

EARLY MODERN VIRGINIA

A Symposium

New Thoughts on the Old Dominion

*Robert H. Smith International Center
for Jefferson Studies at Monticello
Charlottesville, Virginia
August 17-18, 2007*

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PROGRAM
EARLY MODERN VIRGINIA: A SYMPOSIUM

FRIDAY, AUGUST 17

2:30-3:00 P.M. Arrivals. Jefferson Library, Kenwood

3:00-4:15 P.M. Session 1: Economies

Victor Enthoven, *Royal Netherlands Naval College*

Wim Klooster, *Clark University*

“‘The Dutch Found and Relived Us’: The Dynamics of Virginia-Dutch Trade in the Long Seventeenth Century”

Comment: David Hancock, *University of Michigan*

4:15-4:30 P.M. Tea break

4:30-5:30 P.M. Plenary Address. Jon Kukla, *Patrick Henry Red Hill National Memorial*

“Leah and Rachel: Siblings and Rivals”

SATURDAY, AUGUST 18

8:30-10 A.M. Session 2: Beginnings

Douglas Bradburn, *State University of New York-Binghamton*

“The Eschatological Origins of the English Empire”

Comment: Edward Bond, *Alabama A & M University*

Camilla Townsend, *Rutgers University*

“Mutual Appraisals: The Shifting Paradigms of the English, Spanish and Powhatans in Tsenacomoco, 1560-1622”

Comment: Jim Horn, *Rockefeller Library*

10-10:15 A.M. Coffee break

10:15-11:45 A.M. Session 3: Governance

Alexander Haskell, *University of California-Riverside*

“What Did Settlers Expect from Government?: Understanding Seventeenth-Century Virginia Popular Politics”

Comment: Warren Billings, *University of New Orleans*

Terri Snyder, *California State University-Fullerton*

“‘To Seeke for Justice’: Mastery, Gender, and the Law in Early Modern Virginia”

Comment: Holly Brewer, *North Carolina State University*

11:45-1:00 P.M. Lunch

1:00-2:30 P.M. Session 4: Space and Place

Philip Levy, *University of South Florida*

“A Tale of Two Buildings: Impermanence, Society, and Brick Architecture in Seventeenth-Century Middle Plantation Virginia”

Comment: Julie King, *St. Mary's College of Maryland*

Edward Ragan, *American Indian Resource Center, College of William and Mary*

“Treaties, Tribes, and Tributaries: Competing Agendas and Conflicting Legacies of Anglo-Algonquian Interaction in the Virginia Tidewater”

Comment: Jim Axtell, *College of William and Mary*

2:30-2:45 P.M. Coffee break

2:45-4:15 P.M. Session 5: Slavery

John Coombs, *Hampden-Sydney College*

“Generations, Revolutions, and the Problem of Evidence: Toward a Processual Understanding of Slavery’s Rise in Virginia”

Comment: Lorena Walsh, *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*

Will Pettigrew, *Oxford University*

“Transatlantic Politics and the Africanization of Virginia's Labor Force, 1688-1712”

Comment: Patrick Griffin, *The University of Virginia*

4:15-4:30 P.M. Tea break

4:30-5:45 P.M. Roundtable: The Meaning and Memory of Early Virginia, 1607-2007

Discussants: Deanna Beacham, *The Virginia Council on Indians*

Thad Tate, *William and Mary College*

Lorena Walsh, *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*

6:00-8:00 P.M. Reception. Kenwood.

PARTICIPANTS

James Axtell is Kenan Professor of Humanities and History at the College of William and Mary. Educated at Yale, Oxford, and Cambridge, he has taught for 41 years at Yale, Sarah Lawrence, Northwestern, and William and Mary. He has published numerous books and articles on the history of Indian-European relations in the Colonial Americas, the Age of Exploration, and the history of American higher education. His latest works are *Natives and Newcomers: The Cultural Origins of North America* (2001), and *The Making of Princeton University: From Woodrow Wilson to the Present* (2006). He is now at work on a book entitled *The Big Three: Harvard, Yale, and Princeton in American Life*. To-date, he is William and Mary's sole member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Deanna Beacham is the Program Specialist for the Virginia Council on Indians, the Commonwealth's advisory board on Indian matters. She also serves as consultant, advisor and speaker on Virginia Indian history and contemporary concerns to universities, teachers, authors, museums, federal and state agencies, and other organizations. Born in Norfolk, Virginia, of Weapomeoc heritage, Deanna earned a B.S. degree from Duke University and an M.A. in clinical psychology from the University of Colorado. She is currently a member of the John Smith 400 Advisory Board, the Virginia Indian Nations Summit on Higher Education, the Virginia Historic Highway Marker Editorial Board, the Roanoke Island Festival Park Native Advisory Board, and the Council of Virginia Archaeologists.

Warren Billings is Distinguished Professor of History, Emeritus, at the University of New Orleans, where he taught upwards of 40 years. The author or editor of numerous reviews, articles, book chapters, and books, his shorter publications have appeared in *Louisiana History*, the *Journal of Southern History*, the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, the *William and Mary Quarterly*, and *Law Library Journal*, among others. His most recent books include *A Little Parliament: The Virginia General Assembly in the Seventeenth Century* (Richmond, 2004), *Sir William Berkeley and the Forging of Colonial Virginia* (Baton Rouge, 2004), and *A Law Unto Itself?: Essays in the New Louisiana Legal History* (Baton Rouge, 2001). He is editor of *The Papers of Sir William Berkeley* (Richmond, 2007), Chairman of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities' Jamestown Rediscovery Advisory Board, a member of the federal Jamestown 400th Commemoration Commission, and Historian of the Supreme Court of Louisiana.

Edward Bond (Ph.D., Louisiana State University) is Professor of History at Alabama A & M University in Huntsville, Alabama, and the John F. Woolverton Editor of *Anglican and Episcopal History*, the quarterly journal of the Historical Society of the Episcopal Church. He has written, co-authored, or edited several books and articles on religion in colonial Virginia, including *Damned Souls in a Tobacco Colony, Spreading the Gospel in Colonial Virginia*, "Source of Knowledge, Source of Power: The Supernatural World of English Virginia, 1607-1624," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 2000, and, most recently, with Joan R. Gundersen, "The Episcopal Church in Virginia, 1607-2007," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 2007. He is currently working on a biography of the Reverend James Blair.

Douglas Bradburn received undergraduate degrees in history and economics from the University of Virginia and his Ph.D. in history from the University of Chicago, winning the Central Broadcasting System Bicentennial Award for his doctoral dissertation. He has been Newberry Library Undergraduate Seminar Faculty Fellow at the Newberry Library and Gilder Lehrman Fellow at the Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies at Monticello. He is currently Assistant Professor of History at State University of New York at Binghamton. His first book, *The Citizenship Revolution: Politics and the Creation of the American Union, 1774-1804*, is forthcoming next year with the University of Virginia Press in Peter Onuf and Jan Lewis' *Jeffersonian America* Series. He is author, with John C. Coombs, of "Smoke and Mirrors": Reinterpreting the Society and Economy of the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake," *Atlantic Studies* 2006, and various articles on the founding of the United States.

Holly Brewer (Ph.D., University of California-Los Angeles, 1994) teaches in the areas of early American history, intellectual/cultural/legal history, and comparative history, primarily with Britain. Her book, *By Birth or Consent: Children, Law, and the Anglo-American Revolution in Authority* (Chapel Hill, 2005), won the 2006 J. Willard Hurst Prize from the Law and Society Association as well as the 2006 Cromwell Prize from the American Society for Legal History. She won three prizes for her article "Entailing Aristocracy in Colonial Virginia" (1997), including the 1998 Clifford Prize for the best article on any aspect of eighteenth century studies and the 2000 Douglass Adair Memorial Award for the best article published in the *William and Mary Quarterly* in the past six years. She is currently working on several projects, including a book on how cultural and religious attitudes toward hereditary status helped to shape the early American South, a comparative study of the transformation of crime and punishment in England, France and America during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

John Coombs (Ph.D., William and Mary, 2003) is Assistant Professor of History at Hampden-Sydney College. He works in the field of early American history, specializing in the social and cultural history of the Chesapeake, colonial slavery, and historical archaeology. He is author, with Douglas Bradburn, of "Smoke and Mirrors": Reinterpreting the Society and Economy of the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake," *Atlantic Studies* 2006. His first book, *The Rise of Virginia Slavery, 1630-1730*, is forthcoming with the University of Virginia Press.

Victor Enthoven (Ph.D., University of Leiden, 1996) is Associate Professor at the Netherlands Defense Academy and the Royal Netherlands Naval College. He has also worked for the University of Leiden's Institute of the European Expansion and its Reactions, and the Institute for Dutch History in The Hague. His project on Dutch Atlantic trade and shipping, done in conjunction with Johannes M. Postma of Mankato State University, resulted in the edited volume *Riches from Atlantic Commerce: Dutch Transatlantic Trade and Shipping, 1585-1817* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), which was awarded the accolade of Outstanding Academic Title, 2004, by *Choice: Reviews for Academic Libraries* (January 2005). Since 2004, he has regularly participated in the Harvard University's International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World, 1500-1800. He is currently in the process of completing an edited volume on military force and violence in the Dutch Atlantic world.

Patrick Griffin is an Associate Professor of History at the University of Virginia. He is the author of *The People with No Name: Ireland's Ulster Scots, America's Scots Irish, and the Creation of a British Atlantic World* (Princeton University Press, 2001), and *American Leviathan: Empire, Nation, and Revolutionary Frontier* (Hill & Wang, 2007). He is currently engaged in a project comparing Ireland's and Virginia's seventeenth century experience in English, Atlantic, and global contexts.

Alexander Haskell is an Assistant Professor of History at the University of California-Riverside. He received his Ph.D. at The Johns Hopkins University in 2005 and has just finished a two-year National Endowment for the Humanities post-doctoral fellowship at the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture. His research interests are in early American history, particularly in the connections between politics, culture and belief. He is currently completing a manuscript entitled *The Affections of the People: The Politics of Commonwealth-Building in Colonial Virginia, 1607-1754*.

David Hancock is Associate Professor of Atlantic, American, and British History at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. A specialist on the long eighteenth century, he is the author of *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (Cambridge, 1995), and the editor of *The Letters of William Freeman, London Merchant, 1678-1685* (London Record Society, 2002). His most recent article, on the trouble with networks, appeared in the Autumn 2005 issue of the *Business History Review*. His most recent study of the emergence and self-organization of the Atlantic economy between 1640 and 1815, as viewed through the lens of Madeira wine production, distribution and consumption, will appear in 2008. Professor Hancock received his A.B. degree in history and music from the College of William and Mary, an A.M. degree in music from Yale University in 1983, and a Ph.D. degree in history from Harvard University in 1990. He has also taught history at Harvard University (1990-1997) and the *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales* in Paris (2003).

James Horn is Vice President of Research and O'Neill Director of the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library at Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. He has served as Saunders Director of the International Center for Jefferson Studies at Monticello, Visiting Editor of Publications at the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture at the College of William and Mary, and taught for 20 years at the University of Brighton, England. He is the author of *Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake* (1994), *A Land As God Made It: Jamestown and the Birth of America* (2005), two edited collections, and numerous articles on early America. He has recently completed an edition of the writings of Captain John Smith for the Library of America and has just begun writing a book on the Lost Colony of Roanoke. He is a regular contributor to radio and television programs and has been heavily involved in the planning of events for the 400th anniversary of Jamestown.

Julie King (Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania) is an Associate Professor of Anthropology and a historical archaeologist at St. Mary's College of Maryland at Historic St. Mary's City. King's research interests include the historic period Chesapeake, particularly Maryland, and she has published extensively on the region's history, landscape, and material culture. King also teaches courses in ethnography, ethnohistory, cultural journalism, and historic preservation. In 2003, President Bush appointed King as an Expert Member of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, a federal agency which advises the President and Congress on matters of national historic preservation policy. King is the first archaeologist appointed to the Advisory Council in its 40 year history. She is also a past president of the Society for Historical Archaeology and a past member of the board of the Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology.

Wim Klooster (Ph.D., University of Leiden, 1995) is Associate Professor of History at Clark University, where he has taught since 2003. He has been a Fulbright Fellow, an Alexander Vieter Memorial Fellow, and an Inter-Americas Mellon Fellow at the John Carter Brown Library, a Charles Warren Fellow at Harvard University, and a Post-Doctoral Fellow in Atlantic History at the National University of Ireland, Galway. Since 2001, Benjamin Schmidt and he have been the editors of Brill's Atlantic World book series. Klooster is the author of numerous articles and five books, including *The Atlantic World: Essays on Slavery, Migration, and Imagination* (2005) (edited with Alfred Padula), *Illicit Riches. Dutch Trade in the Caribbean, 1648-1795* (1998), and *The Dutch in the Americas, 1600-1800* (1997). His current book-length project is entitled *Revolutions in the Atlantic World: A Comparative History*.

Jon Kukla received his M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Toronto. He has served as Director of Historical Research and Publishing at the Library of Virginia and has been Curator and Director of the Historic New Orleans Collection. Since 2000 he has been Director of the Patrick Henry Memorial Foundation. He is the author of numerous articles and books, including *Speakers and Clerks of the Virginia House of Burgesses, 1643-1776* (1981), *A Wilderness So Immense: The Louisiana Purchase and the Destiny of America* (2004), and *Mr. Jefferson's Women* (2007), recently selected as a History Book Club main choice for this coming October.

Philip Levy (Ph.D., William and Mary, 2001) is an Associate Professor of History at the University of South Florida where he teaches early American history and historical archaeology. He also holds an appointment in the Department of Anthropology. Levy is the author of *Fellow Travelers: Indians and Europeans Contesting the Early American Trail*, as well as numerous articles and papers on colonial Indian relations, historical archaeology, and Virginia history. His article, "A New Look at an Old Wall: Indians, Englishmen, Landscape, and the 1634 Palisade at Middle Plantation," won the 2004 William M. E. Rachal Annual Award for the best article in *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*. He has had fellowships at Colonial Williamsburg, the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, and is currently a research fellow at George Washington Fredericksburg Foundation. He is writing a book about George Washington and American boyhood, the famous cherry tree story, and the Virginia landscapes of Washington's childhood.

William Pettigrew is a doctoral candidate at Lincoln College, Oxford and a former Director of the University of Oxford and the University of Virginia's Atlantic History Seminar. He is the author of "Free to Enslave: Politics and the Escalation of Britain's Transatlantic Slave Trade, 1688 – 1714," which appeared in the January 2007 edition of the *William and Mary Quarterly*. He has recently completed a study that examines how political changes at the turn of the eighteenth century accelerated Britain's involvement in the transatlantic slave trade. He is now working on a broader study of how political change underpinned economic growth at the threshold of modernity.

Edward Ragan (Ph.D., Syracuse University, 2006) is currently a lecturer in history at Old Dominion University. He works in Virginia history with a particular research interest in the settlement and social development of the Rappahannock River valley from its first Algonquian residents through the agricultural revolution of the late nineteenth century. He is the author of "Brother, Father, Destroyer: George Washington's Legacy in Iroquoia," in Kevin L. Cope, ed., *George Washington in and as Culture* (AMS Press, Inc. 2001), and "Sermons and Orations in War," in *The Oxford Companion to American Military History*, John W. Chambers, ed. (Oxford University Press, 1999).

Terri Snyder received her Ph.D. from the University of Iowa and is currently an Associate Professor in American Studies at California State University-Fullerton where she teaches courses on early American studies, women's history, and gender in American culture. Her research focuses on the intersections of gender, law, and violence in the early American South. She is the author of *Brabbling Women: Disorderly Speech and the Law in Early Virginia* (Ithaca, NY, 2003). She has also published in the *William and Mary Quarterly* and *History Compass*; in Mann and Tomlins, eds., *The Many Legalities of Early America* (Chapel Hill, 2001), in Daniels and Kennedy, eds., *Over the Threshold: Intimate Violence in Early America* (New York, 2001), and in the *Dictionary of Virginia Biography* and *African American National Biography*. She has served on the Board of Editors for the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, and is the recipient of several national fellowships, including, most recently, a National Endowment for the Humanities Faculty Research Award. She is currently working on a book-length study of the history of self-murder in the early British North American southern and Caribbean colonies.

Thad Tate is Professor of History, Emeritus, at the College of William and Mary, where he taught for over 30 years. His long association with the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture included service as Editor of the *William and Mary Quarterly* from 1966-1972 and as Director from 1972-1989. He also later served as Director of the Commonwealth Center for the Study of American Culture and as President of the Historical Society of the Episcopal Church. His numerous publications include *The Negro in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg* (1966), a co-authored volume, with Warren Billings and John E. Selby, *Colonial Virginia: A History* (1986), and an edited collection, with David L. Ammerman, *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society* (1979).

Camilla Townsend is Associate Professor of History at Rutgers University. She studies the contact period in both Spanish and English America focusing on the Native American perspective. She is the author of numerous articles, among them “Burying the White Gods: New Perspectives on the Conquest of Mexico,” (*American Historical Review*, June 2003) and of three books, including *Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma* (Hill & Wang, 2004), which was a finalist for the Library of Virginia’s non-fiction Literary Award, and *Malintzin’s Choices: An Indian Woman in the Conquest of Mexico* (University of New Mexico Press, 2006), winner of the Lygia Para Jahn Award in Latin American Studies.

Lorena Walsh is a senior research historian at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. She has written numerous articles on all aspects of the history of the early Chesapeake. She is also the author of *From Calabar to Carter’s Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community* (2001) and co-author, with Russell Menard and Lois Green Carr, of *Robert Cole’s World: Agriculture and Society in Early Maryland* (1991). She is currently completing work on two forthcoming books: *Motives of Honour, Pleasure, and Profit: Plantation Management in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1607-1763*, and *To Labour for Profit, 1764-1820*, a two volume study of plantation management for the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.