town," 71.

24. 3 Hening 201. The resolution was initially passed on December 26, 1700. The extension on the resolution was passed in October 1705. Ibid., 478.

25. 2 Exec. Jour. Va. 103.

26. Ibid., 101.

27. Beverley, History of Va., 282.

28. 2 Exec. Jour. Va. 123.

29. Brock, ed. Huguenot Emigration Va., 42-44.

30. John W. Reps, Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland (Charlottesville, Va., 1972), 196.

31. 3 Exec. Jour. Va. 139-140.

32. 2 Exec. Jour. Va. 107.

33. Brock, ed., Huguenot Emigration Va., 51.

34. Ibid., 58.

35. The preparation the French refugees made before setting out for Virginia is revealed in the account of money "lay'd out of the Contributions." Some accounted items mentioned are "for printing 3000 projects and 1500 Tickets," for all ye Copys and Maps, left in several Cities of Holland, Germany and Switzerland, and in Geneva, and of Severall bookes, and printing 2000 projects in Geneva," and "for printing 1000 projects in Englishe." Ibid., 55, 11-12.

36. 2 Exec. Jour. Va. 401

37. Ibid., 128, 401.

38. Brock, ed., Huguenot Emigration Va., 38.

39. Ibid., 42.

40. Ibid., 44.

41. R. Westwood Winfree, "Monacan Farm Site, Powhatan County, Virginia," Quarterly Bulletin, Archeological Society of Virginia, XXVII (1972), 65.

42. Repts, Tidewater Towns, 195.

43. For example, see Kenneth A. Lockridge, A New England Town, The First Five Hundred Years: Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736 (New York, 1970); Lawrence Stone, The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500-1800 (New York, 1977); James Deetz, In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life (Garden City, N.Y. 1977).

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE

On July 23, 1700 two hundred seven French protestant refugees sailed into Hampton Roads in the colony of Virginia under the direction of their two leaders, Olivier de la Muce and Charles de Sailly. On August 8, 1700 the Executive Council of Virginia unanimously decided to send these immigrants to Manakin Town beyond the falls of the James River.¹

A second group of settlers arrived in Jamestown on October 6, 1700. They were one hundred sixty-nine in number and under the leadership of Benjamin de Joux, an Anglican clergyman originally from Lyons. Because of dissension between the two groups of settlers and because of the difficulty and hardship they encountered--"the Poverty and disability of the said Refugees, their Ignorance in the customs and affaires of this Colony, their wants and necessities, being destitute of all means of support and sustenance at present"--the third convoy of French protestants, which arrived in late October 1700 seeking to settle in Manakin Town, was encouraged to "disperse themselves, and [the Executive Council] do accordingly order, license and permit the aforesaid French Refugees to disperse themselves into several parts of this country, that they may thereby the better provide for the future support of themselves and their families."² Thus only nine member¹ of the third convoy went up to Manakin Town.

The fourth and last ship to set sail with French refugee passengers arrived in the York River on March 5, 1701, with one hundred ninety-one refugees but only twenty-three moved to Manakin Town. The passengers of the fourth ship made no application to the government for support and evidently were fairly self-sufficient. A list of "ye French Refugees that are settled att ye Mannachin Town" gives the total number of settlers from all the ships as being two hundred three even though de Joux, minister to the group, wrote that they expected a total of five hundred people to live at Manakin Town.³ The total number of immigrants on the four ships was probably around seven hundred seventy people; there were two hundred seven passengers on the first ship, one hundred sixty-nine on the second, about two hundred on the third, and one hundred ninety-one on the fourth ship. Thus only twenty-six percent of the passengers sent to Virginia settled in Manakin Town. During the first difficult winter of 1700-1701, some two hundred eighteen people, presumably the entire population of the settlement, were given corn from Colonel William Byrd's mill. Byrd, in a report made to the Virginia legislature in April 1701 on the condition of the French refugees, claims that around two hundred fifty people lived at Manakin Town.⁴ The larger population was no doubt due to the addition of refugees from the fourth convoy which arrived in March. A list made in November 1701 reveals that two hundred three inhabitants lived at Manakin Town, or about forty-seven fewer people than were accounted for in April. In just seven months, a fifth of Manakin Town's inhabitants had left the community.

The settlers at Manakin Town never seem to have had more than three hundred people living in the area despite their minister's

optimistic estimation of an expected total of five hundred people. The most complete account of Manakin Town's population is a census taken in 1714 after the community had firmly established itself.⁵ In 1714, two hundred fifty-two people lived in Manakin Town. Since a complete census of the town was not again taken, a comparison of the members of heads of households is the most accurate indication of the growth of the population. The notable difference between the figures of the heads of households and the figures of the total number of tithables reveals more the change in the economy of the community (which will be examined in the next chapter), or the change in the number of servants, slaves and/or dependent sons rather than a change in the size of population. Dependent tithables would be less likely to have families; thus if the number of heads of households is multiplied by the average family size of 1714, an approximation of the population size is obtained. The population, using these very rough calculations, never surpassed three hundred in the years for which tithable lists exist.⁶

Population of Manakin Town from Tithable Lists

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Number of Payers of Tithes</u> | <u>Tithables</u> |
|-------------|---------------------------------------|------------------|
| 1710 | 66 | 72 |
| 1714 | 67 | 84 |
| 1720 | 56 | 87 |
| 1723 | 63 | 109 |
| 1726 | 49 | 107 |
| 1730 | 75 | 162 |
| 1735 | 69 | 150 |
| 1738 | 78 | 172 |

The number of people to be considered in this study of Manakin Town, then, probably remained fairly constant. Fluctuations in the tithable lists can probably be as aptly ascribed to variations in the

amount of land taxed (thus changing who was recorded in the tithable lists) and in number of slaves or servants used to work the land (revealing the change in economy) as to variations in the numbers of people taxed. The initial attrition of the French refugees, we have seen, was surprisingly large. Clearly the masses of helpless refugees arriving in the fall of 1700 proved to be more than the Virginia government could handle. The third group of Frenchmen to arrive were quickly dispersed. Those arriving in the fourth ship in the following spring were allowed, but not encouraged, to settle at Manakin Town if they desired.⁷ Manakin Town had reached its people/land saturation point early. Still the settlement was disrupted at its inception, and since it became an agricultural rather than an industrial society, it never did attract the numbers originally planned.

Lack of data on the first settlers at Manakin Town precludes a detailed description of the structure of the early community there. Mortality rates, precise migration data, age of the population, and the social background of the immigrants, for example, are impossible to establish. However, it is possible to ascertain some facts about the initial settlement. Manakin Town at its commencement demonstrated characteristics of a "frontier" population, that is, a population dominated by young men with few complete family units in a high risk, socially-unstable environment. These frontier populations that are characterized by more single men than women or children and are devoted to the production of a labor intensive crop--Virginia, South Carolina, and the West Indies are seventeenth century examples of this type of society--do not naturally increase for several decades following settlement and are dependent on immigration for growth.⁸ Manakin Town

early exhibited these characteristics but soon developed into a stable society as men sent for families or married local women.

The statistics of the corn list of February 1701 show a large number of the people in Manakin Town were single men. (Single men are defined as those shown without any family member, be they wife and children, or brothers or sisters, etc.) Of the fifty percent of the total population that was male, thirty-two percent were listed without wives, thirty percent were children, and twenty percent were women (only one woman is without family). The average size of a family in Manakin Town in February 1701 was two people.⁹

However, it may be that the inhabitants of Manakin Town viewed themselves differently. The list clearly shows groups which, if they were not family groupings, were probably household groupings. In the household groupings, only two people are listed separately as opposed to the sixty-two people who appear to be single. If these household groupings were indeed family units, the average size of a family would have been 3.25 people.

The second list of November 1701 shows a similar ratio of men to women, but already in nine months changes appear in the structure of the community. Forty-nine percent of the population was male; twenty-seven percent female; and twenty-four children. A slightly greater number of women, then, was present. The list of November 1701 which shows the immigrants by the ships they arrived in, reveals, interestingly, that the first shipload held fewer family units and probably consisted of men who later sent for their families. The refugees who came in the first ship had only 1.9 people per family, whereas the second ship had 3.5, the third ship had 3.0, and the fourth ship had 3.2 people per family.¹⁰

The change in family size over the nine-month period between these two lists can be seen in the following chart.

Variations in Household Size in February and November
1701 in Manakin Town, Va.

| No. of People Per Family | February | | November | |
|-----------------------------|------------------|---------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| | Family Groups | Household Groups | Family Groups | Household Groups |
| 1 | 62 (59%) | 2 (3%) | 43 (44%) | 23 (28%) |
| 2 | 22 (21%) | 25 (37%) | 28 (29%) | 23 (28%) |
| 3 | 7 (6%) | 22 (33%) | 14 (14%) | 20 (25%) |
| 4 | 6 (6%) | 7 (10%) | 2 (2%) | 5 (6%) |
| 5 | 3 (3%) | 4 (6%) | 6 (7%) | 6 (7%) |
| 6 | 2 (2%) | 2 (3%) | 4 (4%) | 4 (4%) |
| 7 | 2 (2%) | 2 (3%) | | |
| 8 | 1 (1%) | 1 (2%) | | |
| 9 | 2 (2%) | 2 (3%) | | |

These two lists together show not only that the composition of the family was changing and becoming more stable but also that the community was still a frontier settlement with a larger proportion of single men; traditional family groups were relatively rare. Presumably after the community was more firmly settled many men sent for their wives and families or married local women and began a family, for the situation of the community in the next and last comprehensive census, that of 1714, is much changed.

The level of persistence among the first settlers at Manakin Town is difficult to determine. The community was split by dissension as soon as the second ship of the convoy arrived in Virginia. The hardship of first settling in the wilderness combined with the question over authority at the beginning took its toll. For example, the members of the first convoy who settled in Manakin Town were reported to be about "120 Refugees, of whom 6 are dead and about 20 gone away, some for libertinage and laziness and some for want of bread, being

not able to suffer hunger and take patience when we meet with disappointments."¹¹ As the leader of the second group described the situation, from July until November, above 150 of their members were sick "with soe little help and assistance in a place where provisions are so scarce and dear, y't they have been forced for some small relief and supply to sell their arms, clothes and other goods after having spent what money they had, and so remain naked and deprived of all commodities till his Maj'tie be pleased to assist and relieve them to enable y'm to make good plantations and to build ye Town."¹² He added, in a letter to Governor Nicholson, "more than one halfe of the first party lay sick at ye ffalls languishing under misery and want...as also y't a great number of 'em was dead, and y't so many of 'em as repaired to their new settlem't were in a distressed condition and in great disorder." As Robert Beverley wrote of the French refugees in 1705, "when several hundred Families of Men, Women, and Children are set ashoar Naked and Hungry, in a strange land, they have not only necessity to struggle with, but likewise with the Envy of Ill-natured People, who fancy they come to eat the Bread out of their Mouths."¹⁴ Settlers not only died of hunger and from sickness in the early years of Manakin Town's existence but some left the community because conditions were too difficult and assistance was not forthcoming on the outskirts of English Virginia.

The original settlers of Manakin Town were all Frenchmen who arrived in Virginia via England, some after a sojourn in Holland. Some of the refugees may actually have been Swiss or Walloon, but they all at least spoke French. The 1714 census shows that the inhabitants of Manakin Town had French names exclusively although thirty percent

of those inhabitants were on the November 1701 list. Even allowing for the length of time and natural mortality, the persistence rate for the settlers was very low.

The bulk of the people on the 1714 census, then, must have been Frenchmen who moved to the area from other places in the colonies. Examples of this kind of migration can be seen in John Depp's petition where he and five other families in King William County asked to be allowed to settle at Manakin Town with the same privileges as the other refugees.¹⁵ A tradition in the Michaux family holds that their forebears moved to Manakin Town from New York State. The list of refugees of November 1701 mentions six persons, "Merchant Sallee, his wife & 2 children and one negro woman" and Anthony O Bray (Agee?) as coming from New York also. In 1700 Abraham Salle petitioned the governor of New York for naturalization.¹⁶ Salle early assumed a prominent place in the community, probably because he was early acclimatized to life in the colonies.

Documents show that large numbers of French protestants twice left the original Manakin Town settlement. The first group was headed by Charles de Sailyly who, because of dissension between his group and Benjamin de Joux's group, left the community in 1702 to move to North Carolina. John Lawson, in a history of North Carolina first published in 1714, wrote that "most of the French that lived at that Town [Manakin] on the James River, are removed to Trent River, N.C., where the rest are expected daily to come to them when I came away, which was in August, 1708."¹⁷ Another exodus occurred in 1712 when the Reverend Philippe de Richebourg took his group of followers to a community on the Santee River in South Carolina.¹⁸ Since no censuses or tithable lists

are available for the years from 1701 until 1714, it is impossible to discover much about who left Manakin Town or even who came to replace them.

A tantalizing glimpse of the complicated kinship groups and immigration patterns of the French refugees can be seen from the petitions submitted to the court for headrights to lands. For example, on May 1, 1708, John Forquaran claimed that two hundred fifty acres was due him for the importation of five people to the colony: himself, his first wife Elizabeth, his second wife, Jeanne Duero Forquaran, and James and Olimp Duero (parents of Jeanne). A more perplexing example of this kind of petition is that of Peter Massot submitted the same day. He claimed three hundred fifty acres for the importation of himself, his first wife Frances, his second wife Elizabeth, John Lozanne (her first husband), Elizabeth Lozanne (his daughter), James Chevair (her second husband) and Elizabeth Chevair (his first wife). Massot immigrated in the second convoy of refugees to arrive at Manakin Town. He is listed as traveling without family on the Peter & Anthony in 1700 and must have later sent for members of his family.

The social positions of the original Manakin Town inhabitants are also difficult to discover. Genealogists of Manakin Town inhabitants aver that a large number of the settlers were of noble, or at least gentle, birth. The leaders of the first group, Olivier de la Muce and Charles de Saily, were certainly of noble birth. De la Muce's family had been holders of an estate near Nantes and since the sixteenth century had embraced the Huguenot cause. Bartholomew Dupuy was a captain of the Royal Household Guards; Isaac Legrand was listed as "ecuyer," or squire. Some craftsmen seem to have been present in the community;

for example, Tertullian Sehelt was a goldsmith. Daniel Ministrier petitioned the Virginia Assembly to be allowed to gather coal for his blacksmithing. Money was paid to Champayne for butchering meat and to Sugre and Orange for baking in 1700, which seems to indicate that they were familiar with and perhaps practitioners of those professions.²⁰ Five of the passengers from England were possibly ministers (only two settled at Manakin Town), three were doctors, and one was identified as a merchant in the November 1701 list. Wills probated around 1728 list testators as peruke makers, merchants, store keepers, doctors, and even a grave digger, although these professions were very likely sidelines to the profession of farming.²¹

Literacy among the inhabitants of Manakin Town cannot be tested because of insufficient evidence. The ministers were certainly literate and books were sometimes mentioned in inventories. When Jean Cairon, minister for King William Parish, died in 1716 he willed that the "books belonging to the said Parish which I did receive by my Ld. Henry Bishop of London, be restored to the Bishop."²² James Soblet in 1741 wrote in his will, "I will that my Child have learning and when he is fit that he be bound to a trade (which he shall chose)."²³ Abraham Salle (who was naturalized in New York in 1700) and Jean Joanny (who probably immigrated to Virginia before 1700 since he owned land by that time) were appointed interpreters for the French refugees; they presumably were literate and able to deal with the Virginia government.²⁴ Abraham Salle was to become a leading figure in Manakin Town, early serving as Justice of the Peace (until his death in 1718) and as a member of the Grand Jury of Goochland County. If these men seemed learned or interested in learning, the men and women who did not appear to have much

learning, by the very lack of evidence of literacy, were more numerous.

John Reps has theorized that one reason for the high initial rate of attrition of Manakin Town settlers was that they were not used to agricultural pursuits and therefore probably moved to where they could use their skills.²⁵ This seems to be a likely hypothesis, although unsupported by any evidence. The settlers themselves did not expect to enter the tobacco economy of Virginia. They wrote in 1700 that

your petitioners can have noe prospect of any good livelyhood in planting of tobacco, and they cannot expect to be able in a short time to drive a trade in wings, flax, Silk and hemp, and other effects of their industry, Which they aime at, and which cannot turne²⁶ to any good account till after some years are past.

The French refugees adapted ingeniously to Virginia agriculture.

Robert Beverley wrote that they

begine to have Stocks of Cattle, which are said to give abundantly more Milk than any other in the Country. I have heard that these people are upon a design, of getting into the breed of Buffaloes, to which end they lie in wait for their Calves, that they may tame, and raise a Stock of them: In which if they succeed, 'twill in all probability be greatly to their Advantage; for these are much larger than other Cattle, and have the benefit of being natural to the Climate. They now make many of their own Claths, and are resolved, as soon as they have improv'd that Manufacture, to apply themselves to the making of Wine and Brandy, which they do not doubt to bring to Perfection. Last year they began an Essay of Wine, which they made of the wild Grapes gather'd in the Woods: the effect of which, was Noble stong-bodied Claret, of a curious flavor.

Nonetheless, a large number of the French refugees went first to Manakin Town, according to the contemporary Beverley, "but afterwards upon some Disagreement, several dispers'd themselves up and down the Country; and those that have arriv'd since, have follow'd their Example, except some few, that settl'd likewise at the Moacan Town."²⁷

In the first ten crucial years of its existence, Manakin Town underwent economic and social change. That the colony was disrupted by disagreements and dissension so violent as to lead to a faction leaving the community is indicative of another one of the problems the settlers faced. An explanation of the argument is never given but it probably occurred over the question of authority. Both de la Muce and de Saily were members of the French nobility and may have wished to set up a feudal state. We have already seen how they were chastised for calling Manakin Town a "colony." De Joux, minister and leader of the second group of settlers, in his petition to Governor Nicholson in 1701, protested having his group "swear an oath of fidelity to such particular persons as he (de Saily) had made Justice of the Peace, which oath those of the second party refused to take, being fully persuaded they lay under no obligation so to doe." De Joux therefore requested that the governor "choose such a number of Judges for a time at least, as shall be thought necessary for determining all Civill causes, and that...the Judgements be liable to an appeale to the courts next adjacent to the Manakin Towne." The government agreed with de Joux on the undesirability of total autonomy of the settlement because they periodically sent members of the Executive Council to check up on the town and they appointed two men Justices of the Peace.²⁸

To compensate for the large numbers of French protestants who left the community, a number of new Frenchmen moved into the settlement, probably from other places in the colonies. By 1714, thirteen years later, when the next complete census of the population was taken, the inhabitants of Manakin Town numbered two hundred ninety-one, seventy-three people more than were listed in February 1701. Only thirty

percent of those people listed in 1719 were listed in 1701. The inhabitants of Manakin Town in 1714 were still all French; their names indicate French ancestry.

The census of Manakin Town in 1714 shows some indications of greater stability. Seventy-one men, sixty-two women and one hundred fifty-eight children are shown on the 1714 census. The male/female ratio was 1.14 to 1; the average married man had 2.6 children, enough to secure a stable population. Ten of the men listed were bachelors but since three of those ten men had either a son or brother also listed, only seven men were entirely without any family at all. None of the women enumerated were single; however, five women were listed as widows. With one exception, all had children.

Variations in Family Size in
Manakin Town, Va. in 1714

| No. of Members | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
|-------------------|----|----|----|----|---|----|---|---|---|----|----|----|
| 1714 | 12 | 14 | 15 | 13 | 6 | 8 | 6 | 1 | | | | 1 |
| % | 16 | 18 | 20 | 17 | 8 | 11 | 8 | 1 | | | | 1 |

Only two families in the community had more than seven people. Most had between one and four people to a family. The average family size of the entire population was 3.5 people per family, although the adjusted average size of a family--minus the four percent of the population who were childless bachelors--was 4.2 people. Nonetheless, the difference between the 1701 and 1714 censuses is striking.

A low rate of persistence from the year 1701 to the year 1714 is evident from the censuses, although the percentage of persistence is approximate due to the inexact transcription of names by the clerks of the censuses. The spelling of the names is erratic--the 1701 lists

are phonetic spelling of French names by English scribes--and often the first names are not given. Thus, Bilboa on the 1701 list might be Jacque Bilbaud on the 1714 census. Likewise, Labatie could be Pierre Sabatie on the 1714 list, or Gerner could be Gaspard Corner or Parontes could be Parenteaux, and so on. Any attempt to determine the persistence rate from 1701 to 1714 will not be exact. Similar names in both years may indicate sons or brothers rather than a single individual, although the presence of the name indicates at least the persistence of the family in the area. At least seventy percent of the population of Manakin Town in 1701 left before 1714. A crucial change in the population, then, occurred and all that can be said is that a large number of French protestants left Manakin Town because of death, disagreement, dissatisfaction, or inability to make a living there. The large numbers that left were replaced by other Frenchmen who were to form the bulk of Manakin Town's population during the next twenty years or so of its existence.

An examination of the changes in Manakin Town's population is easier after 1707 because at that point the vestry book of King William Parish was begun and was kept until 1750. Although some students of the Manakin Town settlement have assumed that the vestry book of 1700 to 1707 has been lost, it is more likely that a vestry book was only begun in 1707 when the parish was obliged to pay levies and its own minister.²⁹ It is after 1707 that the issue of land ownership takes precedence over questions of authority, and probably it was around 1707 that the settlement lost any communal flavor that it might have had. Each man over sixteen and all Negro slaves were reckoned tithables and therefore subject to being taxed. The beginning of recorded levies,

represented by the keeping of the vestry book, signalled the necessity for an agricultural surplus to pay the tithes. A subsistence existence would no longer have been acceptable if the community was to acknowledge responsibility to their parish and Virginia society. The inhabitants of Manakin Town were perforce required to farm successfully, bringing the questions of who owned land--and how much--to the fore.

Over the forty year period that the tithable lists were taken for Manakin Town and recorded in the vestry book, the population grew almost imperceptibly. The area of land encompassed by the parish may have changed slightly and, thus, may have caused the changes in population. The court records of the 1730's in Goochland County show church wardens of King William Parish prosecuting men who owned land in the parish but who did not pay the parish tithes. The verdict for one such case records that "George Marchbanks lived on some part of the land granted by King William to the French Refugees called by the name Manakin town and that he listed two titheables in St. James Parish and did not list any titheables in King William Parish."³⁰ The population changes shown by the vestry book, therefore, cannot always be regarded as entirely indicative of who belonged to the Manakin Town community.

The table of growth rates on the next page reveals an overall growth rate of 1.9 percent for the tithables of King William Parish over the twenty year period. An interesting correlation with the growth rate of Manakin Town is the introduction of non-French names into the population. In 1710, all the names on the tithable list are probably French with the exception of Jean Poel who is listed under Jean Martain. By 1720, twenty-four percent of the non-slave population had English names, although of that number only ten or thirteen percent

were listed as paying tithes; the rest were listed under a tax payer. In 1730, twenty-eight percent of the non-slave population did not have a French name and twenty-one percent of that number paid their own tithes. The last tithable list recorded in the vestry book only lists those people who paid tithes in 1738 and of those forty-four percent were English. Clearly, as time went on the community accepted English settlers although in the beginning a large number of the English tithables were servants.³¹

Growth Rates for Manakin Town, Va. From
Tithable Lists (Excluding Slaves)

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Year | 1710 | 1711 | 1712 | 1713 | 1714 | 1715 | 1716 | 1717 | 1718 | 1719 | |
| Number of Tithables | 72 | 77 | 71 | 72 | 77 | 84 | -- | 77 | -- | 74 | |
| % of Growth Rate | | 6.9 | -8.4 | 1.4 | 6.9 | 9 | | -4.4 | | -2 | |
| Year | 1720 | 1721 | 1722 | 1723 | 1724 | 1725 | 1726 | 1727 | 1728 | 1729 | 1730 |
| Number of Tithables | 79 | -- | -- | 89 | 86 | -- | 93 | -- | -- | -- | 105 |
| % of Growth Rate | 6.7 | | | 4 | -3.4 | | 3.9 | | | | 3 |

An examination of the proportion of the population persisting in Manakin Town from 1710 until 1730 follows. The table shows, for example, that 84.4 percent of the population of 1714 was present in 1713 while 85.7 percent of the 1714 population persisted in the year 1715. In each successive year after 1714, the proportion of the population originally present in 1714 became less. It is important to note in this table, as well as in the growth rate table, that not all of the years are consecutive and that some error, both in the original recorder's list and in this recorder's data may have occurred. For example, in the year 1714, which is used as an example because more information is

PROPORTION OF POPULATION
PERSISTING IN MANAKIN TOWN, VIRGINIA
EXPRESSED IN PERCENTAGES
1710 - 1730

| | 1710 | 1711 | 1712 | 1713 | 1714 | 1715 | 1717 | 1719 | 1720 | 1723 | 1724 | 1726 | 1730 |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1710 | 100 | 77.9 | 71.8 | 69.9 | 67.5 | 55.9 | 54.5 | 37.8 | 35.4 | 30 | 26 | 20.4 | 15 |
| 1711 | 83.3 | 100 | 77.4 | 80.5 | 75.3 | 61.9 | 63.6 | 48.6 | 42.1 | 34.8 | 31 | 24.7 | 17 |
| 1712 | 70.8 | 77.9 | 100 | 83.3 | 80.5 | 64.2 | 67.5 | 50 | 43 | 34.8 | 31 | 24.7 | 18 |
| 1713 | 68 | 71.4 | 77.4 | 100 | 84.4 | 66.6 | 64.9 | 51.3 | 44.3 | 35 | 32 | 25.5 | 19 |
| 1714 | 69.4 | 74 | 87.3 | 87.5 | 100 | 62.1 | 75.3 | 50.8 | 49.3 | 41.5 | 35 | 28 | 22 |
| 1715 | 65.2 | 68.8 | 76 | 80.5 | 85.7 | 100 | 65.7 | 68.9 | 63.2 | 45 | 40 | 32.2 | 26 |
| 1717 | 55.5 | 61 | 69 | 66.6 | 68.8 | 75 | 100 | 72.9 | 64.5 | 49.4 | 42 | 33.3 | 27 |
| 1719 | 38.8 | 40.2 | 46.4 | 45.8 | 47.6 | 50 | 61 | 100 | 72.1 | 55 | 47 | 36.5 | 33 |
| 1720 | 37.5 | 42.8 | 45 | 47 | 45.4 | 47.6 | 54.5 | 78.3 | 100 | 68.5 | 64 | 49.4 | 40 |
| 1723 | 33.3 | 38.9 | 38 | 41.6 | 40.2 | 42.8 | 49.3 | 66.2 | 77.2 | 100 | 76 | 61.2 | 46 |
| 1724 | 25 | 31.1 | 33.8 | 34.7 | 33.7 | 36.9 | 44.1 | 55.4 | 62 | 75.2 | 100 | 74.1 | 49 |
| 1726 | 23.6 | 28.5 | 32.3 | 31.9 | 36.3 | 33.3 | 40.2 | 50 | 54.4 | 66.2 | 79 | 100 | 57 |
| 1730 | 20.8 | 27.2 | 28.1 | 29.1 | 29.8 | 28.5 | 37.6 | 44.5 | 48.1 | 58.2 | 62 | 64.5 | 100 |

available on the population of Manakin Town, nine people are not accounted for on the tithable list but are listed in the census for that year. The discrepancy could be caused by a number of factors such as death, migration, variations in parish and community borders, or it could be caused by clerical error. Calculating persistence rates throughout the twenty years presented here required arbitrary decisions on whether a certain Jacob Amonet, for example, had died and was represented by his son of the same name or whether he had somehow not been counted one year and then included the next.

The population of Manakin Town remained fairly constant during the period from 1710 to 1730. If we study the tithable population from 1710 until 1733 (when the tithable lists did not separately list tithables), we observe an interesting pattern. The number of tithables in the entire population (excluding slaves, Indians, and those who are never listed as paying tithes) who stayed in Manakin Town only one year, formed twenty percent of the whole population--a surprisingly large amount. Men with distinctly English, non-Manakin Town names, however, formed sixty percent of that total, while French names formed thirty-three percent, and miscellaneous names seven percent of all the tithables who stayed one year. Thus, a large proportion of the men who persisted in Manakin Town only one year were transitory English.

Those tithables who stayed in Manakin Town from two to four years also comprised twenty percent of the total population for the years between 1710 and 1733. Fifty-seven percent of those men had English names. Forty percent of the population, then, who remained in Manakin Town up to four years were largely foreigners to the community who spent a brief time within that community.

The tithables who persisted for five to seven years in the whole population are more likely to be identified with the 1714 Manakin Town community. Only twenty-five percent of that number had English names while sixty-eight percent had French names (those associated with the 1714 census). Those tithables who persist in the tithable lists more than eight years formed forty-two percent of the total population. Fully eighty percent of those tithables who paid taxes in Manakin Town more than eight years had French names.

Study of the Tithable Population of Manakin Town
as a Whole From 1710 Until 1733

| Persistence | Total Number | English Names | Manakin Town Names | Miscell. |
|---------------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------------|----------|
| 1 year | 48 (20%) | 29 (60%) | 16 (33%) | 3 (7%) |
| 2 to 4 years | 49 (20%) | 28 (57%) | 16 (33%) | 5 (10%) |
| 5 to 7 years | 44 (18%) | 11 (25%) | 30 (68%) | 3 (7%) |
| 8 and more years | 101 (42%) | 15 (15%) | 80 (80%) | 6 (5%) |

(This table excludes tithables first mentioned after 1733, widows paying tithes, and tithables who are listed only under heads of households.)

The picture given by these statistics shows approximately forty percent of the population changing every four years while a stable core of approximately sixty percent persisted. Interestingly, the stable core of Manakin Town's inhabitants over the years from 1710 to 1733 was almost exclusively of the original Manakin Town community of 1714. Those who stayed the shortest time were more likely to be English. As James Lemon has observed, those with less to lose are the most likely

to move; the well-established farmer has the least reason to leave. As time passed the proportion of permanent English settlers in Manakin Town increased, but until 1738 the core of the non-slave population was French.

The population discussed above only includes those tithables who actually paid tithes. Eighty-four of the tithables of King William Parish from 1710 until 1733 were not slaves or Indians and only appear under someone paying tithes. The average length of time these non-paying tithables stayed however was only 1.7 years. Those who stayed only one year formed sixty-three percent of the total eighty-four tithables; the longest any of these tithables stayed was eight years. A large proportion of the non-tax-paying population had English names (68%); eighteen percent of this population were sons of tithe payers. Not surprisingly, tithables that never paid tithes in Manakin Town tended to be either Englishmen (who were probably itinerant hired help) or sons of the original inhabitants of Manakin Town (who probably left the community for better opportunities elsewhere).

A detailed examination of the persistence of the 1714 group (excluding widows and orphans) shows that eighty-one percent of that population persisted over a six year period. This percentage excludes those whose deaths are recorded in wills or inventories, those who left family to inherit their land, and one individual for whom there is no record except a single entry in the 1714 census. Nonetheless a vigorous persistence rate occurred within this population.

The French refugees who settled Manakin Town, while forming a core of the local community, still adapted to the colony in which they were living, gradually accepting English settlers into their midst.

We find in 1718, for example, Robert Jones petitioning the vestry of King William Parish for the service to be read every six weeks in English. His petition was granted even though Governor Alexander Spotswood wrote to the bishop of London in 1717 that "theres scarce any of them understand English so well as to join in the public worship in that language, or profit by any sermon preached therein."³⁴ In 1728 a letter from the inhabitants of Manakin Town stated that "many of our Parishioners understand no English; but for the sake of our Children and the English Families settled amongst us, we should be heartily glad to have the Common Prayers and Sermons in English as well as French," even though they would be unwilling to dissolve their parish and incorporate it into another since "our Parish is a Royal Gift to us French Refugees."³⁵ As late as 1728, Adam Vigne's will is recorded in the Goochland County records in French.³⁶ Evidently, the French at Manakin Town still wished to maintain their community after 1728 while accepting Englishmen as neighbors and co-religionists.

Not only did the French settlers adapt readily to the presence of Englishmen in their community but they soon adapted to the English system of authority. They early assumed positions of authority within the framework of Virginia society. After the first couple of struggles with authority in the fledgling settlement, the Executive Council made sure that justices of the peace and captains of the militia were appointed.³⁷ In 1702, those in authority in Virginia ascertained that the minister, Benjamin de Joux, was practicing religion in the Manakin Town church according to the tenets of the liturgy of the Church of England.³⁸ As William Seiler wrote in "The Anglican Parish in Virginia," the Virginia church accepted all forms of Protestantism as long as there

was no hostility to the colony or disloyalty to the king. Communication and cooperation were seen as necessary between Anglicans and foreign protestants in Virginia, and the Frenchmen at Manakin Town were accepted as members of Virginia society.³⁹

Boundary-maintaining mechanisms, as defined by Frederik Barth,⁴⁰ were not in operation in the community of Manakin Town. He maintains that these mechanisms exist only if complementary cultural differences exist, if there is an identifiable ethnic type, and if the cultural characteristics of each ethnic group is stable. None of these variables existed in Manakin Town. The main cultural difference between the English and the French was language, since the church--the institutional mechanism for cultural distinctness--was Anglicized. The community never became large enough or cohesive enough to establish its own school or town. Its members' profession was the same as their neighbors'; they were not prosecuted for their differences, rather they were initially encouraged to maintain their uniqueness within Virginia society. No antagonisms between the two cultures appear in documentary sources.

The earliest extant county court records that include the French community are those for Henrico County for the years 1707 to 1709. The number of cases recorded for the Manakin Town community during that two-year period was twenty-nine. Of these, four were cases brought with both a defendant and plaintiff from the Manakin Town community and seven involved English and Manakin Town complainants. The rest are petitions for land, proofs of will, and appointments of officials for local government.⁴¹ The inhabitants of Manakin Town, even at this early stage, became involved with the community outside their own.

The next group of court orders, from Goochland County, formed from Henrico in 1728, shows the same sort of equilibrium between the English and French settlers of the Virginia frontier. Sixteen Frenchmen prosecuted fellow Frenchmen, while seventy-one Frenchmen were involved in cases with Englishmen. Proximity, rather than cultural bias, was probably the basis of these lawsuits. Most mentions of Manakin Town inhabitants involved exemptions from levies, claims on estates, intestate estates, inventorying, binding out of orphans, judging ages of slaves, and orders for surveying and clearing roads. Six cases involved a churchwarden of King William Parish ordering the payment of tithes to the parish. Some interesting cases appear in the records; for example, "Joseph Caille by his petition sets forth that the estate of the orphans of John Imbert decd., is in the possession of Jacob Capon, that he hath not given security for the same, and that he doth very much abuse one of the said orphans, where upon it is ordered that the sheriff of the county summon Capon." Also, Anthony Rapine was found guilty of striking William Lansdon, constable, four or five blows over the head when Lansdon was in the execution of his office. But on the whole, nothing untoward is mentioned in the court orders, and many of the cases were later dismissed.

The inhabitants of Manakin Town were living like other inhabitants of the colony. They bought land whenever it was available. The parish was brought up on presentment for not finding the copies of laws to be read, although the charge was dismissed. Thomas Dickens, an English landholder in King William Parish, was brought before the court for profaning the Sabbath by swearing and by teaching a Negro boy to swear a profane Lord's Prayer. Jacob Michaux was brought before the court for retailing strong drink contrary to law; Jean Levillain

was charged with being drunk to which he pleaded guilty; and Daniel Fouquinon complained of his master, Pierre David, and was judged free. Anthony Bennin's slave, Cuffey, was accused of poisoning another slave and of feloniously breaking, entering, and stealing from Peter Ware. He was judged innocent.⁴³ The French settlers of Manakin Town seem to have adapted well to Virginia society.

By 1730, then, Manakin Town had ceased to be an unique French protestant community although the core of its inhabitants were still associated with the 1714 French community. Somewhere between 1701 and 1714 a substantial change occurred in the community, linked, no doubt, to the acquisition of land and the commencement of King William Parish's participation in Virginia society. The mechanisms for maintaining cultural autonomy did not operate after Manakin Town ceased to be an outpost on the frontier and after its economy was merged in the larger Virginia economy.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER II

1. 2 Exec. Jour. Va. 103 and R. A. Brock, ed., Documents, Chiefly Unpublished Relating to the Huguenot Emigration to Virginia... (Richmond, 1886), 253-255.

2. Cal. State Papers, Col. Ser., VIII, 620.

3. Brock, ed., Huguenot Emigration Va., 54.

4. Ibid., 26-28, 43.

5. The "Liste generale de tous les francois protestants refugies, establys dans la paroisse du roy Guillame, comte de Henrico en Virginie," of the year 1714 is printed in ibid., 74-76. All references to the census of 1714 refer to this list.

6. All figures on tithable lists are taken from (R. R. Fife, ed. and trans.), Vestry Book of King William Parish, Virginia, 1707-1750 (Midlothian, Va., 1966). This book is an offset reprint edition of a series published in the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, hence the page numbers are not consecutive. This work will be hereafter cited as Vestry Book of King William Parish followed by the date of the material cited.

7. 2 Exec. Jour. Va. 128

8. For a more detailed examination of the distinctive society developed in the seventeenth century Chesapeake area, see Russell R. Menard, "Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1975), 57-110. See also Irene W.D. Mecht, "The Virginia Muster of 1624/5 as a Source for Demographic History," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d Ser., XXX (1973), 65-92, the essays in Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, eds., The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society (New York, 1979), and Richard S. Dunn, Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1974), 53-57, 70-71.

9. The list is printed in Brock, ed., Huguenot Emigration Va., 26-28.

10. Ibid., 45-48.

11. Ibid., 49.

12. Ibid., 50.

13. Ibid., 55.

14. Robert Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, 1705, ed. Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1947), 283.

Not only was the community isolated from European civilization, being until 1728 only one of two parishes located west of the fall line, but it was vulnerable to Indian attack. For example, in 1713, an Indian admitted murdering a Manakin Town settler five years earlier. 3 Exec. Jour. Va.

15. 2 Exec. Jour. Va. 400

16. James Luckin Bugg, "Manakin Town in Virginia: Its Story and its People" (M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1942) Brock, ed., Huguenot Emigration Va., 48, and Charles W. Baird, History of the Huguenot Emigration to America, I (New York, 1885), 308.

17. John Lawson, The History of Carolina...(London, 1714), 141.

18. For information on the Manakin Town settlers who moved to South Carolina, see Arthur Henry Hirsch, The Huguenots of South Carolina (Durham, N.C., 1928), 19.

19. See the petition of John Forquaran and Peter Massot, May 1, 1708, Henrico Court Court Orders, 1707-1709, 34, Virginia State Library. See also Brock, ed., Huguenot Emigration Va., 24.

20. For identification of de la Muce, Legrand, and Dupuy, see Baird, Huguenot Emigration, I, 71, 89, 109. See also Brock, ed., Huguenot Emigration Va., 19, 20, 48, 67, and 2 Exec. Jour. Va. 244.

21. See Goochland County Deeds and Wills, 1728-1734, 95, 279, and Goochland County Court Corders, 1731-1735, 212, Virginia State Library.

22. See the will of Jean Cairon, Feb. 6, 1716, Henrico County Deeds and Wills, 1714-1718, 69, Virginia State Library. See also list of the library at Manakin Town in 1710 in Charles T. Laughler, Thomas Bray's Grand Design: Libraries of the Church of England in America, 1695-1785 (Chicago, 1973), 96.

23. See the will of James Soblet, Goochland County Court Orders, 1731-1735, 533, Virginia State Library.

24. 2 Exec. Jour. Va. 211

25. John W. Reys, Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland (Charlottesville, Va., 1972), 196.

26. Brock, ed., Huguenot Emigration Va., 57.

27. Beverley, History of Va., 282.

28. Brock, ed., Huguenot Emigration, 56, and 2 Exec. Jour. Va. 209.
29. Bugg, "Manakin Town," 71.
30. The verdict was given in December 1731 in Goochland County Court Orders, 1730-1731, 99, Virginia State Library.
31. See table and discussion later in this chapter.
32. The differences between English, non-Manakin Town names and French Manakin Town names is not exact. Obviously a name like Edward Scot or Thomas Dickens is an English name and it can be assumed that these people were not members of the original Manakin Town group. Likewise a name like Estienne Chastain or Antoine Rapine in the earliest population of Manakin Town can be assumed to belong to the original Manakin Town group. However, names like Jean Martin (also spelled John Martin), Pierre Oliver (Peter Oliver), David Bernard and Jean Joanny (John Jones) pose a problem. The spelling on the tithable lists is extremely erratic. Most probably a French clerk would hear and spell an English name like a French one. As a rule, I have identified ambiguous names which appear early in the tithable lists (pre-1714) and on the census of 1714 as French names. If a seemingly English name appears after that date, I have assumed the name is not French.
33. See James T. Lemon, The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania (Baltimore, 1972), 85.
34. See Vestry Book of King William Parish, December 26, 1718, 30, and Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1710-1722, II (Richmond, 1882), 254.
35. Brock, ed., Huguenot Emigration Va., 112.
36. Goochland County Deeds and Wills, 1728-1734, 7, Virginia State Library.
37. 2 Exec. Jour. Va. 209, and Cal. State Papers, Col. Ser., 129.
38. 2 Exec. Jour Va. 269.
39. William H. Seiler, "The Anglican Parish in Virginia," in James Morton Smith, ed., Seventeenth Century America: Essays in Colonial History (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1959), 124.
40. Frederik Barth, ed., Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference (Boston, 1926), 19.
41. See Henrico County Court Orders, 1707-1709, Virginia State Library.
42. See Goochland County Court Orders, especially 1728-1730, 34, 36, Virginia State Library.

43. See Ibid, 1730-1731, 107, Virginia State Library; for Fouquinon's complaint, see Ibid., 1728-1730, 52; and for the case of Cuffey, see Ibid., 196.

CHAPTER III

THE LAND

The French protestant refugees who arrived in Virginia in July 1700 were ordered by the Executive Council of Virginia on August 8, 1700, to "be seated upon James River at Mannikin Town which is about twenty miles above ye falls where ye land is verry good and fertile Soil wholly in his Majties grant and without out any other Pretentions of Claimes as ye most proper place for ye advancement of his Majties Service and the Interest and safety of this Colony."¹ As we have seen, Manakin Town became an agricultural community, even if it was perhaps originally intended to be the artisan center of Huguenot industry and, as Philip Greven had demonstrated, "in any farming community the distribution and use of land are of fundamental importance in shaping both the community itself and the character of family life for those who live there."² In Manakin Town, the question of land is one of fundamental importance to the development of the community.

The last half of the seventeenth century was one of general economic depression in Chesapeake society. A severe depression occurred in 1666 and prices for tobacco were generally depressed from 1680 to 1713.³ The legislation in Virginia for the encouragement of towns was a direct result of these depressions. Virginians "were disposed to countenance a new Act of Cohabitation, in the hope that it would raise up occupations for the inhabitants of the colony and probably diminish their dependence upon England for manufactures, the cost of

which fell very heavily upon the people when their main commodity was depressed in value."⁴ The act of 1680 was not particularly successful in promoting a diversified economy in the long run--it certainly was not successful in Manakin Town--but the effort was made and was partially responsible for the establishment of Manakin Town.

Another important factor in the establishment of Manakin Town was the concern over the vulnerability of Virginia's frontier. The fear of war from both the Indians and the French in Canada led to an act strengthening Virginia's frontier and discovering the approaches of an enemy. It proclaimed that

the most proper ways and means for the strengthening the frontiers of this his majesties most ancient colony and dominion against the invasions and incursions of an enemy by land, and for the better prevention of murthers, robberyes and other spoiles from being comited thereon is thought to be by settling in cohabitations upon the said land frontiers with this government, and that the best method to effect the same will be by encouragements to induce societyes of men to undertake the same.⁵

The "societies of men" were to be granted 10,000 to 30,000 acres of land. This act passed on August 6, 1700, no doubt owed some of its conception to the settlement at Manakin Town. In 1704, when the question of land ownership was beginning to be raised by the French refugees, the Executive Council conceived it "to be of very Great Consequence that the settlement (of Manakin Town) be Established on a right foot especially now in time of Warr when there is so much rumour of the ffrench and Indians from Canada invadeing the Northern Colonys."⁶ The council was interested in granting land to the French refugees in the belief that their occupation of the land would better secure the frontier, in addition to revitalizing the economy.

Manakin Town, as has been mentioned before, was established as a

nucleated open field village. The act for strengthening the frontiers also emphasized the principle of land being held in common and with a society's population living in a village. The crucial decision about Manakin Town early involved the distribution of land; during the first two years of the settlement, the question of land ownership dominated society and the ideal of Manakin Town as a communal society slowly died.

The question of "how such as settle at ye Manakin towne can be qualified to hold ye said Land" was first discussed in the Executive Journal in May 28, 1702. It was then decided that "ye easiest way to ensure ye same...(is that) such of ye said Refugees as settle at ye said Manakin town shall hold their said Land as ye rest of his Matys Subjects in this Colony and Dominion do."⁷ If we accept Greven's statement that concern over legal title to property is indicative of the crystallization of the economic and social structure of the community, then Manakin Town early demonstrated this behavior.⁸

As early as May of 1702, "a Petition of the ffrench Refugees inhabiting at the Manakin Towne complaining of the Unequal laying out of their Land and desireing to take up more" was submitted to the Virginia House of Burgesses.⁹ The original 5,000 acres granted to the French refugees was clearly not enough and an additional 5,000 was granted to them in 1704. The concern of how much land to allot to the Frenchmen and whom to allot it to lasted two years until the Executive Council could be sure that only French refugees were settled in Manakin Town and that the land was properly surveyed for equitable distribution. Petitions of other Frenchmen who wished to settle in the community were granted only after their credentials were accepted.¹⁰

Finally on May 3, 1704, the House of Burgesses resolved that every

French refugee inhabiting Manakin Town "have liberty to take up so much of the ten thousand acres as will make his quantity (already taken up) one hundred and thirty three acres." The Council concurred with the House and appointed William Byrd to order the laying out of the ten thousand acres. Byrd also administered the oath of naturalization to the Frenchmen which legalized their right to the land.¹¹

The system of equally dividing the land was evidently not acceptable to the inhabitants of Manakin Town. On June 26, 1705, the Council received "a Petition of the French Refugees at Manican town Complaining that ye small quantity of Land allowed them is not sufficient for their subsistence & range of the Stock and praying that the 50 acres of Land per pole allowed them by his late Majesty King William may be laid out for them."¹² And again in November 1705, Reverend Philippe de Richebourg submitted a petition "praying that Every Person Inhabiting the said Manakin Town and part adjacent May be Allowed Their proportion of Land According to the Number of Their Familys and That Everyone may have his Patent to him & his heirs &c: being Naturalized by Act of Assembly."¹³ The Council decided that the French were to be allowed their proportion of land according to the number of their families and that if that quantity of land proved too little, they could make application to the assembly for a greater amount.¹⁴

In his article on Manakin Town, James Bugg writes that having allotments too small may have caused the community to fall apart sooner since the Frenchmen's livelihood depended on cattle and tobacco which required large quantities of land.¹⁵ I have argued that the community did not really "fall apart." Certainly the French did not begin to cultivate tobacco extensively until 1728 when they began to

pay their county levies in tobacco. Nonetheless, the small allotments caused tension from the beginning of the French refugees' tenure on the land. Abraham Salle, a prominent citizen of Manakin Town, wrote a petition, evidently to George I in 1716, pleading with him to "withdraw us from a place where we suffer. For a long time we would have been out of it, if we had been in a state to leave it of ourselves-- and to pay our passage, but we are wanting in means for that purpose." Salle asked to be sent to Ireland with other French protestants there. The reason was that "our families which are pretty numerous and the place which we occupy [being] quite limited, we find ourselves in the impossibility of procuring any situation for our Children or even to have them instructed or give them any education."¹⁶ The problem of insufficient land and the question of how to distribute it plagued the community of Manakin Town from the time its members began to cultivate the land.

Throughout the deliberations on how to distribute the lands, the Virginia Council wished "to restrain & regulate the conferring the said lands so as the end for which it was first granted may be best answered." Finally, in November 1710 the Council ordered that

all such heads of Familys and their Representative as have been constantly resident at the said Manican town from the first Settlement shall in the first place draw Lotts, and accordingly shall have as much land laid out for them respectively in the last five thousand acres as will with the land they have already make up their full Complement of one hundred thirty three acres to each Family. That all persons that have come since the first Settlement and have been constantly resident at the said Manican town since their first comeing, shall in the next place draw Lotts, and according to the priority of their said Lotts shall have their proportion of Land in the said last five thousand acres to compleat with what they have already the quantity of 133 acres to each Family.

And in the last place such as have deserted the said Settlement and afterwards returned to inhabit there shall in like manner draw Lotts.¹⁷

The Council also added that if any person had more of his share of one hundred and thirty-three acres and his neighbor had less, his neighbor should have the surplus. Likewise, since "divers of the first heads of Familys settled at the said Manican Town are since dead, It is ordered that the Heirs or Children of the sd deceased if any be, and if not the Widow shall have and enjoy the Dividents allotted or which ought to be allotted." Any dispute would be heard by two appointees of the Council.¹⁸

Land in Manakin Town had begun to be patented as early as 1705 when William Byrd reported that 10,033 acres were laid out for the French refugees. Included in the area of Manakin Town, but not in the 10,033 acres laid out by Byrd, were seventy-seven acres already granted to Jean Joanny, a French refugee, and three hundred forty-four acres, owned by Byrd himself.¹⁹ In 1705, Abraham Michaux, who came to Manakin Town from New York, patented five hundred seventy-four acres, and Abraham Salle, who also came from New York and was naturalized there, patented two hundred thirty-two acres in 1711.²⁰ In April 1712, a number of disputes over the division of land began to be reported to the Council. The resolution of November 1710, it was said, had not been fully and correctly executed, but presumably the disputes were successfully arbitrated by 1714 when the land finally began to be patented. Five settlers patented land in that year but it was not until 1716 that a majority of the French protestants at Manakin Town began to receive patents to land they had evidently been living on for about sixteen years.

The ten thousand acres the French protestant refugees were granted were located between the upper and lower Manakin Town creeks.²¹ The lower Manakin Town creek is easily located; a mid-nineteenth century map identifies it as such. It is now called Bernard's Creek (perhaps after the Huguenot settler of that name).²² The identity of the upper Manakin Town creek is not so facilely discovered. Judge William Pope Dabney wrote in 1882 that the French protestants were granted

a large body of land extending along the south bank of the river, one mile from it in depth, and twenty-five miles in length, up the stream including all the islands in the river opposite them, was granted to them by letters-patent. The southern line was chopped upon the trees, and, for a hundred years later, was known as the French line. The eastern boundary was Bernard's Creek, and the western was Salle's creek.²³

The judge was mistaken. In addition to making the grant very narrow, he gave the town ten square miles more (or 6,400 acres) than it was actually granted.

The two obvious claimants for being the upper Manakin Town creek are Fine Creek and Jones Creek. In 1705 William Byrd was granted three hundred eighty-five acres "being an island which is encompassed by James River, in Henrico County; the lower end of said island lying opposite against the upper end of the Manakin Towne."²⁴ Byrd's island is now known as Sabbot's Island and lies opposite Jones Creek. Byrd wrote, in his description of the French settlement, that the French dwelt "betwixt ye two Creeks, w'ch is about four miles along on ye River."²⁵ Supporting the case for Jones Creek is the evidence that Jean Joanny, otherwise known as John Jones, lived on the main branch of the upper Manakin Creek. Since John Jones was a large land owner (he owned nine hundred nine acres in 1727)²⁶ with most of his land on the creek, it seems natural that the creek would later be known as Jones Creek.

GOOCHLAND COUNTY

LEGEND

- COAL MINES
 - ▨ AREA SURVEYED BY ARCHEOLOGISTS
 - ▨ MANAKIN TOWN GRANT
- 1 INCH = 1 MILE

(BYRD)

SABBOYS ISLAND

MANAKIN FERRY

JONES CREEK

JONES CREEK

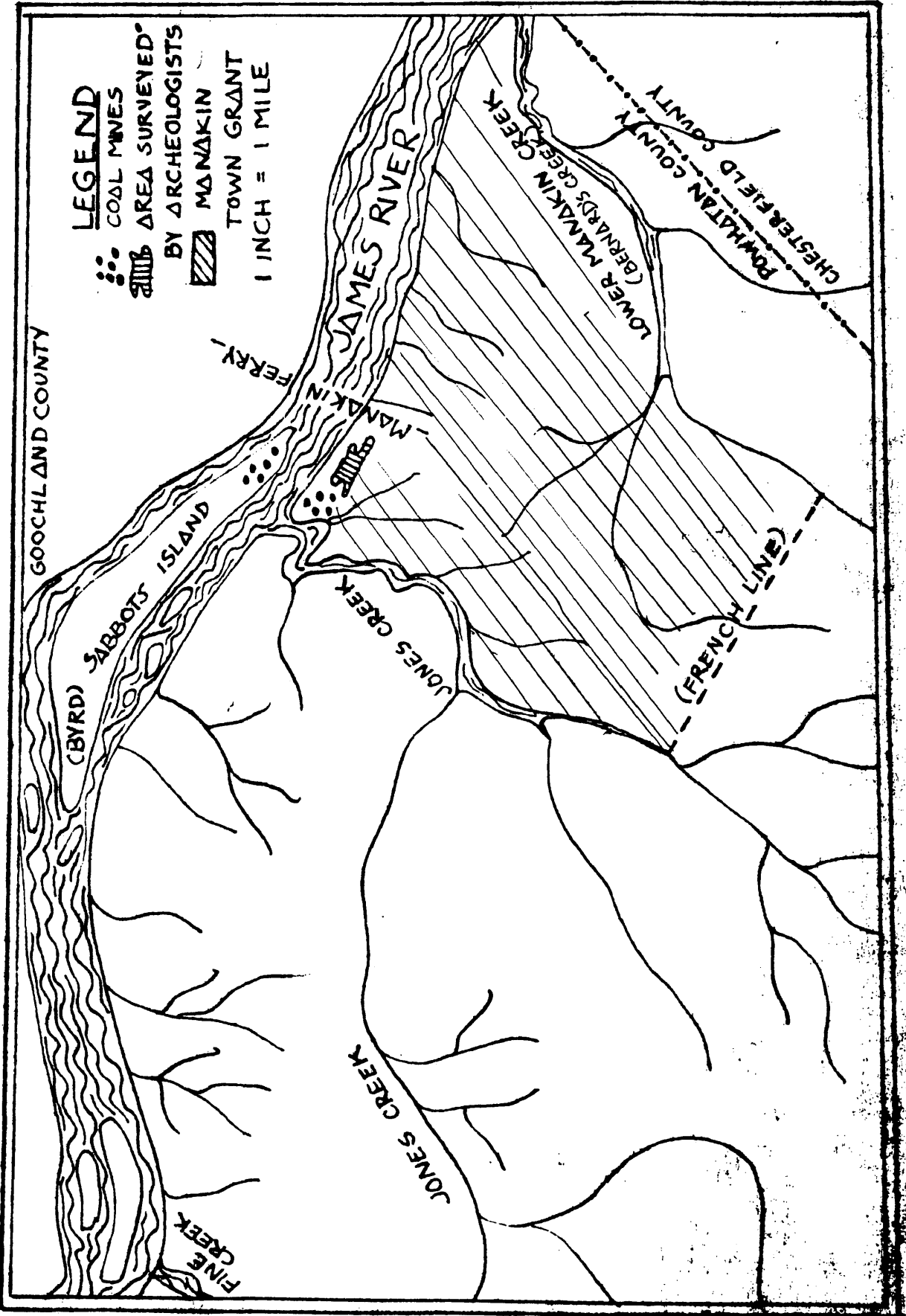
FINE CREEK

JAMES RIVER

LOWER MANAKIN CREEK (BERNARD'S CREEK)

(FRENCH LINE)

POWHTAN COUNTY
CHESTERFIELD COUNTY



Since the length of the grant along the river between the lower and upper Manakin creeks was four miles, it follows that the depth of the grant would be three and three-fourth miles. Ten thousand acres is the equivalent of fifteen square miles. An approximate line representing the "French line" can thus be drawn. The recorded land grants indicate that the first five thousand acres allotted were along the James between the two creeks and back a mile and a half. The second five thousand acres continued approximately a mile and a half farther inland.

It is therefore not surprising to find that the lots granted in the first five thousand acres were smaller than those granted later. The average size granted was one hundred and eighteen acres. Fifteen of the twenty-six initial grantees (for fifty-seven percent) held land under one hundred acres. This land was undoubtedly settled first and more densely than other parts of the grant. It was also probably the most fertile and most desirable in Manakin Town. The last five thousand acres were granted in lots averaging one hundred sixty-six acres per land owner. Only two of these land owners, or thirteen percent, held land of under one hundred acres. Eight held over a hundred acres but less than two hundred.

A third group of land owners either held land straddling the border of the grants or owned two pieces of land, one in each grant. Probably these land owners held contiguous lots on the border. These enterprising land owners held an average of four hundred acres each. Five owned over two hundred acres each and together owned 3,601 acres out of the 4,432 acres held by all of the third group. Thus the average lot size of the five was seven hundred twenty acres.²⁷

The average size of land grants of the inhabitants of Manakin Town should have been one hundred forty-one acres (or ten thousand acres divided by seventy-one, the number of heads of households listed in the 1714 census). In fact, the rather arbitrary figure of one hundred thirty-three acres per settler set by the Council was probably arrived at by dividing ten thousand acres by the number of men actually inhabiting the community. The number of men the Council was expecting to deal with, then, would have been seventy-five. Since five widows are listed in the 1714 census, it is probable that the community encompassed seventy-five men in 1710, the year the division was calculated.

The land patents usually identify land given to the French refugees by stating that land is located, for example, "in the Manakin Town... being part of the first five thousand acres given as a donation of King William to the French refugees."²⁸ Even with an additional five thousand acres added to the grant, many French settlers eventually settled on land adjacent to the original Manakin Town grant. Tabulations from the patent books show that the heads of households in the census of 1714 held a total of 9,123 acres, an average of one hundred ninety-four acres per person. The mean size of the grants was one hundred forty-four acres, exactly the size it ideally should have been.

Interestingly, but not surprisingly, because the finite boundaries of Manakin Town restricted the size of land holdings, patent books (which record only land grants and not land bought from land owners) show that a number of the Manakin Town community were granted land outside the original grant. The total amount of land patented by the extended community was 25,382 acres, over twice as much as the original Manakin Town grant. The seventy land owners who owned land outside

the grant held an average of three hundred sixty-three acres, much more than those who patented exclusively within the Manakin Town. Twenty-three of these land holders patented over three hundred acres each and only two of them owned land in the original grant. Thus the largest grants were not in Manakin Town.

That the boundary of Manakin Town limited the size of land holdings can be discovered also from examining the average size of a land grant in 1716, the year the majority of the French refugees' grants were patented. The average in Virginia for this year was three hundred twenty-two acres. Patentees from the Manakin Town grant averaged one hundred fourteen acres in 1716. The largest amount of land patented in Virginia for this year was 3,420 acres and the smallest was twelve acres (by a Manakin Town settler). While these figures reflect only the size of various land grants and not the size of land holdings, they still reveal that the Manakin Town grants were smaller than the average grant for the colony of Virginia.²⁹

An examination of persistence among men who appeared as heads of households on the 1714 census reveals that the lack of land was a factor in their departure. Seventy-seven percent of the men who left Manakin Town (excluding those who died) held no patented land and thirty percent had no wife or family. Opportunities elsewhere must surely have been more promising than those at Manakin Town.

The vestry book of King William Parish contains the quit rent roll of Manakin Town for the years circa 1721 and circa 1727. The number of people listed as owning land in 1721 is forty-eight as it is in 1727. Since forty-seven people from the 1714 census are recorded as patenting land, the number of land holders (although not the individual land owners) in Manakin Town remained the same over a thirteen-year period.

Not only did the number of people holding land remain constant, but the distribution of land also remained the same, as the following chart shows.

Percentages of Persons Owning Different Amounts
of Land in Manakin Town

| <u>Amount of Land in Acres</u> | <u>1714</u> | <u>1721</u> | <u>1727</u> |
|------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1-50 | 15 | 15 | 9 |
| 51-100 | 11 | 21 | 27 |
| 101-150 | 22 | 25 | 23 |
| 151-200 | 17 | 17 | 17 |
| 201-250 | 9 | 6 | 6 |
| 251-300 | 4 | 6 | 6 |
| 301-500 | 15 | 4 | 4 |
| 500 -- | 7 | 6 | 8 |

The proportion, then, of people owning between a hundred and two hundred acres was higher than those holding either more or less land, in the years for which there are records of land holding in Manakin Town; that proportion did not change much over time.

The total amount of land recorded in these years was also constant. The patent books show that 9,123 acres were patented in Manakin Town between 1705 and 1720. The 1721 rent roll recorded 9,246 acres in Manakin Town and 9,361 acres were recorded in 1727. The size of lots ranged in 1714 from the thirty-three acres of Gideon Chambon to the twelve hundred acres of Jean Martin. In 1721, Adam Vigne owned twenty-five acres and Jean Martin owned twelve hundred. Gideon Chambon owned thirty-three acres in 1727 and Pierre Chastain one thousand sixty-three. That a percentage of the heads of households patented and maintained a small amount of land must have been a deliberate choice. Eighty-one percent of the heads of households in 1714 owned land in Manakin Town

in 1721, seventy percent owned land in 1727. The average size of land held was one hundred ninety-two acres in 1721; in 1727 it was one hundred ninety-five acres. The mean size of land owned in 1721 and 1727 was around one hundred thirty-three acres, the amount originally allotted to the French settlers. No great change occurred, then, either in the amount of land held, the number of people holding the land, or in the distribution of the land. Seventy-one in all owned land in Manakin Town from 1714 until 1727, and twenty-seven of these owned land all through the period. Only five of them increased or decreased the amount of land they owned more than a hundred acres.

If any landowner or son of a landowner wished to increase his land holdings, he probably moved out of the area rather than try to acquire land in the community. For example, records show that Mathew Agee, who was born in Nantes, France, in 1670 and moved from France to Holland to England to Manakin Town, died in 1760 in Buckingham County, Virginia. He was certainly a prominent figure in Manakin Town, serving on the vestry and owning two hundred twenty acres when he moved westward. Jean Amonet (died 1833), Jean Bondurant (died 1774), and the sons of Charles Perrault died in Buckingham County also. Amonet and Bondurant were sons of original Manakin Town settlers. The children of Abraham Soblet (who died in 1716 in Manakin Town) filed wills in Albemarle County (1750), Charlotte County (two, in 1780 and 1782), Cumberland (1755), Goochland (1741), and Powhatan Counties (1783). Thus three of the sons moved westward while the other three remained in the area. A branch of the Soblet family moved to Woodford County in Kentucky. The preceding chapter on the people of Manakin Town shows that while fairly substantial numbers of people moved to and away from

the community, the number of people who remained was constant and that the core of them were the Frenchmen. Although Manakin Town was not a stagnant community, it was a stable one.

Not only was the population of Manakin Town relatively unchanging, but the number of land holders studied was also. Manakin Town early reached an equilibrium of population and land distribution. After 1714, when the French began to patent land, disputes which earlier disrupted the community and brought intervention by Virginia magistrates stopped; no great upheaval was thereafter reported. But if no great social change can be noted, an economic change in Manakin Town can be.

When the Huguenots first arrived in Virginia they and their sponsors expected that they would engage in non-tobacco agriculture or would establish a weaving, wine-making or artisan center. The Virginia government specifically encouraged the diversification of the economy and the establishment of towns as a panacea for Virginia's economic ills at the end of the seventeenth century. As one observer wrote of the colony's economy in 1697 to the Board of Trade, "as to the employment of the population, all generally are employed in planting tobacco. Some few of late, from want of goods from England, have forced particular persons to go upon the manufacture of linen and wollen, tanning and making shoes."³¹ But in Manakin Town it was not until 1728 that the parish levies were paid in tobacco in King William Parish. As early as 1713, the inhabitants of Manakin Town were complaining that "the sheriffs and other officers appointed to collect the Quit rents and publick Levy, knowing that the sd refugees have no tobacco to discharge the same, refused to accept any commodity produced upon their land."

They also asked that a rate be set on their commodities by which they might discharge the public dues.³² The matter was still not solved on August 4, 1715, when the Council received another petition asking that the parishioners of King William be allowed to pay their levies in corn, wheat, flax, or hemp. The petition was rejected by the House of Burgesses. Nonetheless, the full scale production of tobacco was probably not begun until 1728 when the parish tithes were first paid in tobacco.³³

Peter Fontaine described the process of developing a tobacco economy in Memoirs of a Huguenot Family.

There is no set price upon corn, wheat and provisions, so they take advantage of the necessities of strangers, who are thus obliged to purchase some slaves and land. This, of course, draws us all into the original sin and curse of the country of purchasing slaves, and this is the reason we have no merchants, traders or artificers of any sort but what become planters in a short time.³⁴

This gradual process can be seen in the development of Manakin Town through the examination of tobacco-related factors.

We have seen how the amount of patented land in the Manakin Town community remained constant. The number of heads of households also remained constant. However, it is important to note that the number of tithables did not remain constant and that the growth of the slave and servant population in Manakin Town reveals the development of their economy toward a labor-intensive tobacco economy. Not surprisingly, the incidence of slave holding rose as can be seen by the following chart. The most inexplicable period on this chart is between 1724 and 1726, when for some reason the incidence of slave holding declined. The decrease was no doubt linked to the decrease in the tithable population but, again, no explanation is available for these phenomena except perhaps a temporary realignment of parish lines.

Percentage of Slaves (Including Indians) in
the Tithable Population of Manakin Town³⁵

| | | | | | |
|------|----|------|----|------|-------|
| 1710 | 0 | 1719 | 12 | 1728 | |
| 1711 | 5 | 1720 | 9 | 1729 | |
| 1712 | 6 | 1721 | | 1730 | 38 |
| 1713 | 6 | 1722 | | 1731 | 32-41 |
| 1714 | 8 | 1723 | 21 | 1732 | 30-36 |
| 1715 | 11 | 1724 | 21 | 1733 | 39 |
| 1716 | | 1725 | 16 | 1734 | |
| 1717 | 11 | 1726 | 14 | 1735 | 44-47 |
| 1718 | | 1727 | | | |

Otherwise, the chart shows a steady growth of slave holding from 1710 (when no slaves are listed) until 1735 (when Manakin Town's tithables were nearly half slave). While it is true that there were almost fifty percent more tithables in 1735 than in 1710, the number of heads of households in 1710 was seventy-one and in 1735, sixty nine, two less than twenty-five years earlier. Clearly the nature of the economic and social system had changed over the twenty-five year period.

An examination of the variations in tithable household sizes reveals a similar pattern to that displayed by slave holding pattern in the development of Manakin Town's economy.

Percentage of Tithables per Household
in Manakin Town

| <u>No. of Tithables/ Household</u> | <u>1710</u> | <u>1714</u> | <u>1720</u> | <u>1726</u> | <u>1730</u> | <u>1735</u> |
|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1 | 91 | 74 | 65 | 43 | 51 | 51 |
| 2 | 9 | 22 | 22 | 29 | 21 | 20 |
| 3 | | 2 | 9 | 12 | 13 | 12 |
| 4 | | 2 | 2 | 10 | 7 | 9 |
| 5 | | | | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| 6 | | | | | 3 | 1 |
| 7 | | | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| 8 | | | | 2 | | |
| 9 | | | | | 3 | 1 |
| Total No. of Heads of Household | 71 | 63 | 56 | 49 | 75 | 69 |

The years chosen to show variations in tithable household size were selected because they were closest to years when the quit rent rolls were taken. The preceding chart shows that the percentage of single tithable households declined until by the 1730's, they formed only half of the population, thus signifying a further change in the economic pattern in Manakin Town which is echoed by the statistics of slave holding over the same years. Not only did Manakin Town's inhabitants come to rely on slave labor but they also relied on the dependent labor of sons and other landless men. Because land size and the numbers of landowners did not substantially change, the increase in tithable household size can only mean that the land began to be used differently. Instead of subsistence farming, the citizens of Manakin Town joined in Virginia's tobacco-based agriculture.

Manakin Town was established as a unique immigrant community and enjoyed a brief period as a distinctive community. What makes it so interesting is that it was begun as a distinct settlement in the colony of Virginia. The expectations of both its settlers--the French protestant refugees--and its founders--the British and colonial governments--were high. Those expectations upheld the settlement in its difficult opening years. Other ethnic settlement patterns in other colonies in British America were sustained by a linguistic and religious consciousness which encompassed economic relationships; later patterns in nineteenth century America would prove even more enduring. In the colonial period and in the nineteenth century, boundary maintaining mechanism existed because of the strong cultural identity of the immigrant group against the dominant group.

As Manakin Town developed it did not long maintain its cultural autonomy. It had no reason to do so. Its church, its language, its economy all became an integral part of the host colony. As a distinctive community, it was a failure. Its cultural barriers were only artificially maintained, first by the colonial government and then by the settlement's isolation on the frontier of Virginia. Its first years of existence were difficult and the social and economic upheaval substantial. As its inhabitants legally claimed a right to land, they also emphatically claimed a right to the host society, its culture, economy, and politics. After existing for decades as exiles from their native country, the French, whose idealistic and isolationist aims were never strong, quickly accepted English precepts they had probably already acknowledged. Once again, and not surprisingly, the economic plan the colonial government had envisioned was subverted. Since the French refugees showed every sign of becoming good Virginia citizens and since the Virginia economy had rallied after the depression at the end of the seventeenth century, the government turned its attention to other means of regulating its society. The original concept of Manakin Town was abandoned, but its history is illustrative not only of the development of Virginia society at the beginning of the eighteenth century but also of the assimilation of a foreign community. As such, Manakin Town is an example of the process by which Europeans became Americans.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER III

1. 2 Exec. Jour. Va. 101.
2. Philip J. Greven, Jr., Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts (Ithaca, N.Y., 1970), 41.
3. See discussion on the economic climate of Virginia and Maryland, Russell R. Menard, "Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1975), 287-290, 308-313.
4. Philip Alexander Bruce, Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century..., II (New York, 1907), 548. For a further discussion of the legislative response to the depressions of colonial Virginia, see Ibid., 522-565 and John C. Rainbolt, From Prescription to Persuasion: Manipulation of Seventeenth Century Virginia Economy (Port Washington, N.Y., 1974).
5. 3 Hening, 204-205.
6. H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1703-1705 (Richmond, 1913), 53.
7. 2 Exec. Jour. Va. 247.
8. Greven, Four Generations, 61
9. Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1700-1702, 353.
10. The council thought it important that only those who settled in Manakin Town and were most likely to continue their residence there be allowed to enjoy the privileges of the community. See, for example, the petition of Salomon de la Cu and others, May 28, 1702, and the petition of John Depp and others, October 24, 1704, in 2 Exec. Jour. Va. 247, 401.
11. See Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1703-1705, 63, and 2 Exec. Jour. Va. 400-401.
12. 3 Exec. Jour. Va. 15-16.
13. Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1705-1706, 163. The legislature passed an act for naturalization on October 1705 which specifically stipulated that aliens and foreigners "be confirmed in the quiet and peaceable possession of the said purchases" of land provided those aliens accept the laws of England. 3 Hening 434-435.

14. 3 Exec. Jour. Va. 261.

15. James L. Bugg, Jr., "The French Huguenot Frontier Settlement of Manakin Town," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, LXI (1953), 359-394.

16. This petition was printed in the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography. The owner of the letter has dated it as being written after the accession of George I because of Salle's offer of congratulations to "your Sacred person, for that of the Great Prince of your successor, and of the Illustrious Princess his wife." Since it also mentions the death of the Manakin Town minister, Jean Cairon, who died in 1716, the petition was more accurately written in 1716. See Ibid., XXXIV (1926), 159-160.

17. See 3 Exec. Jour. Va. 261-263.

18. In the event of any disputes, Colonel William Randolph and Mr. Richard Cocke were empowered to hear and determine controversies. The lieutenant governor was to have final jurisdiction. Ibid., 263.

19. See Ibid., 311.

20. For patents, see 2 Exec Jour. Va., 400-401, and Nell Marion Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, (Richmond, 1979), 89, 121. Information on land patents in this study will be taken from Nugent's abstracts.

21. See James Luckin Bugg, "Manakin Town in Virginia: Its Story and its People" (M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1942).

22. The original map is located at the Virginia State Library, Richmond, and was drawn by M. B. Hardin and L.W. Reid. Joseph and David Bernard are both listed on the "Liste generale de tous les francois protestants refugies, establys dans la paroisse du roy Guillaume," in Brock, ed., Documents, Chiefly Unpublished Relating to the Huguenot Emigration to Virginia (Richmond, 1886), 74-76.

23. See Dabney, "The Huguenots of Virginia," Magazine of American History, VIII (1882), 32.

24. Nugent, ed., Land Patents, 99-100.

25. Brock, ed., Huguenot Emigration Va., 43.

26. See the quit rent roll for ca. 1727 at the end of the Vestry Book for King William Parish.

27. The data on acreage of land grants are taken from Nugent, ed., Land Patents.

28. See Ibid., 184.

29. Aubry Land, however, writes that in Virginia, like Maryland, seventy-two percent of the patents granted were less than two hundred and fifty acres in 1704. The Browns write that two-thirds of all tidewater planters held two hundred acres or less. See Aubry C. Land, ed., Bases of the Plantation Society (Columbia, S.C., 1969), 30, and Robert E. Brown and B. Katherine Brown, Virginia 1705-1786: Democracy or Aristocracy? (East Lansing, Mich., 1964), 45. Edmund Morgan states that the 1704 rent roll of all of Virginia, on the other hand, shows that the average size of holdings was 417 acres. Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia (New York, 1975), 365.

30. See The Huguenot, V (1931), 66-68. Agee's children patented land in Albemarle, Buckingham and Bedford Counties. Ibid. See also Clayton Torrence, Virginia Wills and Administrations, 1632-1800... (Richmond, n.d.), 8, 41,332. For information on the Soblet family, see Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., "The Sublettes: A Study of a Refugee Family in the Eighteenth Century," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, LXIX (1961), 42-66.

31. Cal. State Papers, Col. Ser., XV, 956.

32. See Vestry Book of King Willian Parish, September 23, 1727, and 3 Exec. Jour. Va. 345.

33. N. R. McIlwaine, ed., Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, II (Richmond, 1918), 596, and Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1712-1726, 145-146.

34. Ann Maury, ed., Memoirs of a Huguenot Family... (New York, 1852), 352.

35. Slaves are listed on the tithable lists under taxpayers and are identified only by a first name. Years with a hyphenated percentage show tithable lists with incomplete enumeration of tithables. The percentage of slaves could be between 32 and 41 percent of the tithable population in 1731, for example.

36. For examples of studies of other Huguenot communities in colonial America, see Arthur Henry Hirsh, The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina (Durham, N.C., 1928), and Jon Butler, "The Huguenot in New York and South Carolina: An Essay in Ethnic Pathology" (unpublished paper, Organization of American Historians, 1978).

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