Emergent Harmony in a Discordant Land: The Creolization of Music in the Eighteenth-Century Tidewater

by

James Padilioni, Jr.

56 Linden Ave.
Lansdowne, PA 19050
jpadilioni@studentsforliberty.org – 484-844-4668

A research project submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Arts
(History)
May, 2012 Graduation
to Dr. Steven Gimber
West Chester University of PA

Emergent Harmony in a Discordant Land: The Creolization of Music in the Eighteenth-Century Tidewater

Abstract

This research paper will analyze the development of a creolized musical culture in the Tidewater of Virginia during the eighteenth century. This creole music combined elements of both European/British Isles music with traditional West African idioms. There are several historical questions that this paper will attempt to address. How is it that a cross-racial music culture developed within a society that was focused on the concept of ordered hierarchy and designed to culturally segregate Anglo and Afro-Virginians? Was this shared music culture the result of unidirectional influence of European music styles being forced onto subjugated Africans, or was it a bidirectional exchange in which members of both groups contained agency? Additionally, the historiographic significance of this study will be addressed, from both a musicological and slave studies perspective. The phenomenon of this creolized music culture deserves close attention because it is the foundation of the majority of American popular music forms, and is yet one more way to analyze the nuance and complexity of actual individuals within the plantation slave system in the Chesapeake. By incorporating the work of social scientist F.A. Hayek, this paper closes by attempting to explain the causality behind the emergence of this music. Much work has been done within the historiography of American slavery to dispel tropes and generalizations; this research seeks to add to that body of knowledge.

Acknowledgments

This paper represents nearly a year of extensive research born out of an active historical imagination and a desire to tell a story not often told. Researching the creolized music culture of eighteenth-century Virginia was the most enjoyable experience of my life, but I would not have reached the conclusions presented in this paper without the support of many scholars in early American history and musicology who have been gracious enough to have a dialogue with me on this topic and read this paper.

First and foremost, this project would not have been possible without access to hundreds of primary and rare eighteenth-century documents. My summer 2011 internship with the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation provided the opportunity to both perform thorough primary document research and also inhabit the mindset of an eighteenth-century Afro-Virginian as a first person interpreter in the military and African-American music programs. The collections held at the Rockefeller Library proved essential to this paper, as did the Swem Library collections at the College of William and Mary, especially the Special Collections Room. Williamsburg is an ideal location for an early Americanist to do research, and I fully availed myself of all it had to offer.

I have discussed the ideas out of which this paper grew with many academics, who I wish to thank. They have taken time to help me develop as a historian and provided constructive feedback after reading this paper. A hearty "thank you" to Dr. David Hildebrand of the Colonial Music Institute, Dr. Sterling Murray, Professor Emeritus, West Chester University; Dr. Daniel Livesay, Omohundro Institute Fellow; Dr. Cynthia Kierner, George Mason University; Sarah Glosson, doctoral student in American Studies, College of William and Mary; Dr. Chris Geist, Professor Emeritus, Bowling Green State University and Dr. Rob McDonald, The United States

Military Academy at West Point. I appreciate the exchange of ideas I have had with each one of them and I consider them all friends.

The seedlings of thought that gave birth to this research were planted by several professors at West Chester University in the history and musicology departments. They have helped shape my sense of the study of history, and I simply would have been unable to write this paper without their influence. Professor Gail Capehart introduced me to material culture and American studies, and taught me the incredible potential of non-documentary historical sources. Dr. Latonya Thames-Taylor opened my mind to whiteness studies, and the intersection of power and privilege. Dr. Eric Fournier exposed me to a wide array of historiographical schools, theoretical approaches and methodologies. Dr. Julian Onderdonk and Dr. Scott Balthazar grounded my understanding of the social and cultural forces that influence music creation. These forces can be detected in the music, heard in its rhythms and tonality, and read in its notation.

Dr. Steven Gimber oversaw and guided this research, and I thank him for his probing questions and sound advice throughout the process. The focus of the research began as quite broad, and Dr. Gimber stressed the importance of a tightly-constructed thesis, which has been a constant focus of this project. His excitement and knowledge regarding early American history is contagious and is reflected here.

My friends and family have all become mini-experts on music in colonial Virginia on my account, and I appreciate their patience with my constant historical discussions. Lastly, I thank each individual Afro and Anglo-Virginian, who in some small way took the time to share a jig, play a fiddle or banjo, and sing together. It has been my pleasure to rediscover their lives, though incompletely. I have thought about some of the individuals presented in this paper very deeply, and have grown quite fond of them in a surprising, yet satisfyingly real way.

Emergent Harmony in a Discordant Land: The Creolization of Music in the Eighteenth-Century Tidewater

On January 7, 1775, Nicholas Cresswell, an Englishman touring the American colonies, attended a genteel Tidewater ball. Cresswell reported seeing "37 ladies dressed and powdered to the life, some of them very handsome," clearly speaking to the urbane nature of this occasion. The style and form of the dancing Cresswell witnessed at this social ritual among the Virginia elite disturbed him:

> Betwixt the Country dances they have what I call everlasting jigs. A couple gets up and begins to dance a jig (to some Negro tune) others comes and cuts them out, and these dances always last as long as the Fiddler can play. This is sociable, but I think it looks more like a Bacchanalian dance than one in a polite assembly.[1]

Though Cresswell failed to appreciate its significance, he had actually observed a unique facet of Virginia's culture. The exchange of musical elements that occurred between Anglo-Virginians and Afro-Virginians during the eighteenth century led to the emergence of a creolized music culture in the Chesapeake region. That members of the gentry would dance in a manner identified by contemporaries as characteristically African at such a public event testified to the popularity of this creole music, despite having its genesis in a society arranged to furnish the segregation of whites and blacks.

This paper will examine the creolized music culture of Tidewater Virginia in the eighteenth century. It will make liberal use of both documentary and material culture sources to show the complex manifestations of this culture. The instances of cross-cultural music sharing presented here will support the contention that this phenomenon cut across the racial and class divisions endemic to the larger society. Finally, this research will be rooted within its larger historiographical context. There is much to be learned from this study, as creolized musical forms that emerged in Virginia during the eighteenth century were the seedlings of American pop

1 N. Cresswell, *The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774-1777,* (New York: The Dial Press, 1928), 53.

music. The rich tradition of cultural fusion in American popular musical forms that include minstrelsy, ragtime, jazz, blues, country, rock and roll, rhythm and blues, rap, and hip-hop has antecedence in the colonial period. More broadly, understanding the causality underlying the creolization of Tidewater music can provide insight about the complex ways humans interacted with each other organically within eighteenth-century Virginia, a rigidly constructed, yet paradoxical slave society. However, before this study focuses its attention exclusively on music, it is first necessary to reconstruct the paradigm of thought that governed the world of the Chesapeake; understanding the social forces out of which creolized music emerged is crucial to fully interpreting its significance.

The Tidewater: A Society of Extremes

Despite only being a small percentage of the population, the gentry disproportionately exerted a great amount of influence in shaping the cultural patterns of their world. Many of these families, headed by the second and third born sons of English nobility, first arrived in Virginia during the mid-seventeenth century. The law of primogeniture, or first-born inheritance, precluded these young men from ever establishing landed estates for themselves in England, but the newly-founded colony of Virginia represented a more-promising opportunity.[2]

Land in Virginia was plentiful and well-suited for growing tobacco. As tobacco's economic potential expanded, the need for a large labor force increased. Initially, indentured servitude provided this labor, with the majority of contracts involving poor whites who could not otherwise afford passage to America. As time passed, however, the system of indentured servitude proved insufficient to sustain the increasing demand for labor, and this labor shortage spurred the gradual development of black chattel slavery.[3] The first Africans arrived in Virginia

[2] D.H. Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 214-218
3 P. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom,* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2003), 296-298, 308-312.

in 1619, and these "20 and odd Negroes" were afforded the legal status of indentured servants.[4]

Though lifetime servitude may have existed in some form functionally, the establishment of a true slave society would require political power. The same planter elite class that owned the large tobacco plantations and held expansive tracts of land also controlled the political institutions of society. Despite composing less than 10% of Virginia's population, members of the gentry presided over the county courts, sat as legislators in the House of Burgesses, and formed the membership of the governor's council.[5] This statistically small group of men had an enormously disproportionate influence in steering Virginia's course, as they passed law after law throughout the latter half of the seventeenth-century that held Africans in lifetime servitude, restricted the ways that whites and blacks could associate with each other, and changed English common law to make African servitude maternally-inheritable.[6] As J. Horn wrote, "the political and economic consolidation of colonial elites […] and the switch from white to slave labor heralded the emergence of the 'slave-based, gentry-dominated society' characteristic of the Chesapeake's golden age."[7] The founding of the College of William and Mary in Middle Plantation in 1693, the renaming of Middle Plantation to Williamsburg and its establishment as the capital of the colony in 1699, and the enactment of the slave codes of 1705 represented a new period in Virginia's socio-cultural history that would differ from the previous century in marked ways. As the seventeenth century transitioned into the eighteenth century, the social stratification of the Tidewater became more concrete.

The eighteenth century in Virginia witnessed the maturation of Chesapeake society, as the gentry used their economic and political hegemony to organize and direct the cultural life of the

---

4 E. Sluiter, "New Light on the '20. and Odd Negroes' Arriving in Virginia, August 1619," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3d Ser., 54 (1997), 396-98.

5 Fischer, *Albion's Seed,* 222-224.

6 See VA slave laws in "American Odyssey: From Indentured Servitude to Racial Slavery", *Enslaving Virginia*, (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1998), 43-89.

7 J. Horn, "Tobacco and the Peopling of Virginia", *Major Problems in American Colonial History*, 2nd edition, K.O. Kupperman, ed., (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000), 86.

colony as well. The planter elite class aspired to the status of the English aristocracy, characterized by "the condescension of superiors consciously accommodating themselves to those of lesser authority, rank, and wealth; the deference of subordinates yielding to the real or implicit power or experience of those in authority; the subtle but clear distinctions of social rank or hierarchy."[8] These aspirations formed the core of Tidewater society. The Reverend Hugh Jones, professor of mathematics at the College of William and Mary, wrote in 1724 that, "The habits, life, customs, computations, etc. of the Virginians are much the same as about London, which they esteem their home…. They live in the same neat Manner, dress after the same Modes, and behave themselves exactly as the Gentry in London".[9] The English ideal of ordered hierarchy animated the quotidian activities of the planter elite class, and by proxy it influenced the entirety of Tidewater society. As Jones noted, the living arrangements, sartorial forms, and behaviors of the gentry clearly revealed the intellectual preoccupation with English ways. Public manifestations of this thought paradigm spread throughout the Tidewater from its center of Williamsburg and served a didactic function of introducing and reinforcing the concept of ordered hierarchy in the public mind.[10]

Not all aspects of colonial Virginia reflected England, however. The 1705 slave codes marked the entrenchment of the plantation system that was predicated upon social segregation between black slaves and their white masters, yet of necessity involved close physical proximity – especially in urban environments like Williamsburg and Norfolk. Throughout the seventeenth

8 G. Hood, *The Governor's Palace in Williamsburg: A Cultural Study,* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1991), 23.
9 H. Jones, *The Present State of Virginia,* (London: J. Clarke, 1724), 32.
10 For Tidewater architecture and landscape fashioning, see Michael Olmert, *Kitchens, Smokehouses, and Privies: Outbuildings and the Architecture of Daily Life in the Eighteenth-Century Mid-Atlantic, (*Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009); for Williamsburg's gentry material culture see G. Hood, *The Governor's Palace* ; for reading clothing as grammar see J. Munns and P. Richards, *The Clothes That Wear Us: Essays on Dressing and Transgressing in Eighteenth-Century Culture,* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999); for elite Tidewater food culture see M.C. Malone, "A Dinner at the Governor's Palace, 10 September 1770" A thesis presented to the Faculty of the Department of American Studies, College of William and Mary, 1998; for meaning in public ceremonies of elite Tidewater culture see C.A. Kierner, "Genteel Balls and Republican Parades: Gender and Early Southern Civic Rituals, 1677-1826", *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* Vol 104, No. 2, (1996): 185-210, and R. Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia 1740-1790,* (Chapel Hill: University of NC Press, 1999), 323-357.

century, the numbers of Africans in Virginia remained statistically low, but this state of affairs changed drastically within the first few decades of the new century. With the legal framework of slavery in place, importation increased dramatically, but as Reverend Jones pointed out, "the Negroes [were] not only encreased by fresh Supplies from Africa and the West India Islands, but also [were] very prolifick among themselves."[11] The growing African and Afro-Virginian population in the Tidewater was so visible that wealthy planter William Byrd, II confessed to a friend in 1736 that he "fear[ed] this Colony will some time or other be confirmd by the Name of New Guinea" due to the fact that the slaves' "Numbers increase every day as well by birth as Importation."[12] The population of black Virginians had only grown to around 3,000 by the year 1680. By 1720, the black population had grown nearly 900% to a total of roughly 27,000; this number would rapidly swell to 210,000 by 1775, another increase of 800%. Nearly four out of every ten faces in Virginia were brown on the eve of the American Revolution with blacks in Williamsburg comprising a 52% majority in 1775.[13]

All the while, the slave codes of Virginia were periodically updated and refined to accommodate the increasingly-difficult task of cultural and social segregation that was necessary in order for the system of slavery to exist.[14] The self-conscious ordering of Virginia's material culture to reflect and reinforce the hierarchy of the gentry should come as no surprise in light of the demographics of Tidewater society.

"A Constant Tuting" - Musical life in the Tidewater

Music was an especially-prominent part of Virginia's cultural life, with music-making

---

11 Jones, *Present State*, 37.

12 W. Byrd, "Colonel William Byrd on Slavery and Indented Servants, 1736, 1739", *The American Historical Review,* Vol. 1, No. 1, (1895): 88, 89.

13 For raw numbers of black population in VA see "Slavery and the Law in Virginia", Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, <http://www.history.org/history/teaching/slavelaw.cfm>, assessed 29 Sept. 2011; for the 1775 Williamsburg census, see D. Rittenhouse, *The Virginia Almanack for the Year of our Lord God 1776,* (Williamsburg: Dixon & Hunter, 1775), 42.

14 T. Costa, *The Geography of Slavery in Virginia*, "Official Records – Virginia Laws 1751-1800", http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/gos/laws1751-1800.html.

occurring in public and in private by all members and ranks within the social hierarchy. Williamsburg functioned as the musical hub of the colony, and a thriving musical culture emerged there. The sounds of music often wafted into the streets from the homes and buildings of the town and into the ears and memories of passers-by. Landon Carter, wealthy planter and member of the House of Burgesses, frequently found himself in Williamsburg, where he wrote, "from every house a constant tuting may be listened to, from one instrument or another."[15] The Bruton Church frequently added to Williamsburg's aural landscape. St. George Tucker noted, "Often is the passenger invited into the place, in a fine evening, by hearing 'The pealing anthem swell the note of praise'" as famed organist and composer Peter Pelham performed. Anne Blair communicated to her sister that there was "scarce an Evening [...] but we are entertain'd with the performances of Felton's, Handel's, Vi-vally's [Vivaldi], &c." that emanated from the open door of the church. Blair also recounted the story of how she and some of her friends sang on the street with Lord Botetourt, royal governor of Virginia from 1768-1770:

> Mrs. Dawson's Family stay'd ye Evening with us, and ye Coach was at ye door to carry them Home, by ten o'clock; but every one appearing in great spirits, it was proposed to set at ye Step's and Sing a few Song's wch was no sooner said than done; while thus we were employ'd, a Candle & Lanthorn was observed to be coming up Street [...]no one took any notice of it-till we saw, who ever it was, stopt to listen to our enchanting Notes-each Warbler was immediately silenced; whereupon, the invader to our Melody, call'd out in a most rapturous Voice, Charming! Charming! proceed for God sake, or I go Home directly.[16]

As indicated by Anne Blair's mention of Felton, Handel, and Vivaldi, the appetite for European art music in the Tidewater was strong, a fact that is seen more clearly in the records of extant music collections in the region. Owing to the prevailing paradigm of Anglo-Virginian society, the majority of the sheet music purchased in the colony was printed in London and

15 L. Carter, qtd. in J. S. Darling and M. M. Wiggins, "A Constant Tuting: The Music of Williamsburg", *Music Educators Journal*, Vol. 61, No. 3 (1974): 58.

16 A. Blair, "Letter of Anne Blair to Martha Braxton, August 21, 1769", *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (1908): 178, 179.

reflected refined English musical tastes. Cuthbert Ogle, a London musician who taught music briefly in Williamsburg prior to his death in 1755, owned scores from several Baroque masters including Handel, Geminiani, Corelli, Pasquali, and Alberti.[17] In the Northern Neck, Robert "Councillor" Carter and his family at Nomini Hall also entertained themselves to the music of Felton, including his *Gavotte,* and Handel's songs for flutes. Additionally, the Nomini Hall music library contained Handel's libretto *Alexander's Feast,* and a volume of Italian music, among others.[18] Along the banks of the James River in Charles City County, the related Charles Carter family enjoyed the compositions of classical master F.J. Haydn, and the English composers Thomas Attwood and William Shield.[19] Williamsburg printers Purdie and Dixon advertised for sale in 1771:

> the following musick, namely Instructions for the harpsichord, violin, and German flute: Pasquali's thorough bass for the harpsichord; Boccherini and Burgess senior's lessons for the harpsichord […] Italian sonatas for two violins or flutes, with a thorough bass for the harpsichord, by several eminent composers […] Pasquali, Campioni [sonatas],Corelli's solos; Vivaldi's Cuckoo concertos.[20]

Virginia son Thomas Jefferson referred to music as "the favorite passion of my soul".[21] As a student studying at the College of William and Mary in the 1760s, Jefferson often purchased sheet music at the Printing Office in Williamsburg, along with fiddle strings and a violin from William Pasteur, a local doctor and apothecary who operated a shop on Duke of Gloucester St. Jefferson was a talented violinist, and he often spent his evenings playing the violin with Governor Francis Fauquier, who, in Jefferson's words "was musical also, and a good performer, and associated me with two or three other amateurs in his weekly concerts." Among these fellow

17 J.W. Molnar, "A Collection of Music in Colonial Virginia: The Ogle Inventory", *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (1963): 150, 153.
18 M. Mauer, "A Musical Family in Colonial Virginia", *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (1948): 362.
19 Glosson, S. G. "Domestic Music Making in Late Eighteenth-Century Elite Chesapeake Society: The 'Elegant Selections' of Shirley Plantation", a thesis presented to the American Studies faculty of the College of William and Mary, Jan. 2009, Special Collections Room, Swem Library, 24.
20 *Virginia Gazette,* eds. Purdie and Dixon, 29 August, 1771, *The Performing Arts in Colonial American Newspapers, 1690-1783*, The Colonial Music Institute, <http://www.colonialdancing.org/PacanNew/Index.htm>, accessed 25 Sept, 2011.
21 T. Jefferson, "Letter to Giovanni Fabbroni, June 8, 1778", Manuscript Division, "American Treasures of the Library of Congress" Exhibit, Library of Congress, http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/treasures/trm106.html (accessed 24 Sept. 2011).

musicians were harpsichordist Robert Carter, and fellow violinists John Tyler and Patrick Henry.[22]

Jefferson's extensive 1783 music collection testifies to the popularity and availability of the European art music composers that we have already noted: Handel, Corelli, Vivaldi, Boccherini, Haydn, and Pasquali filled his library. But they were not the only types of songs one would have heard being played at Monticello or in Williamsburg. Folk music of the British Isles was extremely popular in the Tidewater, including with Jefferson, who owned a volume of Scotch songs, two books of drinking songs, and knew many country fiddle tunes from memory, including the Scottish tune "Moneymusk" - said to be one of his favorites.[23] This music featured lively rhythms and often accompanied English country dances such as the jig or hornpipe.

European Influences on Black Music-Making

Virginia's black population shared with their Anglo neighbors the same gusto for violin/fiddle music. Scholars in the fields of musicology and black studies have put forward the argument that the violin facilitated the first instances of cross-cultural pollination of European and African musical forms, beginning as early as the late seventeenth century in the Tidewater.[24] One *Virginia Gazette* ad described "a country borne Negro named Billie" who ran away from his master in Prince William County and could "play on the violin, which he carried away with him." Also from Prince William County was "Bob, a Negro man slave" who was described as being "remarkble fond of playing on the fiddle." The high visibility of black fiddlers in Williamsburg and the surrounding region caused one planter to describe his runaway as "the

22 H. Cripe, *Thomas Jefferson and Music*, Thomas Jefferson Foundation, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 17, 18.

23 A. Gordon-Reed, *The Hemingses of Monticello: An American Family* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2008), 603. Incidentally, Eston Hemings, the presumable son of Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings became a well-known musician and dance master in Ohio during the early nineteenth century, and he included "Money Musk" in his repertoire.

24 From the field of musicology, P.F. Wells argues this point in "Fiddling as an Avenue of Black-White Musical Interchange", *Black Music Research Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 1/2 (2003): 135-147; T. Jenoure represents the black studies perspective in "The Afro-American Fiddler," *Contributions in Black Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 6 (1981): 68-81.

Negro boy so well known in this City by the name of Fiddler Billy."[25]

By far, the most well-known of the Tidewater's black violinists was Sy Gilliat, a contemporary of Thomas Jefferson.[26] Much of what is known about Gilliat comes from a description of him found in the book *Virginia, Especially Richmond in By-Gone Days*, written by Samuel Mordecai:

> The most prominent member of the black aristocracy of my early years was Sy Gilliat (Probably Simon, or Cyrus), the leading violinist (fiddler was then the word), at the Balls and dancing parties. He traced his title to position to the days of vice royalty, having held office under Lord Botetourt, when governor [1768-1770]...his dress was an embroidered silk coat and vest of faded lilac, small clothes (he would not say breeches), and silk stockings (which rather betrayed the African prominence of the shin-bone), terminating in shoes fastened or decorated with large buckles. This court-dress being of the reign of Lord Boutetourt, and probably part of the fifty suits which, according to the inventory he made, constituted his wardrobe; to complete this court costume, Sy wore a brown wig, with side curls, and a long cue appended. His manners were as courtly as his dress, and he elbowed himself and his fiddle-stick through the world with great propriety and harmony....[27]

It is presumable that a violinist of Gilliat's order and social position, living in Williamsburg during the 1760s, would have been familiar with the popular Baroque and Classical music noted. But like Jefferson, Gilliat was also fond of less-formal country dance music. After the capital moved to Richmond in 1780, Gilliat became famous in that city, and acquired a "blacker partner" named London Briggs (Gilliat may have been mulatto) who played the flute. Here, Gilliat's fiddling was described as "fast and furious," and his audience of gentry dancers would cut "all sorts of capers" to his playing.[28]

---

25 *Virginia Gazette*, Rind, 9 March 1769*; Maryland Gazette*, Green, 7 March 1782*;Virginia Gazette*, eds. Purdie and Dixon, 4 Nov. 1773, *The Performing Arts.*

26 Despite T. Jefferson's deep love for music and the voluminous amount of punctilious writing he left behind, no surviving references of Gilliat are known. It is reasonable to assume that these two well-known violinists would have been cognizant of each other during the 1760s in Williamsburg when both men actively performed there.

27 S. Mordecai, *Virginia, Especially Richmond in By-Gone Days*, (Richmond: West & Johnston, 1856), 311. It should be noted that Mordecai wrote this book in an attempt to justify the "peculiar institution" of the antebellum Old South as an answer to Northern abolitionist literature. As a result, he portrayed slavery in the best terms possible.

28 M. Knowles, *Tap Roots: The Early History of Tap Dancing*, (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2002), 191.

Further evidence testifies to the fact that the Afro-Virginian tradition had absorbed European musical forms by the second half of the eighteenth century. This process in Virginia was strengthened by the Atlantic littoral trade that existed between Europe, Africa, and the Americas, and it presented unique opportunities for cross-cultural music pollination. The July 23, 1767 *Virginia Gazette* advertised: "A VALUABLE young handsome NEGRO FELLOW" for sale who "play[ed] on the *French* horn" and "lately came from *London*, and has with him […] his *French* horn, which the purchaser may have with him." Yet another remarkable runaway advertisement featured a description for Pompey, "a Native of Africa," who "speaks English tolerably...and plays on the French horn."[29] Runaway slave Harry had come "from Scotland, where he had been many years" and could "speak Scotch and sings Scotch songs."

Black Influences on Anglo-Virginian Music-Making

These and many other black musicians incorporated European elements into their musicianship, and helped add a creolized musical sound to the aural material culture landscapes of the Chesapeake at the numerous planned and impromptu musical gatherings - formal and informal - that dominated the Tidewater. Most music making occurred domestically throughout the region as a diversion or celebration. The domestic spheres of Virginia's large plantations included close proximal relations between members of Virginia's Anglo and African derived cultures– respectively, the great house and the nearby slave quarters. When the long workday was finished, it seems likely that these quarters came alive with the hybrid sounds of West African and British music, and this music was not consumed solely by blacks. Music with a distinctive connection to West Africa found popularity among members of the gentry, as well.

Thomas Jefferson's younger brother Randolph attended the College of William and Mary from 1771 to 1773. Randolph, like Thomas, played the violin, but Thomas Jefferson only

29 *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, 23 July 1767; *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie, November 17, 1775 supplement

recorded making one payment to Williamsburg violin teacher Alberti for Randolph's lessons. Despite the lack of formal training, Randolph's love of music continued unabated at Monticello, though in a much less-genteel form. In his memoirs, former Monticello slave Isaac Granger Jefferson recalled that Randolph "used to come out among the black people, play the fiddle and dance half the night."[30]

The thriving musical life in the Carter family of Nomini Hall also featured black fiddling, as Philip Vickers Fithian discovered one cold evening in January 1774: "the Negroes collected themselves into the School-Room, & began to play the Fiddle, & dance – Ben & Harry were of the company – Harry was dancing with his Coat off – I dispersed them however immediately." Ben and Harry were Robert Carter's teenaged sons, and evidently, ardent consumers of Afro-Virginian music, based upon this entry in Fithian's journal just five days later: "This Evening, in the School-Room, which is below my Chamber, several Negroes & *Ben & Harry* are playing on a Banjo & dancing."[31] The shared music culture between the Carter boys and the slaves of Nomini Hall would most likely have seemed quite foreign to Fithian, a New Jersey native. However, Ben and Harry were products of the Tidewater's hybrid culture, and as such relished in it. The scenes described by Fithian also reveal the interchangeability of the European violin with the African banjo in this social function and points to one of the manners in which these two musical cultures synthesized.

Banjos are instruments indigenous to Africa that crossed the Atlantic in the skill sets and memories of slaves and grew to prominence in Tidewater music. Traditional West African and early Virginian banjos were made from hollowed gourds, stretched animal skin, and catgut strings. Virginia clergyman and escaped loyalist Jonathan Boucher recalled from England: "I

30 H. Cripe, *Thomas Jefferson and Music*, 17.
31 P.V. Fithian, *Journal and Letters 1767-1774*, (Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 2009), 102, 103.

well remember, that in Virginia and Maryland the favourite and almost only instrument in use among the slaves there was a bandore; or as they pronounced the word, banjer."[32] In his controversial observations of black culture, Thomas Jefferson wrote, "The instrument proper to them is the Banjar, which they brought hither from Africa, and which is the original of the guitar, its chords being precisely the four lower chords of the guitar."[33]

Nicholas Cresswell also heard banjo music while in Virginia, and offered his typical saucy commentary: "This musical instrument (if it may be so called) is made of a Gourd something in the imitation of a Guitar, with only four strings and played with the fingers in the same manner." and was used to produce "very droll music indeed."[34] It is noteworthy that Cresswell's belittling of the banjo and Afro-Virginian forms of music reflects his English background and was not shared by his Anglo-Virginian cultural cousins. Old Dick, a slave "born at a plantation on the Rappahannoc River" reminisced that as a youth, his:

> young master was a mighty one for music, and he made me learn to play the Banger. I could soon tune it sweetly, and of a moonlight night he would set me to play, and the [Negro] wenches to dance. My young master himself could shake a desperate foot at the fiddle; there was nobody that could face him at a *Congo Minuet*….[35]

As with the Fithian descriptions of Nomini Hall, Old Dick's recollection features the Tidewater plantation as the incubator of creolized music. Once again, the fiddle and the banjo appear in the same social setting, bridging the gap between Africa and Europe, as does the very name of the dance so fond to the master's son, the Congo minuet.

Another instrument of the African diaspora that became incorporated into Virginia society

---

32 J. Boucher, quoted in D. J. Epstein, *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals: Black Folk Music to the Civil War,* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 34.

33 T. Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia,* (Richmond: J.W. Randolph, 1853), 151.

34 Cresswell, *Journal*, 18, 19.

35 J. Davis *Travels of Four Years and a Half in the United States of America During 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, and 1802*, intro. by A. J. Morrison, (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1909): 414.

is the balafon, a percussion idiophone related to the xylophone.[36] Balafons hail from West Africa around present-day Mali, but in 1776 the balafon (or barrafoo) was used as a martial instrument. Lord Dunmore's Royal Ethiopians, like all military regiments, used music for their drills. But, "instead of the drowsy drum and fife," the Royal Ethiopians were "gratified with the use of the sprightly and enlivening barrafoo".[37] African drums and other percussive instruments maintained a strong role in the musical tradition of slaves. In 1766, the *Virginia Gazette* described a slave named Damon who "beats the drum tolerable well, which he is very fond of." James, who absconded from Yorktown, was also a drummer, and drumming was one of three specified positions in which black men could serve according to the Virginia militia law of 1757.[38]

The type of music that was most likely being heard in Tidewater slave quarters and gatherings is reflected in James Aird's *A Collection of Scottish, English, Irish, and Foreign Airs* from 1782. Aird was a Scottish musician who spent several years in the United States collecting local music along his travels. Aird's *Collection* includes the Virginia piece "Pompey Ran Away" with the indication "Negroe Jig." [39] Despite the fact that a European ear wrote this melody using European modality and notation, this piece does exhibit a circular rhythm with a short, motivic melody, a trait of West African music. Another such example survives in the music collection of the famed Bolling Family of Virginia, descendants of Pocahontas. This melody entitled "Congo – A Jig" also features a short motivic melody that is repeated.[40]

The examples of Randolph Jefferson, Harry and Bob Carter, Dick's master, James Aird, and the Bolling family all clearly demonstrate that on some level there was a desire among

---

36 E . Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1983), 11.
37 *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie, 26 March 1776.
38 *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Co., 4 April 1766; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 23 September 1756; 1757 Militia Law in "The Virginia Militia", The Constitution Society, < http://www.constitution.org/jw/acm_5-m.htm>, accessed 30 Oct. 2011.
39 J. Aird, *A Collection of Scottish, English, Irish, and Foreign Airs,* (Glasgow, 1782), 57, 163.
40 "Congo – A Jig", in the Hubard Family Papers #360, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University North Carolina at Chapel Hill.; for West African musical elements see Wells, "Fiddling as an Avenue of Black-White Musical Interchange", 140, 141 and E. Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History,* 2nd edition, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1983), 15,16.

members of the gentry for Afro-Virginian music. In each case presented here, it is noteworthy that this desire was more than intellectual, and it is Anglo-Virginians initiating the interaction of white and black music. The "Golden Age" of the Tidewater was characterized by much music making, and members of the enslaved community participated in this culture with their masters.

Virginians will "Dance or Die" - Social Dance in the Tidewater

The Virginian appetite for hybrid musical forms corresponded with the same creolization process seen in social dance. Nomini Hall tutor Philip Vickers Fithian commented in his journal that "*Virginians* are of genuine Blood – They will dance or die!"[41] Social dancing held a prominent place in the musical lives of Anglo-Virginians. Several well-ordered dances such as the courante, allemande, and gavotte emerged in France and came into prominence at Louis XIV's court at Versailles during the seventeenth century, and then spread to the English royal court.[42] The Virginian fascination with English aristocracy meant that these dances continued to thrive in the Tidewater. By far, the most famous and self-conscious of these dances was the minuet. Described by William Hogarth as "the perfection of all dancing," the minuet consisted of a complex, exacting arrangement of minuet-steps danced in a certain pattern across the floor.[43] The complexity of the minuet required a great amount of leisure time to devote to its practice and mastery, a conditioned only possessed by the idle gentry, and accordingly it was used auspiciously to show gentility and refinement in pubic settings, such as balls. The ceremony of dancing the minuet also reflected the Virginia gentry's conceptions of order and hierarchy, as one couple at a time in descending social rank would dance as the other attendees looked on.[44]

English dance master Nicholas Dukes described the necessity of the gentry to be "first

41 Fithian, *Journal and Letters*, 235.
Sadie, J.A., "Louis XIV, King of France." In Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online, < http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/17037> (accessed 5 November 2011).

43 W. Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty,* R. Paulson, ed., (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1997), 109; M.E. Little. "Minuet." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/18751>. (accessed 4 October 2011).

44 J. F. Millar, *Country Dances of Colonial America,* (Williamsburg: Thirteen Colonies Press, 1990), 3-6; K.V.W. Keller and C.C. Hendrickson, *George Washington: A Biography in Social Dance*, (Sandy Hook, CT: The Hendrickson Group,1998), 13, 14.

duly Qualified in a Minuet; that beautifull dance being so well calculated and adapted as to give room for every person to display all the beauties & Graces of the body which becomes a genteel Carriage."[45] George Washington Parke Custis, the step-grandson of the general, described his adoptive grandfather as "conspicuous" for his "graceful and elegant dancing" during the "vice-regal days of Lord Botetourt in Virginia." Custis witnessed a victory ball shortly after the Battle of Yorktown, which the future president opened with the minuet, and he supplemented, "The minuet was much in vogue at that period, and was peculiarly calculated for the display of the splendid figure of the chief, and his natural grace and elegance of air and manners."[46] While spending the winter of 1781-1782 in Williamsburg, German-born French army captain Baron von Closen participated in the musical life of the city, and observed: "The fair sex in this city are very fond of minuets. It is true that some of them dance them rather well, and infinitely better than those up North..."[47]

Dancing a splendid minuet earned approbation from onlookers as the description of a 1774 ball in Norfolk testifies:

> So, by and by, the fiddles struck up; and there went my Lady Dunmore in the minuet, sailing about the room in her great, fine, hoop-petticoat, (her new fashioned air balloon as I called it) and Col Moseley after her, wig and all... Bless her heart, how cleverly she managed her hoop--now this way, now that-- every body was delighted. Indeed, we all agreed that she was a lady sure enough, and that we had never seen dancing before."[48]

Fithian's journal records a twelfth night ball in which dance master Mr. Christian "danced a minuet, prodigiously beautiful". Fithian also remarked upon the minuet's social importance in the Tidewater, lamenting: "I was strongly solicited by the young Gentlemen to go in and dance. I declined it, however, and went to my Room not without Wishes that it had been a part of my

45 N. Dukes, *A Concise & Easy Method of Learning the Figuring Part of Country Dances*, (London, 1752), I.
46 G.W.P. Custis and M.R.C. Lee, *Recollections and Private Memoirs of Washington,* (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1860), 366, 143.
47 E. M. Acomb, "The Journal of Baron von Closen", *The William and Mary Quarterly,* Vol. 10, No. 2 (1953): 213.
48 E. W. James, *The Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary*, Vol. 5, (Baltimore: Press of the Friedenwald Company, 1906), 34.

Education to learn what I think is an innocent and an ornamental, and most certainly, in this province is a necessary qualification for a person to appear even decent in Company!" Fithian's hesitance to dance unskillfully was not mere self-pity, and those who were not apt at dancing the minuet became the object of ridicule. Fithian noted of Captain Grigg's minuet that "he hobbled most dolefully, & [...] the whole Assembly laughed." Eight years later, Lucinda Lee Orr would write in her diary: "I don't think I ever laugh't so much in my life as I did last night at Captain Grigg's minuet. I wish you could see him. It is really the most ludicrous thing I ever saw; and what makes it more so is, he thinks he dances a most delightful one."[49] Anglo-Virginia was most fond of the minuet and used that dance self-consciously as a measure of gentility and social stratification; the orderly form of the minuet dancer's body reflected the larger order of Virginia society.

Like their gentrified masters, Afro-Virginians also used dance in social settings, a tradition ported to Virginia from West Africa. In 1721, Englishman John Atkins sailed to Guinea and observed:

> Dancing is the diversion of their evenings: Men and women make a ring in an open part of town, and one at a time shows his skill in Anticke Motions and Gesticulations, yet with a great deal of Agility, the company making Musick by clapping their hands together during the time, helped by the louder noise of two or three drums made of a hollowed piece of Tree, and covered with Kid-Skin. Sometimes they are all round in a circle laughing and with uncouth Notes, blame or praise somebody in the Company.[50]

In his autobiography, former Virginia slave Olaudah Equiano described the people of his native Africa as "almost a nation of dancers, musicians, and poets."[51] An Italian visitor to Virginia commented on the strength of dance within the Tidewater slave community: "he [the Negro] generally sets out from home, and walks six or seven miles in the night, be the weather

49 Fithian, *Journal*, 89, 62; L.L. Orr, *Journal of a Young Lady of Virginia 1782,* (Baltimore: John Murphy and Co., 1871), 37.
50 J. Atkins, *A Voyage to Guinea, Brazil, & the West Indies* (London: 1735), 53.
51 O. Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*, (London: 1789), 7,8.

ever so sultry, to a negro dance, in which he performs with astonishing agility, and the most vigorous exertions, keeping time and cadence, most exactly, with the music of a banjor […] and a quaqua (somewhat resembling a drum)."[52] At a "Negro Ball" in May, 1774, Englishman Nicholas Cresswell noted, "Their Dancing is the most violent exercise, but so irregular and grotesque. I am not able to describe it."[53] As with music, Cresswell's negative commentary regarding Afro-Virginian dance forms highlights how foreign he was to Virginia's endogenous culture, and how alien this aspect of social life in the Tidewater had grown to his English tastes. As previously noted, Cresswell observed "Bacchanalian" jigs at a genteel ball being danced to a Negro tune; Andrew Burnaby, fellow Englishman and reverend, shared Cresswell's disapprobation for such dancing:

> They are immoderately fond of dancing, and indeed it is almost the only amusement they partake of: but even in this they discover great want of taste and elegance, and seldom appear with that gracefulness and ease, which these movements are so calculated to display. Towards the close of an evening [...] it is usual to dance jiggs; a practice originally borrowed, I am informed, from the Negroes. These dances are without any method or regularity: a gentleman and lady stand up, and dance about the room, one of them retiring, the other pursuing, then perhaps meeting, in an irregular fantastical manner.[54]

Elite Virginians actively sought out and learned free-form African-derived dances, despite their fascination with the orderly and auspicious minuet. Conversely, Afro-Virginians witnessed the highly-ordered dances of their masters and some slaves performed them in a satirical manner to the unwitting enjoyment of their masters. Though first-hand documentation of this phenomenon in Virginia as related by enslaved individuals exists from the nineteenth century, parody dance appears in the documentary record in Charleston, South Carolina from the eighteenth century and it is reasonable to assume the same was occurring in Virginia.[55] Despite

52 L. Castiglioni, *Travels in the United States of North America 1785-1787,* ed. Antonio Pace, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1983), 195.
53 Cresswell, *Journal*, 18,19.
54 A. Burnaby, *Travels Through the Middle Settlements of North America in the Years 1759 and 1760,* (London: printed for T. Payne, 1775), 36.
55 The 17 Sept, 1772 issue of the *South Carolina Gazette* reported a Negro ball in which the entertainment consisted of "men copying (or taking

the parodical nature of these dance forms, it reveals a keen observation and proactive incorporation of European dance into the Afro-Virginian experience. The historical record reveals that a hybrid, shared dance culture emerged correspondingly with the hybrid musical culture in the Tidewater, in which both whites and blacks actively participated. But what is the significance of this phenomenon? What larger implications can be drawn from a study of Virginia creole music?

Conclusions

In ways great and small, the Tidewater elite fashioned the world around them to reflect their patriarchy and hegemony. The record of eighteenth-century material culture in Virginia is filled with the symbols and appurtenances of English gentility. In a word, Chesapeake society was constructed around the conception of order. Yet, within this rigid social structure, a rich, vibrant creolized music culture emerged amongst Anglo and Afro-Virginians. Further setting the uniqueness of this music apart is the fact that it developed despite concurrent efforts to expunge traditional African culture and identity in the colony.

The slave system fundamentally required the dehumanization of Africans and African-Americans in order to function. The conscious ordering of Tidewater society denied slaves the right to self-identify, to freely associate, and endeavored to break their natural desire for self-direction. An unknown slave appealed to the Bishop of London in 1723 for African emancipation, partially on the basis that "wee are kept out of the Church and matrimony is deenied us and to be plain they doo Look no more up on us then if wee ware dogs."[56] Slaves were unable to retain their traditional names, instead having new names forcefully given to them.

---

off) the manner of their masters, and the women those of their mistresses, and relating some highly curious anecdotes, to the inexpressible diversion of the company." See C.V. Hill, *Tap Dancing America: A Cultural History,* chapter 1, and T. Russell, *A Renegade History of the United States,* chapter 5; for nineteenth century VA parody dance and the history of the cakewalk see D. Krasner, *Resistance, Parody, and Double Consciousness in African American Theatre, 1895-1910,* chapter 4.

56 "Release us out of this Cruell Bondegg", in *Enslaving Virginia,* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1999), 189.

Robert "King" Carter admonished his overseer to take "care that the negroes both men & women I sent...always go by ye names we gave them."[57] Africans absolutely resisted complete subjugation and strove to retain the cultural memory of Africa, but this was not an easy task. English traveler Edward Kimber visited Yorktown, Virginia in 1742, and described the psyche of the slave system: "To be sure, a new Negro, if he must be broke, either from Obstinacy, or which I am more apt to suppose, from Greatness of Soul, will require more hard Discipline than a young Spaniel."[58]

Equiano described slavery as taking men against their will, and "compelling them to live with you in a state of war." Indeed, the bellicose nature of the master-slave relationship created a palpable uneasiness in Chesapeake society, prompting Equiano to ask "Are you not hourly in dread of an insurrection?" The large black population presented a very real threat to white Virginia society, especially in light of the "ten thousand recollections, by the blacks, of the injuries they have sustained" that distressed the musing Jefferson.[59] The unnatural subjugation of blacks created a legitimate rationale for a slave rebellion against white power and political dominance over their lives. Royal Governor Lord Dunmore speculated about the effects of a foreign invasion to the stability of the slave system, writing in 1772 that he "trembled at the facility that an enemy would find in procuring Such a body of men" and he believed that the slaves would be "ready to join the first that would encourage them to revenge themselves."[60] Rumors of slave rebellions and general unrest prompted the city of Williamsburg to form a night watch that same year, in response to the Somerset Case in England, which found slavery to be inconsistent with English common law. As the general relationship among blacks and whites in

57 I. Berlin, "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America", *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., Vol. 53, No. 2. (1996): 251 .
58 E. Kimber, *Itinerant Observations in America*, ed. K.J. Hayes, (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998) 47, 48.
59 Jefferson, *Notes*, 149.
60 G.W. Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (New York, 1972), 131.

the Tidewater during the eighteenth century became increasingly strained, the Virginia House of Burgesses passed occasional bills for the "better government" of negroes in the colony which further defined the particular roles and limits for black behavior in society.[61] All the while, individuals in the Tidewater were deepening their associations with each other across the race and class barrier through the medium of music.

The historiography of American slavery since the ushering in of the "New School" in the 1960s has done much work to recognize the complexity and nuance to the human relationships within the American slave paradigm. Scholars have focused on virtually all aspects of the master-slave relationship, and have demonstrated that the laws, conventions, and traditions of society were often insufficient to truly control the myriad ways individual humans interact with each other.[62] Accordingly, the deliberate ordering of Virginia society is fully-acknowledged by historians, as well.[63] The bundle of contradictions inherent in the American slave system led one historian to refer to it as the "peculiar institution," and truly it was. Slavery's paradoxical nature and realities have been articulately reconstructed from the extant historical record, but a general theory of human behavior that can explain the causality behind the paradox is lacking. How was it possible for the same individuals both to exploit a race for their own service, while simultaneously actively sharing a musical culture with the selfsame people? The following is a meager attempt to begin a dialogue within slave studies and early American musicology around the fundamental nature of human behavior and the mechanisms that steer the development of certain institutions in society.

---

61 Laws in 1753, 1765, 1769 contain the verbiage "better government of servants and slaves" or "better government of negroes". T. Costa, *The Geography of Slavery.*

62 Recent historiography that grapples with the complex interpersonal relationships that formed within and in spite of the slave paradigm includes *The Hemingses of Monticello: An American Family* by A. Gordon-Reed, *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* by M. Sobel, *Israel on the Appomattox: A Southern Experiment in Black Freedom from the 1790s Through the Civil War* by M.P. Ely, and "Children of Uncertain Fortune: Mixed-race Migration From the West Indies to Britain, 1750-1820", a 2010 dissertation submitted to the Department of History at the University of Michigan by D.A. Livesay.

63 Fischer, *Albion's Seed,* 224, 225.

In *Law, Legislation, and Liberty,* F.A. Hayek proffered his theory of human social organization, elucidating the distinction between a *cosmos*, or an emergent, spontaneous, bottom-up self-ordering of society, and a *taxis*, or an artificial, imposed, top-down social order. The fundamental distinction between these two types of social arrangements is that, unlike a deliberately-constructed *taxis,* a *cosmos* results from "the formation of regular patterns in human relations that were not the conscious aim of human actions." These regular patterns that govern interpersonal human behavior are determined endogenously by the individuals involved and contradict the belief that true order in society can only result exogenously. The elite members of Tidewater society held the mistaken belief that order "must rest on a relation of command and obedience, or a hierarchical structure of the whole of society in which the will of superiors, and ultimately of some single supreme authority, determines what each individual must do."[64]

Because the race-based system of colonial Virginia necessitated a strong exogenous arrangement of society and defied natural conventions for human behavior, it consequently ignored the individual actions of those within society, and was fraught with tension. The problem of an imposed social order was best described by social scientist Adam Smith, who wrote:

> The man of system […] seems to imagine that he can arrange the different members of a great society with as much ease as the hand arranges the different pieces upon a chessboard. He does not consider [...] that, in the great chessboard of human society, every single piece has a principle motion of its own, altogether different from that which the legislature might choose to impress upon it. If those two principles coincide and act in the same direction, the game of human society will go on easily and harmoniously, and is very likely to be happy and successful. If they are opposite or different, the game will go on miserably and human society must be at all times in the highest degree of disorder.[65]

Despite the best efforts of Virginia's elite to structure the chess game of Virginia society,

64 F.A. Hayek, *Law, Legislation, and Liberty*, (London: Routledge, 1982) 22, 36.
65 A. Smith, *The Theory Of Moral Sentiments*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 233, 234.

individual Virginians often acted in ways contrary to the ordering of the system.

Ethnomusicology teaches that music is a universal phenomenon of human behavior, and deciphering the causality underlying this behavior is an explicit goal of the discipline.[66] The complex musical interactions of Anglo and Afro-Virginians resulted from the commonality of music to the human experience and the close proximal relations of individuals within that paradigm; the creolized music that emerged was a culturally-organic institution within Tidewater society. Having no overseer or director, creolized music developed not as a result of human design, but merely of individual human action, and often voluntarily as the examples of pro-active musical synthesis presented in this paper indicate. Contrastingly, the slave paradigm was "of such a nature" and "so odious, that nothing can be suffered to support it, but positive law."[67]

Perhaps the lesson to be taken from this study is that human behavior is incredibly complex, and its complexity makes it hard to control and direct. The attempt to shackle free human interaction for the sake of promoting order most often results in disorder and strife. The degree to which the human spirit was freed from this external constraint in Tidewater music culture resulted in creativity and experimentation, led to the emergence of creolized music that has strengthened the interpersonal interactions of blacks and whites from the colonial period to the present, and subverted the established order that erected artificial boundaries between people in an attempt to direct society.

This research has attempted to construct a synthesized theory behind the emergence of creolized musical forms, while also steadfastly arguing that the social engineering and structuring of society for direct purposes is illiberal and unprogressive, and often works to the detriment of humanity's evolution rather than its development. Virginia's creole music stands as

---

66 A.P. Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music*, (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 1964), 16.

67 J. Nadelhaft, "The Somersett Case and Slavery: Myth, Reality, and Repercussions" *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (1966): 193,194.

testimony of the tenacity of the human spirit in the face of daunting obstacles, and serves as a reminder that humans have and can interact with one another in non-hostile ways, defying conventional wisdom. Though these lessons for human interaction come to us from the eighteenth century, they remain pertinent for consideration in modern society.

Bibliography

Acomb, M. "The Journal of Baron von Closen." *The William and Mary Quarterly.* Third Series, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1953): 196-236.

"American Odyssey: From Indentured Servitude to Racial Slavery." *Enslaving Virginia*. Resource book. (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1998).

Aird, J. *A Collection of Scottish, English, Irish, and Foreign Airs.* (Glasgow, 1782).

Atkins, J. *A Voyage to Guinea, Brazil, & the West Indies.* (London: 1735).

Berlin, I. "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America." *The William and Mary Quarterly.* 3rd Ser., Vol. 53, No. 2. (1996): 251-288.

Blair, A. "Letter of Anne Blair to Martha Braxton, August 21, 1769", *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (1908): 174-180.

Burnaby, A. *Travels Through the Middle Settlements of North America in the Years 1759 and 1760.* (London: printed for T. Payne, 1775).

Byrd, W. "Colonel William Byrd on Slavery and Indented Servants, 1736, 1739." *The American Historical Review,* Vol. 1, No. 1, (1895): 88-90.

Castiglioni, L. *Travels in the United States of North America 1785-1787.* Antonio Pace, ed. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1983).

"Congo – A Jig." Hubard Family Papers #360. Southern Historical Collection. The Wilson Library. University North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Cresswell, N. *The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774-1777.* (New York: The Dial Press, 1928).

Cripe, H. *Thomas Jefferson and Music*. Thomas Jefferson Foundation. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

Custis, G.W.P. and M.R.C. Lee. *Recollections and Private Memoirs of Washington.* (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1860).

Darling, J.S. and M. M. Wiggins. "A Constant Tuting: The Music of Williamsburg." *Music Educators Journal*, Vol. 61, No. 3 (1974): 56-61.

Davis, J. *Travels of Four Years and a Half in the United States of America During 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, and 1802*. Intro. by A. J. Morrison. (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1909).

Dukes, N. *A Concise & Easy Method of Learning the Figuring Part of Country Dances*. (London, 1752).

Ely, M.P. *Israel on the Appomattox: A Southern Experiment in Black Freedom from the 1790s Through the Civil War.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004).

Epstein, D.J. *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals: Black Folk Music to the Civil War.* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003).

Equiano, O. *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*. (London: 1789).

Fithian, P.V. *Journal and Letters 1767-1774.* (Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 2009).

Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

Glosson, S. G. "Domestic Music Making in Late Eighteenth-Century Elite Chesapeake Society: The 'Elegant Selections' of Shirley Plantation." A thesis presented to the American Studies faculty, College of William and Mary, Jan., 2009. Special Collections Room, Swem Library.

Gordon-Reed, A. *The Hemingses of Monticello: An American Family.* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2008).

Hayek, F.A. *Law, Legislation, and Liberty*. (London: Routledge, 1982).

Hill, C.V. *Tap Dancing America: A Cultural History.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Hogarth, W. *The Analysis of Beauty,* R. Paulson, ed., (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1997).

Hood, G. *The Governor's Palace in Williamsburg: A Cultural Study.* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1991).

Horn, J. "Tobacco and the Peopling of Virginia". *Major Problems in American Colonial History*. 2nd edition. K.O. Kupperman, ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000).

Isaac, Rhys. *The Transformation of Virginia: 1740-1790.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

Jenoure, T. "The Afro-American Fiddler," *Contributions in Black Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 6 (1981): 68-81.

James, E.W. *The Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary*,Vol. 5. (Baltimore: Press of the Friedenwald Company, 1906).

Jefferson, T. "Letter to Giovanni Fabbroni, June 8, 1778." Manuscript Division, "American Treasures of the Library of Congress" Exhibit. Library of Congress. <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/treasures/trm106.html>. Accessed 24 Sept. 2011.

Jefferson, T. *Notes on the State of Virginia.* (Richmond: J.W. Randolph, 1853).

Jones, H. *The Present State of Virginia.* (London: J. Clarke, 1724).

Keller, K.V.W. and C.C. Hendrickson. *George Washington: A Biography in Social Dance*. (Sandy Hook, CT: The Hendrickson Group, 1998).

Kierner, C.A. "Genteel Balls and Republican Parades: Gender and Early Southern Civic Rituals, 1677-1826", *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol 104, No. 2, (1996): 185-210.

Kimber, E. *Itinerant Observations in America.* K.J. Hayes, ed. (Newark: University of Delaware

Press, 1998).

Knowles, M. *Tap Roots: The Early History of Tap Dancing.* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2002).

Krasner, D. *Resistance, Parody, and Double Consciousness in African American Theatre, 1895-1910*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 1997).

Livesay, D. "Children of Uncertain Fortune: Mixed-race Migration From the West Indies to Britain, 1750-1820", a 2010 dissertation submitted to the Department of History at the University of Michigan.

Malone, M.C. "A Dinner at the Governor's Palace, 10 September 1770" A thesis presented to the Faculty of the Department of American Studies, College of William and Mary, 1998.

Mauer, M. "A Musical Family in Colonial Virginia." *The Musical Quarterly,* Vol. 34, No. 3 (1948): 358-364.

Merriam, A.P. *The Anthropology of Music.* (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 1964).

Millar, J.F. *Country Dances of Colonial America.* (Williamsburg: Thirteen Colonies Press, 1990).

"Minuet." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/18751>. Accessed 1 Oct. 2011.

Molnar, J.W. "A Collection of Music in Colonial Virginia: The Ogle Inventory." *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (1963): 150-162.

Mordecai, S. *Virginia, Especially Richmond in By-Gone Days.* (Richmond: West & Johnston, 1856).

Mullin, G.W. *Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth-Century Virginia.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972).

Munns, J. and P. Richards. *The Clothes That Wear Us: Essays on Dressing and Transgressing in*

Eighteenth-Century Culture. (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999).

Nadelhaft, J. "The Somersett Case and Slavery: Myth, Reality, and Repercussions" *The Journal of Negro History.* Vol. 51, No. 3 (1966): 193-208.

Olmert, M. *Kitchens, Smokehouses, and Privies: Outbuildings and the Architecture of Daily Life in the Eighteenth-Century Mid-Atlantic*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009).

Rittenhouse, D. *The Virginia Almanack for the Year of our Lord God 1776.* (Williamsburg: Dixon & Hunter, 1775).

Russell, T. *A Renegade History of the United States.* (New York: Free Press, 2010).

"Slavery and the Law in Virginia." Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. <http://www.history.org/history/teaching/slavelaw.cfm>. Assessed 29 Sept. 2011.

Sluiter, E. "New Light on the '20. and Odd Negroes' Arriving in Virginia, August 1619," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., Vol. 54, No. 2, (1997): 395-98.

Smith, A. *The Theory Of Moral Sentiments*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976).

Sobel, M. *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

Southern, E. *The Music of Black Americans: A History.* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1983).

"The Virginia Militia." The Constitution Society. <http://www.constitution.org/jw/acm_5-_m.htm>. Accessed 30 Oct. 2011.

Virginia Gazette. Cory, M.J., Keller, K.V.W. and R.M, eds. *The Virginia The Performing Arts in Colonial American Newspapers, 1690-1783.* The Colonial Music Institute. <http://www.colonialdancing.org/PacanNew/Index.htm>. Accessed 25 Sept., 2011.

Wells, P.F. "Fiddling as an Avenue of Black-White Musical Interchange", *Black Music Research*

Journal, Vol. 23, No. 1/2 (2003): 135-147.