

their company againe, she told Mulatto jack, that she loved him for his fathers sake, And then having left the Company and she together a drinking, This deponent went home to his owne house, and afterwards coming from home towards the house of the said Thomas Cocke, he mett with the said Katherine Watkins about halfe an hour by sun in the pathway homewards neare to this deponents house. And further saith not. . . .

Humphrey Smith aged 26 yeares, deposeth, That he heard John Aust say (about September last past) what Matter is it what I swore to and likewise the deponent saw Katherine's Mout (the wife of Henry Watkins) torne and her lipps swell'd, And the handkerchief that she said the Mulatto Stopt her Mouth with very much bloody And the deponent heard the Mulatto confess that he had bene to aske the said Watkins wife forgiveness three tymes, and likewise the Mulatto sayd that Henry Watkins (the last tyme he went) bidd him keepe off his plantation or else he would shoote him and further saith not.

QUESTIONS FOR READING AND DISCUSSION

1. How does Katherine Watkins's testimony differ from that of other witnesses? To what extent does the testimony portray Watkins as the victim or the perpetrator?
2. Who were Katherine Watkins's neighbors, and what did they think of her and her husband? Did they all agree? To what extent did they consider her behavior aberrant?
3. What does the testimony suggest about day-to-day encounters between free people, servants, and slaves? Does the testimony indicate that witnesses were especially concerned that John (or Jack) Long was a "mulatto"? Why did slaves give no testimony?
4. In the end, what did the witnesses seem to believe was at stake in this episode? What kinds of disorder — social, sexual, racial, familial — occurred, according to the testimony? What expectations about order did the witnesses reveal?

DOCUMENT 3-5 Bacon's Rebellion

In 1676, Nathaniel Bacon led a group of planters, tenants, and servants in battles against Indians along the Virginia frontier. Bacon had arrived in Virginia only two years earlier and carved out a farm on the frontier. Bacon's status as a prominent English family gained him recognition from Virginia's governor, Sir William Berkeley. When Bacon began his private war against Indians, Berkeley — who hoped to keep peace along the frontier — declared the upstart a rebel. Beneath the dispute about Indian policy smoldered hostility between frontier planters and tidewater gentry, between struggling farmers and privileged gentry. That hostility flared into a full-scale rebellion that convulsed

Warren Billings, ed., *The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century: A Documentary History of Virginia, 1606-1689* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 277-79.

Nathaniel Bacon Declaration, 1676

Virginia until it was finally suppressed by government authorities in 1677, after Bacon's death and much destruction of life and property. In the following Declaration published in 1676, Bacon detailed his view of the prevailing order in Virginia. Bacon's Declaration disclosed the simmering antagonisms engendered by the inequities among whites, both free people and servants, in the seventeenth-century southern colonies.

If vertue be a sin, if Piety be guilt, all the Principles of morality goodness and justice be perverted, Wee must confesse That those who are now called Rebels may be in danger of those high imputations, Those loud and severall Bulls¹ would affright Innocents and render the defence of our Brethren and the enquiry into our sad and heavy oppressions, Treason. But if there bee as sure there is, a just God to appeal too, if Religion and justice be a sanctuary here, If to plead the cause of the oppressed, If sincerely to aime at his Majesties Honour and the Publick good without any reservation or by Interest, If to stand in the Gap after soe much blood of our dear Brethren bought and sold, If after the losse of a great part of his Majesties Colony deserted and dispeopled, freely with our lives and estates to endeavor to save the remainders bee Treason God Almighty judge and lett guilty dye, But since wee cannot in our hearts find one single spot of Rebellion or Treason or that wee have in any manner aimed at subverting the settled Government or attempting of the Person of any either magistratate or private man not with standing the severall Reproaches and Threats of some who for sinister ends were disaffected to us and censured our innocent and honest designs, and since all people in all places where wee have yet bin can attest our civill quiet peaseable behaviour farre different from that of Rebellion and tumultuous persons let Truth be bold and all the world know the real Foundations of pretended guilt, Wee appeale to the Country itselfe what and of what nature their Oppressions have bin or by what Caball² and mystery the designs of many of those whom wee call great men have bin transacted and carryed on, but let us trace these men in Authority and Favour to whose hands the dispensation of the Counties wealth has been committed, let us observe the sudden Rise of their Estates composed with the Quality in which They first entered this Country Or the Reputation they have held here amongst wise and discerning men, And lett us see wither their extractions and Education have not bin vile, And by what pretence of learning and vertue they could soe soon into Employments of so great Trust and consequence, let us consider their sudden advancement and let us also consider wither any Publick work for our safety and defence or for the Advancement and propagation of Trade, liberall Arts or sciences is here Extant in any [way] adaquate to our vast chardg, now let us compare these things togit[her] and see what spounges have sucked up the Publique Treasure and wither it hath not bin privately contrived away by unworthy Favourites and juggling Parasites whose tottering Fortunes have bin repaired and supported at the Publique

¹A reference to the Virginia governor's declaration (or *bull*) that Bacon and his supporters were rebels.
²Caball: Secret plot.

chard, now if it be so Judg what greater guilt can be then to offer to pry into these and to untriddle the misterious wiles of a powerfull Cabal let all people Judg what can be of more dangerous Import then to suspect the soe long Safe proceedings of Some of our Grandees and wither People may with safety open their Eyes in soe nice a Concerne.

Another main article of our Guilt is our open and manifest aversion of all, not onely the Foreign but the protected and Darling Indians, this wee are in formed is Rebellion of a deep dye For that both the Governour and Council are by Colonnell Coales Assertion bound to defend the Queen and Appamatocks with their blood Now whereas we doe declare and can prove that they have bin for these Many years enemies to the King and Country, Robbers and Theeves and Invaders of his Majesties' Right and our Interest and Estates, but yet have by persons in Authority bin defended and protected even against His Majesties Joyall Subjects and that in soe high a Nature that even the Complainants and oaths of his Majesties Most Joyall Subjects in a lawfull Manner proffered by them against those barbarous Outlawes have bin by the right honourable Governour rejected and the Delinquents from his presence dismissed not only with pardon and indemnity but with all encouragement and favour, Their Fire Arms soe destructfull to us and by our lawes prohibited, Commanded to be restored them, and open Declaration before Witness made That they must have Ammunition although directly contrary to our law, Now what greater guilt can be then to oppose and endeavour the destruction of these Honest quiet neighbours of ours.

Another main article of our Guilt is our Design not only to ruine and extirpate all Indians in Generall but all Manner of Trade and Commerce with them, Judge who can be innocent that strike at this tender Eye of Interest; Since the Right honourable the Governour hath bin pleased by his Commission to warrant this trade who dare oppose it, or opposing it can be innocent, Although Plantations be deserted, the blood of our dear Brethren Spilt, on all Sides our complainants, continually Murder renewed upon us, who may or dare think of the generall Subversion of all Manner of Trade and Commerce with our enemies who can or dare impeach any of [word missing] Traders at the Heades of the Rivers if contrary to the wholesome provision made by lawes for the countries safety, they dare continue their illegal practises and dare asperse the right honourable Governours wisdom and justice soe highly to pretend to have his warrant to break that law which himself made, who dare say That these Men at the Heades of the Rivers buy and sell our blood, and doe still notwithstanding the late Act made to the contrary, admit Indians painted and continue to Commerce, although these things can be proved yet who dare bee soe guilty as to doe it.

Another Article of our Guilt is To Assert all those neighbour Indians as well as others to be outlawed, wholly unqualified for the benefit and Protection of the law, For that the law does reciprocally protect and punish, and that all people offending must either in person or Estate make equivalent satisfaction or Resstitution according to the manner and merit of the Offences Debts or Trespasses; Now since the Indians cannot according to the tenure and forme of any law to us known be prosecuted, Seised or Complaind against, Their Persons being diffi-

³Appamatocks: An Indian tribe.

⁴Recent legislation prohibited trade with Indians who wore paint, a sign of unrelability, according to Bacon and many other Virginians.

QUESTIONS FOR READING AND DISCUSSION

If it should be said that the very foundation of all these disasters the Grant of the Beaver trade to the Right Honourable Governour⁵ was illegal and not grantable by any power here present as being a monopoly, were not this to deserve the name of Rebel and Traytor.

Judge therefore all wise and unprejudiced men who may or can faithfully or truly with an honest heart attempt the country's good, their vindication and liberty without the aspersion of Traitor and Rebell, since as soe doing they must of necessity gall such tender and dear concerns, But to manifest Sincerity and Loyalty to the World, and how much wee abhorre those bitter names, may all the world know that we doe unanimously desire to represent our sad and heavy grievances to his most sacred Majesty as our Refuge and Sanctuary, where wee doe well know that all our Causes will be impartially heard and Equall justice administered to all men.

1. According to Bacon, what were the real foundations of the trouble in Virginia?
How did he propose "to untriddle the misterious wiles of a powerfull Cabal"?
2. What was Bacon's plan for "the protected and Darling Indians"? Why did he favor such a plan, and why did others oppose it?
3. What did Bacon's statement suggest about the distribution and exercise of political power in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake? What changes in political power did he seek? What principles did he believe should govern colonial society?
4. How might Bacon's arguments have been answered by his opponents, both in the colonial government and among the Indians?

COMPARATIVE QUESTIONS

1. To what extent did colonial life, as revealed in the documents, differ from common expectations in England and Spain? How did the documents reflect the colonists' adjustment of English and Spanish ideas and behavior to the realities of life in the southern colonies?
2. What assumptions did the documents make about the basic rules governing the seventeenth-century colonies? Did Native Americans observe different rules?
3. How did tobacco influence the experiences of the individuals described by these documents? How did experiences differ according to social rank, gender, race, age, religion, and ethnicity?
4. Each of the documents offers evidence of important concepts of order and disorder. To what extent did the documents suggest broad agreement among free white colonists about the fundamental patterns of order and sources of potential disorder? To what extent did Indians, slaves, and servants share those notions?

⁵By monopolizing the trade in beaver skins, the governor reaped handsome profits for himself.