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**A community and its neighborhoods: Charles Parish, York
County, Virginia, 1630–1740**

Richter, Caroline Julia, Ph.D.

The College of William and Mary, 1992

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A COMMUNITY AND ITS NEIGHBORHOODS:
CHARLES PARISH, YORK COUNTY, VIRGINIA, 1630-1740

A Dissertation
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of History
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Caroline Julia Richter
1992

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APPROVAL SHEET

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

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	xiv
LIST OF MAPS	xv
ABSTRACT	xvi
INTRODUCTION	2
CHAPTER 1. IDENTIFYING THE CHARLES PARISH COMMUNITY AND ITS NEIGHBORHOODS	8
CHAPTER 2. THE DEMOGRAPHY OF CHARLES PARISH	30
CHAPTER 3. THE PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION OF CHARLES PARISH	77
PART II. THE FREE PEOPLE OF CHARLES PARISH	125
CHAPTER 4. THE NEIGHBORHOODS OF CHARLES PARISH	132
CHAPTER 5. NEITHER "COOPERS, HOGG TROUGH MAKERS, PEDLARS, COBLERS, TAILORS, [OR] WAVERS": THE LOCAL LEADERS OF CHARLES PARISH	187
CHAPTER 6. DOWN AND OUT IN CHARLES PARISH	254
CHAPTER 7. THE WOMEN OF CHARLES PARISH	295
CHAPTER 8. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A FREE BLACK NEIGHBORHOOD IN CHARLES PARISH	336
CONCLUSION	387
APPENDIX 1, SECTION 1	393
APPENDIX 1, SECTION 2	400
APPENDIX 2, SECTION 1	412
APPENDIX 2, SECTION 2	441
APPENDIX 3	459
APPENDIX 4	482
APPENDIX 5	519

APPENDIX 6	543
APPENDIX 7	565
APPENDIX 8, SECTION 1	569
APPENDIX 8, SECTION 2	578
BIBLIOGRAPHY	580

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LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
2.1 Life Expectancy of Males Born in the Chesapeake	413
2.2 Life Expectancy of Males Born in New England	414
2.3 York County Population During the Seventeenth Century . . .	415
2.4 York County Tithables, 1648-1763	416
2.5 Annual Growth of Tithables: Selected Virginia Counties . .	418
2.6 Estimate of White, Black, and Total York County Population	419
2.7 Charles Parish Population, 1630-1740	420
2.8 Charles Population Changes by Year	424
2.9 Age at Death of Males Who Were Born in Charles Parish and Who Died in Charles Parish	427
2.10 Age at Disappearance from Charles Parish of Men Who Were Born in Charles Parish and Who Left York County Before Their Death	429
2.11 Males Who Were Born in Charles Parish and Who Did Not Reach Adulthood: Decade of Birth by Age at Death	431
2.12 Males Born in Charles Parish: Decade of Birth by Age at Death	432
2.13 Life Expectancy of Males Born in Charles Parish, 1648-1740	433
2.14 Life Expectancy of Females Born in Charles Parish, 1648-1740, and in the Chesapeake and New England	434
2.15 Males Born in Charles Parish: Decade of Birth by Adult Experience	435
2.16 Males Born in Charles Parish: Decade of Birth by Age at Birth of First Child	436
2.17 Males Born in Charles Parish: Decade of Birth by Size of Family (Per Each Known Marriage) and Males Who Were Born in Charles Parish and Who Died in Charles Parish: Decade of Birth by Size of Family (Per Each Known Marriage)	437
2.18 Males Born in Charles Parish: Decade of Birth by Size of Family (Per Father in All Known Marriages) and Males Who Were Born in Charles Parish and Who Died in Charles Parish: Decade of Birth by Size of Family (Per Father in All Known Marriages)	439

A2.1	Life Expectancy of Men Born in Charles Parish by 1699 . . .	444
A2.2	Life Expectancy of Men Born in Charles Parish Between 1700 and 1740	444
A2.3	Life Expectancy of Men Born in Charles Parish Between 1648 and 1740	445
A2.4	Life Expectancy of Women Born in Charles Parish Between 1648 and 1740	445
A2.5	Smith's Life Expectancy for Men Born in Charles Parish Between 1665 and 1699	454
3.1a	Mean and Median Estate Values by Area of Residence in Charles Parish	460
3.1b	Total Estate Values of Charles Parish Decedents	461
3.2a	Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Boats	461
3.2b	Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Fishing Equipment	462
3.3a	Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Horses	462
3.3b	Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Saddles and Bridles	463
3.3c	Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Carts and Carriages	463
3.4	Agricultural and Economic Differences Within York County, 1690-1709	464
3.5	Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Equipment for Cider Production	464
3.6a	Mean and Median Landholding in Charles Parish	465
3.6b	Price Per Acre in Pounds for Land in Charles Parish	465
3.7a	Ownership of Cattle by Charles Parish Decedents	468
3.7b	Number of Cattle in Estates Worth L50 or Less	468
3.7c	Number of Cattle in Estates Worth L51 to L225	469
3.7d	Number of Cattle in Estates Worth L226 or More	469
3.7e	Number of Cattle in Estates of Unknown Value	470
3.7f	Number of Cattle in All Estates	470
3.8	Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Dairy Equipment	471
3.9a	Ownership of Pigs by Charles Parish Decedents	471
3.9b	Number of Pigs in Estates Worth L50 or Less	472
3.9c	Number of Pigs in Estates Worth L51 to L225	472

3.9d	Number of Pigs in Estates Worth L226 or More	473
3.9e	Number of Pigs in Estates of Unknown Value	473
3.9f	Number of Pigs in All Estates	474
3.10a	Ownership of Sheep by Charles Parish Decedents	474
3.10b	Number of Sheep in Estates Worth L50 or Less	475
3.10c	Number of Sheep in Estates Worth L51 to L225	475
3.10d	Number of Sheep in Estates Worth L226 or More	476
3.10e	Number of Sheep in Estates of Unknown Value	476
3.10f	Number of Sheep in All Estates	477
3.11	Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Equipment for Textile Production	477
3.12	Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Had Indentured Servants	478
3.13a	Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Slaves	478
3.13b	Mean and Median Slaveholding in Charles Parish	479
3.14a	Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Beds	479
3.14b	Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Feather Beds	480
3.14c	Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Bedsteads	480
3.15	Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Silver Objects	481
3.16	Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Books	481
4.1a	Miscellaneous Associations: Charles Parish, 1630-1659	485
4.1b	Miscellaneous Associations: Charles Parish, 1660-1699	486
4.1c	Miscellaneous Associations: Charles Parish, 1700-1740	487
4.2a	Estate-Related Associations: Charles Parish, 1630-1659	488
4.2b	Estate-Related Associations: Charles Parish, 1660-1699	489
4.2c	Estate-Related Associations: Charles Parish, 1700-1740	490
4.3a	Miscellaneous Associations: Calthorpe's Neck Neighborhood, 1630-1659	491
4.3b	Miscellaneous Associations: Calthorpe's Neck Neighborhood, 1660-1699	492
4.3c	Miscellaneous Associations: Calthorpe's Neck Neighborhood, 1700-1740	493
4.4a	Estate-Related Associations: Calthorpe's Neck Neighborhood, 1630-1659	494

4.4b	Estate-Related Associations: Calthorpe's Neck Neighborhood, 1660-1699	495
4.4c	Estate-Related Associations: Calthorpe's Neck Neighborhood, 1700-1740	496
4.5a	Miscellaneous Associations: Central Neighborhood, 1630-1659	497
4.5b	Miscellaneous Associations: Central Neighborhood, 1660-1699	498
4.5c	Miscellaneous Associations: Central Neighborhood, 1700-1740	499
4.6a	Estate-Related Associations: Central Neighborhood, 1630-1659	500
4.6b	Estate-Related Associations: Central Neighborhood, 1660-1699	501
4.6c	Estate-Related Associations: Central Neighborhood, 1700-1740	502
4.7a	Miscellaneous Associations: Eastern Neighborhood, 1630-1659	503
4.7b	Miscellaneous Associations: Eastern Neighborhood, 1660-1699	503
4.7c	Miscellaneous Associations: Eastern Neighborhood, 1700-1740	504
4.8a	Estate-Related Associations: Eastern Neighborhood, 1630-1659	505
4.8b	Estate-Related Associations: Eastern Neighborhood, 1660-1699	505
4.8c	Estate-Related Associations: Eastern Neighborhood, 1700-1740	506
4.9a	Miscellaneous Associations: Chisman's Creek Neighborhood, 1630-1659	507
4.9b	Miscellaneous Associations: Chisman's Creek Neighborhood, 1660-1699	508
4.9c	Miscellaneous Associations: Chisman's Creek Neighborhood, 1700-1740	509
4.10a	Estate-Related Associations: Chisman's Creek Neighborhood, 1630-1659	510
4.10b	Estate-Related Associations: Chisman's Creek Neighborhood, 1660-1699	511
4.10c	Estate-Related Associations: Chisman's Creek Neighborhood, 1700-1740	512
4.11a	Miscellaneous Associations: Western Neighborhood, 1630-1659	513

4.11b	Miscellaneous Associations: Western Neighborhood, 1660-1699	514
4.11c	Miscellaneous Associations: Western Neighborhood, 1700-1740	515
4.12a	Estate-Related Associations: Western Neighborhood, 1630-1659	516
4.12b	Estate-Related Associations: Western Neighborhood, 1660-1699	517
4.12c	Estate-Related Associations: Western Neighborhood, 1700-1740	518
5.1a	Mean Estate Value and Labor Force of Charles Parish and York County Decedents Who Died Before 1700	520
5.1b	Mean Estate Value and Labor Force of Charles Parish and York County Decedents Who Died Between 1700 and 1777	520
5.1c	Mean Estate Value and Labor Force of Charles Parish and York County Decedents Who Died by 1777	520
5.2a	Landholding of Charles Parish Decedents Who Were Officeholders	521
5.2b	Landholding of All Charles Parish Decedents	521
5.2c	Landholding of All York County Decedents	522
5.3	Mean and Median Estate Value, Slaveholding, and Rural Land- holding of York County Officeholders, Williamsburg Office- holders, Yorktown Officeholders, and Non-Officeholders from Williamsburg and Yorktown	523
5.4	Officeholders and Jurors in the Charles Parish Population, 1630-1740	524
5.5a	Number of Years Between Arrival in Charles Parish and Appoint- ment to a Local-, County-, or Colony-Level Office	528
5.5b	Number of Years Between Arrival in Charles Parish and Appoint- ment as a Petit, Grand, Inquest, or Land Survey Juror	528
5.6a	First Decade of Officeholding By Place of Death	529
5.6b	First Decade of Jury Service By Place of Death	530
5.6c	Mean Time (in Years) of Residence in Charles Parish of All Adult Residents, All Adult Residents Born in Charles Parish, Officeholders, Jurors, and All Male Residents	531
5.7	Mean Time (in Years) of Residence in Charles Parish of Men Who Served as a Justice of the Peace, Churchwarden, Vestryman, Constable, or Surveyor of the Highways	532
5.8a	Place of Birth of Officeholders	533
5.8b	Place of Birth of Jurors	534
5.9a	Decade of Birth in Charles Parish By Decade of Appointment to	

a Local-, County-, or Colony-Level Office	535
5.9b Decade of Birth in Charles Parish By Decade of Appointment as a Petit, Grand, Inquest, or Land Survey Juror	535
5.10 First Decade of Appointment to Office or Jury By Place of Death	536
5.11a Number of Years Between Majority and Appointment to a Local-, County-, or Colony-Level Office	537
5.11b Number of Years Between Majority and Appointment as a Petit, Grand, Inquest, or Land Survey Juror	537
5.12a Son's Highest Office As Compared to Father's or Grandfather's Highest Level of Service	538
5.12b Son's Jury Service As Compared to Father's or Grandfather's Highest Level of Service	538
5.13a Son-in-Law's Highest Office As Compared to Father-in-Law's Highest Level of Service	539
5.13b Son-in-Law's Jury Service As Compared to Father-in-Law's Highest Level of Service	539
5.14 Impact of Jury Service on An Individual's Highest Office .	540
5.15 Occupation By Highest Office	541
5.16 Reasons Why Churchwardens and Grand Jurors Presented Charles Parish Residents	542
6.1 Poor Residents in the Charles Parish Population, 1630-1740	544
6.2 Annual Totals of Different Categories of Poor Residents in Charles Parish, 1630-1740	548
6.3 Landless Adult Males in Charles Parish, 1630-1740	552
6.4a Male Landowners: Average Number of Years in Charles Parish Before Becoming a Landowner and Average Number of Years As a Landowner	556
6.4b Male Leaseholders: Average Number of Years in Charles Parish Before Becoming a Landowner and Average Number of Years As a Leaseholder	557
6.5 Number of Servants in Charles Parish's Poor Population, 1630-1740	558
6.6 Annual Totals of Male and Female Servants in Charles Parish, 1630-1740	562
6.7a Prospects of Male Servants in Charles Parish, 1630-1740 . .	563
6.7b Prospects of Female Servants in Charles Parish, 1630-1740 .	564
7.1 Miscellaneous Associations: Female Residents of Charles Parish, 1630-1740	566

7.2	Estate-Related Associations: Female Residents of Charles Parish, 1630-1740	567
7.3	Social Crimes Committed by Female Residents of Charles Parish, 1640-1740	568
8.1	Annual Totals of Free Blacks in Charles Parish	570
8.2	Free Blacks in Comparison to the Charles Parish Populations	572
8.3	Comparison of Free Black and White Births Recorded in the Charles Parish Register	573
8.4	Percentage of Free Black Births Recorded in the Charles Parish Register By Decade	577
8.5	Illegitimate Children Born to White and Free Black Mothers in Charles Parish	577

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
2.1 Recorded White Births, Charles Parish, York County, Virginia, as Percent of Daily Average by Month	54
2.2 Recorded White Births, Charles Parish, York County, Virginia, 1648-1740, as Percent of Daily Average by Month	55
2.3 Recorded Free Black Births, Charles Parish, York County, Virginia, as Percent of Daily Average by Month	56
2.4 Recorded White Deaths, Charles Parish, York County, Virginia, as Percent of Daily Average by Month	57
2.5 Recorded White Deaths, Charles Parish, York County, Virginia, 1665-1740, as Percent of Daily Average by Month	59
2.6 Recorded White Female Deaths, Charles Parish, York County, Virginia, as Percent of Daily Average by Month	60
2.7 Recorded White Female Deaths, Charles Parish, York County, Virginia, 1665-1740, as Percent of Daily Average by Month .	61
2.8 Recorded White Male Deaths, Charles Parish, York County, Virginia, as Percent of Daily Average by Month	62
2.9 Recorded White Male Deaths, Charles Parish, York County, Virginia, 1665-1740, as Percent of Daily Average by Month .	63
5.1 Colony Offices, County Offices, and Local Office	194
5.2 Members of the Charles Parish Vestry, May 1704; Members of the Charles Parish Vestry, March 1707/8; and Members of the Charles Parish Vestry, February 1708/9	227
8.1 Hopson and Berry Families	346
8.2 Combs and Whiting Families	347
8.3 Combs, Wilson, and Hughson Families	348
8.4 Cattilla, Berry, and Hopson Families	350
8.5 Cattilla, Berry, and Francis Families	352

LIST OF MAPS

Map	Page
1. York County and Vicinity	10
2. Geographic Landmarks in Charles Parish	12
3. Distance in Miles from Center of Charles Parish	16
4. Public Roads in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Charles Parish	17
5. Neighborhoods in Charles Parish	21
6. Focal Points of Neighborhoods in Charles Parish	22
7. Property Lines in Charles Parish, 1704	80
8. Location of Charles Parish Merchants during the Seventeenth Century	101
9. Location of Chisman's Mill and Hayward's Mill and Tan Yard .	104
10. Service Center in the Central Neighborhood of Charles Parish	107
11. Location of Houses in Charles Parish	114
12. First Settlers in Calthorpe's Neck Neighborhood	137
13. First Settlers in the Central Neighborhood	148
14. First Settlers in the Eastern Neighborhood	159
15. First Settlers in Chisman's Creek Neighborhood	166
16. First Settlers in the Western Neighborhood	175
17. Location of Women's Residences in the decade of the 1650s .	302
18. Location of Free Blacks in Charles Parish with earliest dates of residence	360
19. Landholdings of Free Blacks in Charles Parish with acreage and earliest dates of occupation	361

ABSTRACT

The following study focuses on the development of Charles Parish, York County, Virginia from 1630 to 1740 in order to contribute new information to what is already known about life in the early Chesapeake. This examination is a significant contribution to the scholarship on the colonial Chesapeake because it is one of only four areas in the region with both extant county and church records. In fact, Charles Parish has the most complete birth and death registers for a seventeenth-century Virginia parish. Furthermore, it is possible to study Charles Parish at the micro-level because of the detailed information about York County residents that members of the Department of Historical Research at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation collected during the late 1970s and the 1980s as part of the York County Project, a study funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities.

The majority of studies of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century communities have examined either towns, the focus of social organization in New England, or counties, the equivalent for the Chesapeake. However, the parish, not the county, was the unit of government that dealt with the problems which affected seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Virginians. Because the parish served as a focus for the day to day activities of the majority of colonial Virginians, it seems logical to examine a parish community in order to learn about their lives. However, most of the Chesapeake historians have focused their studies on a county or several counties.

A detailed approach based on biographical data about residents of Charles provides data about the impact of high mortality rates and immigration on the development of the parish community and its neighborhoods, the role that family members and neighbors played in associations, the different social levels within Charles and its neighborhoods, the ways in which local leaders exercised their power, and the impact of nearby Williamsburg and Yorktown on a rural area such as Charles Parish. The inclusion of all the free residents--women, free blacks, and small white planters, not just the successful white male planters--of Charles makes it possible to study the role of each group in the parish community.

**A COMMUNITY AND ITS NEIGHBORHOODS:
CHARLES PARISH, YORK COUNTY, VIRGINIA, 1630-1740**

INTRODUCTION

The following examination of Charles Parish, York County, Virginia is a significant contribution to the scholarship on the colonial Chesapeake because it is one of only four areas in the region with both extant county and church records. In fact, Charles Parish has the most complete birth and death registers for a seventeenth-century Virginia parish.¹ Furthermore, it is possible to study Charles Parish at the micro-level because of the detailed information about York County residents that members of the Department of Historical Research at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation collected during the late 1970s and the 1980s as part of the York County Project, a study funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities.²

The majority of studies of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century communities have examined either towns, the focus of social organization in New England, or counties, the equivalent for the Chesapeake. However, the parish was also important in organizing life in colonial America, and therefore a helpful unit for study of early Virginia. The first settlers of the Old Dominion drew upon the English parish system

¹The other three locales are Charles and Somerset counties in Maryland and Christ Church Parish in Middlesex County, Virginia. See Lorena S. Walsh, "Charles County, Maryland, 1658-1705: A Study of Chesapeake Social and Political Structure," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1977); Lorena S. Walsh and Russell R. Menard, "Death in the Chesapeake: Two Life Tables for Men in Early Colonial Maryland," Maryland Historical Magazine, LXIX(1974):211-227; Russell R. Menard and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Demography of Somerset County, Maryland: A Progress Report," (Chicago: The Newberry Papers in Family and Community History, 1981); and Darrett R. and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia, 1650-1750, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984).

²See Appendix 1, Section 1 for information about the York County Project and the Master Biographical File.

when they established their religious institutions in the New World. In seventeenth-century England, the parish played a more important and immediate role in the daily lives of its residents than did county government. Church officials dealt with the local concerns--providing poor relief, keeping roads in repair, settling estates and maintaining standards of moral behavior--that were important to ordinary men, women, and children. The gentry tended to be immersed in county-level government and regional concerns. The parish also served as the center for social events, weddings, baptisms, burials, and fairs.³

Virginia's early residents found that they needed to adapt the English parish system to the realities of life in the New World. The colony's scattered population and the large size of the parishes made it difficult for all male parishioners to participate as vestrymen. As a result, membership on the vestry became limited to a small group of the men who attended services at each church. The colony's "closed vestry" differed from England's "open vestry" in which all male parishioners had a voice.⁴ By the early 1660s, the vestry developed into an autonomous, self-perpetuating body of considerable local power in Virginia because of the absence of direct control from the Church of England, the

³For information about the English parish system see James Horn, "Adapting to a New World: A Comparative Study of Local Society in England and Maryland, 1650-1750," in Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo, eds., Colonial Chesapeake Society, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1988), p. 168, n. 83, n. 84.

⁴For information about the statutes that established the Anglican church and the powers of the vestry see William Waller Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, 1 From the First Session of the Legislature, in 1619, 13 vols., (Richmond, New York, and Philadelphia, 1819-1823; reprint, Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia for the Jamestown Foundation of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1969), 1:240, 290-291; 2:25, 44; Arthur Pierce Middleton, "Anglican Virginia: The Established Church of the Old Dominion 1607-1786," (unpublished research report, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1954), pp. 26-34; and Clive R. Hallman, "The Vestry As a Unit of Local Government in Colonial Virginia," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Georgia, 1987), esp. pp. 221-234. See Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia, ed. Richard L. Morton, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956), pp. 226-227 for discussion of the size of Virginia's parishes.

statutes passed by the Assembly, and the practice of allowing the vestrymen to act in the interests of all the residents in a parish.⁵

Most of the males selected to serve on a parish's vestry also held the offices of justice of the peace, constable, and highway surveyor and sat on juries during their lifetimes. The combination of civil and ecclesiastical authority in the hands of a group of twelve men helped to give a parish a sense of social and political identity. This concentration of power in the hands of a small number of local leaders placed the parish at the center of life for its inhabitants. The parish, not the county, was the unit of government that dealt with the mundane problems which affected seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Virginians.⁶ William H. Seiler observed that "the Anglican parish, with its underlying religious influence, became as much a spirit of control as it was

⁵Donald G. Matthews, Religion in the Old South, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), pp. 3-5; George Maclaren Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church and The Political Conditions Under Which It Grew, 2 vols., (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1947), I:87, 94, 181; William H. Seiler, "The Anglican Parish in Virginia," in James Morton Smith, ed., Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1959), pp. 138-139; 141-142; idem, "Land Processioning in Colonial Virginia," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, III(1949):416-436; idem., "The Anglican Church: A Basic Institution of Local Government in Colonial Virginia," in Bruce C. Daniels, ed., Town and County: Essays on the Structure of Local Government in the American Colonies, (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1978), p. 137; Edwin S. Gaustad, "Revival, Revolution, and Religion in Early Virginia," (draft of essay for The Foundations of America Series, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation), pp. 3, 24; and Rhys Isaac, "Worlds of Experience: Communities in Colonial Virginia," (Williamsburg: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1987), p. 39.

⁶Marylanders did not share this close tie between local and county government. Horn noted that "The absence of parish administration necessitated the county court absorbing the duties usually attached to the vestry. Thus few decisions concerning the local community were made by a group of men all residents in the community itself. Poor relief, the care of orphans, the maintenance of highways, taxation, and various other aspects of local administration were matters decided at county level." Horn, "Adapting to a New World," p. 172. See also works cited in n. 100 and n. 101. After the establishment of the Anglican church in Maryland, vestries did not become self-perpetuating bodies as they were in Virginia. Most freeholders served a three year term as a vestryman before stepping down. Michael Graham, "Churching the Unchurched: The Establishment in Maryland, 1692-1724," Maryland Historical Magazine, 83(1988):297-309.

a definable unit of administration, emphasizing throughout its colonial existence the importance of local attitudes and actions."⁷ Parishes in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Virginia also fostered the development of associations based on kinship, friendship, and economic activities. Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman pointed out that "through a parish organization, neighbors cared for the indigent among them and for orphaned and bastard children, kept the memory of property boundaries alive by periodic perambulations, set moral boundaries by the prosecuting the immoral, and in sundry ways ascribed status to each other."⁸

Because the parish served as a focus for the day to day activities of the majority of the men, women, and children who made their homes in colonial Virginia,⁹ it seems logical to examine a parish community in order to learn about their lives. However, most of the Chesapeake historians have focused their studies on a county or several counties.¹⁰

⁷Seiler, "The Anglican Parish in Virginia," p. 142.

⁸Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, p. 53. See also Rhys Isaac, The Transformation of Virginia 1740-1790, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1982), pp. 58-65 and Allan Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1986), pp. 232-240.

⁹See Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, pp. 156-163 for a discussion of Middlesex County's "cosmopolitan elite" and the ties that they had to gentry men and women throughout Virginia.

¹⁰See for example, Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time; Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves; Gloria L. Main, Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982); Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, eds., The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society & Politics, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1979); and Carr, Morgan, and Russo, eds., Colonial Chesapeake Society.

An exception is Carville V. Earle's study of All Hallow's Parish, Maryland. Earle focused on the connection between the tobacco economy and the ways in which colonists settled and used the land in All Hallow's Parish, not on the social changes that took place in the parish. Carville V. Earle, The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallow's Parish, Maryland, 1650-1783, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Department of Geography Research Paper No. 170, 1975).

The work of these scholars has provided detailed information about the broad social changes that took place in the region during the colonial period--the development of the tobacco economy, the shift from white indentured servants to enslaved blacks, and the high mortality rates of the seventeenth century and the slight improvement in life expectancy after 1700. The knowledge about how these developments affected the lives of the Chesapeake's residents is not as extensive because individual people often are lost in the quantitative data that the historians use as evidence for their conclusions.

The following study focuses on the development of Charles Parish, York County, Virginia from 1630 to 1740 in order to contribute new information to what is already known about life in the early Chesapeake. A detailed approach based on biographical data about residents of Charles provides data about the impact of high mortality rates and immigration on the development of the parish community and its neighborhoods, the role that family members and neighbors played in associations, the different social levels within Charles and its neighborhoods, the ways in which local leaders exercised their power, and the impact of nearby Williamsburg and Yorktown after 1700 on a rural area such as Charles Parish. The inclusion of all the free residents--women, free blacks, and small white planters, not just the successful white male planters--of Charles makes it possible to study the role of each group in the parish community.

The first section of this dissertation provides a context for the discussion of the relationships that the free residents of Charles formed with family and friends. The initial chapter contains an explanation of the way in which I define the terms "community" and "neighborhood" in this study. The second and third chapters provide a sense of the place in which Charles's men, women, and children lived. Chapter Two details the demographic characteristics of Charles and how the parish fits into the demographic pattern of York County and of the

Chesapeake region. The final chapter of part one examines the parish's topography, soil conditions, and agricultural productivity.

The second portion of the dissertation focuses on the free males and females who lived in Charles Parish between 1630 and 1740 and the relationships that they formed with family, friends, and neighbors in order to learn how people organized their lives. Chapter Four traces the development of the parish's five neighborhoods over the course of the seventeenth century and the changes that took place in them during the first four decades of the eighteenth century. The fifth chapter deals with the political careers of Charles's officeholders and jurors and the ways in which the parish leaders used their power in response to social tensions and changes in the parish between 1630 and 1740. The next chapter follows the lives of males and females from the lower level of Charles's social order--tenants, servants, aged, and poor. Estate inventories provide some information about the number of slaves who lived in Charles. Unfortunately, it is not possible to create detailed biographies for the parish's slave population. Chapters Seven and Eight focus on the activities and relationships of the female and free black residents of the parish, respectively, in order to study the issues of gender, race, and power. The conclusions notes that between 1630 and 1740, Charles evolved from a new settlement on Virginia's frontier to a community of native-born men, women, and children who had numerous ties to family members, friends, and neighbors in all areas of the parish. After 1740, the bonds that connected Charles's five districts continued to grow and began to extend to the adjoining counties of Elizabeth City and Warwick. The ties joined the parish and two counties into one neighborhood by the end of the century. The appendices contain the tables for each chapter, a discussion of the methodology used in this study, an explanation of the construction of life expectancy tables, and information about the males and females, white and black, who signed a petition in support of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1784.

CHAPTER 1

IDENTIFYING THE CHARLES PARISH COMMUNITY AND ITS NEIGHBORHOODS

Perhaps the most difficult task in studying the development of the Charles Parish community and its neighborhoods between 1630 and 1740 was the process of defining the terms "community" and "neighborhood."¹ Both words have several meanings and interpretations. I looked at the variety of descriptions of "community" and of "neighborhood" in order to define the two words in the context of Charles Parish and to determine the location of the boundaries of the Charles Parish community and the neighborhoods that emerged in the parish.

Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century communities had borders that reflected the place's geography and the emotional attachments of the

¹The following discussion of community and neighborhoods is based on Darrett B. Rutman, "The Social Web: A Prospectus for the Study of the Early American Community," in William L. O'Neill, ed., Insights and Parallels: Problems and Issues of American History, (Minneapolis, 1973), pp. 57-123; idem., "Community Study," Historical Methods, 13(1980):29-41; Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia 1650-1750, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984); idem., A Place in Time: Explicatus, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984); Allan Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1986), pp. 205-260; Lorena S. Walsh, "Charles County, Maryland, 1658-1705: A Study of Chesapeake Social and Political Structure," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1977); idem., "Community Networks," in Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo, eds., Colonial Chesapeake Society, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1988), pp. 200-241; James R. Perry, The Formation of a Society on Virginia's Eastern Shore 1615-1655, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1990); Kevin P. Kelly, "Does Local History Have a Future? Some Personal Thoughts," (paper presented at the Institute of Early American History and Culture colloquium, September 1992); Thomas Bender, Community and Social Change in America, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1978); Keith Wrightson, English Society 1580-1680, (London: Hutchinson & Co., Ltd., 1982), pp. 40-65; and the York County Project Master Biographical File, Department of Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

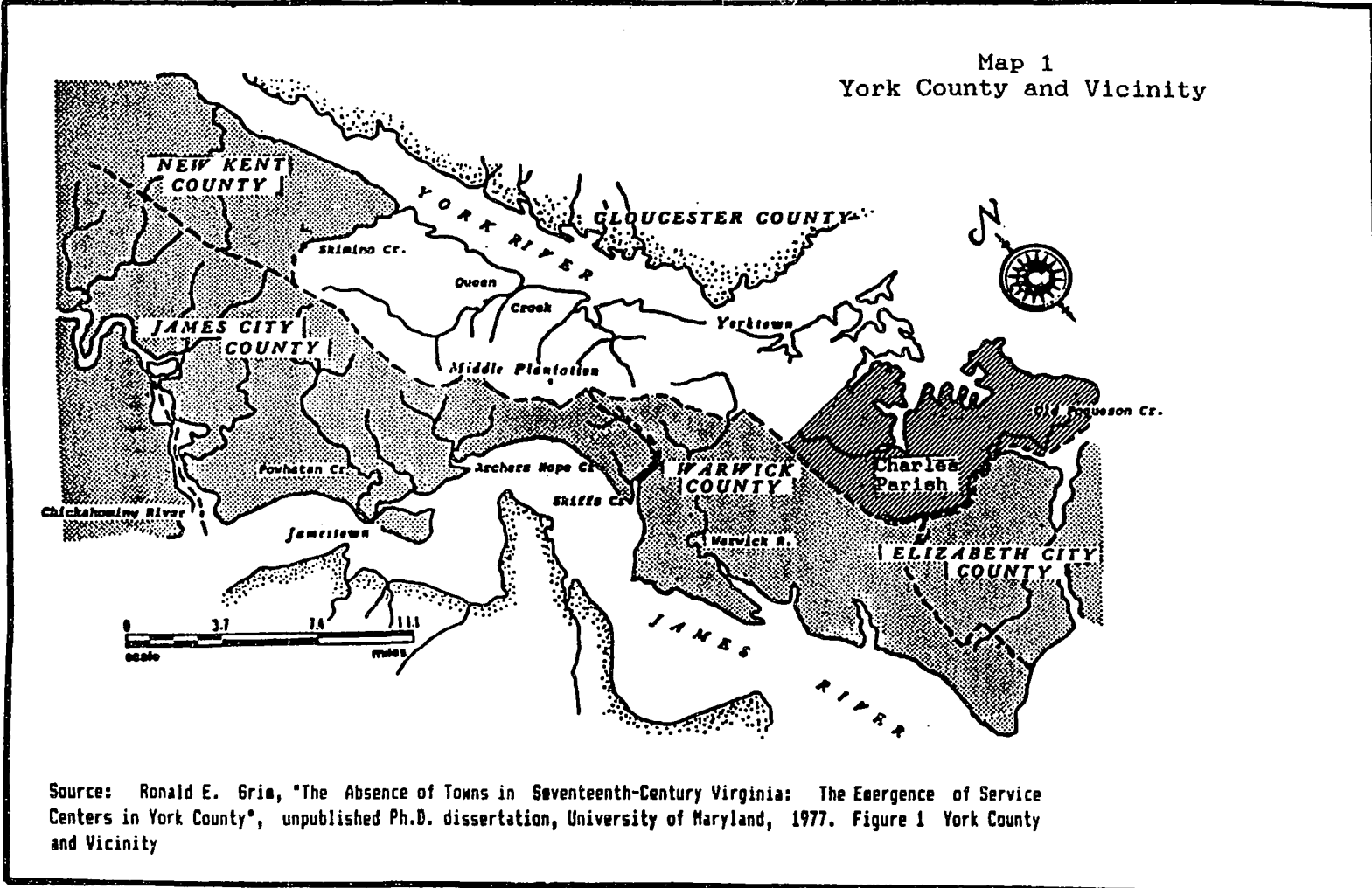
residents to the area in which they lived. First, a community was a specific location, set off from other nearby areas by boundaries that could be legislative, physical, social, or, as in the case of Charles Parish, a combination of the three types. Settlers did not live in the section of the peninsula between the James and the York rivers that became Charles Parish until 1630 when the Governor and the Council opened the area to English settlers. (Map 1) Governor Harvey encouraged men to move to an area known as Chiskiack by offering fifty acres to each individual who relocated to the district in 1630 and twenty-five acres to each person who settled in Chiskiack during the following year. Governors Wyatt and Harvey favored the Chiskiack site because it was in a good location from which to attack the Indian settlements on the northern side of the York River.² The colony's officials also saw the area called Middle Plantation as being important to the defense of the colony. (Map 1) In February 1632/3, an act to encourage settlement at Middle Plantation included the inducement of fifty acres of land per settler.³

²Annie Lash Jester comp. and ed. with Martha Woodroof Hiden, Adventurers of Purse and Person: Virginia 1607-1625, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), p. 127 and Richard L. Morton, Colonial Virginia, 2 vols., (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Virginia Historical Society, 1960), pp. 122-125.

It is likely that the colonists had eliminated the Pamunkey Indians from the York County area before the Crown allowed men and women to settle on this land. Residents of Hampton Parish, in the upper portion of York County, referred to a section of land in their parish as the "old fields." This name indicates that there was physical evidence of the Indians who lived on the land before the English settlers did. The original name of Hampton Parish was Chiskiack, the name of an Indian tribe that made its home on the peninsula between the James and the York rivers. The surviving county records contain little evidence of the presence of Indians in York during the seventeenth or the eighteenth centuries. For information about the location of Indians in seventeenth-century Virginia, see Morton, Colonial Virginia, 1:155.

³William Waller Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, From the First Session of the Legislature, in 1619, 13 vols., (Richmond, New York, and Philadelphia, 1819-1823; reprint, Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Jamestown Foundation of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1969), 1:208-209. Chiskiack became part of Hampton Parish and Middle Plantation was in Marston (later Bruton Parish).

Map 1
York County and Vicinity



Source: Ronald E. Gria, "The Absence of Towns in Seventeenth-Century Virginia: The Emergence of Service Centers in York County", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1977. Figure 1 York County and Vicinity

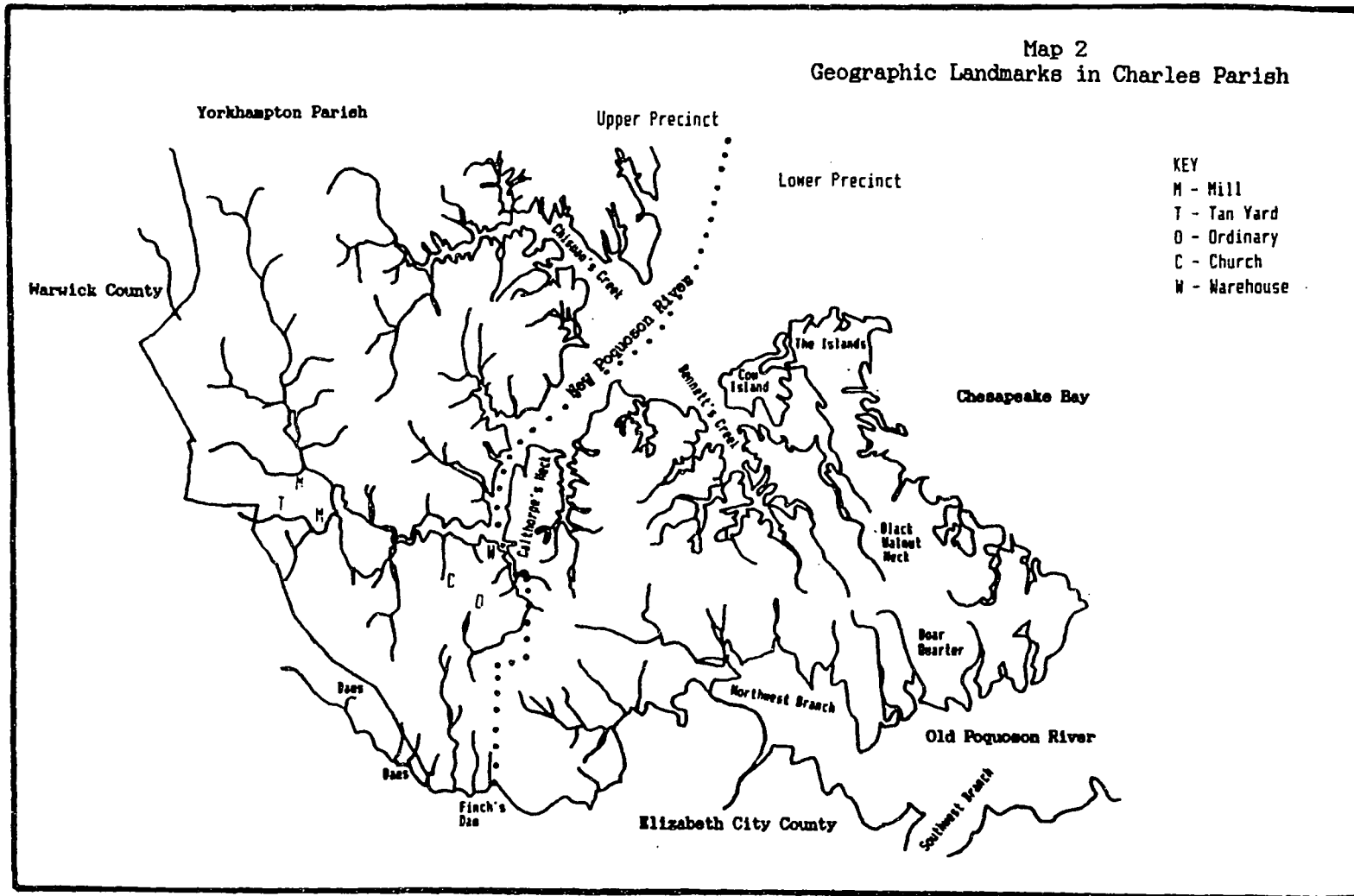
In spite of the encouragement that the colonists received to move to the Chiskiack and Middle Plantation settlements, men took up a greater number of acres in the area that became Charles Parish which bordered on already established plantations.⁴ It is probable that the first men to patent land in Charles Parish used the name "New Poquoson" to indicate that their new plantations were to be regarded as a continuation of the "Old Poquoson" section of Elizabeth City instead of as an independent, separate settlement.⁵ The leaders of the colony saw a difference between Old Poquoson and New Poquoson, and when the Crown established county government in the Old Dominion in 1634, New Poquoson became part of York County. Warwick and Elizabeth City counties, York (later Yorkhampton) Parish, the Chesapeake Bay, and the New Poquoson and the Old Poquoson rivers defined the boundaries of this parish. (Map 2)

⁴Settlers patented 14,015 acres in Charles Parish by the end of the 1630s decade. The figures for the other sections of York County are:

York Parish--7,770 acres (first patent in 1635)
 Hampton Parish--4,325 acres (first patent in 1637)
 Marston Parish--4,875 acres (first patent in 1637)

Peter V. Bergstrom, "A Stop Along the Way," (paper presented at the Philadelphia Center for Early American Studies, October, 1986), Table 2.11 "York County Land Grants by Parish, 1632-1699."

⁵The name "poquoson," a word from the Algonquin Indian language for an area of low, swampy ground which is usually wooded, accurately described the land in both the Old and New Poquoson settlements. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century deeds mentioned the many wooded and swampy areas in this parish. The informal designation of New Poquoson became the name of the southern-most parish in York County during most of the seventeenth century. On December 11, 1692 Peter Beverley, the clerk of the House of Burgesses, noted that "upon the petition of the parishioners of New Poquoson in the County of Yorke it is ordered that from henceforth forever hereafter the sd parish shall be called & named Charles parish & the sd parish Church shall be called & named Charles Church & the River formerly called New Poquoson River shall from time to time & at all times hereafter be called named & written Charles River[.]" Perhaps the leaders of New Poquoson believed that their parish had developed its own identity by the 1690s. A distinct name would indicate that the lower end of York County was separate from the Old Poquoson area of Elizabeth City County. The Oxford English Dictionary. Being a Corrected Re-Issue With an Introduction, Supplement, and Bibliography of a New English Dictionary on Historical Principles Founded Mainly on the Materials Collected by the Philological Society, 12 vols., (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1933), VII:1038 and York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (10) 227, 14 October 1695.



It was easier to find the legal and physical boundaries that separated the lower end of York County from the adjoining parishes and counties than it was to discover the personal ties that men and women had to Charles because the surviving county court records contain only a small number of seventeenth-century depositions in which the parish's residents recounted their feelings for the place in which they lived. Men and women had emotional ties to their community because it was the place where they made their homes and had family, friends, and neighbors. The inhabitants of Charles exchanged information and gossip, drank and piped together, and counted on each other for assistance in times of trouble.

It is important to note that Charles was not isolated from nearby areas, and that changes in the adjoining sections, especially those in the upper end of York County, had an impact on the development of the parish. The men, women, and children who lived within the parish's geographic boundaries or who had emotional attachments to the community did not always remain in the lower end of York County. A number of Charles's residents moved on to other Tidewater counties between the middle 1640s and the early 1660s. During the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the growth and success of Yorktown and Williamsburg pulled several of Charles's young men to the two urban areas. The lower end of York County also lost inhabitants to Piedmont and Southside counties because there was not enough land for many of the third- and fourth-generation sons of Charles's residents to have their own plantations.⁶

I kept the two-fold meaning of community, the mobility of the parish's inhabitants, and the area's high mortality rates in mind when I determined the boundaries of the colonial Charles Parish community and identified four groups of men, women, and children who lived in and/or

⁶See Chapter 2 for a discussion of Charles's demographic characteristics.

had attachments to the lower end of York County. First, the geographic boundaries of the parish served to separate Charles from Elizabeth City and Warwick counties and York (later Yorkhampton) Parish in York County. (Map 2) The second portion of Charles's community contained some inhabitants of the adjoining parishes, such as Yorkhampton's James Palmer, who attended Sunday services at the church in Charles.⁷ Third, a small number of the parents who lived in the adjacent counties had the births and/or baptisms of their children recorded in the Charles Parish birth register. Samuel Tompkins Junior, a native of Charles who was the fourth generation of his family to live in the parish, and his nephew, the fourth William Tompkins, informed Charles's vestry clerk of the births of their sons and daughters after they moved to Elizabeth City County in the 1720s and the 1750s, respectively. The entry of the deaths of Yorkhampton's Henry Barradell Junior and Irwin Jones of Warwick County in the parish death register is an indication of the connection each man maintained to Charles after he left the lower end of York County.⁸ Finally, I counted the non-resident landowners, including Williamsburg's Edmund Jenings, Ralph Graves and George Baskervyle of Bruton Parish, and Yorkhampton's Thomas Nelson Senior, as part of the

⁷In colonial Virginia, administrative units tended to direct residents' activities toward different focal points. If a county had more than one parish, it was common for men and women to attend the church that was closest to their home, even if they had to cross parish or county lines to do so. The county courthouse functioned as the focal point for the legal activities of all the county's residents. Entries in the county court records and parish registers reflect the divisions created by the administrative units.

All biographical information is from the York County Project Master Biographical File, Department of Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

⁸The September 24, 1690 birth of Eleanor Stevens to William and Mary Stevens of Maryland was not enough to include them as members of the parish community because they were visitors to Charles. John Crupsey, captain of the ship Catherine, who died on June 2, 1691 and John Crofts, a London merchant who passed away on July 23, 1709, also were visitors to the Charles Parish area. See Landon C. Bell, ed., Charles Parish, York County, Virginia History and Registers Births 1648-1789 Deaths 1665-1787, (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1932).

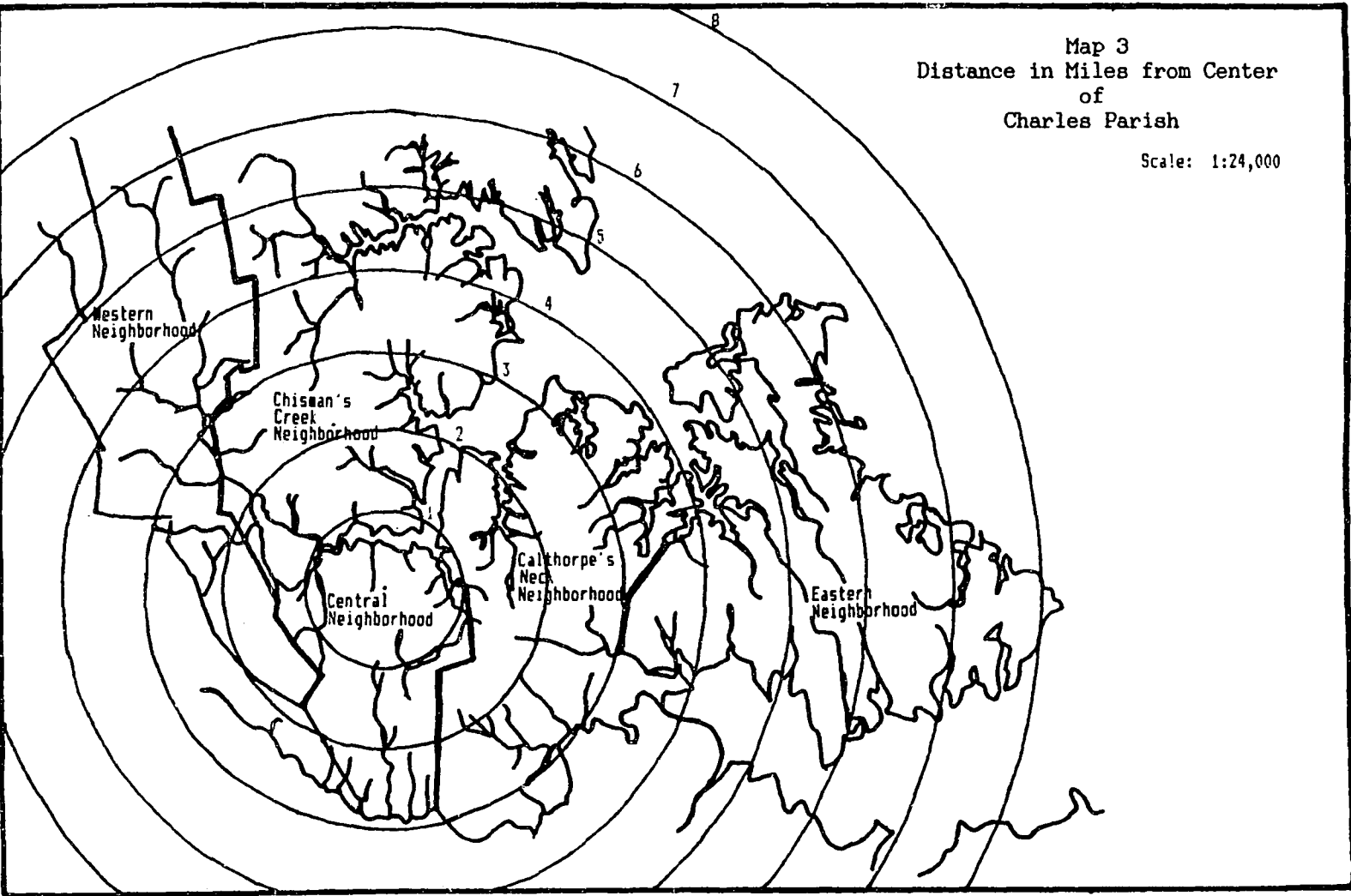
parish community. Even though the ties that the absentee propertyholders had to Charles were mainly economic in nature, they had an interest in the fortunes of the lower end of York County.

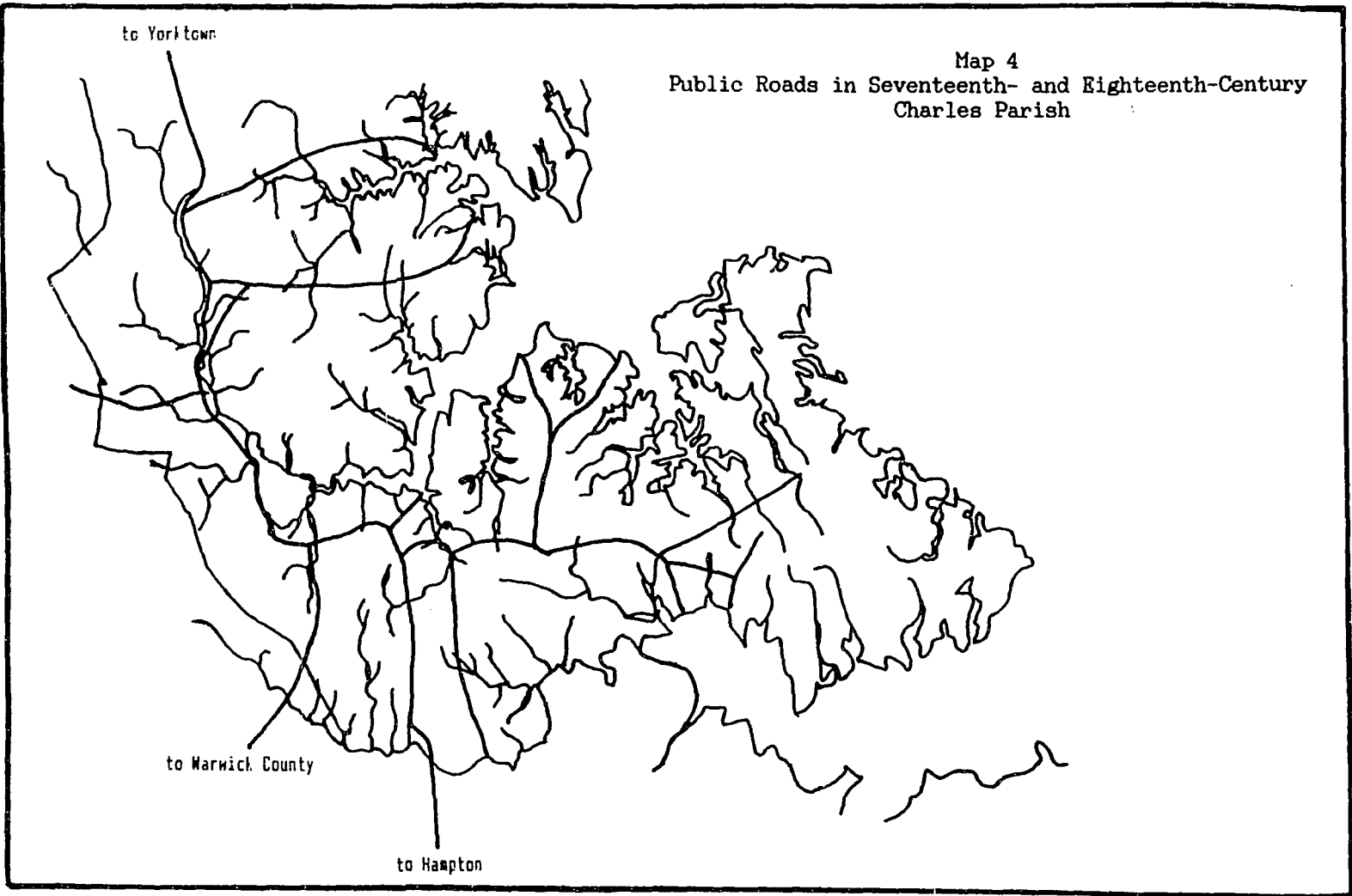
Subdivisions began to appear in the Charles community during the first thirty years of its existence in spite of the parish's small size of less than forty-one square miles. The majority of Charles's men, women, and children lived within a five mile radius of the middle of the parish. (Map 3) Most individuals could cover the distance from his or her house to the central section of Charles in a few hours on foot, or in about an hour on horseback.⁹ The parish's physical geography had some impact on travel and communication. Residents of the easternmost portion of Charles used canoes to visit neighbors who lived on nearby necks of land and rode horses to get to the other sections of the parish. (Map 4) It is likely that travel along many of the roads in the lower end of York County was slow because the routes were winding and indirect in order to avoid the numerous creeks, marshes, and swamps.¹⁰

Three factors helped to bring about the formation of neighborhoods in Charles during the seventeenth century. First, the community did not become focused in any one part of the parish because the initial patentees took up land in all areas of Charles during the first three decades of settlement. After 1660, only a small amount of interior land in the central portion of the parish and along the inland courses of the

⁹Walsh found that in St. Clement's Manor, in Charles County, Maryland, "all the repeated and ordinary contacts of male residents involved other households lying within an approximate five-mile radius of the home, a journey of an hour or two." Kulikoff noted that a man on horseback could cover five miles in an hour. See Walsh, "Community Networks," p. 219, and Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves, p. 213.

¹⁰Two roads connected the residents of Charles to their counterparts in the upper section of York and the adjoining counties: the public highway to Elizabeth City County and the road that joined the area known as the "Damms" with Warwick County. These roads ran along ridges of land in the interior of Charles. See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the roads in Charles Parish and the ownership of canoes, horses, riding equipment, and carts by decedents from the lower end of York County.





New Poquoson River remained unclaimed.¹¹ Second, Charles's planters found that the quality and the fertility of the soil near the major waterways was higher than that of the ground in the central area of Charles and along the numerous inland waterways.¹² Men who patented tracts of good land tended to stay in the parish and their counterparts who planted poorer soil often moved on after a few years in search of better property. Third, some men arrived in Charles without attachments to family or to friends, while other individuals moved to the lower end of York County with their families and people who had been their neighbors in England. Men and women who had emotional ties to family, friends, and neighbors in the lower end of York County were more likely to make Charles their permanent home than were those males and females who did not become close to any of the parish's other residents.

It was harder to define and pinpoint the location of a "neighborhood" in the lower end of York County than it was to do so for the whereabouts of the Charles Parish "community." Unlike the boundary lines that set Charles off from the rest of York County and the adjoining counties of Elizabeth City and Warwick, contemporary documents did not describe the location of the divisions among the parish's neighborhoods. The court records did contain evidence of the existence

¹¹Bergstrom, "A Stop Along the Way," Table 2.11 "York County Land Grants by Parish, 1632-1699." For information about the land patents taken by men and women for land in Charles Parish, see Nell M. Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers. Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, 3 vols., (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1934-1979; reprint (vol. 1), Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1963).

Chesapeake historians suggested that the terms "lower precinct" and "upper precinct" might refer to the order in which sections of a parish were settled, with the "lower precinct" being the first area where residents established themselves. In the case of Charles Parish, all of the land along the New Poquoson and the Old Poquoson rivers and the south side of Chisman's Creek was taken up before settlers had claimed all of the inland tracts of land. It is possible that "upper precinct" and "lower precinct" refer to the areas of a parish that were up river and down river. This explanation fits Charles Parish.

¹²See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the physical geography of Charles Parish.

of neighborhoods in Charles. During the October 1680 court session, the York County justices of the peace noted that they received a petition from "severall inhabitants of Warwick County & the neighborhood thereto adjoyneing" about "a comon high way for horses as alsoe for Carts....in those parts [at] the head of the old Pocoson Creek comonly called the Damms." The petitioners were residents of the central area of Charles. Thirteen years later, in November of 1693, William Wise Senior summoned Daniel Holland to the York County Court to answer the charge that he had "barrd & stopt up" an "old customary foot path....in Poquoson parish in comon for the conveniency of a road or passage to the parish church & other convenient occasions for the neighborhood for about 20 yrs past...." Wise represented the men and women who lived in the area near Calthorpe's Neck in their suit against Holland.¹³

Because historians have found that men and women of the colonial Chesapeake tended to turn to people who lived close by when they needed assistance, I looked at the day to day matters that brought the parish's residents together, the activities involved in settling a decedent's estate, and the relationship between the men and women who appeared in court together (were they related? were they friends? were they neighbors?) in order to find the location of Charles's neighborhoods and when they developed.¹⁴ The activities of the parish's male and female

¹³Wise also noted that Holland had reached an agreement with his neighbors concerning access to the road that he had honored until March of that year. In April 1694, Thomas Roberts, Thomas Harwood, and Daniel Taylor met and laid out a new path that satisfied Wise, Holland, and their neighbors. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (6) 257, 26 October 1680; *ibid.*, (9) 276, 25 November 1693; p. 351, 24 May 1694.

¹⁴Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, pp. 19-35; Walsh, "Community Networks," pp. 226-227; Perry, The Formation of a Society, pp. 28, 46, 90, 114, 116-120, 193-194. See the forms for recording miscellaneous associations and estate related associations in Appendix 1, Section 2. I used the words "tie," "bond," "association," "attachment," and "connection" to refer to relationships between people.

I determined the location of Charles's neighborhoods by looking for groups or clusters of residents who interacted with each other or for individuals who frequently witnessed documents, appraised estates, or stood as a security for a bond. The tables in Appendix 4 indicate that

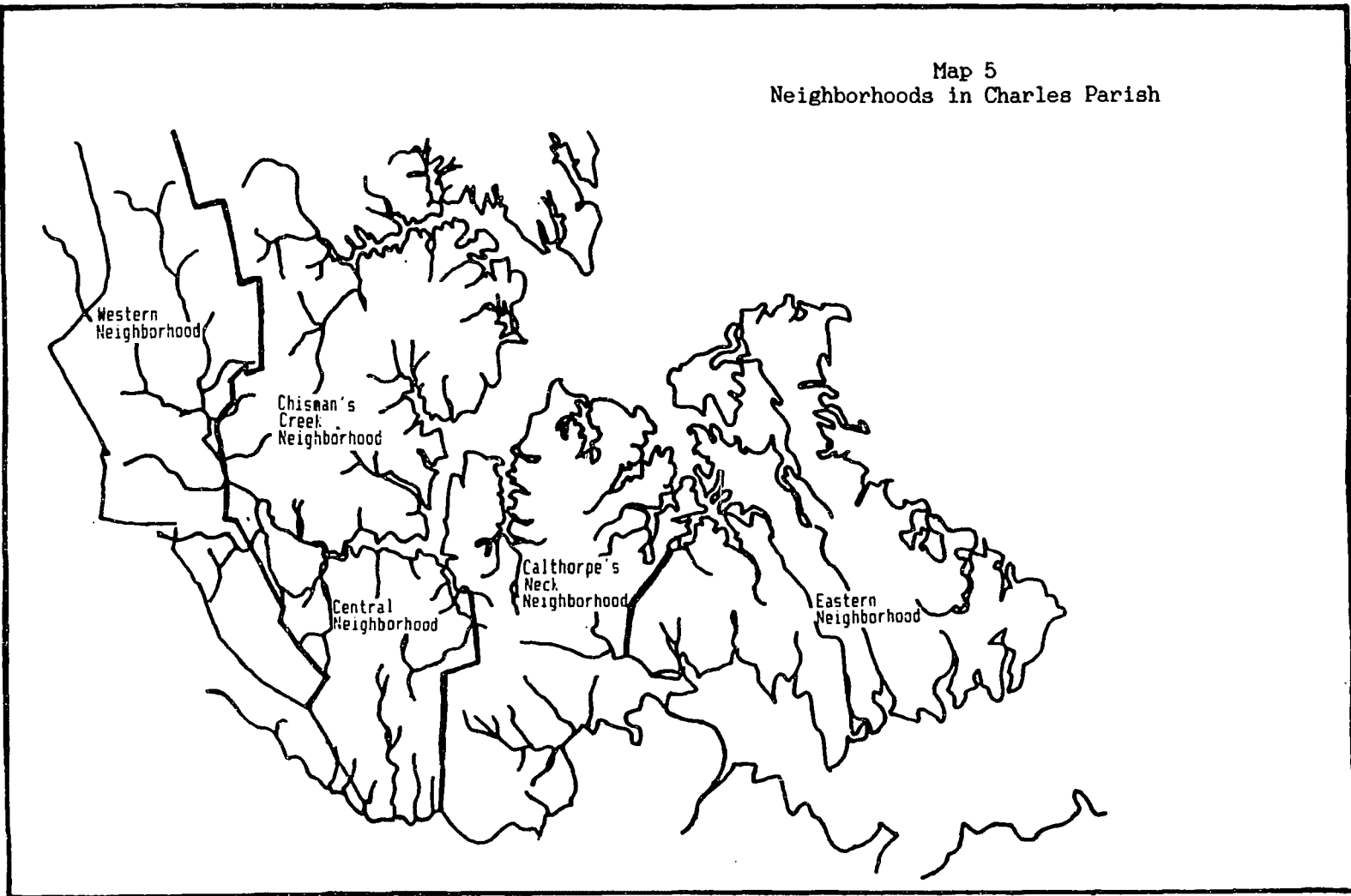
residents were focused in five areas: Calthorpe's Neck, Chisman's Creek, and the western, central, and eastern portions of the parish. (Map 5)¹⁵ The sites that had become the centers of activity and the meeting places for men and women in the early years of settlement--the plantations of the elder Christopher Calthorpe (Calthorpe's Neck), John Chisman Senior (Chisman's Creek), the first John Hayward (Western), and the elder Thomas Kerby (Eastern), and the area where a small-scale service center emerged (Central)--were the focal points for their respective neighborhoods throughout the seventeenth century. After 1700, the main road between the upper portion of York and Elizabeth City and Warwick counties began to pull the men and women who lived near Chisman's Creek and in the western neighborhood together. The activities of the residents of the area around Calthorpe's Neck and the central and eastern portions of Charles started to shift towards a plantation on the Old Poquoson River that was in the possession of the Robinson family.¹⁶ (Map 6) The boundaries between neighborhoods were fluid and changed in response to social developments within Charles and York County.

The five sections of Charles Parish developed at their own pace as a result of the length of time that the initial residents stayed in the lower end of York County, the backgrounds of the first group of settlers in each of the areas, the ability of the inhabitants to form family and friendship ties to the men and women who lived near them, and the social fluidity in the lower end of York County. Neighborhoods emerged in the areas around Calthorpe's Neck and Chisman's Creek and in the eastern

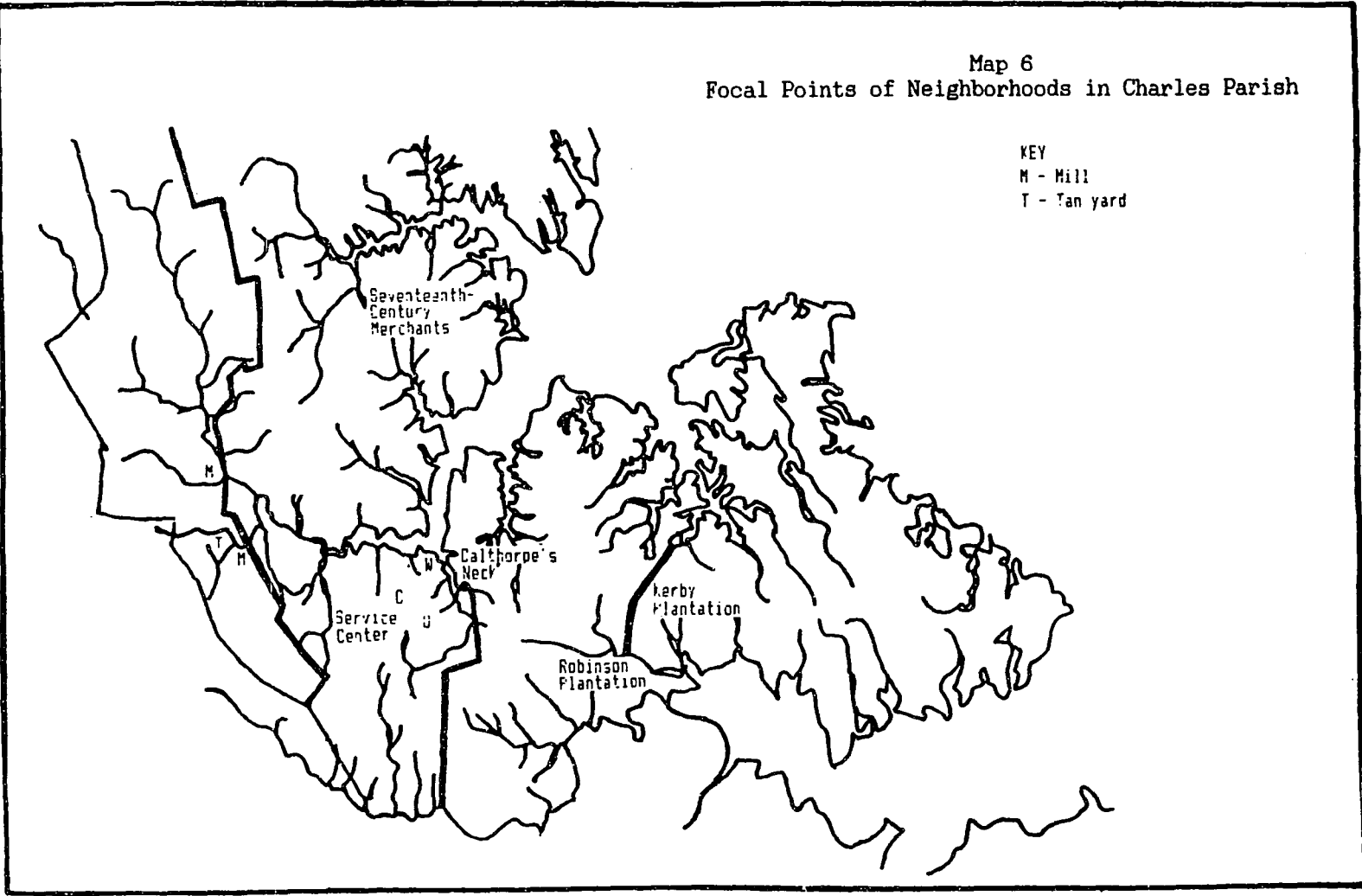
Charles's males and females tended to associate with people who were members of their immediate families or who lived a short distance away, even though the parish's topographical features were not a large barrier to travel throughout the lower end of York County.

¹⁵The names that I use for Charles's seventeenth- and eighteenth-century neighborhoods are not contemporary.

¹⁶Walsh, "Community Networks," pp. 227-228.



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portion of the parish during the initial thirty years of settlement. Many of the first residents in these three sections made Charles their permanent home because of the good soil along the waterways. They lived with family members and established friendship ties to the men and women who had plantations near them. The central and western portions of the parish did not develop into neighborhoods until the end of the seventeenth century. It took longer for the residents of these two sections to develop attachments to the people who lived near them because many of the men and women in the middle and westernmost districts spent a short period of time in Charles before they moved on to other areas of Virginia or to Maryland and North Carolina in search of better land.

The associations that the middling and smaller planters formed with each other were more helpful in determining the boundaries of Charles's neighborhoods than were the relationships of the wealthy planters. The moderately successful residents usually turned to people who lived near them, not to individuals who lived in all areas of the parish, the upper portion of York County, and the adjoining counties of Elizabeth City and Warwick. If a middling planter had several ties to people who did not dwell close to the core of his neighborhood, it is likely that his house was near the boundary between two districts. Charles's poorer planters and landless laborers tended to call on a smaller number of kin and friends who lived a short distance from their houses because they were in the lower end of York County for a short time before they moved on and they did not have the time or the opportunities to marry and to make friends.¹⁷

Many of the parish's prominent seventeenth-century residents did not play an active role in the day to day matters of their neighbors.

¹⁷Walsh noted that the extent of one's involvement in the local economic and social network was tied to one's occupation and economic standing. *Ibid.*, pp. 226-227. See also Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, pp. 207, 260.

Christopher Calthorpe Senior, the elder Armiger Wade, the Chisman brothers, and the first John Hayward counted on family members and friends of an equal social level who lived in different areas of Charles or in the upper portion of York County, instead of the middling and lower planters who lived near them.¹⁸ After 1700, the successful planters continued to maintain ties to their social equals in Charles, Yorkhampton Parish, Yorktown, and the adjacent counties. In addition, they took a more active role in the daily activities in their section of the parish.

Ties to family, kin, friends, and neighbors gave the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century inhabitants of Charles a sense of security and protection in the midst of the turnover in population caused by the parish's high mortality rate and by the migration in and out of the lower end of York County. It is inaccurate to say that the men and women of Charles enjoyed social stability because the term suggests that the parish's inhabitants always turned to the same family member or friend for socializing or assistance. In addition, the parish's population was not static. Charles's demographic characteristics meant that men and women had short lives and insured that there always was movement in and out of the parish. As a result, it was unlikely that the connections among residents would last a long time. The fluidity made it possible for some of the smaller planters and newcomers to Charles to acquire property and marry into or establish friendships with families that enjoyed a higher social standing.

During the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, an individual's closest ties were to family and to the people who lived within a few miles of his or her house.¹⁹ The members of one's

¹⁸Perry found that the Eastern Shore's landholders interacted with their neighbors. Perry, The Formation of a Society, pp. 9, 90.

¹⁹See Lorena S. Walsh, "'Till Death Us Do Part': Marriage and Family in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," in Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, eds., The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American

immediate family--parents, siblings, grandparents, spouses, children, aunts, uncles, nephews, nieces--came first. The commitment to distant relatives, one's "kin," "kinsman," and "cousin," was not as strong as it was to one's blood relatives. In September 1660, Richard Williams commented on the distinction between duty to one's immediate family and to one's distant kin when he stated that

hee living at Hugh Allins 14 yeares agoe or thereabouts & very much useing Mr Jacksons house & his sonne thomas Jacksons they would often aske mee how their cousin Charles Allin did [doe?] I then asked them whether hee was their cousin indeed or did they but call cousins th[ey] replied hee was their cousin or else hee would never have done for him as hee did, [for] hee cured him of that as Mr Peteet would not have done it for 1000 lbs of tob....²⁰

Charles's men and women relied upon family members to handle personal business, including settling estates and taking care of orphaned children. In the absence of immediate family members, close friends took up these responsibilities. The elder John Hayward appointed three of his friends, including Henry Tyler of Middle Plantation Parish (later part of Bruton Parish), to oversee his estate and assist his widow, Margaret, when he wrote his will in February 1660/1. Hayward turned to his friends because his brother, Francis Hayward Senior, had died two years earlier.

Men and women had a greater number of connections to friends than they did to their distant kin if their friends lived closer to them.

Society & Politics, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1979), pp. 126-152 and Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, "'Now-Wives and Sons-in-Law': Parental Death in a Seventeenth-Century Virginia County," in *ibid.*, pp. 153-182.

²⁰John Petit was a doctor who lived in York Parish, and in 1646, 1000 lbs of tobacco was worth L12.10. From Williams's statement, it is apparent that contemporaries were not always sure how close the relationship between cousins was. Edward Molson provided additional evidence about the tie between the Jacksons and the Allens when he noted that "after the decease of the said Jackson the said Hugh Allin made Love to the Widdow of the said Jackson wch said widdow made Answere that they were too neare kindred to Marry...." York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (3) f. 91, 11 September 1660.

Thomas Kerby Senior settled in Charles's eastern neighborhood in the 1630s, and his cousin, Mundeford Kerby, moved to York Parish during the decade of the 1660s. The York County records do not contain evidence of any contact between Thomas or his descendants and Mundeford. But the elder Thomas Kerby did maintain ties to other distant relatives and friends from the Old World who also moved to the eastern section of Charles between 1630 and the decade of the 1660s.²¹ There is evidence that friendship bonds crossed neighborhood, parish, and county divisions, an indication of the value that the parish's residents placed upon their friends. Henry Faison Junior received a deed of gift from Peter Plovier in 1666 and one from John Ensworth in 1674. The Faisons had been neighbors of Plovier and Ensworth in the area near Calthorpe's Neck before they moved to the central neighborhood in the early 1660s. In 1670, the elder Christopher Garlington asked his friend and former neighbor in the parish's central section, Henry Faison Senior, to collect the rent due to him on his plantation in Charles after he moved to Northumberland County during the decade of the 1660s.

Family and friendship enabled Charles's men and women to look out for their interests and those of their children. In September 1655, Margery Jolly Griggs used a marriage agreement to insure that her children, John Griggs Junior and Margery Griggs, and not William Hay, her future husband, had control over the legacies that they received from their father, the elder John Griggs. Margery and William Hay called upon their friends, John Chisman Senior and William Whitcock, as witnesses and the elder Christopher Calthorpe, Edward Myhill, Lemuel Mason, and William Gany, as trustees of the children's property. Parish residents turned to their family and friends to provide evidence when they were parties in civil suits. In January 1689/90, Thomas Harwood Junior charged Thomas Charles with hunting on his land and killing four

²¹James Lewis Kirby, "Thomas Kirby of New Poquoson--Some notes on early settlers in York County and Elizabeth City, Virginia," (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, typescript, n. d.), pp. 6-7, 31-33.

of his hogs. The younger Harwood called his brother-in-law, Thomas Chisman Senior, and his neighbors, Ralph Albritton, Anthony Watts, Robert Calvert, and Thomas Wray Junior as his witnesses. Charles had his sister Elizabeth Charles and his friend, John Murder, tell his side of the story in court. Harwood's witnesses persuaded the jury to rule in his favor.

Friendships joined men and women to contemporaries of the same social standing and were reciprocal in nature. If an individual witnessed a document for a neighbor, he or she could ask the neighbor for assistance. In June of 1765, the fifth Anthony Robinson was a security for the elder Merritt Moore's bond to serve as the guardian of William Williams' orphans. The next month, Moore appeared as a witness for Robinson who was a defendant in a civil suit. However, if one did not exhibit neighborly behavior, it was not likely that he or she could find someone who would provide help as Daniel MacIntosh Senior discovered. In September 1695, the Reverend James Sclater brought MacIntosh into court "for his wicked boysterous & ungovernd course of life & comon practice in his abusive languidges together with his threats & mennaces perpetrated & don as well agt the Complnt: as also agt diverse others their Maties: leidge subjects...." MacIntosh was to "give good security for his future good behavior but finding himself very incapable of procureing the same makeing humble suite to this Court by his petition that his owne bond might be accepted...." The justices of the peace decided to take a bond from MacIntosh for forty pounds sterling as a guarantee of his good behavior in the future.²²

Not all of the social relationships in Charles's neighborhoods were between men and women of the same standing. The associations of individuals from different levels of the parish's social hierarchy reflected an imbalance of power among the residents of the lower end of York County and the dependence of the poorer planters on their more

²²York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (10) 209, 24 September 1695.

successful counterparts. There were men who could not afford to acquire land of their own in Charles as early as the decade of 1650s. At the time of his death in 1662, Christopher Calthorpe Senior had five tenants and nine indentured servants. Calthorpe's descendants rented out tracts of land on their 735 acre plantation throughout the eighteenth century. Occasionally, a poor or a middling planter asked a more prominent man to serve as a security or to represent him in court. In 1675, William Wise Senior agreed to stand as the security for John Metcalf, a former servant. Five years later, the elder Wise acted as an attorney for Nicholas Taylor who had been found guilty of committing fornication with a servant woman and attending church while drunk during the decade of the 1660s. However, a prosperous planter did not call upon a less successful neighbor for help. Wise turned to family members or to middling and upper-middling planters when he needed a security and granted a power of attorney to a friend if he was not able to travel to a meeting of the York County court.

Because interactions with one's neighbors included more than family and friendship ties to one's social equals, each section of Charles had to have residents from different levels of the social hierarchy before it could be considered to be a neighborhood.²³ In addition, each of the parish's five districts needed to have men and women who looked upon Charles as their permanent home and who formed family and friendship ties to the people who lived close to them before it could be considered to be a separate section within the lower end of York County.

The parish's demography and its physical geography played an important part in the development of the neighborhoods that emerged in Charles over the course of the seventeenth century. Information about life expectancy, topography, and agricultural productivity in Chapters 2 and 3 provides a context for the examination of the social relationships

²³See the Introduction to Part II of this study.

among the residents of the lower end of York County that follows in the second half of the dissertation.

CHAPTER 2
THE DEMOGRAPHY OF CHARLES PARISH

The work of the Chesapeake historians conveys a grim picture of the region's disease environment on the life expectancy of the men, women, and children who made their homes along the tobacco coast. Both natives of the area and immigrants had short lives; most individuals who survived to age twenty died by their forties or their fifties. A steady flow of migrants, both in and out of the Tidewater section of the Chesapeake region, added to the impermanent nature of life in colonial Virginia and Maryland during the seventeenth century.

Evidence from the York County Court records indicates that high morbidity rates and migration played an influential role in the lives of the men and women who lived in Charles Parish. Thomas Kerby Senior tried to protect his children and kin from the sicknesses that weakened them. He engaged Doctor Peter Plovier of Warwick County to provide for his family's medical needs. In 1660, Kerby sold one hundred acres of his plantation to Plovier who agreed to "administer such Physick, [Medicines?], & Chirurgery, free of costs, that Kirby or any of his family shall need during Kirbys lifetime." It is known that several of Plovier's neighbors in Charles also turned to him for medical help. The estate of Thomas Foot owed Plovier 1402 pounds of tobacco, perhaps for care given during the last illness of Foot and his wife, Purina. James Scott settled his account with John Griggs Junior, Plovier's executor, in 1678.¹

¹York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (3) f. 107, 9 January 1660/1. The original spelling has been retained in all quotations in the dissertation. All biographical information in this study is from the York County Project Master Biographical File, Department of Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

Short life spans influenced the way in which residents of Charles viewed age. Local magistrates referred to Robert Draper Senior and Elias Davis as "ancient inhabitants" of Charles in October 1680. Draper was probably in his early fifties and had lived in the lower end of York County since the mid-1640s. Davis, who was in the parish by the early 1650s, was a few years younger. The elder Draper lived another four years and Davis survived an additional eight years. Both men outlived their first wives and Draper buried his second wife a month before his own death in 1684. Davis was one of the few men of his generation who lived to see his grandson and namesake, Elias Love Senior, grow up. The Charles Parish environment also took its toll on the health of younger adults. For example, in March 1709/10, the parish churchwardens described Daniel MacIntosh as "a Lame & Impotent man." MacIntosh was two weeks away from his thirty-eighth birthday.²

These isolated vignettes reveal that the area's high mortality rates and the migration in and out of Charles had an effect on the lives of its inhabitants, but they do not indicate how the conditions in this parish compared to those in other areas of Virginia and Maryland or in the upper end of York County. An overview of the demographic characteristics of the Chesapeake and York County during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries provides both a regional and a local framework for a study of the impact of high mortality rates and immigration on the residents of Charles. In addition to feeling the affect of county-wide trends in population growth and decline, the parish in the lower end of York County had its own demography. The inhabitants of Charles Parish lived in an area that contained a large proportion of low-lying, swampy ground within its boundaries and included sections where the drinking

²Ibid., (6) 257, 26 October 1680; *ibid.*, (14) 9, 24 March 1709/10.

water was often unhealthful.³ It is likely that the parish's environment reduced the life spans of its male and female residents.

Demographic Characteristics of the Chesapeake Region

The demographic conditions in the Chesapeake region during the seventeenth century had a profound influence on the development of society and politics in Virginia. The colony's first settlers faced unhealthy conditions in and around the Jamestown settlement. A majority of the men and women who arrived in Virginia from England did not survive the fevers and sickness that came to be known as the "seasoning" period. Once immigrants became accustomed to the disease environment of Virginia, especially the summer-time fevers, they were more likely to survive. During most of the seventeenth century, the colony was able to maintain its population and experience a small degree of growth because of the heavy flow of immigrants from the mother country.⁴

The majority of the immigrants to the Chesapeake region were single young men because of the high demand for males to labor in tobacco fields. A large proportion of these individuals had migrated within England looking for work before they left for Virginia. The decision to sail across the Atlantic was the last resort available to

³For a discussion of the conditions that made inhabitants of the Jamestown area especially susceptible to disease, see Carville Earle, "Environment, Disease, and Mortality in Early Virginia," in Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, eds., The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society and Politics, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1979), pp. 96-125.

⁴Historians have debated whether malaria was directly responsible for the high mortality rates or if this disease debilitated the colonists to such a degree that they could not withstand other diseases or an unbalanced diet. See *ibid.*, pp. 96-125; Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, "Of Agues and Fevers: Malaria in the Early Chesapeake," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, XXXIII(1976):31-60; Darrett B. Rutman, Charles Wetherell, and Anita H. Rutman, "Rhythms of Life: Black and White Seasonality in the Early Chesapeake," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 11(1980):29-53; Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1975), pp. 158-179, 395-432.

young men in England. Several factors influenced individuals to leave their native country: the high population levels, food shortages, and lack of jobs in rural areas and the urban centers of London and Bristol.⁵ The men and small number of women who had been pushed by conditions in England to emigrate often could not afford the cost of the passage to the New World. This group of immigrants agreed to serve a master in Virginia for a set number of years or until they reached a specified age as indentured servants in order to pay for the voyage to Virginia.⁶

A high mortality rate and the constant influx of immigrants produced an unstable population in the Old Dominion during much of the seventeenth century. The uneven sex ratio of the colonists also contributed to the instability because it was difficult for families to form and the population to grow through natural reproduction. Females could expect to marry soon after they arrived in the colony or, if they were indentured servants, soon after they received their freedom because of the small number of women in seventeenth-century Virginia. This was not the case for the male colonists, especially during the first decades of settlement in the Chesapeake region, when there were as many as six men for every woman.

The fact that a large proportion of men and women arrived in the colony as indentured servants also affected population growth. These individuals were not free to marry until they had completed their term

⁵James Horn, "Servant Immigration to the Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century," in Tate and Ammerman, eds., The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century, pp. 51-95; Peter Clark, "Migration in England during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries," in Peter Clark and David Souden, eds., Migration and Society in Early Modern England, (Totowa, New Jersey: Barnes & Nobles Books, 1988), pp. 213-252; Russell R. Menard, "British Migration to the Chesapeake Colonies in the Seventeenth Century," in Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo, eds., Colonial Chesapeake Society, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1988), pp. 99-132.

⁶See Chapter 6 below for discussion of indentured servants in Charles Parish.

of servitude. As a result, the former servants tended to marry at a later age than their English counterparts did. Age at marriage is a key factor for demographic growth because women who marry later in life have fewer fertile years in which to bear children.

Shorter life expectancies for residents of the Chesapeake also affected family size. (Tables 2.1, 2.13, and 2.14)⁷ The majority of immigrants who saw their twentieth birthday died before they turned forty. Life expectancy was slightly higher for natives of the region. Most of the males born in Virginia and Maryland lived into their early forties. The unhealthful conditions did not affect men and women equally. Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh found that females who immigrated to Maryland in the seventeenth century usually outlived their husbands.⁸ However, among the native-born population, men were able to withstand disease to a greater degree than women were. A number of mothers were weakened during childbirth and, as a result, were at a greater risk of catching malarial fevers.⁹

The majority of the men and women who married and raised children in Virginia and Maryland did not enjoy a stable family life due to the high mortality rates. Half of the boys and girls born in Virginia during the seventeenth century died before their twentieth birthday. Almost one-quarter of the children born in the Old Dominion lost one parent by age five, and over one-half of the boys and girls experienced

⁷The tables for Chapter 2 can be found in Appendix 2, Section 1.

⁸Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, XXXIV(1977):542-571.

⁹Ibid., p. 555; Bernard Bailyn, The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction, (New York: Random House, Inc., 1986), pp. 100-101; Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom, pp. 162-163; Allan Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1986), pp. 32, 60-63, 167-168, 171-172; Rutman and Rutman, "Of Agues and Fevers," pp. 31-60; idem., A Place in Time: Explicatus, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984), pp. 46-56.

the death of a parent by age thirteen. Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman found that over one-third of the boys and girls in Middlesex County lost both their father and their mother by the time they married or reached adulthood. Lorena S. Walsh noted that between 1658 and 1705, two-thirds of the men in Charles County, Maryland left all minor children and only six percent of the male decedents left adult sons and daughters. It was a common occurrence for boys and girls to be raised in a household with a step-parent and half-brothers and half-sisters.¹⁰ Virginians relied on god-parents and distant kin to care for their children after their deaths. These extended kinship ties provided young boys and girls with a small degree of continuity in their daily lives.

Greater demographic stability emerged in the Chesapeake during the latter part of the seventeenth century. There were two factors which helped to bring about this change. First, the number of European immigrants to Virginia and Maryland dropped as the labor and food shortages in England lessened and the labor market improved. In addition, immigrants began to settle in Pennsylvania and the Carolinas. During the last decade of the seventeenth century, 500 immigrants per year arrived in Virginia, down from the 1,000 individuals who arrived annually forty years earlier. By the 1660s and 1670s, poorer English men and women were not pushed out of urban and rural areas in search of employment opportunities. Second, the mortality rates improved somewhat in Virginia, and there was a more even sex ratio in the colony's population. At mid-century, there were three or four men per woman in the Old Dominion and the balance between the sexes was almost even the decade of the 1690s. The sons and daughters of former indentured servants were able to marry at an earlier age than their parents had,

¹⁰Bailyn, The Peopling of British North America, pp. 100-101; Lorena S. Walsh, "'Till Death Us Do Part': Marriage and Family in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," in Tate and Ammerman, eds., The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth-Century, pp. 151; Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, "'Now Wives and Sons-in-Law': Parental Death in a Seventeenth-Century Virginia County," in *ibid.*, pp. 153, 158.

and as a result, tended to have larger families.¹¹ The greater number of women in the colony and of children born there made it possible for Tidewater Virginia to experience a small degree of population growth through natural reproduction by the end of the seventeenth century.¹²

The social significance of the demographic realities of the Chesapeake becomes clear when compared to those of New England. Demographic conditions in seventeenth-century Massachusetts differed dramatically from those in the Chesapeake colonies. The majority of New England's first colonists arrived in the New World in nuclear family groups, and many settled in the same township. The model for settlement in New England was the peasant village of England. This differed from the rough, crude "mining camps" of early Virginia.¹³ The motivation for immigration to the Massachusetts Bay Colony grew out of the Puritans' belief that the Church of England had moved away from the teachings of the Reformation. In the New World, the Puritans would be able to

¹¹Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves, p. 5; Horn, "Servant Immigration," pp. 51-95; Clark, "Migration in England," pp. 213-252. Morgan argues that immigrants who arrived in Virginia after 1644 probably began to live longer. Most Chesapeake historians place the beginning of improved life expectancies at the end of the seventeenth century. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom, pp. 158-179.

¹²Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves, p. 42.

¹³Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom, pp. 108-130; Cary Carson, Norman F. Barka, William M. Kelso, Garry Wheeler Stone, and Dell Upton, "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies," Winterthur Portfolio, 16(1981):135-196. The discussion of New England and its demographic conditions during the seventeenth century is based on the following sources: T. H. Breen and Stephen Foster, "Moving to the New World: The Character of Early Massachusetts Immigration," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, XXX(1973):189-222; Sumner Chilton Powell, Puritan Village: The Formation of a New England Town, (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1963); Kenneth A. Lockridge, A New England Town, The First Hundred Years: Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1970); Philip J. Greven, Jr., Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1970); John Demos, A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); Bailyn, The Peopling of British North America; Jack P. Greene, The Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), pp. 7-27.

establish a community based on God's teachings. The New England colony would then serve as an example for Old England to follow as its residents finished the work of the Reformation. This religious impetus for emigration ended with the outbreak of the English Civil War in the 1640s. As a result, New England did not experience the social instability from a constant influx of immigrants during most of the seventeenth century as Virginia and Maryland did.

The large number of family groups that moved to the colony contributed to a fairly equal sex ratio in the population of seventeenth-century Massachusetts. In addition, these men and women enjoyed much longer life spans than their counterparts in Virginia and Maryland. (Tables 2.1, 2.2, 2.13, and 2.14) These two factors made it easier for single males and females to form families. Most boys and girls grew up in a home with both of their parents, not with a parent and a step-parent. During the seventeenth century, life expectancy for residents of the Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, New Haven, and Providence settlements was longer than it was for men and women who stayed in the mother country.

Just as demographic instability shaped life in seventeenth-century Virginia, the longevity of men and women in New England influenced relationships between the generations. Because the majority of New Englanders lived through all the stages in the life cycle, parents, especially fathers, were able to exert a degree of control over their children which was not part of the usual Chesapeake experience until the eighteenth century. While seventeenth-century fathers in Virginia and Maryland used their wills to protect children against the potential abuses of step-parents and guardians and to make them more independent, the heads of households in Massachusetts often utilized legacies to control and restrict the actions of their children.¹⁴ Philip J. Greven found that in Andover, Massachusetts, fathers prevented sons from

¹⁴Rutman and Rutman, "'Now Wives and Sons-in-Law,'" pp. 163-167.

marrying and establishing their own households until their late twenties by maintaining possession of the family property. This practice tended to prolong childhood, delay marriage, and keep sons dependent upon their parents for longer periods of time. Most boys and girls born in the Chesapeake were forced to function as adults before their late twenties. Also, New Englanders did not have to turn to a wide spread group of kin for assistance in times of trouble. The nuclear family and grandparents were the basis of social ties and relationships for inhabitants of seventeenth-century Massachusetts.

The two regional modes of demography represent the extreme situations in the mainland colonies. The colonies in New England and the Chesapeake moved closer together in respect to demographic conditions over the course of the eighteenth century.¹⁵ Allan Kulikoff noted that men and women who lived in Virginia and Maryland could expect to live somewhat longer lives after 1720. There was a gradual increase in the number of years that white men could anticipate living, and a slower improvement for white women due to the risks connected to childbirth. These changes brought about greater social stability and "generational continuity" for Virginians and Marylanders.¹⁶ However, the unhealthy environment of the Chesapeake region continued to affect life spans and family relationships after the turn of the eighteenth century. Kulikoff observed that "even though adult mortality declined over the colonial period, the proportion of children who reached adulthood changed very little. Children under five were especially susceptible to endemic fevers like malaria that infested the entire region. Infant mortality rates were high, and larger numbers of

¹⁵See Greene, Pursuits of Happiness, pp. 170-206 for changes in economic and cultural development of the New England and the Chesapeake colonies in the 1700s.

¹⁶Allan Kulikoff, "The Colonial Chesapeake: Seedbed of Antebellum Southern Culture?" The Journal of Southern History, 45(1979):534.

children between ages one and four died."¹⁷ Increased life expectancies enabled the colony's population to double every twenty-five years during the eighteenth century. At the time of the Revolution, approximately 400,000 men, women, and children lived in Virginia. The residents of the Old Dominion included 240,000 whites and 160,000 blacks.¹⁸

Demographic Characteristics of York County

An examination of the peopling of York County between the time of initial settlement in 1630 and 1763 points out that there were demographic differences within the Chesapeake region.¹⁹ The demographic history of York County falls into three phases.²⁰ First, there was a period of rapid population growth from 1630 to the early years of the decade of the 1660s. Second, a sharp decline in the number of laborers and non-laborers in the county resulted in a period of almost non-

¹⁷Idem., Tobacco and Slaves, p. 61. In her work on family life in Jeffersonian Virginia, Jan Lewis found that there is no indication that mortality rates improved greatly after the Revolution. See Jan Lewis, The Pursuit of Happiness: Family and Values in Jefferson's Virginia, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 77.

¹⁸The population doubled in each decade between 1630 and 1670. Kulikoff, "The Colonial Chesapeake," p. 520; idem., Tobacco and Slaves, pp. 45, 50, 77. Kulikoff noted that the plantation records of Robert Lloyd (1740s-1750s) and Robert Carter (1790s) suggest that one-quarter of the slave children died before their first birthday, and another one-quarter by the time they reached the age of fifteen. This translates into a rate which is two-fifths higher than that for whites. See *ibid.*, pp. 60-62, 73.

¹⁹The Rutmans hint that there were regional variations in demographic characteristics. See Rutman and Rutman, "'Now-Wives and Sons-in-Law'," p. 180 and Earle, "Environment, Disease, and Mortality."

²⁰The discussion of York County's demographic characteristics is based on Kevin P. Kelly, "A Demographic Description of Seventeenth-Century York County, Virginia," (paper presented at the Institute of Early American History and Culture Colloquium, October 1983) and idem., "The People of York County in the Eighteenth Century," in Peter V. Bergstrom, Cathleene B. Hellier, Kevin P. Kelly, Michael J. Puglisi, Julie Richter, Linda H. Rowe, and Lorena S. Walsh, "Urbanization in the Tidewater South: Town and Country in York County, Virginia 1630-1830. Part II. The Growth and Development of Williamsburg and Yorktown," NEH Grant RO-20869-85, 1989. Kelly noted that York County experienced a cyclical pattern of demographic growth with peaks in the early 1660s, the early 1680s, and the late 1690s. The pattern differed from that of other counties in Virginia.

existent growth that characterized the next thirty-five years. Third, the year 1698 signalled the beginning of a new stage of demographic expansion in York that continued through the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century. The connection among births, deaths, and migration in and out of York produced the county's demographic characteristics.

A number of the county's first residents and landholders lived in the adjoining settlements of Elizabeth City and Warwick and in nearby James City before moving to the area that would become York. Initially, the population of York County grew quickly. (Tables 2.3 and 2.4) In 1634, four years after the Crown opened land along the York River to settlement, 510 men, women, and children lived in the county. Three hundred and thirty-four of this group were tithables. Ten years later, the earliest extant list of taxable laborers shows that 609 tithes made their homes in York.²¹ The tithable portion of the population grew at an annual rate of four percent until 1662 when 1140 tithes and 2300 men, women, and children, including 400 blacks, resided in the county.²²

The demographic growth that York County had enjoyed since its establishment ended in the middle of the decade of the 1660s. The white population experienced a dramatic decline to just over 1600 persons and the tithable count fell to 886 between 1662 and 1668. Although the unhealthy environment took its toll on residents, especially on the recent immigrants from across the Atlantic, the mortality rate was not the only cause of the great decline in the total number of inhabitants in York. By the early 1660s, colonists had patented almost all of the

²¹The total of 343 tithes is an estimate based on the 1624/5 ratio between tithables and total population. See Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom, p. 402. See William Waller Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, From the First Session of the Legislature, in 1619, 13 vols., (Richmond, New York, and Philadelphia, 1819-1823; reprint, Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia for the Jamestown Foundation of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1969), 1:143, 306, 361, 454-455; 2:84, 170, 296, 479, 492; 3:258, 259; 4:133; 5:36; 6:40, 41, 43; 8:393 for the changing definition of who was a tithable.

²²Kelly, "A Demographic Description," pp. 3-5.

property in the county. Men who hoped to become plantation owners left York for the newer counties of Gloucester (established in 1651), Lancaster (1651), New Kent (1654), and Middlesex (1669) where land was available. Servants who finished their terms of servitude and younger sons who did not inherit the family plantation joined the migration to the western section of Tidewater Virginia. In addition to this out-migration, York County did not attract many new colonists in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

By the middle of the 1670s, there had been a small increase in the number of tithes to an average of 940 per year. After the total of white men, women, and children climbed to 2150 individuals in 1682, the figure declined steadily until it bottomed out at 1718 persons in 1697. The minor shifts in the tithable population during the last third of the seventeenth century produced a virtually non-existent rate of growth. Between 1668 and 1697, the number of tithes increased at a pace of .3% per year. York's annual growth rate was lower than that of Accomack and Northampton counties on the Eastern Shore and Henrico, Lancaster, Middlesex, Norfolk, Northumberland, and Surry counties in the Tidewater region. (Table 2.5) For those men, women, and children who lived in York County, there was little improvement in life expectancies during the second half of the seventeenth century.

In spite of the fact that the number of York's residents and tithes did not increase at a rapid rate between the middle of the decade of the 1660s and the decade of the 1690s, significant changes in the composition of the county's population occurred. First, the calculation of a crude birth rate and a male replacement rate indicated that there was "an important upward trend in fertility" during the second half of the seventeenth century. Kelly noted that "conditions favorable to white population growth were present in York County from at least the 1680s forward." By that time, and possibly earlier, a large portion of

York's white population were natives of the county.²³ Second, in the last third of the seventeenth century, the black population grew as York's planters switched from a labor force of white indentured servants to one of black slaves at an earlier date than many of their counterparts elsewhere in the colony.²⁴

A major change in York's demography occurred in 1698 when 1093 tithables were a part of the county's population. The following year this total passed the 1100 level for the first time since 1652. In 1701, the white residents of York County numbered 2075 males and females, up from the figure of 1923 men and women recorded in 1698. The increase was the beginning of a new period of growth for both whites and blacks in York County that lasted until the decade of the 1760s, with only a short interruption in the 1710s. The population of York grew at a 1.2% annual rate from 1700 to 1763. (Tables 2.4 and 2.6) This pace was somewhat higher than that experienced by the other counties in the lower Tidewater region, but below the rapid rate of growth in the Piedmont and Southside counties. It is likely that the white population "had increased its ability to grow naturally by the 1720s."²⁵ The tithable portion of York County's residents doubled between the turn of the eighteenth century and the end of the French and Indian War, a sign that the slave population of the county also grew.²⁶ The disease

²³Ibid., pp. 36, 38.

²⁴For a discussion of why York's planters were able to make a commitment to slave labor several decades earlier than plantation owners in other areas of Tidewater Virginia, see Julie Richter and Linda L. Sturtz, "Using Probate Inventories to Study the Slave Population of Colonial York County, Virginia," (paper presented at the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife, Deerfield, Massachusetts, July 1987). See also Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia 1650-1750, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984), pp. 164-203.

²⁵Kelly, "The People of York County," p. 21.

²⁶By the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the majority of the slaves owned by York's planters were native-born. For discussion of the growth of the slave population in the Chesapeake see Allan Kulikoff, "The Origins of Afro-American Society in Tidewater Maryland and Virginia, 1700-

environment continued to have an affect on the level of demographic growth. Men, women, and children still faced years when mortality rates jumped as a result of epidemics--1718 (measles), 1720, 1727, 1732, 1739, and 1748 (smallpox). Chronic diseases such as dysentery and malarial fevers also continued to take their toll on York's residents.²⁷

The year 1698 also signalled the renewed commitment of York County residents to Yorktown. Twenty-four of the fifty-eight original lotholders defaulted on ownership within the first year of Yorktown's existence because they did not build a dwelling house on their urban property within a year as was specified in the General Assembly act that established the port in 1691. Eight more men relinquished title to their town property before 1696. Just fifteen out of the group of original lotholders lived in Yorktown at some time during their lives. However, by October of 1699, Yorktown's trustees had re-granted twelve of the forfeited lots to ten men, and the number of lotholders and known town residents increased to thirty-one and fourteen, respectively.²⁸

Some of the men who acquired lots in the late 1690s might have been attracted to the port by the September 1696 "act for ascertaining the place where the court of York county shall be kept." This statute designated Yorktown as the new location of the county courthouse. York's justices of the peace were to see that a courthouse "be erected built and finished att the charge of the county upon some certain place

1790," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., XXXV(1978):226-259 and Russell R. Menard, "The Maryland Slave Population, 1658 to 1730: A Demographic Profile of Blacks in Four Counties," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., XXXII(1975):29-54.

²⁷John Duffy, Epidemics in Colonial America, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953), pp. 82, 150-151, 169, 238; William Q. Maxwell, ed., "A True State of the Smallpox in Williamsburg, February 22, 1748," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 63(1955):269-274.

²⁸Julie Richter, "In Pursuit of Urban Property: Lotholders in Colonial Yorktown and Williamsburg," in Bergstrom, et al., "Urbanization in the Tidewater South," pp. 18-21.

within the said limitts of York Towne" by October 31, 1697.²⁹ In addition, Yorktown's role in the York River shipping trade grew during the first half of the 1690s, and a greater number of sailors spent longer periods of time in the town.³⁰ It is possible that the economic opportunities of both of these developments attracted the ordinary keepers and the craftsmen who re-patented the lots that had been deserted and established themselves in York's port town.

The success of both Yorktown and Williamsburg played an important role in the demographic expansion of York County during the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century. Kelly found that the "overall growth of the county population depended on urban growth....The basic shape of the county's demography developed independently of urban patterns and influences. In effect, the cities' experiences were isolated from the surrounding world."³¹ In spite of the economic and social connections between residents of the urban and rural areas in York County that developed over the course of the eighteenth century, the population growth enjoyed by the two towns, especially after the first quarter of the century, was not shared by the countryside.

Demographic Characteristics of Charles Parish

A close look at the pace of settlement in York indicates that demographic differences among the county's parishes developed before the eighteenth century. Variations in the demographic characteristics appeared soon after settlers moved into York in the decade of the 1630s.

²⁹Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 3:146-147. Until the construction of the York County courthouse in the late 1690s, the justices of the peace conducted York's business at the houses of the members of the county bench.

³⁰Kevin P. Kelly, "Urbanization of Lower Tidewater Virginia: York County, A Case Study," (paper presented at "Urbanization in Maryland and Virginia," Historic Petersburg Foundation Conference, March 12, 1988), pp. 12-15.

³¹Idem., "The People of York County," p. 29.

Men and women moved into Charles before they relocated to other areas of York County because of its proximity to the Elizabeth City and Warwick settlements. (Tables 2.3 and 2.7) By 1640, residents of the lower portion of York County held patents for a total of 14,065 acres of land within the parish's boundaries. During the same ten-year span, settlers in the upper end of York County gained possession of 9,070 acres in York Parish, 4,725 acres in Hampton Parish, and 4,875 acres in Marston Parish. The inhabitants of Charles claimed almost all of the property in the parish in the 1630s because settlers registered titles to only 1,061 additional acres between 1640 and 1662.³² The dearth of available land in Charles pushed residents who had not been able to patent land out of the lower end of York County. The parish lost a number of its inhabitants to the upper portion of York County and to counties in the western portion of the Tidewater region in the 1640s, 1650s, and the early 1660s.³³

After this period of decline, the population of Charles began a second stage of expansion during the last forty years of the seventeenth century. The count of residents in this parish grew at a rate of almost ten persons per year between 1662 and 1698.³⁴ The number of sons and daughters welcomed by fathers and mothers in Charles increased during the last four decades of the seventeenth century, ranging from an average of twelve per year in the 1660s, to nineteen per twelve months in the 1670s and 1680s, and to thirty-four per year in the 1690s.

³²Peter V. Bergstrom, "A Stop Along the Way," (paper presented at the Philadelphia Center for Early American Studies, October, 1986), Table 2.11 "York County Land Grants by Parish, 1632-1699." Residents and newcomers to Charles patented 3,227 acres of land between 1678 and 1691.

³³Marston, Hampton, and York parishes experienced high out-migration from the late 1660s to the 1680s.

³⁴My population figures include only the free men and women who lived in Charles. Because these totals do not take unfree black men and women into account, the changes in the population tallies reflect shifts in the number of the parish's free residents, not an increasing commitment of the planters in Charles to slave labor.

However, from 1665 to 1679, the mortality levels were especially high in Charles. (Table 2.8)³⁵ The parish clerk noted 275 births and 227 passings in this fifteen year period. The net increase over these fifteen years was forty-eight, or just over three persons per year. Deaths cancelled out almost eighty-three percent of all the births. The fact that female births offset deaths made some demographic growth in the future decades possible. It is probable that the coming of age of children born before the parish clerk began to note births in the register in 1648 also accounted for a small part of the population growth during the last forty years of the seventeenth century.

The decades of the 1680s and the 1690s saw an improvement in the balance between births and deaths in spite of the epidemics of measles and smallpox and the unknown diseases that took their toll on Charles's populace. The gain of births over deaths between 1680 and 1699 totaled 141, a figure that translated into an average annual addition of seven persons to the parish. A comparison of birth and death figures shows that deaths offset just over seventy-one percent of the births, an improvement from the eighty-three percent during the previous fifteen years. (Table 2.8) The balance between the sexes was closer in respect to mortality levels. Almost three-quarters of the 261 male births and two-thirds of the 232 female deliveries were matched by the passing of residents of Charles.

In spite of the increase in births over the course of the seventeenth century, it is clear that natural reproduction alone does

³⁵I did not include the twenty-two births recorded between 1660 and 1664 in this discussion because the death register does not start until 1665. The use of the births from 1660 to 1664 would bias the figures and produce a more favorable picture of the demographic conditions than what existed in Charles Parish during the 1660s decade.

In Table 2.8, the column labeled "Number First in Charles Parish" contains the number of males and females in the first year that there is evidence that he or she was a resident of Charles Parish and the column labeled "Number Last in Charles Parish" counts the number of males and females in the last year that there is evidence that he or she was a resident of Charles Parish. The figures for recorded births and recorded deaths are from the Charles Parish Register.

not fully explain how Charles enjoyed a rise in the number of men, women, and children who made their homes in the parish during the same period of time that York County as a whole experienced demographic decline. (Table 2.11) Rather, a combination of immigration from England and the adjoining counties of Elizabeth City and Warwick and natural increase accounted for the demographic growth of Charles Parish after the early 1660s. The availability of small tracts, both the land that out-migrants deserted and the acreage that had not yet been patented, attracted people to the parish. Men were willing to take up smaller parcels of poorer land in order to have a plantation of their own.³⁶ In addition, a number of the large landowners in Charles began to rent out sections of their plantations to tenants.³⁷ During the latter half of the seventeenth century, planters in the parish and the county as a whole were able to make a small profit growing tobacco in spite of the depressed prices for the weed. The gain was possible because York's men produced the sweet-scented strain, not the harsher orinoco variety, of tobacco. Some of Charles's planters also added to their incomes by making barrels, working as carpenters, and operating taverns in the small-scale service center that developed in the middle of the parish.³⁸

It appears that the population loss weakened the viability the

³⁶Between 1678 and 1691, the residents of Charles patented a total of 3,227 acres. Inhabitants of the other three parishes in York County claimed just over 1,100 acres during the same time period. See Bergstrom, "A Stop Along the Way," Table 2.11 "York County Land Grants by Parish, 1632-1699." See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the soil quality in Charles.

³⁷During the seventeenth century, small planters grew most of the tobacco produced in the Chesapeake. See *Ibid.*, p. 12; John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, The Economy of British America, 1607-1789, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1985), p. 124; Russell R. Menard, "A Note on Chesapeake Tobacco Prices, 1618-1660," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 89(1976):401-409; *idem.*, "Farm Prices of Maryland Tobacco, 1659-1710," Maryland Historical Magazine, LXVIII(1973):80-85.

³⁸See Chapter 3.

other three parishes in York County during the second half of the seventeenth century. Charles was the only one of York County's parishes that did not join with another church to establish a larger ecclesiastical unit during the colonial period in order to keep parish levies low. In 1674, two parishes, Marston, which was located in the upper section of York, and Middletown, which had been formed from Middle Plantation and Harrop parishes in 1658, became Bruton Parish. The parishioners of York and Hampton saw their churches combined into Yorkhampton Parish in 1707. The Council took this action in response to an act passed by the General Assembly in September 1696 which allowed them to join weak parishes together into a stronger, larger unit. Five years later, Martin's Hundred Parish in James City County became part of Yorkhampton Parish.³⁹

During the first four decades of the eighteenth century, an average of thirty couples in Charles welcomed a son or a daughter each year. (Table 2.8) However, a steady birth rate did not mean that the parish experienced a constant rate of population growth. In the decade of the 1700s, deaths offset less than seven-tenths of the births for the first time. The parish gained ninety-one inhabitants for a mean increase of nine persons a year. This level of population expansion did not continue into the second decade of the eighteenth century because a measles epidemic took the lives of ninety-one men, women, and children in Charles during the winter of 1718-1719. Twenty-two births in the same twelve-month period helped to offset the impact of this loss on the

³⁹Middle Plantation and Harrop parishes straddled the line that divided York and James City counties. Charles Francis Cocke, Parish Lines, Diocese of Southern Virginia, (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1964), pp. 169-178, 253; Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 3:152-153; and H. R. McIlwaine, ed., The Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, 6 vols., (Richmond: The Virginia State Library, 1927-1966), 3:140.

population to a small degree.⁴⁰ The lower end of York County gained only a net of twenty-two members between 1710 and 1719, for an average increase of just over two residents per year during the decade.

Births outnumbered deaths in Charles by a total of seventy-eight in the 1720s. The female portion of the population made a greater gain than their male counterparts did. The deaths of women counted against only three-fifths of the new daughters in Charles while the passings of males accounted for slightly more than four-fifths of the parish's new sons. Another slowdown in population growth occurred in decade of the 1730s. The balance between mortality and natural growth shifted back towards the former. The higher death rates affected both sexes, but, for the first time, females felt the impact more than the males did. This sharp increase in the ratio between female deaths and births was part of the reason that Charles did not experience as great a degree of demographic gain during the second third of the eighteenth century as it had in the first thirty-three years of the century.

In spite of the number of children born in the lower end of York County, the second phase of Charles's population growth slowed and became almost non-existent after the first two decades of the eighteenth century.⁴¹ Table 2.7 indicates that the number of parish residents dropped from 586 in 1718 to 520 a year later. Between 1721 and 1740, the count of the free inhabitants of Charles did not climb above 500. The tally ranged from a high of 489 in 1722 and 1723 to a low of 417 in the last year of this study. (Table 2.7)

What caused the decline in the number of men, women, and children

⁴⁰The number of Charles's inhabitants grew during the 1680s and the 1690s, in spite of outbreaks of smallpox and the measles, in addition to the usual malarial fevers. Duffy, Epidemics in Colonial America, pp. 72, 166, 169, 187-188.

⁴¹Kelly found that the population of Charles grew at a rate of 1.2% per year between 1703 and 1733. However, the expansion was not constant over this thirty-year period. During the thirty years after 1733, the population of Charles expanded at an annual rate of just one-half of one percent. See Kelly, "The People of York County," p. 7.

who lived in Charles? Ironically, the parish's population growth that occurred during the latter portion of the seventeenth century generated out-migration from the area after the first quarter of the eighteenth century. By the decade of the 1720s, the population of Charles had grown to the point where it put pressure on the land. The 1704 rent roll for York County listed 206 men and women as the owners of an average of 301.22 acres. In Charles Parish, sixty-two individuals held an average of almost 343 acres.⁴² The median figure of 200 acres and the mode of one hundred acres was closer to the actual holdings of most planters. Although a plantation of one hundred to 200 acres was small, it was large enough to enable a planter to support his family.⁴³

However, farms of this size were not adequate if a man had more than one son to provide for in his will. A number of the younger sons of parish residents who came of age in the second quarter of the eighteenth century decided to leave Charles and to move to an area in which they could acquire a sufficient amount of land for themselves and their future sons to plant tobacco and other crops. Natives of Charles relocated to rural areas on the Southside and in the Piedmont, including Hanover, King William, Surry, and Nansemond counties after the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Three individuals who were born in Charles, William Dunn, Mary Bennett Gardner, and Richard Pond, moved to Southampton County after 1750.⁴⁴

⁴²"A Rent Roll for the Year 1704," British Public Record Office, London, Colonial Office Papers; C.O. 5/1314:395-435. The mean figures for the county as a whole and the parish were skewed by the large holdings of several men, including Henry Hayward Senior who owned 1300 acres and the elder Thomas Chisman who possessed 1800 acres.

⁴³See Lois Green Carr, Russell R. Menard, and Lorena S. Walsh, Robert Cole's World: Agriculture & Society in Early Maryland, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1991), chapter 2 for a discussion of the acreage that a middling planter needed to clear for his house and fields.

⁴⁴See Michael L. Nicholls, "Origins of the Virginia Southside, 1703-1753: A Social and Economic Study," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, College of William and Mary, 1972) for a discussion of land acquisition in Southside counties.

In addition, the urban areas of York gained some of the people who left the lower end of the county. By the second quarter of the eighteenth century, both Yorktown and Williamsburg were successful and growing. The opportunity to help construct public buildings in Williamsburg or to practice trades that were not suited to rural life pulled men including a brickmaker named Samuel Spurr Junior to the colonial capital and to York's port town. The urban areas in the Southside also attracted residents of Charles. It is known that the third William Wise and Thomas Albritton moved their families to Norfolk and Princess Anne counties, which surrounded the city of Norfolk, respectively. The third Thomas Tomer and William Phillips Junior relocated to Portsmouth in the second half of the eighteenth century.

It is clear that mobility, both in and out of Charles Parish, helped to shape the demographic characteristics of the lower section of York County to a greater degree than natural increase did in both the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. The survival of the Charles Parish birth and death registers provides a unique opportunity to examine the reasons why births did not play a greater role in the population developments between 1630 and 1740.⁴⁵ The birth and death registers for Charles begin at an earlier date than do similar documents from other parishes in the Chesapeake region. The information in the birth register that dates from 1648 is quite reliable. Daniel Blake Smith estimated that the parish clerk and minister neglected to record just six percent of the children born to residents of Charles. The

⁴⁵Charles Parish is one of the four areas in the colonial Chesapeake that has enough extant county court records and contemporary church documents to allow a historian to reconstitute families in order to study demographic trends and life expectancy. The other areas are Charles and Somerset counties in Maryland and Christ Church Parish in Middlesex County, Virginia. See Russell R. Menard and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Demography of Somerset County, Maryland: A Progress Report," (Chicago: The Newberry Papers in Family and Community History, 1981), p. 3. The original copies of the birth and death registers for Charles Parish are at the Virginia State Library in Richmond, Virginia. For a brief history of Charles Parish and the registers see Landon C. Bell, ed., Charles Parish, York County, Virginia History and Registers Births 1648-1789 Deaths 1665-1787, (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1932), pp. 1-42.

death register, which begins in 1665, is not as complete as the record of births. The parish officials did not always note the passing of infants under the age of one, and the deaths for 1715 and almost all of 1716 are missing from the document.⁴⁶

Between 1648 and 1740, the parish clerks recorded a total of 1,915 free births. This figure includes 981 white males and 889 white females, for a 1.1 to 1 ratio between the sexes.⁴⁷ (Table 2.8) The births were not evenly distributed over the period under study. Because the birth register does not contain any entries before 1648 and only a small number of births (thirteen males and nine females) before 1660, it is difficult to determine how large a part natural increase played in the expansion of Charles's population during the first three decades of settlement. The years from 1660 to 1699 saw 790 boys and girls born to the parish's white residents. During the first forty years of the eighteenth century, white parents in Charles welcomed 1,058 children.

The parish clerk noted the births of forty-five free black boys and girls in the register between 1680 and 1740. This figure increased to seventy-eight over the course of the next forty-nine years. Two factors influenced the size of these birth totals. First, the free black population was small in the early years of the eighteenth century,

⁴⁶The clerk, Bernard Coudert, noted four deaths during November and December of 1716. Daniel Blake Smith, "Mortality and Family in the Colonial Chesapeake," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, VIII(1978):406-407, 407 n. 11. Smith constructed estimates of the deaths for 1715 and 1716 based on the number of passings recorded during the five year periods on either side of the dates. The estimates he calculated are high because 1718 was a year in which there were an unusually large number of deaths, ninety-one.

⁴⁷It is possible that there was a slight underregistration of female births based on the universal birth ratio of 105 male babies to 100 female babies. Kelly, "A Demographic Description," p. 10.

In his examination of the Charles Parish birth and death registers, Smith neglected to point out that the individuals noted in these documents included free men and women, white and black, and a small number of slaves. This study focuses on the free inhabitants of Charles Parish. Smith also failed to indicate that a number of the persons whose names appear in the registers were residents of York (later Yorkhampton) Parish and the adjoining counties of Warwick and Elizabeth City.

and second, the cost of registering a birth might have kept parents from informing the parish clerk of the arrival of a new son or daughter. During the second half of the 1700s, the number of free persons of color grew in Charles Parish as a result of natural increase. Also, it is likely that it became more important for free black parents to have the births of their children recorded as a way to prove their status as free individuals in the face of increasing numbers of legal restrictions on the activities of this segment of Virginia's population during the eighteenth century. (Tables 8.3 and 8.4)⁴⁸

Like mothers in other areas of Tidewater Virginia, white women who lived in Charles were more likely to experience childbirth in the late winter months than other times of the year.⁴⁹ A high proportion of the Charles Parish mothers and fathers also welcomed sons and daughters in August, October, and November. After 1700, females in the lower end of York County were likely to give birth between the late summer and the early spring months. (Figures 2.1 and 2.2) Although the number of free black births was small, especially before 1740, the evidence suggests that whites and free blacks of Charles Parish shared a seasonal pattern of bearing children. Free black mothers tended to bear their children in between late summer and early spring. (Figures 2.3 and 2.4) Darrett B. Rutman, Charles Wetherell, and Anita H. Rutman found that there were different seasonal birth patterns for blacks and whites in Middlesex County. The blacks in their study were slaves, and the labor requirements of tobacco production influenced their birth patterns. It is not surprising that whites and free blacks in Charles Parish had a similar seasonal rhythm to their lives because both groups could control their own activities, and by the eighteenth century few free women had

⁴⁸See Chapter 8 below for a detailed examination of the free black population of Charles Parish. Tables 8.3 and 8.4 can be found in Appendix 8, Section 1.

⁴⁹Rutman, Wetherell, and Rutman, "Rhythms of Life," pp. 30-31.

Fig. 2.1 Recorded White Births, Charles Parish, York County, Virginia, as Percent of Daily Average by Month

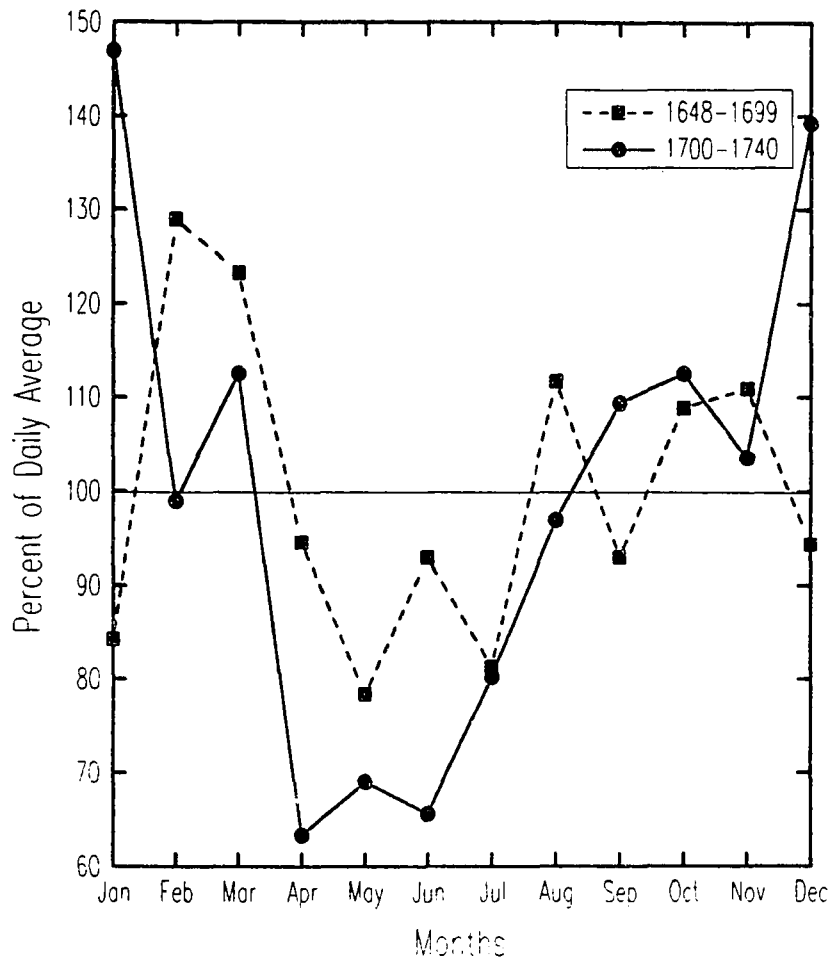


Fig. 2.2 Recorded White Births, Charles Parish, York County, Virginia, 1648-1740, as Percent of Daily Average by Month

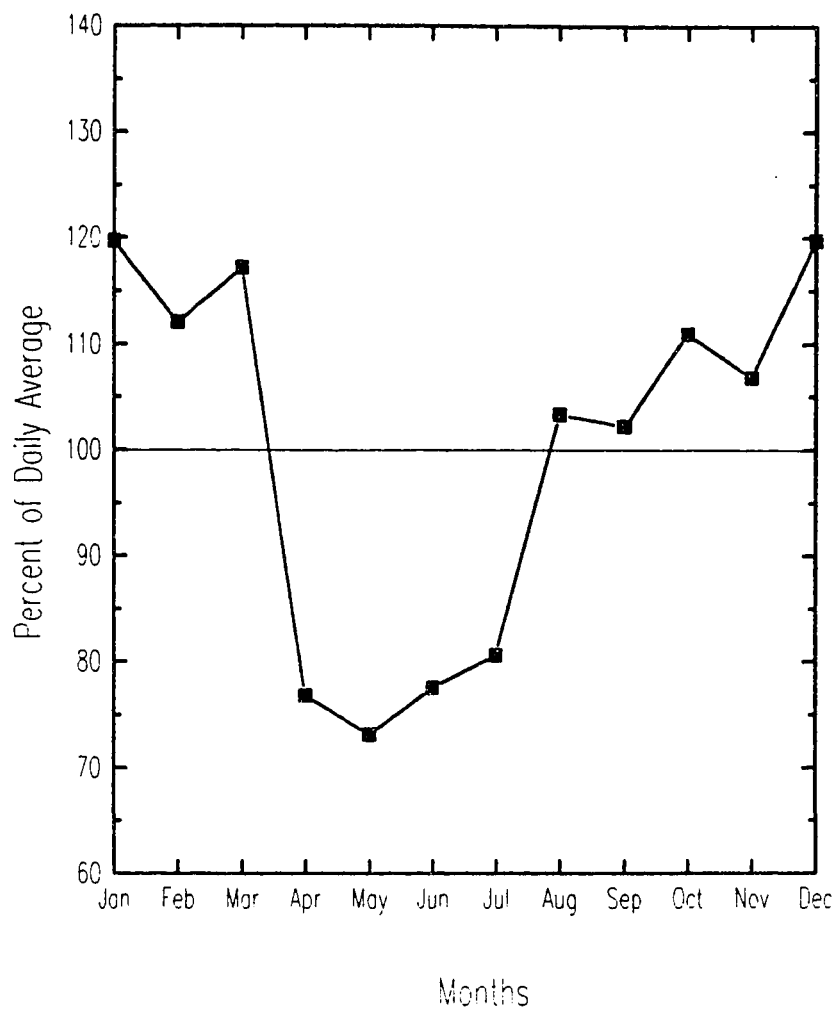


Fig. 2.3 Recorded Free Black Births, Charles Parish, York County, Virginia, as Percent of Daily Average by Month

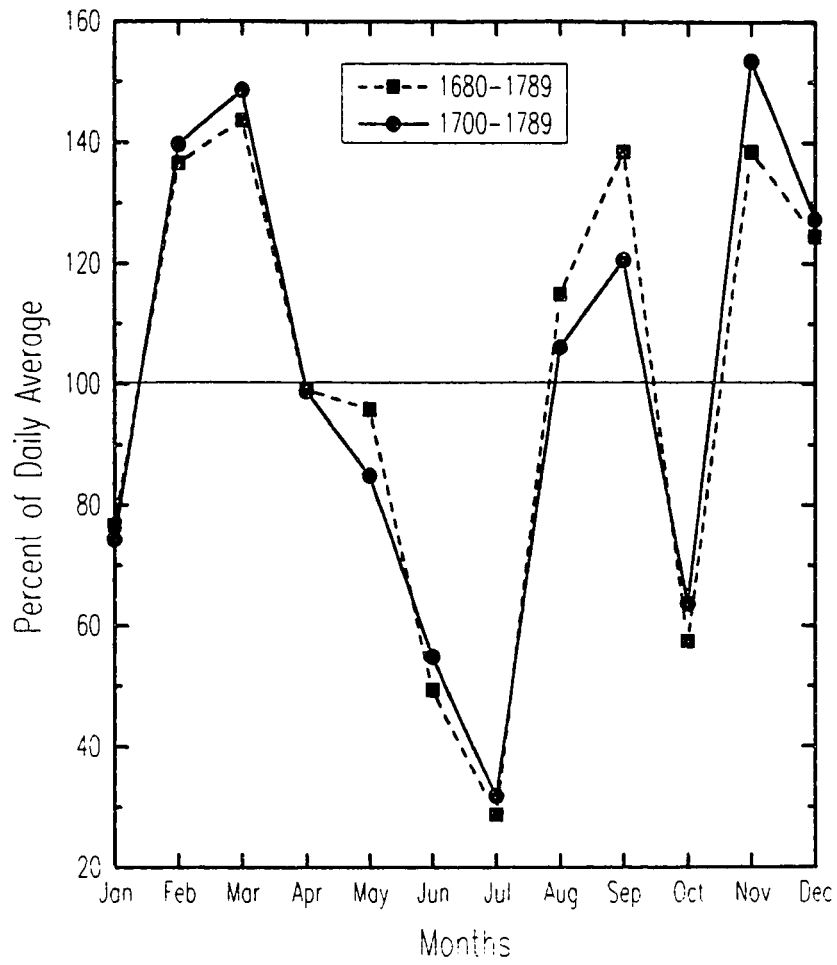
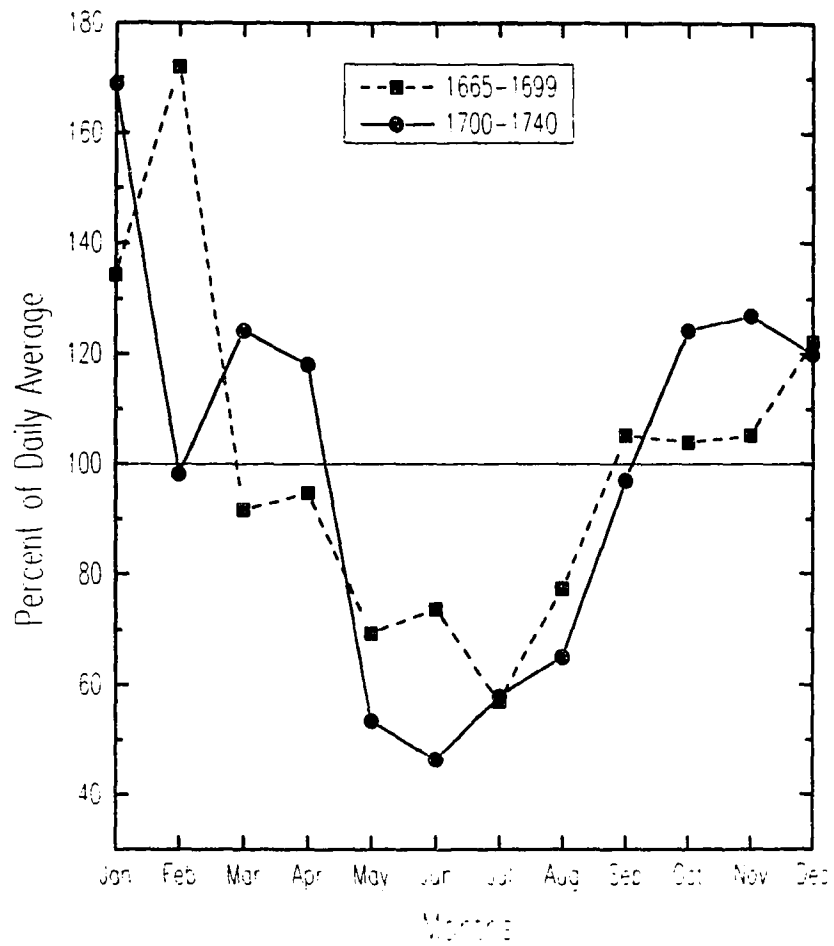


Fig. 2.4 Recorded White Deaths, Charles Parish, York County, Virginia, as Percent of Daily Average by Month



to work in the tobacco fields.⁵⁰

Between 1665 and 1740, the parish clerks recorded the deaths of a total of 1,404 free men and women. This figure breaks down to 782 men and 622 women, and includes two males and six females of color. (Table 2.8)⁵¹ There was a seasonal pattern to the deaths before and after the turn of the eighteenth century. (Figures 2.4 and 2.5) For the male and female residents of Charles Parish, the winter months were more deadly than were June, July, and August. This suggests that the summertime fevers in the lower section of York County were not as deadly as the malarial fevers that ended the lives of a number of the early residents of Jamestown. The sicknesses that swept through Tidewater Virginia during the humid, muggy, summer months probably weakened the inhabitants of Charles and made them more susceptible to wintertime fevers. The fall upswing of deaths probably reflects those who fell victim to malaria. Women were particularly vulnerable during the cold, damp time of year when many of the younger females gave birth to their children. (Figures 2.6, 2.7, 2.8, and 2.9) Often, a mother-to-be was in a weakened condition because pregnancy reduced a woman's ability to withstand malaria.⁵²

The fact that mortality levels followed a seasonal pattern throughout the period of this study indicates very little lessening of the fevers and sickness that continued to afflict the males and females who lived in Charles Parish. Between 1630 and 1740, natural reproduction managed to offset the number of deaths by only a small

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 29-53; Carr and Walsh, "The Planter's Wife," pp. 542-571; Kathleen M. Brown, "Gender and the Genesis of a Race and Class System in Virginia, 1630 to 1750," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1990), chapters 2 and 3.

⁵¹There was one recorded free black death in the 1690s, three in the 1700s, one in the 1710s, two in the 1720s, and one in the 1730s.

⁵²Rutman, Wetherell, and Rutman, "Rhythms of Life," pp. 29-53. Duffy noted that winter fevers might have been respiratory diseases, such as pneumonia and pleurisy. See Duffy, Epidemics in Colonial America, pp. 185, 190.

Fig. 2.5 Recorded White Deaths, Charles Parish, York County, Virginia 1665-1740, as Percent of Daily Average By Month

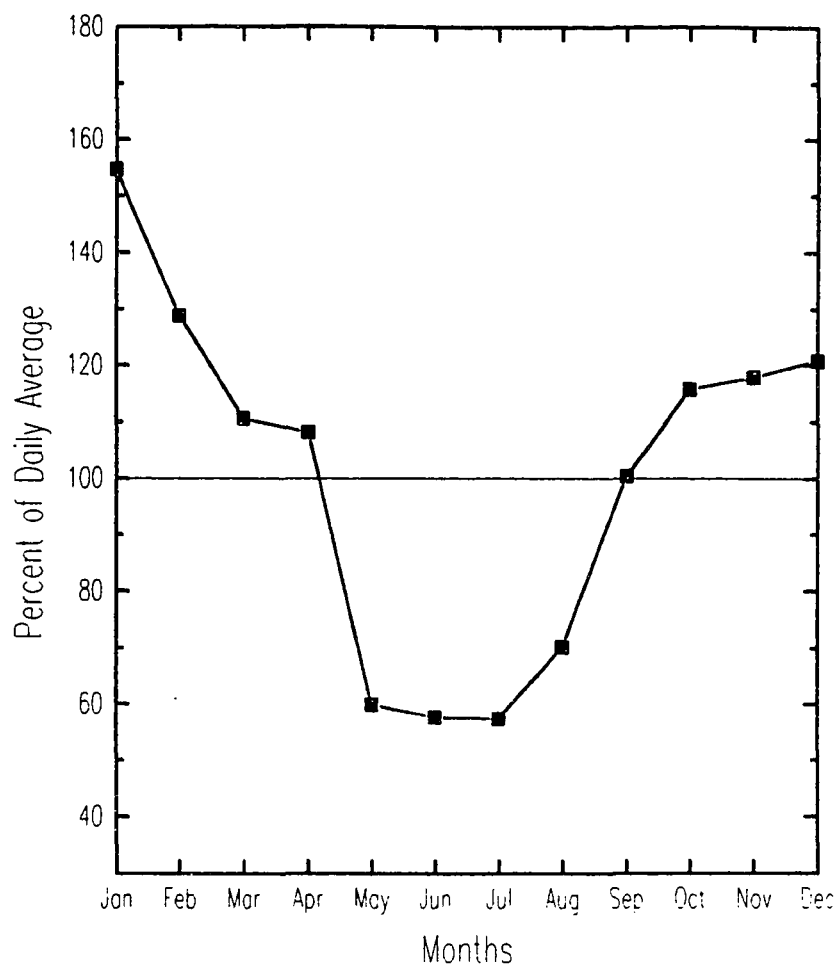


Fig. 2.6 Recorded White Female Deaths, Charles Parish, York County, Virginia, as Percent of Daily Average by Month

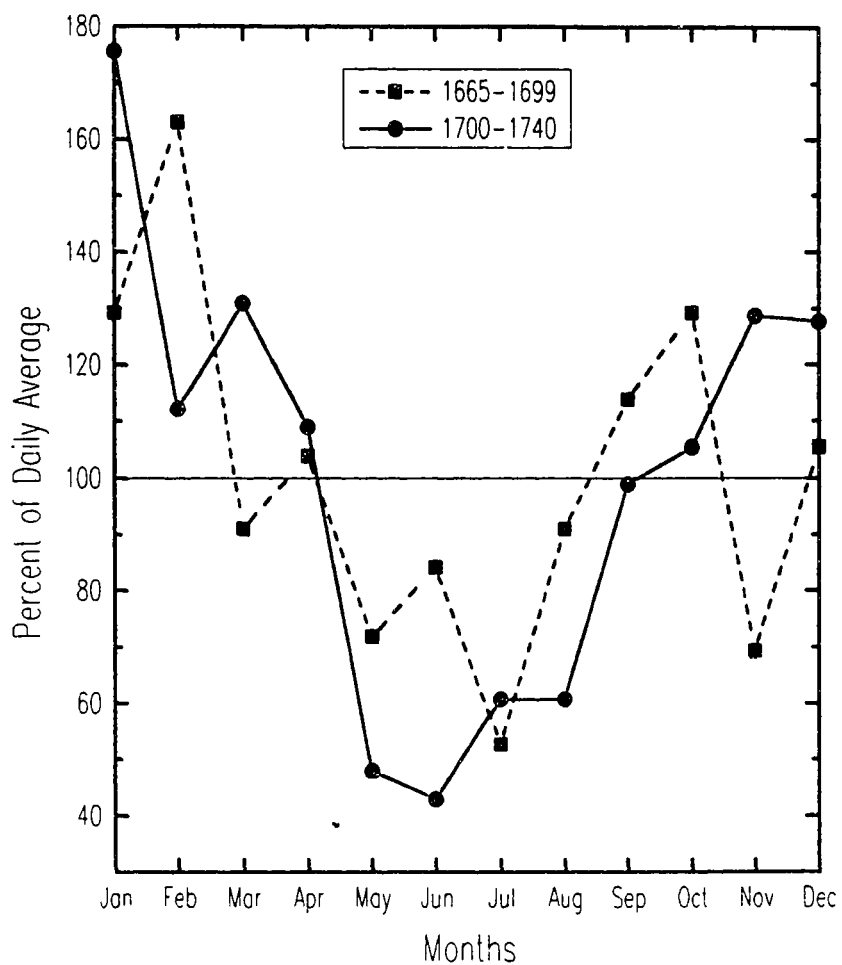


Fig. 2.7 Recorded White Female Deaths, Charles Parish, York County, Virginia, 1665-1740, as Percent of Daily Average by Month

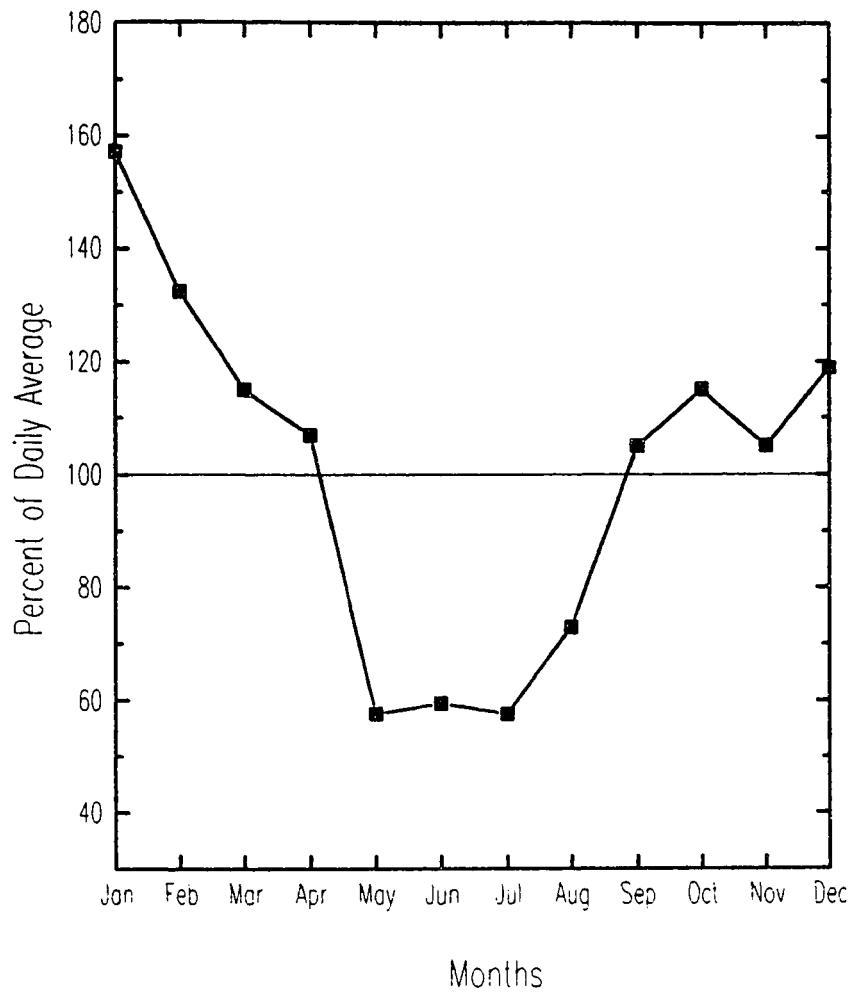


Fig. 2.8 Recorded White Male Deaths, Charles Parish, York County, Virginia, as Percent of Daily Average by Month

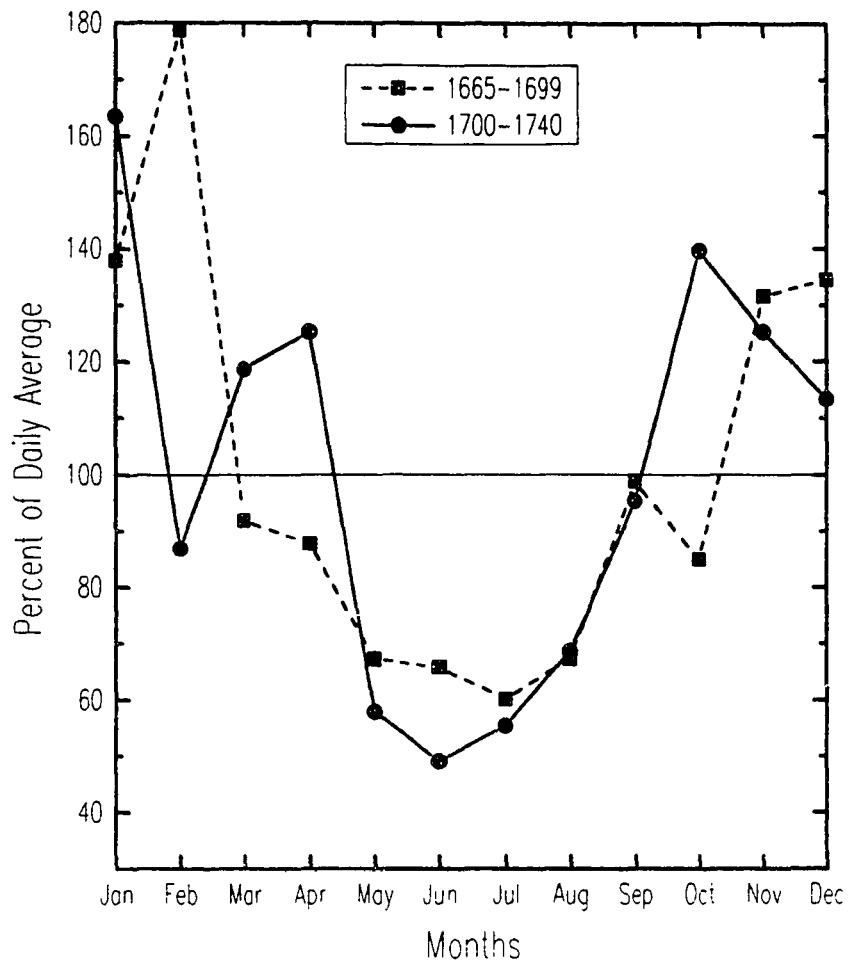
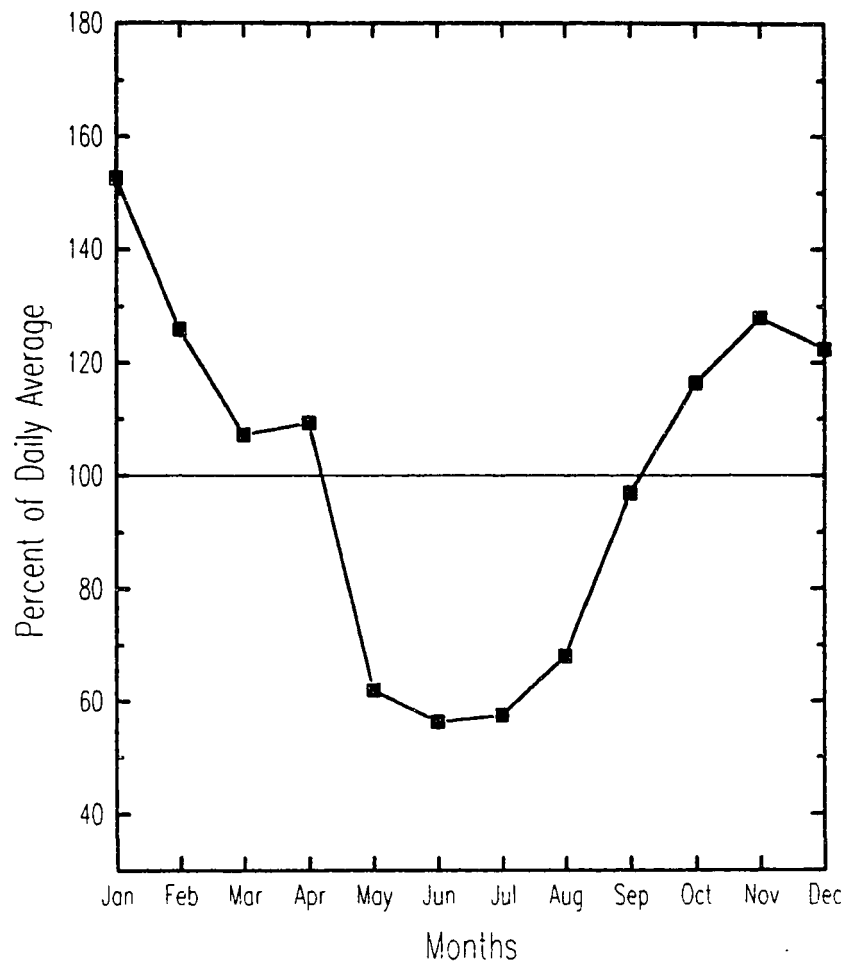


Fig. 2.9 Recorded White Male Deaths, Charles Parish, Virginia, 1665-1740, as Percent of Daily Average by Month



degree. (Table 2.8) The rate of demographic increase in Charles remained low because mortality levels did not decline in the lower end of York County.⁵³ Periodically, smallpox and measles epidemics were responsible for the deaths of a number of men, women, and children who made their homes in Charles. However, chronic diseases including dysentery, malarial fevers, influenza, colds, and pneumonia took a larger toll on the residents of the parish than the epidemic diseases did. In 1737, William Byrd II noted that pleurisy was "the most fatal of all Diseases in this Clymate amongst the Negroes & Poor People." Hugh Jones, a professor at the College of William and Mary, wrote that immigrants to Virginia were "subject to Feavers and Agues, which is the Country Distemper, a severe Fit of which (called a Seasoning) most expect sometime after their arrival."⁵⁴

Natives of Charles Parish were susceptible to the same fevers and agues that afflicted immigrant men, women, and children who moved to this area of Virginia. An examination of the age at death and life expectancy for males who were sons of parish residents provides evidence that the high mortality rate affected the life spans of boys in Charles from the middle of the 1660s until the end of the decade of the 1730s.⁵⁵ Evidence from the birth and death registers shows that the Charles Parish area was especially deadly for infants. During the seventeenth

⁵³Historians of the Chesapeake region have presented different pictures of the mortality levels in Virginia and Maryland after 1650. Morgan noted that mortality levels in the Old Dominion improved over the course of the seventeenth century; the Rutmans found that conditions in Middlesex declined in the last quarter of the seventeenth century; and Walsh pointed out that there was some increase in life expectancy for Marylanders born after 1700. See Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom, pp. 180-185; Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time: Explicatus, pp. 37-59; Walsh, "Till Death Us Do Part," pp. 150-151.

⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 200-201, 214-215, 238-240; Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia, ed. Richard L. Morton, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956), p. 85.

⁵⁵The following discussion includes both the white and free black populations of Charles. The small number of free black births and deaths in the parish registers suggests that the two groups of free residents had similar seasonal birth patterns.

century, at least thirty-two of the couples who welcomed a new male baby saw their young son die before he reached the age of one. (Tables 2.9 to 2.11) A high percentage of the boys born between 1700 and 1740 also died in their childhoods. A minimum of fifty-four of the male children born during the eighteenth century died before their first birthday. It is likely that the proportion of male children who died while they were still infants was higher. The birth record in the Charles Parish register is the only reference to 118 boys born between 1665 and 1699, and to 152 sons born to residents of Charles after the turn of the eighteenth century.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, there is no way to determine how many of these children died at a young age and received a private burial.

Once a male child turned one, his chances of surviving to adulthood increased. (Table 2.11) The number of boys who are known to have died before they reached twelve months of age, thirty-two from 1665 to 1699 and fifty-four during the first four decades of the eighteenth century, was higher than the count of deaths between the ages of two and five. A total of twenty-one and twenty-two young boys died during this age span in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, respectively. These numbers suggest that boys in Charles Parish did not receive any short-term immunity to malaria from their mothers as children born in Middlesex County did and that they built up some resistance to fevers and agues during their first year of life.⁵⁷

⁵⁶Smith calculated that the Charles Parish register does not contain 50% of all infant deaths. See Smith, "Mortality and Family," p. 412.

⁵⁷The Rutmans found that infants born in Middlesex County often enjoyed the benefits of a brief period of immunity to malaria that their mothers passed onto them. The number of boys and girls in Middlesex who died in the early years of childhood (between the ages of one and four) was higher than the number who died before their first birthday. Rutman, Wetherell, and Rutman, "Rhythms of Life," pp. 29-53. Smith's analysis of the entries in the Charles Parish death register agrees with the findings of the Rutmans; Charles Parish children died at a higher rate during the period from their first birthday until their fourth birthday than they did during infancy. Smith, "Mortality and Family," pp. 412-414.

After his fifth birthday, the odds that a boy would see his twenty-first year improved a great deal. Only eleven of the boys born in 1699 or earlier (less than three percent) died between the ages of six and ten. An equal number of the male children born after 1700 lived in Charles Parish for as few as six years and as many as ten years. The number of male children who died either between their eleventh and fifteenth birthdays or between their sixteenth and twentieth birthdays ranged from just under two percent to a little below three and a half percent for those born on either side of 1700. A son whose date of birth fell in the seventeenth century had a twenty-one percent chance that he would not live to adulthood. The likelihood that a male who had been born in Charles after the first year of the eighteenth century would reach the age of majority was the same as it had been for his counterpart from the previous century.

The fact that a constant percent of the boys born in Charles between 1665 and 1740 died before they reached adulthood indicates that the proportion of male children in Charles who lived to see their twenty-first birthday did not improve significantly, if at all, over the course of this seventy-five year time period. The young men who did attain their majority could not expect to live a long life. The calculation of the mean age at death for all males who began and ended their lives in Charles Parish conveys a picture of the brevity of a typical man's life during the period under study. (Table 2.12) While a few men born in each decade did enjoy sixty or seventy years of life, the majority did not. After the decades of the 1660s and the 1670s, the average age for all males born in the lower end of York County did not exceed twenty-five and a half years. This depiction improves if the calculations of mean age at death include only those parish natives who reached the age of twenty. On the average, the men who attained adulthood lived between thirty-five and forty-four years.

Three life expectancy tables have been constructed for males who

were born in Charles from 1648 to 1740. (Table 2.13) A total of 280 adult men whose birth and death were recorded in the parish register form the basis of the table. An additional 131 parish natives who reached the age of twenty, but do not have an exact death date are included in this table.⁵⁸ As Lorena S. Walsh and Russell R. Menard noted, three factors limit the historian's ability to determine when an individual died: migration from the area under study, the registration of a death date in a document that is not extant, and the inability to assign a reference which includes a date of death to a particular subject. For example, if there were three contemporaries named John Smith who appeared in the York County court records, it might not have been possible to decide which John Smith's death was noted in the parish register or which John Smith moved away from Charles Parish as an adult.⁵⁹

The calculation of life expectancies for men born during the seventeenth century and for their counterparts whose birth dates fell after 1700 indicates that there was a small difference in the number of years that individuals in these two groups could anticipate living. At age twenty, a male born in Charles during the seventeenth-century had

⁵⁸Of the 411 adult males who were born in Charles between 1648 and 1740, fifty-six percent died before turning forty and three-quarters were dead prior to their fiftieth birthday.

⁵⁹For information about the construction of life tables see George W. Barclay, Techniques of Population Analysis, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958; eighth printing, 1970), pp. 93-122; Lorena S. Walsh and Russell R. Menard, "Death in the Chesapeake: Two Life Tables for Men in Early Colonial Maryland," Maryland Historical Magazine, LXIX(1974):211-227; Rutman and Rutman, "'Now-Wives and Sons-in-Law,'" Appendix 2. The Middlesex Life Table, pp. 177-182; idem., A Place in Time: Explicatus, pp. 37-59; and Kevin P. Kelly, Economic and Social Development of Seventeenth-Century Surry County, Virginia, (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1989), Appendix I Surry County Life Tables, pp. 201-212.

Smith created a life table based on the experiences of 118 adult men from Charles Parish whose dates of birth and death appear in the register. He also included another 122 men who lived to see their twentieth birthday, but did not have a known death date. See Smith, "Mortality and Family," p. 415. For discussion of Smith's study of life expectancy in Charles Parish see Appendix 2, Section 2.

25.5 additional years and his eighteenth-century counterpart had 27.1 years of life ahead of him. (Tables 2.13) Over the course of their lives, the males born after 1700 could expect to live close to two years longer at each age than those men who began their lives in the previous century. There was a slight demographic gain for parish natives during the eighteenth century in spite of the persistent respiratory diseases and periodic epidemics that took their toll on the residents of Charles.

A comparison of the life tables constructed for Charles Parish with those calculated by historians for other areas of the Chesapeake and for settlements in New England places this parish in a regional and a colonial context. (Tables 2.1, 2.2, and 2.13) It is evident that there were variations in the life expectancies of males who lived in other counties of Virginia and Maryland.

Males born in Charles Parish during the seventeenth century who reached the ages of 20, 25, 35, and 40 could expect to live almost as long as their contemporaries who were natives of Charles County, Maryland. (Tables 2.1 and 2.13) The small gap of a year or two between the life expectancies for these two groups increased at ages 45 and 50. The middle-aged Marylanders could look forward to close to four more years of life than their counterparts in Charles Parish could hope to have. As young adults, seventeenth-century male natives of the lower portion of York County could expect to outlive men who immigrated to Charles County, Maryland. However, by the time males born in Charles Parish reached their forties and fifties, this situation had changed. Men of the same age who had immigrated to Charles County during the seventeenth century could anticipate on living a year or two longer than the natives of Charles Parish could, even though an immigrant would not have had the same immunity to the disease environment which a native

developed during his childhood.⁶⁰

It appears that demographic conditions in the lower end of York County and in Middlesex County, Virginia were similar. The life expectancies for all men born in Charles Parish between 1648 and 1740 exceeded that for their counterparts born in Middlesex County by 1730 at ages 20, 25, 30, and 35 by just one to two years. (Tables 2.1 and 2.13) However, once these two groups of males reached middle-age, the balance shifted slightly. Natives of Middlesex County began to live "as long, if not a bit longer, than their Charles Parish contemporaries between the ages of 40 and 60."⁶¹

The life spans of the men in seventeenth-century Charles Parish, Charles County, Maryland, and Middlesex County, Virginia look short when compared to the number of years that males in Surry County, Virginia enjoyed. Although Surry County was not far from Charles Parish, it appears that the two locations had different disease environments. Men in the 1650-1680 birth cohort in Surry could hope to live at least three and as many as six years longer than their counterparts across the James River in Charles Parish at all the ages in the life tables. (Tables 2.1, 2.2, and 2.13) It is interesting to note that the difference between the life expectancies for men in Surry and Charles Parish increased to four and five years at ages 45 and 50, respectively.⁶²

Somerset County, because of its location on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, proved to be a healthy environment for those men born there

⁶⁰Walsh and Menard, "Death in the Chesapeake," p. 224. They note that life expectancy for an immigrant might have been lower than the figures suggest because the table does not contain data about immigrants who died before appearing the county court records. Ibid., p. 215.

⁶¹Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time: Explicatus, pp. 37-59. It is possible that the pattern of life expectancy of Charles Parish males dropping in comparison to the life expectancy for men in other areas of the Chesapeake is a result of a difference in the number of individuals who were at risk over the age of fifty in Charles and in Charles County, Maryland and Middlesex County, Virginia.

⁶²Kelly, Economic and Social Development of Seventeenth-Century Surry County, pp. 201-212.

between 1650 and 1711. Twenty year olds could expect to see their fiftieth birthday and those who reached the age of thirty could anticipate another twenty-two years of life.⁶³ (Tables 2.1 and 2.13) Seventeenth-century natives of Charles Parish who lived to age twenty could look forward to seeing their forty-sixth year. A thirty-year old born in the lower portion of York County could expect to live for two more decades. The middle-age males who lived in Somerset had a better prospect of living long enough to see their grandchildren than their counterparts in Charles Parish did because some of those men on Maryland's Eastern Shore might live until their early sixties...

The southern portion of Maryland's western shore also was a good place for natives born there between 1690 and 1729. The individuals born in Prince George's County could anticipate living thirty-five years past their twentieth birthday, and almost twenty-nine years beyond the age of thirty.⁶⁴ (Tables 2.1 and 2.13) Men born in Charles Parish after the turn of the eighteenth century died between five and eight years earlier than their contemporaries in the southern section of Maryland did at ages 20, 30, and 40.

Information about life expectancy in colonial New England provides additional evidence of the short life spans of residents of colonial Virginia and Maryland. (Tables 2.1, 2.2, and 2.13) Seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century inhabitants of the Plymouth Colony and of Ipswich and Andover in the Massachusetts Bay Colony could expect to live

⁶³Menard and Walsh, "The Demography of Somerset County, Maryland," "Table 5. Mortality among Male Immigrants to the Lower Eastern Shore, born 1610-1660. A. Expectation of Life," "Table 6. Expectation of Life for Men born in Somerset County, Maryland, 1650-1711," and "Table 7. Expectation of Life for Men in New England and the Chesapeake Colonies," pp. 29-31.

⁶⁴Allan Kulikoff, "Tobacco and Slaves: Population, Economy, and Society in Eighteenth-Century Prince George's County, Maryland," (Ph. D. dissertation, Brandeis University, 1976), pp. 439-440. Prince George's County was formed out of Charles and Calvert counties in 1696. As a result, there is some overlap in the life expectancy figures calculated for Charles and Prince George's counties.

at least another forty-four years after their twentieth birthdays. This was almost twenty years longer than the life expectancy that males born in Charles Parish by 1699 enjoyed. The men who reached adulthood in Salem could anticipate on living an additional thirty-six years, a ten-year improvement on the life spans of Charles's native sons. Although Salem might have been seen as an unhealthy area by other New Englanders, natives of the Chesapeake would have viewed this locale as having a desirable environment.⁶⁵

The information on the life expectancies of women in the colonial Chesapeake is not nearly as extensive as it is for men. However, it is possible to compare the life spans of females born in Charles Parish with their counterparts in Middlesex and Somerset counties. (Table 2.14) At ages 20 and 25, women from Charles Parish could expect to live longer than females born in Middlesex. This difference in life spans disappeared at ages thirty and thirty-five. However, after reaching the age of forty, the balance tipped in favor of females from Middlesex.⁶⁶ This group could expect to live between one and three years longer than their contemporaries in Charles Parish could.

Like their male counterparts, the females born in Somerset County enjoyed longer lives than the majority of their contemporaries in the Chesapeake.⁶⁷ Between the ages of twenty and forty, the women from this

⁶⁵Walsh and Menard state that a comparison of life expectancy in the Chesapeake with that in England did not yield a conclusive picture. *Ibid.*, pp. 224-225. For information on life expectancy in New England see Maris A. Vinovskis, "Mortality Rates and Trends in Massachusetts Before 1860," *Journal of Economic History*, XXXII(1972):198-199; Greven, *Four Generations*, pp. 192, 195; John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth*, p. 192; James K. Somerville, "A Demographic Profile of the Salem Family, 1660-1770," (unpublished paper presented at the Conference on Social History at Stony Brook, New York, October 1969); Susan L. Norton, "Population Growth in Colonial America: A Study of Ipswich, Massachusetts," *Population Studies*, XXV(1971):440-441.

⁶⁶Rutman and Rutman, *A Place in Time: Explicatus*, pp. 43, 51-52.

⁶⁷Menard and Walsh note that the figures for Somerset County females are not as strong as those for the males born in this Maryland county. Menard and Walsh, "The Demography of Somerset County," p. 16.

section of the eastern shore of Maryland could look forward to at least four additional years of life than could women in Charles Parish and Middlesex County. It is likely that mothers in Somerset could have given birth to at least two more sons or daughters than their counterparts in these two areas of Tidewater Virginia.

This comparison between life tables for men and women born in Charles Parish between 1648 and 1740 and life expectancy figures for males and females in other areas of the Chesapeake indicates that the Charles Parish area was not as healthy as some sections of the Tidewater. As young adults, natives of Charles parish could expect to live almost as long as their contemporaries in Middlesex County, Virginia and Charles County, Maryland could, but not as many years as the natives of Surry and Somerset counties and Prince George's County in the southern portion of Maryland's western shore.⁶⁸ Initially, the immunities that the men from Charles enjoyed as natives of their parish helped them to enjoy more years than the seventeenth-century immigrants to Maryland did. It is interesting to note that when Charles Parish males reached middle age, their life expectancies declined in respect to the life spans of other males, both natives and immigrants, in the Chesapeake. Perhaps the disease environment of their native parish had taken its toll on the men from Charles during their twenties and thirties. By the time they attained the ages of forty, forty-five, and fifty, the males born in Charles could not withstand the usual respiratory ailments or epidemics as well as their contemporaries in other sections of the Chesapeake could.

It is probable that pregnancy and childbirth reduced the life expectancies of Charles Parish women during their childbearing years.⁶⁹

⁶⁸See note 64 above.

⁶⁹Rutman and Rutman, "Now-Wives and Sons-in-Law," Appendix 2. The Middlesex Life Table, pp. 177-182; idem., A Place in Time: Explicatus, pp. 42-43, 44, 45.

However, when the females from Charles reached middle-age, the number of years that they could look forward to living increased. In fact, women of forty-five and fifty years could anticipate on enjoying more years of life than could Charles Parish men of the same ages and close to the same life span at ages 55 and 60. Women in Middlesex and Somerset counties also made similar gains in respect to their male relatives and neighbors. After surviving the rigors of childbearing, women throughout the Chesapeake were able to endure diseases and sicknesses as well as, if not better than, their male counterparts did.

The Impact of Short Life Expectancy on the Formation
of Families in Charles Parish

Information about the lives of 286 males who spent their childhoods in Charles Parish and reached adulthood and married at least one time indicates that short life spans affected the formation of families.⁷⁰ (Table 2.15) Just seven men born during the seventeenth century became fathers before they celebrated their twenty-first birthday. (Table 2.16) Close to forty-five percent of the Charles Parish males were between twenty-five and twenty-eight years of age when they and their wives welcomed their first child. One-fifth of the seventeenth-century men did not become fathers before they reached their late thirties or early forties.⁷¹ A greater portion of the males born

⁷⁰The group of married men includes 139 born during the seventeenth century and 147 whose birth date fell after 1700. Seventy-two percent of the men born before 1699 found spouses and close to seven-tenths of those born after the turn of the eighteenth century wed.

Because there are not any extant marriage registers for Charles Parish or for York County until the late eighteenth century, the entry of a child's birth or death in the appropriate parish register or the mention of a spouse in a will often provide the only evidence that a man and a woman were husband and wife. The following discussion of age at marriage and family size focuses on the male natives of Charles Parish because it is easier to trace men in the York County records.

⁷¹Smith stated that the shortage of women in Charles prevented many men from marrying and was one cause of the low level of population growth in the parish during the seventeenth century. Smith, "Mortality and

in the lower end of York County during the eighteenth century became fathers at an earlier age than was the case for their predecessors in Charles. Almost forty-two percent of this group of men were fathers by the time of their twenty-fourth birthdays. However, at the same time, there was an increase in the proportion of males who entered fatherhood at age twenty-nine or older.

Why did a number of Charles's men postpone marriage and fatherhood? First, it is likely that some of the parish's males had a hard time finding a wife, especially during the first thirty years in settlement in the parish, when the imbalance between the sexes was high. The improved ratio between males and females in the latter third of the seventeenth century and on into the eighteenth century made it possible for many of the young men who called Charles their home to marry at a younger age. A second factor delayed marriage and fatherhood for a number of males who were natives of the lower end of York County. By the second quarter of the eighteenth century, it was difficult for men, especially the younger sons of residents in Charles, to gain possession of a plantation that would be large enough to support themselves and any future sons. Some men delayed marriage and raising a family, and other males left the parish.

In spite of the fluctuations in the age at which male natives of Charles married, the size of the families born to these men varied little between the 1660s and the 1730s. (Tables 2.17 and 2.18)⁷² The

Family," pp. 410-411. It is true that females did make up a minority of the residents of Charles. (Table 2.7) By the end of the third decade of settlement, females represented three-tenths of the parish inhabitants. During the next forty years the proportion of women increased to two-fifths. The balance between the sexes stayed at a 3:2 ratio in favor of the men through the first four decades of the eighteenth century.

⁷²See Table 2.15 for the number of native males who reached adulthood, adult native males who died in Charles Parish, and adult native males who disappeared from Charles Parish for each decade of birth. When Smith looked at the number of children that native fathers welcomed during the seventeenth century, he failed to note that several of the men had more than one marriage. The sons and daughters from each of a man's unions were a part of his family. As a result, his figure for the average number

typical male and his wife welcomed three or four children. However, this was not always the case. The males born in the 1680s and the 1690s were adults at the time of the 1718 measles epidemic. Ninety-one men, women, and children died during the outbreak. Many of the fathers who survived the sickness lost a child or a wife. In addition, information on family size may be incomplete for men who moved their families away from the lower portion of York County. The greater number of boys and girls born to men who persisted in Charles is not an indication of a greater life expectancy for those who stayed put in their native parish. Instead, it reflects the fact that some of the males who left the lower section of York County did so during their wives' childbearing years.⁷³ The births of any additional children to the couples who moved away from Charles would have been recorded by the clerk of their new parish. Variations in the number of sons and daughters born to couples were tied to times when epidemic diseases took their toll on residents of the lower section of York County and to periods of out-migration from Charles Parish.

The Impact of Disease and Mobility on Charles Parish

Population growth was fairly consistent in Charles Parish during the period under study. The disease environment in the lower end of York County did not improve much between 1630 and 1740 and it affected the life expectancy of its residents. Natural increase was possible from the 1670s onward because of the stability of Charles's population and a greater number of men and women who were parish natives, not as a

of children born to Charles's native fathers is too small. Table 2.17 contains the average family size calculated as Smith did his figures and Table 2.18 contains the average family size calculated for each father, not for each marriage.

⁷³One-quarter of the married men who were born in the seventeenth century left Charles; just over two-fifths of their eighteenth-century counterparts departed their native parish as young adults.

result of a decrease in the mortality levels in the lower end of York County. The birth of children to parish residents accounted for a part of the population growth that Charles enjoyed during the last four decades of the seventeenth century and the first twenty years of the next century. The arrival of new residents, both from England and other areas of Virginia, made up the greater portion of the demographic increase. After 1720, the birth of sons and daughters to parents in Charles helped to maintain the parish's population, but the number of babies was not high enough to help the tally of males and females who lived in the lower end of York County to expand. Several of the younger sons left the parish for other rural areas in Virginia and for Yorktown and Williamsburg before all of their children had been born. Out-migration lowered the impact of natural increase on demographic growth during the second third of the eighteenth century. Migration, both in and out of the lower end of York County, not natural increase, was the factor that had the greatest impact on demographic growth in Charles Parish during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.

CHAPTER 3

THE PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION OF CHARLES PARISH

In August 1772, the Reverend Joseph Davenport of Charles Parish placed an advertisement in the Virginia Gazette. His notice informed the public that residents of the parish "WANTED IMMEDIATELY, A SOBER diligent Schoolmaster capable of teaching READING, WRITING, ARITHMETICK, and the Latin TONGUE. The School is quite new, has a convenient Lodging Room over it, is situated in a cheap Neighbourhood, and its Income estimated at between sixty and eighty Pounds a Year." Three months later, in November of 1772, the younger Robert Shield and Augustine Moore reported on the feasibility of an alteration that the fourth Henry Hayward wanted to make to a road that ran over his mill in the western section of Charles. Shield and Moore noted that

we have viewed the intended alteration of the Road over Howards Mill and are of Opinion that it would be no inconvenience to the Public were it not that the Tide often flows too high to admit of Strangers passing through without danger But that being the Case we think that it will be very inconvenient to establish the Road over the Mill last until there is erected over it a good and sufficient Bridge for the transportation of Carriages Carts &c.¹

These two quotations indicate that the quality of the soil in one portion of Charles was poor and that the topography influenced the location of a road in another section of the parish. A look at the physical characteristics of Charles--its waterways, fields, pastures, swamps, marshes, and woods--conveys a sense of the place in which the men, women, and children of the parish lived. The chapter begins with a

¹Purdie and Dixon eds., Virginia Gazette, 20 August 1772, page 2. column 3; York County Judgments and Orders Book 3 (1772-1774) 152, 16 November 1772.

description of Charles's topography and a discussion of the role that the parish's waterways and system of roads played in the lives of the residents of the lower end of York County. The second portion of the chapter examines the quality of the soil in the parish. Differences in soil quality resulted in varying levels of agricultural productivity in Charles, which, in turn, led to economic disparity among the men, women, and children who made their homes in the lower end of York County. The chapter's third section looks at selected items that appeared in estate inventories--livestock, equipment for textile production, indentured servants, slaves, bedding, silver objects, and books--and the appraised value of the personal possessions of Charles's decedents in order to learn about the opportunities that the parish's residents had to diversify their agricultural production and to acquire amenities.

The Topography, Waterways, and Highways of Charles Parish

The original name of Charles Parish, New Poquoson Parish, told residents, both immigrants from England and individuals who left other settlements in Virginia to try their luck in the lower end of York County, about the land in their new home. The name "poquoson," a word from the Algonquin Indian language for an area of low, swampy ground that is usually wooded, accurately described the land in Charles. The elevation of most of the land between the rivers was low, usually less than thirty feet above sea level. The ground on the eastern edge of the parish was barely higher than the water in the adjoining Chesapeake Bay. The ridges near the headwaters of the New Poquoson River reached fifty feet in height. The surface tended to be level, but marshy, especially along the rivers, the larger creeks, and in the sections called Boar Quarter, the Islands, and Cow Island. Necks of land jutted out into the

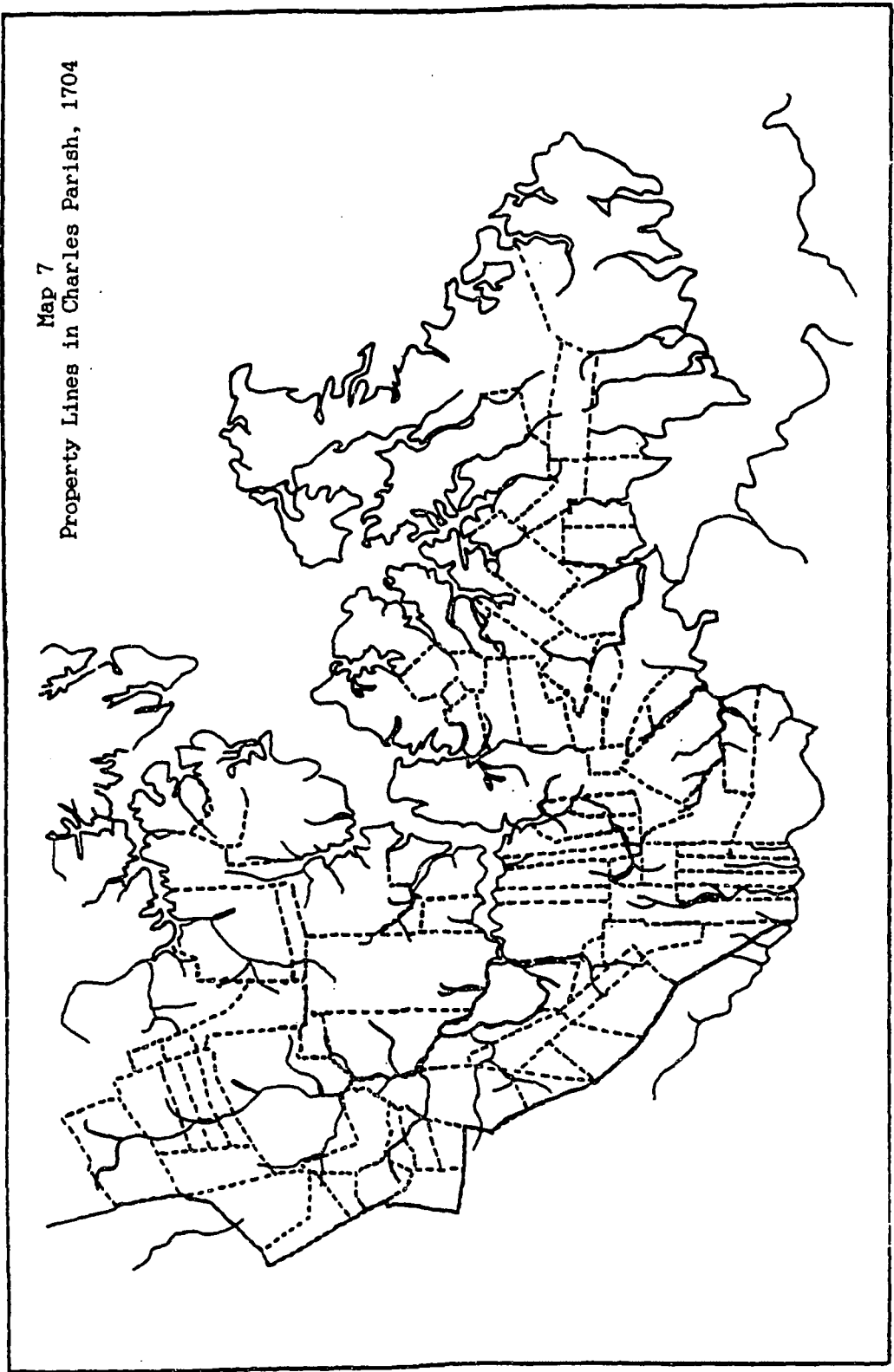
two rivers and the larger creeks.²

The amount of water in and around Charles was a distinguishing characteristic of the lower end of York County. The parish's numerous creeks, coves, brooks, guts, branches, and runs gave almost all of the landholders in Charles access to one of the two rivers. (Map 7)³ The New Poquoson River flowed eastward and southeastward as an inland stream for six miles from its source in the upper end of the parish. The width of the river increased to a quarter of a mile and the depth to four feet as it wound over the course of four miles to the Chesapeake Bay. The New Poquoson was almost two miles wide and eighteen feet deep at the point where its mouth met the Chesapeake Bay. The waterway at the parish's southern boundary, the Northwest Branch of the Old Poquoson River, originated in Warwick County. The winding stream flowed eastward and southeastward for eight miles. During the period under study, the inland courses of the river's Northwest Branch formed the boundary between Charles Parish and Elizabeth City County for approximately five miles. The Northwest Branch of the river had a width of almost half of a mile for the next two miles. The Old Poquoson River was more than a mile wide from the point where its northwest and southwest branches met its mouth at the Chesapeake Bay. Over this three mile stretch, the Old

²Ronald E. Grim, "The Absence of Towns in Seventeenth-Century Virginia: The Emergence of Service Centers in York County," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1977), pp. 45, 47. For a description of the topographical features of the upper portion of York County see *ibid.*, pp. 48-51.

³Map 3 has the property lines from the York County Tract Map, based on the 1704 Rent Roll. For information about the drawing of the York County Tract Map see John M. Ferguson III, "Redrawing the Map That Never Was: The 1704 Tract Map," (unpublished paper, Department of Historical Research, 1984) and the 1704 Rent Roll for York County. Carville V. Earle noted that property boundaries changed very little in All Hallows Parish, Maryland other than when men subdivided tracts among their heirs. The same was true for Charles Parish. Carville V. Earle, The Evolution of a Settlement System: All Hallow's Parish, Maryland, 1650-1783, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Department of Geography Research Paper No. 170, 1975), pp. 182, 196, 202.

Map 7
Property Lines in Charles Parish, 1704



Poquoson ranged from eight to fifteen feet deep.⁴

Both the New Poquoson and the Old Poquoson were deep enough for residents of Charles to use the rivers to transport goods within the parish, to move hogsheads of tobacco to ships, and to receive shipments from England. The business that Charles's residents had with English ship captains took place at the public landing or, after 1713, at the parish's tobacco warehouse.⁵ (Map 2) In June 1692, Daniel Taylor stated that in May of the same year he went on aboard an English sloop after a fishing trip. Taylor noted that six mariners had sailed the vessel "to the New Poquoson to take in tobs for loading sd shipp...."⁶ It is known that a few of the men who lived near the public landing made use of their location to do business with the English ship captains and to transport goods to other residents of Charles. Two residents of Calthorpe's Neck, Christopher Calthorpe Senior and his son, James Calthorpe Senior, employed boatwrights during the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century. The elder James Calthorpe also hired a man named Samuel Baker to carry goods in his boat in the early years of the 1670s. The following decade, a merchant by the name of Henry Jenkins rented, and later purchased, the property where the public landing stood. Jenkins owned a boat and employed a sloopman, Robert

⁴Grim, "The Absence of Towns," pp. 43, 45, 47.

⁵After the passage of tobacco inspection laws in 1713, the public landing became the location of Charles's tobacco warehouse. The warehouse was called Row's after William Row who built a wharf and two storehouses on his waterfront property. The 1713 tobacco inspection laws which went into effect in November of the following year were repealed in 1717. In 1722, the General Assembly passed another tobacco act which became law in August of 1723 for three years. Charles Parish residents acted in the capacity of tobacco inspectors at Row's Warehouse beginning in 1724. William Waller Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, From the First Session of the Legislature, in 1619, 13 vols., (Richmond, New York, and Philadelphia, 1819-1823; reprint, Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1969), 4:32-36, 91-92, 106, 247-271, 329-340, 390 and Waverly K. Winfree, comp. and Randolph W. Church, ed., The Laws of Virginia Being a Supplement to Hening's The Statutes at Large 1700-1750, (Richmond: The Virginia State Library, 1971), pp. 75-90, 119-127, 207-212.

⁶York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 144-145, 24 June 1692.

Stark, to carry imported goods, such as wine and sugar, to his customers. In 1712, Thomas Hind Junior and the elder John Drewry received fines because they did not appear to serve on a petit jury "occasioned by urgent business with the masters of ships then near sailing...." York County's justices of the peace remitted the fines when Hind and Drewry explained the reason for their absence.⁷

Even though some residents of Charles used boats to transport goods to and from English ships and within the parish, probate documents indicate that only a small number of individuals in the lower end of York County owned vessels. (Tables 3.1a, 3.1b, and 3.2a)⁸ Less than one-fifth of Charles's decedents possessed small boats or canoes at the time of their deaths.⁹ Each of the thirty-seven boat owners lived along a waterway and close to a third of this group of men lived on the necks of land in the eastern section of Charles. Over half of the inventoried decedents in the easternmost portion of the parish had large and small canoes, fish gigs, or sculls among their possessions when they died. James Johnson (1759) had a pine canoe and Anthony Robinson Senior (1727/8) owned fish gigs, an anchor, sails, and canoes. Seventeen percent of Charles's inventoried decedents had fishing equipment among their possessions. (Table 3.2b) One-third of the eastern section's men used hooks, lines, and tackling to catch fish in the parish's two rivers or in the Chesapeake Bay. Specialized equipment included the trout hooks in the younger John Parsons's estate (1718) and Armiger Parsons's

⁷Ibid., (14) 184, 18 August 1712.

⁸The tables for Chapter 3 can be found in Appendix 3.

⁹There are inventories for the estates of 200 male and female residents who died between 1630 and 1740. The date after a decedent's name is the year that the York County clerk recorded the inventory or the appraisal. For a discussion of the wealth categories devised by the St. Mary's City Commission, see Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "Inventories and Analysis of Wealth and Consumption in St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1658-1777," The Newberry Papers in Family and Community History, Paper 77-4C; reprinted in Historical Methods, XIII(1980):81-104.

oyster tongs (1736).¹⁰

Why did only thirty-seven of the 200 inventoried decedents own boats and thirty-five men possess fishing gear when almost all of Charles's residents had access to a river, creek, or stream? The appraised values of canoes and fishing equipment were low, usually no more than a few pounds for a boat or several shillings for fishing lines and hooks.¹¹ In spite of the small cost of vessels and fishing equipment, only ten out of Charles's seventy-one poor decedents owned these items. Some of the middling and better-off planters, including Edmund Sweny Junior and his neighbor, the elder Edmund Curtis, shared boating and fishing equipment. Appraisers noted that both Sweny and Curtis owned half of a fishing net during the first quarter of the eighteenth century.¹² Men who were among the parish's wealthiest decedents possessed almost half of the boats and one-third of the fishing gear even though they made up less than one-sixth of the inventoried decedents in Charles. (Tables 3.2a and 3.2b) Even though the cost of a canoe, a scull, or some fishing line was small, it represented an entrepreneurial investment that the majority of Charles's men did not want to make. The parish's residents probably felt that the purchase of a boat would not be a benefit to them if they did not do

¹⁰York County Wills and Inventories (21) 508, 15 January 1759; Orders and Wills (16) 510, 18 March 1727/8; *ibid.*, (15) 281-284, 19 May 1718; Wills and Inventories (18) 288, 17 May 1736.

¹¹When the local magistrates decided that Henry Hay had to pay Henry Jenkins L2 9 shillings sterling for the repair of a boat, Hay protested the cost of the fixing the vessel, "it appearing that the same could not bee worth soe much mending as hee alleadged It is therefore ordered & desired upon Wed. next or some time between this & the next Ct Mr Edward Moss & Mr Calthrop or his Boatwright do view the sd Boat, & sett a value of wt the sd boat might be worth the mending...." York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (6) 394, 24 March 1681/2. Also, see the appraised values of boats and fishing equipment in York County inventories and estate settlements.

¹²Edmund Sweny Junior's personal estate was worth almost 400 pounds and the value of the elder Edmund Curtis's estate was 168 pounds. See York County Orders and Wills (16) 533-534, 17 June 1728; and 591, 17 March 1728/9, respectively.

much traveling on the local waterways or if they did not have a lot of business with English ship captains. The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century residents of the parish's eastern section stood out among Charles's inhabitants for their use of the Chesapeake Bay, and nearby rivers and creeks as a source of food and transportation.¹³

For most of Charles's residents, the parish's system of roads, not the waterways, was the common means of transportation.¹⁴ Legislation

¹³James R. Perry found that the internal waterways played an important role in the development of Virginia's Eastern Shore between 1615 and 1655. Residents of the Eastern Shore tended to use creeks and the Chesapeake Bay for transportation instead of roads. The waterways helped to tie men and women on one neck of land with those who lived on a nearby neck of land. Perry's conclusion that the Eastern Shore inhabitants relied upon waterways may reflect the fact that his study focuses on the early years of settlement on the Eastern Shore, before residents had had the time to clear roads or had acquired horses. Earle noted that boats were infrequently listed in All Hallow's Parish inventories between 1660 and 1769. The highest proportion of estates with water vessels was 22.6% in during the 1680s. The average for the colonial period was 13.6%. Only forty of the early eighteenth-century residents of Princess Anne County owned vessels even though most of the county's residents lived near navigable rivers, streams, bays, and creeks. James R. Perry, The Formation of a Society on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1615-1655, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1990), pp. 28, 37, 43, 44-46; Earle, The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System, p. 143; and Princess Anne County Orders (1) 333-334, July 1702.

The eastern portion of Charles Parish used the local waterways as their counterparts on the Eastern Shore of Virginia did. Since the eighteenth century, a number of men from eastern neighborhood families have worked as watermen. See Albert James Willett Jr., Poquoson Watermen. A Guide to Messick District, Poquoson, Virginia, Families of Martin, Holloway, Forrest, Topping, Messick, Rollins, Carmines, Insley, Firth, Evans, Hopkins, Page, Pauls, Ferguson, Firman, Huggett, Linton, Thomas, Gilbert, (Easley, South Carolina: Southern Historical Press, Inc., 1988) and The Poquoson Historical Commission, "Waterman: A Time-Honored Profession in Poquoson, Virginia," (Poquoson, Virginia: The Poquoson Historical Commission, 1988).

¹⁴In the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, historians of colonial Virginia believed that rivers and internal waterways influenced the settlement of the Old Dominion and reduced, if not eliminated, the need and desire for roads. Recently, James O'Mara pointed out that "it was roads and land transportation that were the first and foremost means for social and economic intercourse....The roads provided vital links in the structure of the space-economy of the colony, and they provided a means for economic development." O'Mara's emphasis on a reliance upon roads, not waterways, for transportation fits the situation in Charles Parish. See James O'Mara, An Historical Geography of Urban System Development: Tidewater Virginia in the 18th Century, (Atkinson College, York University: Geographical Monographs No. 13, 1983), pp. 115-117 for a discussion and critique of Bruce's and Fiske's view of the role

passed by the General Assembly between 1632 and 1667 provided the basic guidelines for the construction and up keep of roads, bridges, and ferries in the Old Dominion. In September 1632, Virginia's colonial legislators decided that "highwayes shall be layd out in such convenient places as are requisite accordinge as the Governor and Counsell or the commissioners for the mounthlie corts shall appoynt, or accordinge as the parishioners of every parish shall agree." Nine years later, in 1641, the Burgesses and Councilors determined that it was necessary to establish and maintain ferries and bridges "for the more ease of travellers." Members of the Assembly decided "that all passengers whether strangers or others should be freed from payment otherwise then by the leavie, And that the fferryemen should give their due attendance from sunne rising to sunne setting."¹⁵

Roads and bridges needed to be maintained if colonists were to use them for travel and for the transportation of goods. In March 1661/2, the Burgesses and the Councilors resolved that the justices of the peace in each county were to appoint men to serve as surveyors of the highways. The men chosen as surveyors were to "first lay out the most convenient wayes to the church, to the court, to James Towne, and from county to county, and make the said wayes forty foote broad, and make bridges where there is occasion, and the wayes being once thus layed out, and the bridges made they shall cause the said wayes to be kept cleere from loggs, and the bridges in good repaire that all his majesties subjects may have free and safe passage about their occasions...."¹⁶

of roads in colonial Virginia. For a discussion of the types of boats owned by colonial Virginians see Arthur Pierce Middleton, Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Period, (Newport News, Virginia: The Mariner's Museum, 1953), chapter 7.

¹⁵Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 1:199, 269.

¹⁶Ibid., 2:103. During the Commonwealth period, the Assembly passed similar measures concerning the maintenance of roads. See *ibid.*, 1:404, 436. For additional statutes dealing with the upkeep of paths and

In addition to the routes to parish churches, county courts, Jamestown, and adjoining counties, Virginians needed paths that led from the main or public roads to individual plantations in order to transact business and to visit with family, friends, and neighbors. In September 1667, the colonial legislators noted that "WHEREAS the dispatch of busines in this country is much obstructed for want of bridlewayes to the severall houses and plantations. It is enacted by this grand assembly and the authority thereof, that every person haveing a plantation shall, at the most plaine and convenient path that leades to his house, make a gate in his ffence for the convenience of passage of man and horse to his house about their occasions at the discretion of the owners."¹⁷

The instructions in these four statutes provided the basis for the system of roads that emerged in Charles Parish during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. (Map 4)¹⁸ To the modern eye, it appears that the construction of the highways and paths in Charles was haphazard because the legislation did not specify how the sites for the routes were to be chosen or exactly who was to decide upon the location of

highways see *ibid.*, 3:392-395; 4:53-54, 296, 511; 5:31, 6:64. The rivers and creeks were also to be cleared to allow traffic to pass. *Ibid.*, 2:455, 484; 4:111, 177-178; 6:69.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 2:261.

¹⁸The location of roads on the maps in this dissertation is based on information from the York County Court records; O'Mara, An Historical Geography of Urban System Development, pp. 133-136; Grim, "The Absence of Towns," p. 218; and several eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth-century maps: "Carte des environs d' York en Virginie" (1781), "Plan of Yorktown in Virginia and adjacent country" (1781), "A Sketch of the East end of the peninsula where on is Hampton" (1782?), "Armee de Rochambeau 1782 Carte des environs de Williamsburg" (1782), "The Only correct and reliable map of the Battle of Bethel" (1861), "Johnsons map of the vicinity of Richmond, and peninsular campaign in Virginia" (1862), "Map of the Country between the York and James Rivers in 1862 and 1863" (1863), "Map of the vicinity of Richmond and part of the Peninsula" (1864), "Confederate Engineer's Maps," from The Jeremy Francis Gilmer Collection (facsimiles of originals at the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia), "York County Base Map" (1941), "Map of the Lower Peninsular of Virginia including York, Warwick, Elizabeth City Counties & Newport News, Hampton & Phoebus" (1951), and "Map of the area between the James and York Rivers" (n.d.) at the Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia.

roads. In addition, many of the men selected to serve as surveyors of the highways in Charles and in other areas of Virginia had no previous experience in determining where and how to clear a path. However, in spite of the potential difficulties, the system of highways that emerged in Charles fit the topographical features of the parish and served the transportation and communication needs of the seventeenth- and the eighteenth-century planters.¹⁹

The first residents of Charles built paths soon after they moved to the lower end of York County. It is known that the men and women of Charles traveled along the main road that connected their parish to neighboring Warwick County by 1640. It is probable that the highway which joined Charles to the upper end of York County and to Elizabeth City County was also in place by the end of the first decade of settlement in the parish.²⁰ (Map 4) The initial settlers of Charles took time away from the establishment of their plantations to clear roads and to build bridges because they wanted to stay in touch with family and friends who stayed in the Elizabeth City and Warwick settlements and needed to establish ties to the other settlers who lived

¹⁹The 1632 statute noted that the Governor, the Council, the justices of the peace, or the residents of a parish could decide upon the location of a road. Thirty years later, this responsibility became one of the duties of a surveyor of the highways. Ibid., 1:199; 2:103.

Earle noted that "the network of parish roads evolved loosely and with little aforethought. Roads were created and maintained with an eye toward immediacy, necessity, and least cost. Not a few planters built their own roads, after submitting a reasonable justification to the county court." In addition, planters had private roads and paths around gullies, streams, branches and wetlands. Earle, The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System, chapters VI and VII (quote from p. 146).

In order to establish a new highway or an addition to an existing road, surveyors cleared a path and grubbed up "all such roots & stumps of trees that are dangerous for men or horses...." York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (6) 241, 24 August 1682.

²⁰York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (6) 257, 26 October 1680; ibid., (3) f. 14, 26 January 1657/8.

in their parish and county.²¹

The General Assembly's instructions to clear convenient roads did not always mean that the parish's surveyors laid out a direct, straight route from one place to another. Two factors influenced the location of the highways and the paths that passed through Charles.²² First, the men in charge of clearing highways tried to place roads on the top of ridges of land because elevated areas were less likely to be swampy or to flood during rainy seasons. As a result, residents of Charles were among the colonial residents of Virginia who used the term "highway" to refer to a road built on elevated ground or on the watersheds near the source of streams.²³ Second, the surveyors of the highways constructed

²¹Perry noted that footpaths were enough when a settlement was small and men were planting their first crop of tobacco. Roads suited to travel on horseback or in a cart took longer to clear because they needed to be wider and to have tree roots and stumps cleared to be adequate for a horse and a rider. Footpaths might have been sufficient for the residents of the Eastern Shore because they settled near each other and used boats to stay in touch with other Virginians. The initial settlers of Charles patented land throughout the parish and needed to travel to the upper portion of York in order to attend the county court. Perry, The Formation of a Society, pp. 42-43 and Chapter 4.

²²Edward G. Roberts noted that four factors influenced the development of roads in colonial Virginia: the settlers' traditions and past experiences, the land, and the Indians who used paths and trails, in addition to waterways, to connect their villages. In his opinion, the early settlers relied upon many creeks, rivers, and streams of the Tidewater area for transportation. Roberts stated that because "real vehicle roads were not needed, consequently most roads of seventeenth century Virginia were little more than trails, passable on horseback, and clearly dependent on local, and often purely private, responsibility for construction and maintenance." Edward G. Roberts, "The Roads of Virginia 1607-1840," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1950), pp. 2-3, 5, 6 (quote).

It is probable that the main road which passed through Charles Parish had been an Indian path. In February 1645/6, the York County clerk noted that the land which Humphrey Hanmore bequeathed to John Griggs Senior included old fields. Griggs's land adjoined the public highway. The term "old fields" referred to places that Indians had grown crops. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (2) 77, 2 February 1645/6.

²³In April 1714, Edmund Curtis, Henry Hayward Junior, and Thomas Curtis noted that "in obedience to the within order we the subscribers met on the 3d day of this instant April anno dom 1714 & have laid out the highest & Convenient road from Haywards mill down to the lower end of Clarks neck wch sd road is hereby established & ordered that the surveyer clear the same as occasion shall require[.]" York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (14) 321, 17 May 1714. In 1738, the justices of the peace

roads across sections of plantations that men had not yet turned into fields for tobacco or other crops. Several of the many twists and bends in the highways in Charles kept the roads away from the wet ground in and around swamps and marshes and cultivated fields.²⁴ (Map 4)

York County's justices of the peace assumed the responsibility of building and maintaining the bridges within Charles and between the parish and Elizabeth City County. In 1648, the local magistrates ordered Oliver Segar to build a "suff bridge over the swamp between Left Wm Worledg & Capt Christo. Calthropes being the Churchway...." as punishment for fishing on the Sabbath. The bridge gave the residents who lived near Calthorpe's Neck a more direct route to the parish church. Ten years later, in January 1657/8, the justices of the peace ordered William Hay "wth the said Francis Finchs assistance to treat wth the gentlemen of Elizabeth Citty County Court accordingly to agree for the building a sufficyent Horse bridge over the great swamp or Damms parting the two Countyes." Travel and exposure to the elements took a heavy toll on the bridge and required surveyors of the highways to replace worn out planks. In 1679, the local magistrates reimbursed William Wise for expenses in "mending finches da:." In 1712, Finch's Dam required a substantial amount of work and Robert Hay received payment "for makeing Finches dam Bridge." Robert Shield, John Hay,

ordered James Tomer to "clear the Road leading from the Main Road over the bridge by Jones Irwins & that he make a Cause way on that side the bridge next the Main Road, & the Francis Hayward Gent keep the said bridge & Causeway on the other side in good repair. A causeway was a raised road across a low or a wet place, or a waterway. It is possible that the residents of Charles paved their causeways with cobbles or pebbles. York County Orders, Wills, and Inventories (18) 457, 20 November 1738.

Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia From Whence Is Inferred A Short View of Maryland and North Carolina, ed. Richard L. Morton, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Virginia Historical Society, 1956), pp. 192-193 n. 91.

²⁴It is possible that Charles's surveyors of the highway chose the easiest path to clear over a better location. Perhaps this is the reason why York County's eighteenth-century justices of the peace sent out men to view proposed alterations to roads before any changes were made.

Edmund Sweny, and John Llewellyn made smaller repairs to the bridge in the eighteenth century.²⁵

York County's magistrates left decisions about smaller roads within the parish up to the residents of Charles. Planters, large and small, played a part in the establishment of new roads in the parish and additions to existing highways through their petitions to the York County Court. At times Charles's inhabitants wanted changes made to the system of roads to make travel in the parish and in the county more convenient. By the eighteenth century, several of the men who lived near Chisman's Creek felt that they needed a landing which was closer to their homes than the public landing was. In 1710, the elder John Doswell, Nathaniel Hook, Humphrey Nixon, John Gibbons, John Wright, Thomas Walker, and John Doswell Junior petitioned

that a convenient Roling Road might be directed & made from their Respective Dwellings down to the head of Chismans Creek William Buckner & Lawrence Smith Gent. haveing been appointed at the last Court to goe on the Ground through wch. the same must be cutt & view & report the most Convenientest way (with the least prejudice to the lands) that the same may be made this day made the following report (to Wit) Wee have been of the Grounds & find a Road is Necessary for the Petitioners Do appoint that it begin to be cleared from Mr Moss's feild the nearest way to the Fork of the Cedar Branch & from thence the Directest Course to the Middle Point on Chismans Creek It is ordered that the petitioners pursue the said Report & without the assistance of the Surveyor of that Precinct & at their own Charge Clear the said Road & Make such Bridges as are Required wch Road So made is hereby Declared and Established a Publick Way--

The landing at the end of the new rolling road became known as Doswell's Landing. The new route gave the men a quicker and more direct path to

²⁵York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (2) 386, 25 July 1648; *ibid.*, (3) f. 14, 26 January 1657/8. See *ibid.*, (6) 161-162, [8 December 1679]; (14) 209-210, 16 December 1712; York County Orders and Wills (15) 360-361, 16 December 1718; *ibid.*, (17) 11, 24 November 1729; *ibid.*, p. 123, 17 November 1730; and *ibid.*, p. 243, 16 November 1731 for money spent by York County to maintain Finch's Dam Bridge.

It is likely that there was a ferry between Charles Parish and Elizabeth City County before the construction of Finch's Dam Bridge. In 1647, Dictoris Christmas was a creditor in the York County levy "for keeping the ferry in Pawquoson[.]" York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (2) 298-299, 30 November 1647.

Chisman's Creek.²⁶

In the eighteenth century, several residents of Charles submitted petitions for the re-routing of several of the existing highways because stretches of the public roads passed through areas that eighteenth-century owners wanted and needed to clear for planting. In May of 1712, John Cox received permission "to alter the Main Road through his lands for the conveniency of his corn field...." In February of the following year, Mary Taylor, a widow who lived in the central neighborhood of the parish, noted "that there hath been for some time a publick road through her pasture & being necessitated now to make a cornfeild on the sd ground for the support of her family & movedig (sic) for liberty to turn the sd road round her sd feild...." Like John Cox and Mary Taylor, Henry Barradell Senior felt "the Inconvency of having a Publick Road thro' his Cornfield & praying that he may have liberty to turn the sd Road about an 100 yards farther into the Old field where it will be Equally as good & convenient as the present Road."²⁷ The petitions of Cox, Taylor, the elder Barradell and others indicate that Charles's planters had moved their fields to different sections of their tracts in order to use soil that had not been worn out by several decades of crop production. While the alterations to public roads were advantageous to the petitioners, the changes probably increased the distance that travelers covered on their journeys and made the highways less convenient to those on foot or on horseback.

Between the 1630s and the fourth decade of the eighteenth century, the number of roads and paths that criss-crossed Charles increased. The

²⁶Ibid., (14) 22, 24 July 1710.

²⁷Ibid., p. 150, 19 May 1712; *ibid.*, p. 228, 16 February 1712/3; York County Orders and Wills (15) 59-60, 17 December 1716.

It appears that a new road became a public road if a petitioner could persuade York's justices of the peace that it would benefit several people. Surveyors of the highways cleared public roads and plantation owners maintained the private paths that passed through their land.

proliferation of highways made it difficult for two men to oversee the maintenance of all the public routes in Charles. In 1711, the elder Robert Hay, the surveyor of the highways in the lower precinct of Charles, asked to have John Parsons Junior appointed as his assistant. By the second decade of the eighteenth century, York's justices of the peace began appointing men as surveyors of specific stretches of road instead of giving them general responsibility for all highways in either the lower or the upper precinct of Charles. Several of the roads covered similar routes because many of the parish's planters wanted to have convenient and direct access to their church, the public landing, and the main highways. Multiple paths to the same place became confusing to residents and travelers alike. In February 1738/9, York County's justices of the peace "ord. that the Surveyors of the Several Roads w/in this County where 2 or more Cross Roads of highways meet forthew/ cause to be erected in the most convenient place where such ways join a Stone or post w/ Inscriptions thereon in large letters directing to the most noted place to which each of the said joining Roads leads."²⁸

The public and private highways structured communications among inhabitants of the parish to a greater degree than the New Poquoson and the Old Poquoson rivers did and enabled men and women to travel throughout the parish, to both public destinations and to the homes of their friends. Popular destinations included the public landing, Row's Warehouse, the mills, the tan yard, the tavern known as the Halfway

²⁸York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (14) 91, 18 June 1711; York County Orders, Wills, and Inventories (18) 470, 19 February 1738/9. Allan Kulikoff found that there was an increase in the number of roads in Prince Georges County, Maryland during the eighteenth century. Allan Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1986), pp. 211-214.

House, and the Charles Parish church.²⁹ The parish's system of roads connected most of Charles's residents to places within the lower end of York County and to family, friends, and neighbors who lived a short distance away. The majority of men, women, and children did not journey beyond the boundaries of their parish. The small number of men at the upper end of Charles's social and political hierarchy used highways to travel to the York County court in an official capacity.

How did the men and women of Charles get to the places they wanted to visit? Any of the footpaths between plantations or between a plantation and a public building would have been sufficient for an individual who planned to walk to his or her destination unless a tree had fallen across the path or someone had intentionally blocked the route. However, travel on foot was slow and did not allow one to stay in touch with many people in the parish. Men and women covered only a two or three miles in an hour of walking along the winding paths and

²⁹Both Walsh and Perry found that internal waterways played an important part in the formation of associations by the residents of Charles County, Maryland and the Eastern Shore of Virginia, respectively. Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman noted that settlers arrived in Middlesex on waterways, transported tobacco on waterways, and were linked by roads. They found that highways tended to link places in empty areas and to join people in settled sections. Kulikoff commented that roads built in Prince Georges County, Maryland between 1700 and 1740 connected new settlements to old settlements. After 1740, the new roads functioned as neighborhood paths that joined families together. Lorena S. Walsh, "Community Networks in the Early Chesapeake," in Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo, eds., Colonial Chesapeake Society, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1988), pp. 200, 201, 228; Perry, The Formation of a Society, pp. 28, 37, 43, 44-46; Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia 1650-1750, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984), pp. 62, 65; Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves, p. 211.

York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (6) 328, 26 July 1681; *ibid.*, (8) 189, 13 Dec 1688; *ibid.*, p. 386, 24 January 1689/90; *ibid.*, (10) 158, 24 May 1695 (traveling to visit family members and friends); *ibid.*, (5) 62, 24 February 1673/4 and *ibid.*, (6) 59, 13 November 1678; *ibid.*, (13) 211, 24 March 1708/9 (rolling road to landing); *ibid.*, (6) 566, 24 March 1683/4 (mill); York County Wills and Inventories (18) 450-451, 18 September 1738 (names of individuals who stopped at Halfway House while Plany Ward was proprietor of the tavern); York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 276, 25 November 1693 and *ibid.*, p. 351, 24 May 1694 (travel to parish church).

For a discussion of rolling roads see Middleton, Tobacco Coast, pp. 101, 378 n. 35. Kulikoff commented that most roads could be used as rolling roads. Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves, p. 212.

roads in Charles. Riding on horseback expanded the area in which a man or a woman could travel and pay visits to other residents of the lower end of York County because an individual could cover a distance of five or six miles in an hour of riding.³⁰

Evidence from probate documents indicates that the majority of the decedents in Charles owned at least a mare, stallion, or colt by the 1680s. (Table 3.3a) Half of the seventeenth-century decedents had a horse as did over four-fifths of their eighteenth-century counterparts.³¹ Residents from all wealth groups and sections of the parish had steeds. Almost three-fifths of the men and women whose personal belongings were worth less than fifty pounds were able to acquire a horse, including seven-tenths of Charles's poor inhabitants during the eighteenth century. After 1700, over ninety percent of the middling and wealthy estates included a horse. At least seven-tenths of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century decedents in all areas of the parish had horses, including close to nine-tenths of the men who made their homes in the eastern section of Charles. The residents of the eastern area needed horses, in addition to their boats, because it was not convenient to travel on the waterways in order to visit some of the inland residents in the central and western portions of the parish.

The fact that fifty-nine percent of the inventoried decedents had saddles and bridles among their possessions provides additional evidence that the majority of Charles's residents rode horses on the parish's

³⁰Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves, p. 213.

³¹Christopher Calthorpe Senior was the first resident of Charles to have a horse listed in the inventory of his estate. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (3) f. 180, 13 October 1662.

Earle found that horses outnumbered boats in the inventories of decedents from All Hallow's Parish, Maryland, by the 1680s. Earle, The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System, p. 145. Perry noted that few residents of the Eastern Shore rode horses before 1655. Perry, The Formation of a Society, pp. 42-43.

roads.³² (Table 3.3b) The proportion of men and women who had riding equipment almost doubled between the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. Slightly more than half of the poor and the middling decedents owned saddles and bridles, and two-thirds of the wealthy saddled up their mounts for a ride. Since close to three-fifths and under two-fifths of the decedents who lived near Calthorpe's Neck and Chisman's Creek, respectively, owned riding equipment, it is likely that residents of these two sections borrowed horses, saddles, and bridles from family members and friends if they needed to travel more than a few miles from where they lived.

Probate documents indicate that slightly more than one-third of Charles's decedents had carts or carriages. (Table 3.3c) The proportion of residents with wheeled vehicles grew from seventeen percent before 1699 to forty-five percent after the turn of the eighteenth century. The increase reflects the fact that a greater number of the parish's eighteenth-century planters owned the horses or the oxen needed to pull a cart than had been the case among their seventeenth-century counterparts. Over two-thirds of Charles's wealthy decedents possessed a cart or a coach, including seven of the eight prosperous planters from the eastern area of the parish. The proportion of cart owners dropped to forty-six percent and seventeen percent for the middling and poor decedents, respectively. Even though the value of carts ranged from less than L1 to L4 in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the purchase price of a wheeled vehicle was too great an investment for most of the less successful planters in Charles. The middling and poor decedents did not produce as much tobacco as their wealthier counterparts did and could rent a cart if they could not roll

³²The first decedent who had a saddle and bridle among his possessions was John Prosser, a minister, in 1666. It is important to note that Charles Parish residents could have ridden horses using a rope halter instead of a saddle and bridle. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (4) 125, 29 November 1666. Riding equipment was a common item in inventories by the decade of the 1680s.

their hogsheads along a road to the public landing, or after 1713, to Row's Warehouse. In addition, the middling and smaller planters were less likely to raise much surplus corn for sale in the local area.³³

Horses, riding equipment, and wheeled vehicles helped residents of Charles to move from one end of the parish to another, to the upper portion of York County, and to the adjoining counties of Elizabeth City and Warwick. Men and women were able to use the roads for day-to-day business and longer trips because the parish's topography did not present any major barriers to travel or to moving goods. Charles had an internal focus in spite of the numerous waterways that could have directed the attention of residents away from the center of the parish and to neighboring parishes and counties.

Soil Quality and Agricultural Production in Charles Parish

The level surface and low elevation of most of the land in Charles Parish disguised the fact that there were great differences beneath the surface. Even though all of the planters in Charles lived within a two to three hour horseback ride from each other, the men who tended fields near the parish's main waterways faced different soil conditions than those that their counterparts who planted crops in the interior of the parish did. Much of the ground in Charles resembled a pieced-together quilt because patches of productive land and areas of small-yield soil were scattered throughout the lower end of York County.³⁴ The best soil

³³Earle noted that carts and wheels infrequently were listed in inventories before 1710. The numbers of both items grew as agricultural diversification increased. Earle, The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System, p. 145.

The shoemaker Roger Long was the first of Charles's decedents to have a cart in his estate inventory in 1670. As was the case with horses and riding equipment, carts and wheels began to appear among the possessions of decedents on a regular basis in the 1680s.

³⁴Patches of various types of soil can range from under one half of an acre to over 300 acres in size. United States Government, Soil, (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1957), p.

for growing tobacco, corn, and other crops was nearly level or gently sloping, had few or no rocks, did not become saturated with water for long periods of time, and did not become flooded during the growing season. In Charles, the fertile soil was along the banks of the two rivers and the larger creeks because it was drained better than the soil in the interior section of the parish. (Tables 3.4, 3.6a, and 3.6b) The land along the inland portion of the New Poquoson and the Old Poquoson rivers, the smaller creeks and the marshes throughout Charles tended to drain poorly, and as a result, the roots of plants became waterlogged.³⁵

767. The discussion of the type and quality of soil in Charles Parish in the following pages of this chapter is based on *ibid.*, and Robert L. Hodges, P. Ben Sabo, David McCloy, and C. Kent Staples, Soil Survey of James City and York Counties and the City of Williamsburg, Virginia, (Washington, D. C.: United States Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service in cooperation with the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1985), pp. 13-41, 47, 59, 62, 67, 68, 78, 81, 103-105, and Maps 34 to 39. It is difficult to use a modern soil survey to learn about the quality of soil in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries because of the changes that time, weather, and man have made to the land. These changes include erosion, fertilization, and two and a half centuries of planting. Information from a twentieth-century soil survey can be used to learn about the qualities of good soil and approximate locations of productive and unproductive soil in the lower end of York County. Contemporary documents also contain useful information. A grantor often noted the location of marshes, swamps, creeks, and other bodies of water on a piece of property that he or she sold. Beginning in 1782, the York County Land Tax Lists contained the value of the various tracts of land. These values are not very helpful in determining the location of good property because almost all of the tracts in Charles Parish contained a small amount of productive, waterfront soil. See Map 3 in this chapter.

³⁵According to modern studies of soil quality, it is likely that almost all of the acreage in the lower end of York County had at least a minor deficiency that affected the amount and type of crops which a planter could grow. Limitations on agricultural productivity in Charles probably stemmed first from the various kinds of soil in the parish and second from the characteristics and the quality of the ground in the lower end of York County. Most of the types of soil in the area of the parish today--Altavista, Dragston, Tomothley, Betheria, Izagora, Slagle, Bohicket, and Emporia--are either clayey or loamy. Water does not run off or drain very well from clayey and loamy dirt. Loamy soil has an intermediate texture, between that of coarse or sandy soils and fine or clayey soils. The characteristics of soil refer to features that can be seen, such as slope or stoniness. The quality of soil refers to attributes such as fertility, productivity, and erodibility that can be inferred from the characteristics and behavior of the soil. United States Government, Soil, pp. 761, 767.

The locations of productive and unproductive fields, pastures, woodlands, swamps, and marshes produced three main agricultural sections in Charles: (1) the waterfront property along the New Poquoson and the Old Poquoson rivers and the larger creeks, (2) the ground in the interior portion of the parish, and (3) the stretches of land along the Chesapeake Bay that were known as Boar Quarter, the Islands, and Cow Island in the eastern portion of the parish. Economic distinctions among residents of the lower end of York County grew out of the differences in soil quality in each of the parish's agricultural districts and in an individual's ability to take advantage of the natural resources in the section of Charles in which he lived.

Initially, the location of property on a neck of land along the New Poquoson or the Old Poquoson rivers or one of the larger creeks in Charles attracted a prospective patentee because it gave him easy access to the water for travel, transportation of goods, and fishing.³⁶ Almost all of the patents issued to the original residents of the parish during the 1630s and the 1640s included acreage near one of the main waterways. The amount of waterfront property that a planter possessed varied in respect to the location of his tract in Charles. Many of the first plantations in the eastern end of the parish were 300 acres or larger. The size of the waterfront holdings decreased as one moved inland along the New Poquoson and the Old Poquoson. The tracts near the headwaters of the two rivers were long, narrow, and usually less than 300 acres in

Kevin P. Kelly noted that "in 1900 it was still common for farmers in that part of York County [Charles Parish] to have to plant corn in high ridges to overcome this problem [poor drainage]. Kevin P. Kelly, "Never The Twain Shall Meet," (unpublished paper, Department of Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1983), p. 9.

³⁶Grim pointed out that "since these necks generally have large areas of level land on the divides or ridges and moderately steep slopes, they provided ideal sites with natural boundaries for individual holdings and served as the basis for the subsequent settlement pattern." Perry found that the residents of the Eastern Shore patented the waterfront property first. Grim, "The Absence of Towns in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," pp. 43, 47; Perry, The Formation of a Society, pp. 28, 37.

size.³⁷ (Map 7)

In addition to acquiring land that had easy access to water, the men who patented tracts located along the rivers and the large creeks obtained some of the best farm land in Charles Parish.³⁸ The waterfront property was almost level, fairly well drained, and suited to both cultivated and pasture crops. Because riverside land drained more quickly and completely than the ground on the banks of one of the many inland creeks did, the residents who tended fields close to one of Charles's rivers or large creeks did not worry a great deal about the chance of the roots of their crops getting too wet. Only small stretches of land on the banks of the New Poquoson and the Old Poquoson were marshy and susceptible to tidal flooding. It is likely that most of the planters who tended waterfront fields had harvests of tobacco, corn, wheat, and beans that enabled them to make some money and to feed their families.³⁹

The majority of the seventeenth-century residents who lived along Charles's rivers and creeks concentrated their efforts on farming. Seven of the planters also set up stores near the parish's waterways.⁴⁰ Five of the merchants located their businesses on the south side of

³⁷See Chapter 4 for a discussion of settlement patterns in Charles Parish.

³⁸Walsh pointed out that the waterfront property in Charles County, Maryland, was the location of the best soil in Charles County. Kulikoff noted that the most productive land for tobacco was near rivers and streams. Walsh, "Community Networks," p. 201; Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves, p. 48. See also Hodges et al., Soil Survey.

³⁹Lois Green Carr noted that the irregular reporting rate of crops in York County inventories makes it difficult to tell which crops were being raised for market. Carr believed that tobacco was probably the main crop and that corn was grown for export late in the colonial period. Kelly commented that Charles's planters probably raised small amounts of tobacco. Carr, "Comparison of the Economy of Anne Arundel County with That of Other Counties," and Kelly, "Never the Twain Shall Meet," p. 10. For twentieth-century yields, see Hodges, et al., Soil Survey, Table 5.-- Yields Per Acre of Crops and Pasture, pp. 103-105.

⁴⁰Six of the men owned tracts ranging from Charles Kiggon's 100 acres to the 1600 acres in the possession of the elder John Chisman, and William Weatherall had use of his step-son's property.

Chisman's Creek and the other two were situated along the New Poquoson River. (Map 8) The men selected locations that were near the waterways and the main roads between York and Elizabeth City and Warwick counties so that it would be easy for customers to travel to their storehouses. John Chisman Senior and John Humphrey established their stores close to the mouth of Chisman's Creek during the first thirty years of settlement in the parish. Charles Kiggon's storehouse stood on the northern shore of the New Poquoson River during the 1650s. In the 1670s, two prosperous men set up stores near Chisman's Creek. William Weatherall and Edward Phelps had been involved in mercantile activities in England before making their homes in Charles Parish. Weatherall sold goods from his shop located on the land that belonged to his step-son, Robert Shield Junior, until his death in 1681. Phelps purchased John Humphrey's plantation soon after his arrival in Charles in the early 1670s. When Phelps died in 1678, his nephew Joseph Davis, also a merchant, spent several years in Charles while he settled his uncle's estate.⁴¹ In the first half of the 1680s, a man named Henry Jenkins rented, then owned, a tract of land near the public landing on the south side of the New Poquoson. Jenkins left the Charles Parish area soon after he sold his tract of land in May, 1685.

No other men opened stores near the banks of Chisman's Creek or the New Poquoson River to take the place of Weatherall, Phelps, or Jenkins. Shop keepers in Charles could not compete with the growing concentration of mercantile activities in the area that became Yorktown. After Jenkins closed his store in 1685, Charles Parish residents dealt with English traders or traveled to the stores of planter-merchants in

⁴¹The inventory of Edward Phelps's estate includes the items that were in his store at the time of his death. The settlement of Phelps's estate indicates that he had a number of customers in Charles Parish and in adjoining York Parish and Elizabeth City and Warwick counties. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (6) 111, 4 July 1679; *ibid.*, pp. 172-176, 3 November 1678.

Map 8
Location of Charles Parish Merchants
during the Seventeenth Century



- KEY
- 1 John Chiseman, 1635
 - 2 John Humphrey, 1650
 - 3 Edward Phelps, 1673
 - 4 Joseph Davis, 1679
 - 5 William Weatherall, 1673
 - 6 Charles Kiggon, 1653
 - 7 Henry Jenkins, 1683



York Parish.⁴² Men who lived along the waterfront planted a variety of crops in addition to their cash and subsistence crops of tobacco, corn, and wheat. Armiger Wade Junior produced brandy, nuts, and peas on his plantation on the north bank of the Old Poquoson River and his neighbors, the Robinson family harvested beans and peas. The father and son named Henry Hayward kept bees, made tar, and raised hops near Chisman's Creek.

Unlike the ground near the parish's waterways, the soil in the inland section of Charles varied in topography and fertility. The western portion of Charles was the location of the highest ground in the parish. The marshiness of the ground near the inland courses of the New Poquoson River made it difficult for planters to grow crops on the slopes.⁴³ If a planter who owned an interior tract was lucky, he had patches of prime farm land, such as that found in the parish's waterfront areas, mixed in with his less productive soil. The men who had fields in the interior areas of Charles grew the same crops that their counterparts tended on waterfront tracts in the parish. The difference was that in most cases their harvests were not as large and the quality of the tobacco was not as high as the crops that planters grew near the rivers and large creeks. The soil was particularly unproductive in two areas of Charles, along the headwaters of the New Poquoson River and near the center of the parish. It appears that

⁴²In 1687, William Pattison, the administrator of Thomas Platt, "did lay out in John Bankes store for Cloathing and Necessarys for the Orphts of the said Platt decd the sume of two pounds eighte shilling & seven penct ster." Pattison purchased goods from an English merchant who was in the Charles Parish area for a short period of time. A few years earlier, Pattison could have bought the necessary items for Platt's orphans from a merchant who made his home in the parish. Ibid., (7) 24 June 1687. See Grim, "The Absence of Towns," pp. 145-150, 152; and Anthony S. Parent, "'Either a Fool or a Fury': The Emergence of Paternalism in Colonial Virginia Slave Society," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1982), pp. 17-18 for a discussion of the changing role of merchants in colonial Virginia.

⁴³Grim, "The Absence of Towns in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," pp. 45, 47.

residents were aware of the poor quality of the soil in these two sections of the parish. Men did not take out patents on some of the land close to the inland courses of the river until the last quarter of the seventeenth century.⁴⁴ As a result, those who owned sections of less productive land looked for ways in which they could add to what they earned from planting tobacco and to make use of the available natural resources and their location in the parish.

The elder John Hayward arrived in Virginia with the financial means to establish a tan yard on his plantation in the western section of Charles by the time of his death in 1661. (Map 9) In January of the following year, William Calvert, who married Hayward's widow, Margaret, entered into an agreement with York County "that the Tanne house & pitts & other things appteyning shall be mainteyned & kept at his & their charge as the Countyes Tanne house & pitts for 7 years from this time....also to take all the hydes of the County that shall be brought him & allow for them according to Act of Assembly also to Tanne Curry & make shoes of the said hides & sell them at the rates appointed...."⁴⁵ It is likely that a shoemaker named Roger Long worked for Calvert during the 1660s. The first Henry Hayward took over the operations of the tan yard and made shoes after his twenty-first birthday in 1672. The elder Hayward employed one of his tenants, Thomas Floyd, as a tanner in the decade of the 1670s. It is possible that Anthony Watts, a saddler who lived near the tan yard, made saddles out of hides that were tanned at the Hayward's yard during the 1690s and the first years of the

⁴⁴Men who arrived in Charles during the 1650s decade took out titles on tracts located along the inland courses of the rivers. After the 1660s, the newcomers to the parish repatented plantations located on the New Poquoson and the Old Poquoson before they took out original titles on some of the inland property in Charles Parish. See Chapter 4.

⁴⁵York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (3) f. 145, 25 January 1661/2. See Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 2:123 for the 1662 act concerning the establishment of tan houses and Stephen Innes, Labor in a New Land: Economy and Society in Seventeenth-Century Springfield, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 81, 88-90 for a discussion of tan yards and tanning.

Map 9
Location of Chisman's Mill and
Hayward's Mill and Tan Yard

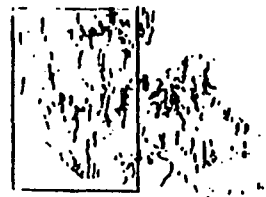


KEY

- 1 Chisman's Mill (also called Upper Poquoson Mill)
- 2 Gload Massey, miller, 1676
- 3 Hay's Mill (also called the Poquoson Mill, the Lower Poquoson Mill, Hayward's Mill)
- 4 Matthew Jones, merchant, 1687
- 5 William Cook, shoemaker, 1710
- 6 Hayward Tan Yard, Thomas Floyd, tanner, 1671, John Hayward, tanner, 1661, Roger Long, shoemaker, 1670
- 7 Henry Hayward, shoemaker, 1684
- 8 Henry Hayward junior, storekeeper, 1721
- 9 Thomas Wooton, carpenter, 1681
- 10 Anthony Watts, saddler, 1702
- 11 William Calvert, tanner, 1662

At Chisman's Mill:

- Thomas Chisman, miller, 1674
- Thomas Harwood, miller, 1679
- Samuel Snignall, miller, 1678



eighteenth century. One of Hayward's neighbors, William Cook, probably made shoes out of leather from the nearby tan yard.

The Haywards and Calvert were not the only enterprising residents of the western area of Charles. William Hay Senior operated a mill located on the headwaters of the New Poquoson River during the 1660s.⁴⁶ (Map 9) Hay left the mill to his wife, Bridget, and his daughter, Elizabeth, when he died in 1669. Bridget and her third husband, also known by the name of John Hayward Senior, sold her portion of Hay's mill to Edmund Chisman Junior in 1676. After the death of the younger Edmund Chisman in 1676, Thomas Harwood Junior, the second husband of Chisman's widow, Lydia, and Thomas Chisman Senior, Edmund's younger brother, disputed the ownership of the mill. York County's justices of the peace ruled that Harwood and Chisman were joint owners of the mill and ordered them to pay their miller "[Gload] Massey 2400 lbs of tobo six barrells of Corne & 2 kersey suits being for two yeares tendance of their mill as P agreemt...."⁴⁷ The Harwoods retained ownership of half of the mill until 1683 when they assigned their right in the title to Samuel Snignall who had married Hay's daughter, Elizabeth. The Snignalls owned the mill for four years before they transferred the mill house and the adjoining one acre of land to Matthew Jones, a merchant from Warwick County. In 1691, Jones assigned the mill to the elder Henry Hayward who supervised the operation of the mill, in addition to the tan yard, until his death in 1711. The sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of the elder Henry Hayward ground corn for York County and for their neighbors throughout the eighteenth century at the mill that came to be known as Hayward's Mill.

Thomas Chisman Senior assigned his half of Hay's mill to Samuel Snignall sometime between 1683 and 1687. It is likely that the elder

⁴⁶See Innes, Labor in a New Land, pp. 34-35, 81-85 on the importance of mills in colonial communities.

⁴⁷York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (6) 38, 24 April 1678.

Chisman relinquished his title to the property in order to concentrate his attention on the water mill that his father, Edmund Chisman Senior, had built in 1670. Chisman's Mill was also near the head waters of the New Poquoson River. (Map 9) It is known that Edmund Chisman Junior employed one of his neighbors, Thomas Platt, to deliver ground corn to customers in the upper portion of Charles in the mid 1670s.⁴⁸ The descendants of Thomas Chisman Senior continued to operate the Upper Poquoson Mill during the eighteenth century.

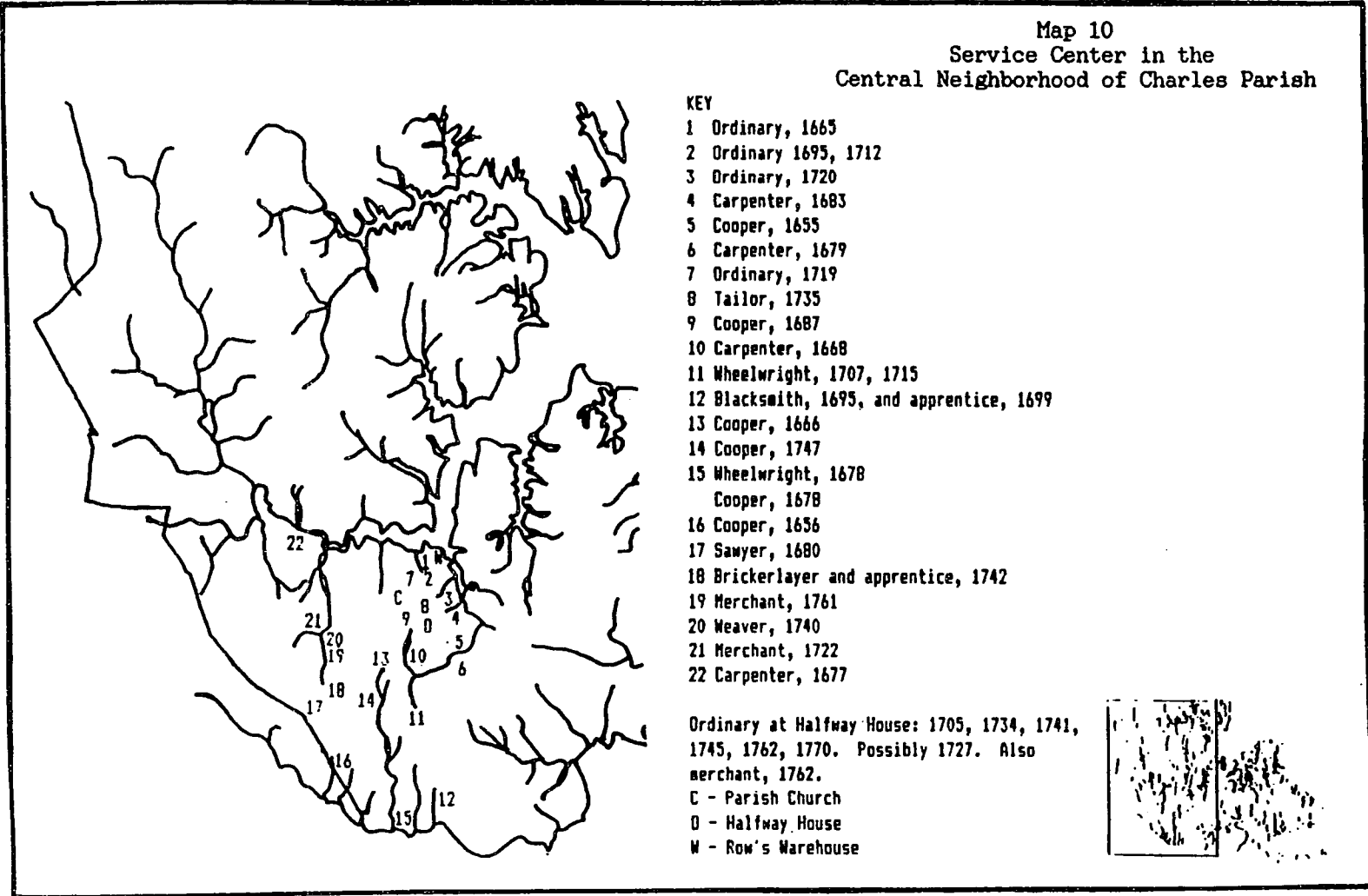
The enterprising residents of the western section of Charles Parish, John Hayward Senior, William Calvert, William Hay Senior, and Edmund Chisman Senior had the capital that was needed to establish and to operate a tan yard and mills, respectively, in addition to planting tobacco in areas of good soil on their plantations. The men who lived in the other interior area of Charles that had large patches of poor soil, the center of the parish, did not have the financial means that the Hayward, Calvert, Hay, and Chisman families had. Instead, the residents of the middle portion of Charles made use of their tools and the trees, both timber and fruit, that thrived in the marshy soil on their plantations.

During the seventeenth century, twelve of the men who lived in the central area of the parish were craftsmen. (Map 10) In the 1650s, two coopers, Alexander Hall and James Miller Senior, produced barrels out of wood from the trees on their property.⁴⁹ The following decade, another cooper, Henry Faison Senior, and a carpenter named Enos MacIntosh Senior established themselves in the middle section of Charles. A sawyer,

⁴⁸Edmund Chisman Senior paid 104 pounds for the construction of his mill in 1670. He made just over 66 pounds (after necessary repairs) in the first three years of the mill's operation. The cost of the mill was greater than the value of the estates of a number of Charles's residents. Ibid., p. 82, 23 May 1679; *ibid.*, p. 79, 13 November 1678. See Table 3.1.

⁴⁹The dates mentioned in this discussion mark the earliest time an individual is known to have practiced a trade in Charles Parish. It is probable that several, if not all, of these men began working at their trades at an earlier date.

Map 10
Service Center in the
Central Neighborhood of Charles Parish



three carpenters, two more coopers, a wheelwright, and a blacksmith and his apprentice also worked in the middle portion of the parish by the end of the seventeenth century. Two of the carpenters, Robert and Thomas Penrice, and a wheelwright named John Drewry Junior were natives of Charles. In addition to the craft activities, the elder Enos MacIntosh and John Hayward Senior began to operate ordinaries in their homes near the main road to Elizabeth City County in the 1660s and the 1690s, respectively.

Evidence from deeds recorded in the York County court indicates that several of the seventeenth-century residents of the middle section of the parish planted apple trees on their land. (Table 3.5) The majority of the developmental leases for land in the central portion of Charles required tenants to plant apple orchards during their tenure on the land. The orchards that leaseholders planted ranged in size from sixty to 200 trees.⁵⁰ After pressing the apples from their orchards, men could have stored their cider in barrels that nearby coopers made. The elder MacIntosh and Hayward Senior might have served mugs of cider that their neighbors pressed to the travelers who stopped for meals and lodging at their taverns. It is likely that the men who produced goods or provided food, drink and lodging did so as a means of supplementing the profits from their tobacco crops since all but one of the group of

⁵⁰The fact that most of the surviving developmental leases from Charles Parish are for tracts of land in the central section of the parish and date from the last third of the seventeenth century suggests that middle portion of the parish lagged behind the rest of Charles in agricultural development. The developmental leases required tenants to clear land and to build houses in addition to planting apple trees. Evidence from estate inventories indicates that residents in all areas of the lower end of York County produced cider during the eighteenth century. See *ibid.*, p. 203-204, 24 February 1679/80; York County Deeds and Bonds (1) 203-209, 25 September 1699; Kelly, "Never the Twain Shall Meet," pp. 4, 10; Lois Green Carr, Russell R. Menard, and Lorena S. Walsh, Robert Cole's World: Agriculture & Society in Early Maryland, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1991), pp. 35-36, 49, 66, 72-73, 96-97.

seventeenth-century artisans and ordinary keepers also owned land.⁵¹

Why did a small service center of artisans and ordinary keepers develop near the middle of Charles in the second half of the seventeenth century and continue to attract new craftsmen? First, the poor quality and low productivity of the soil in the parish's central portion pushed residents to look for a way in which they could add to their incomes. The planter-craftsmen and the planter-ordinary keepers owned the tools and utensils that they used to make barrels, to cut timber, to hammer planks together, and to cook meals. They did not have to make a large investment in equipment as the elder John Hayward, William Hay, and Edmund Chisman Senior did when they set up their tan yard and mills. Second, once a service area was established, it could be self-perpetuating. The business that the parish's artisans did with their customers encouraged other men to produce and sell agricultural tools, barrels, and wheels in addition to tending their tobacco fields.⁵² The elder Henry Faison had rented land on Calthorpe's Neck and Enos MacIntosh Senior had been a servant in Hampton Parish before they moved to the central portion of Charles where they worked as a cooper and a carpenter, respectively. Third, people who lived in Charles and the adjoining counties became accustomed to acquiring goods and stopping for a drink at a tavern in the area near the parish church. Although the middle section of Charles did not evolve into an urban service center as Yorktown and Williamsburg did during the last decade of the seventeenth

⁵¹Andrew James, a black man who received his freedom from his master John Griggs Junior, was allowed to work on his own as a carpenter while he still was a slave. In return for the privilege of hiring himself out, James was required to tend corn hills on Griggs' plantation. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (6) 117, 25 August 1679.

⁵²The location of craftsmen along the road (instead of near the rivers) is an indication of the importance of roads to Charles Parish residents, to the craftsmen, and to those in search of goods and services. Wheelwrights used wood- and metal-working skills and Grim noted that "it is appropriate to find these specialists at interior sites in the last quarter of the century when land transportation and interior settlement became more prevalent." Grim, "The Absence of Towns," p. 278.

century and the first quarter of the eighteenth century, it emerged as the site for the manufacture of agricultural products in the parish and it stood in contrast to the virtual lack of craftsmen in the rest of Charles Parish.⁵³

The amount of business generated through contact with neighbors and residents throughout Charles in the seventeenth century kept several craftsmen working, but it was not sufficient to support a large number of artisans. There was enough demand to keep a cooper, wheelwright, carpenter, blacksmith, and two ordinary keepers busy. In addition to being pushed out of the central section of Charles by a lack of business, it is possible that the chance to own good agricultural land persuaded some of the craftsmen to leave the parish. Three of the artisans moved on in search of better opportunities elsewhere: Andrew James (carpenter) left York County for parts unknown, John Hayward (sawyer) relocated to Maryland, and Thomas Hind (cooper) went to Elizabeth City County.

The craftsmen who made the central portion of Charles their home during the eighteenth century provided a wider range of goods and services to residents and travelers than their seventeenth century counterparts did. (Map 10) A tailor named David Cox, the weaver Robert Hay Junior, a cooper by the name of Peter Rue, and a bricklayer, the younger Samuel Spurr, practiced their crafts.⁵⁴ The business for

⁵³See *ibid.*, for a discussion of the evolution of service centers in Yorktown and Williamsburg. Jean B. Russo noted that artisans in rural sections of the Chesapeake tended to produce items which could not be imported--houses, barns, bridges--or those made out of raw materials in the local area--wool, flax, hides. In her opinion, two factors influenced the development of rural production: "the fundamental outlines of the craft sector were thus determined by the county's relationship to the international market and by the level of local economic development, rather than by the efforts of individual planters to develop self-sufficient plantations." Jean B. Russo, "Self-sufficiency and Local Exchange: Free Craftsmen in the Rural Chesapeake Economy," in Carr, Morgan, and Russo, eds., *Colonial Chesapeake Society*, pp. 431-432.

⁵⁴The bricklayer, Samuel Spurr Junior, left Charles Parish and moved to Williamsburg by 1750. Spurr acquired three lots in the Waller Subdivision from Benjamin Waller during the 1750s. The building boom in

ordinary keepers in the central neighborhood grew during the eighteenth century, perhaps due to the increased traffic between Yorktown and Hampton. Edward Tabb Senior, the elder Elias Love, and Benjamin Clifton Junior provided food and lodgings to parish residents and to travelers at an ordinary near Row's Warehouse. The elder John Cox, Plany and Mary Ward, William Franklin, Daniel Moore Senior, Augustine Moore, and the fourth Anthony Robinson operated the "Halfway House," a tavern named for its location halfway between Yorktown and Hampton. Cox, the Wards, and Franklin made their living as the proprietors of ordinaries in the central section of Charles. The Moores and the younger Robinson owned productive land near Calthorpe's Neck and probably looked upon the operation of the Halfway House as a way to add to their incomes and bolster their position at the top of the parish's social and political hierarchy.⁵⁵

Like the craftsmen, ordinary keepers, and cider producers in the center section of Charles, the residents of the parish's third agricultural section adapted their skills to the resources of the land on which they lived. The areas known as Cow Island, the Islands, and Boar Quarter bordered on the Chesapeake Bay, and water from the bay frequently flooded the low-lying land. (Map 2) The soil did dry out enough to allow grasses and hay to grow in abundance. Planters were able to raise crops on the land where the Islands and Boar Quarter met the rest of the parish. Geographic landmarks in Boar Quarter including tobacco swamp, tobacco ridge, and hogshead quarter indicate that men had some success in growing the weed in the easternmost section of Charles. There is also evidence that planters harvested corn from fields in Boar

Williamsburg pulled Spurr to this urban area from the rural area in which he had grown up. It is known that Spurr walled in the Bruton Parish church yard and received a contract to do the brick work on the Public Hospital in Williamsburg. Cathleene B. Hellier, "The Character and Direction of Urban Expansion in Williamsburg," in "Urbanization in the Tidewater South," pp. 68-87.

⁵⁵See Chapter 5.

Quarter. A section of land in the Islands known as Black Walnut Neck had some drier ground that planters used as fields for crops and as the location for their dwelling houses.⁵⁶

William Hay Senior recognized the potential of the Islands as a grazing area for cattle.⁵⁷ In 1662, the elder Hay purchased the Islands and rented out sections of the 1695 acre tract to tenants until his death in 1669. Successive owners of the Islands and Cow Island leased small tracts to men who tended herds and to residents of Charles who drove their cattle to the Islands to graze and to run. Isaac Emery, a former servant, herded cattle on a tract of land in the Islands for men who lived in the eastern section from the 1660s until his death in 1699. Robert Ross Senior also watched over steers belonging to other residents of Charles and had eighty head of cattle of his own in the Islands and Boar Quarter when he died in early in 1686/7. After the turn of the eighteenth century, it is likely that John Miller, who rented a parcel of land from the elder John Hawkins, herded cattle.⁵⁸ Beginning in the second decade of the eighteenth century, parish residents purchased or leased property in Boar Quarter because they could not gain possession

⁵⁶Nell M. Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers. Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants 1623-1666, 3 vols., (Richmond, 1934; reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, Inc., 1963), 1:81, 6 November 1637 (hogshead quarter); York County Deeds and Bonds (2) 400-403, 15 September 1712 (tobacco swamp, tobacco ridge). In his 1715 will, John Hawkins Senior referred to the place of his home as "the high land whereon I now dwell commonly called & known by the name of black walnut neck...." York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (15) 257-259, 19 May 1718.

⁵⁷Earle noted that wetlands, marshes, and swamps were good areas for grazing cattle. Earle, The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System, p. 30.

⁵⁸The senior John Robinson's 1687 will mentioned a heifer "running in the Islands" and in the same year, Edward Bridges Senior bequeathed his son Edward Junior two head of cattle "running at the Islands." Six years later, Francis Kniveton left his cattle "running in the Islands using John Ffiggs & Isaack Emoryes pennis" to his daughter, Frances Kniveton MacIntosh. The 1718 inventory of the estate of Thomas Nutting included his "Island stock" of twenty-four cattle. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (7) 321-322, 4 May 1687 (Robinson); *ibid.*, p. 307, 24 March 1686/7, and pp. 331-332, 10 May 1687 (Bridges); *ibid.*, (9) 343, 24 May 1694 (Kniveton); *ibid.*, (15) 163, 16 September 1717, pp. 239-241, 18 March 1717/8 (Nutting).

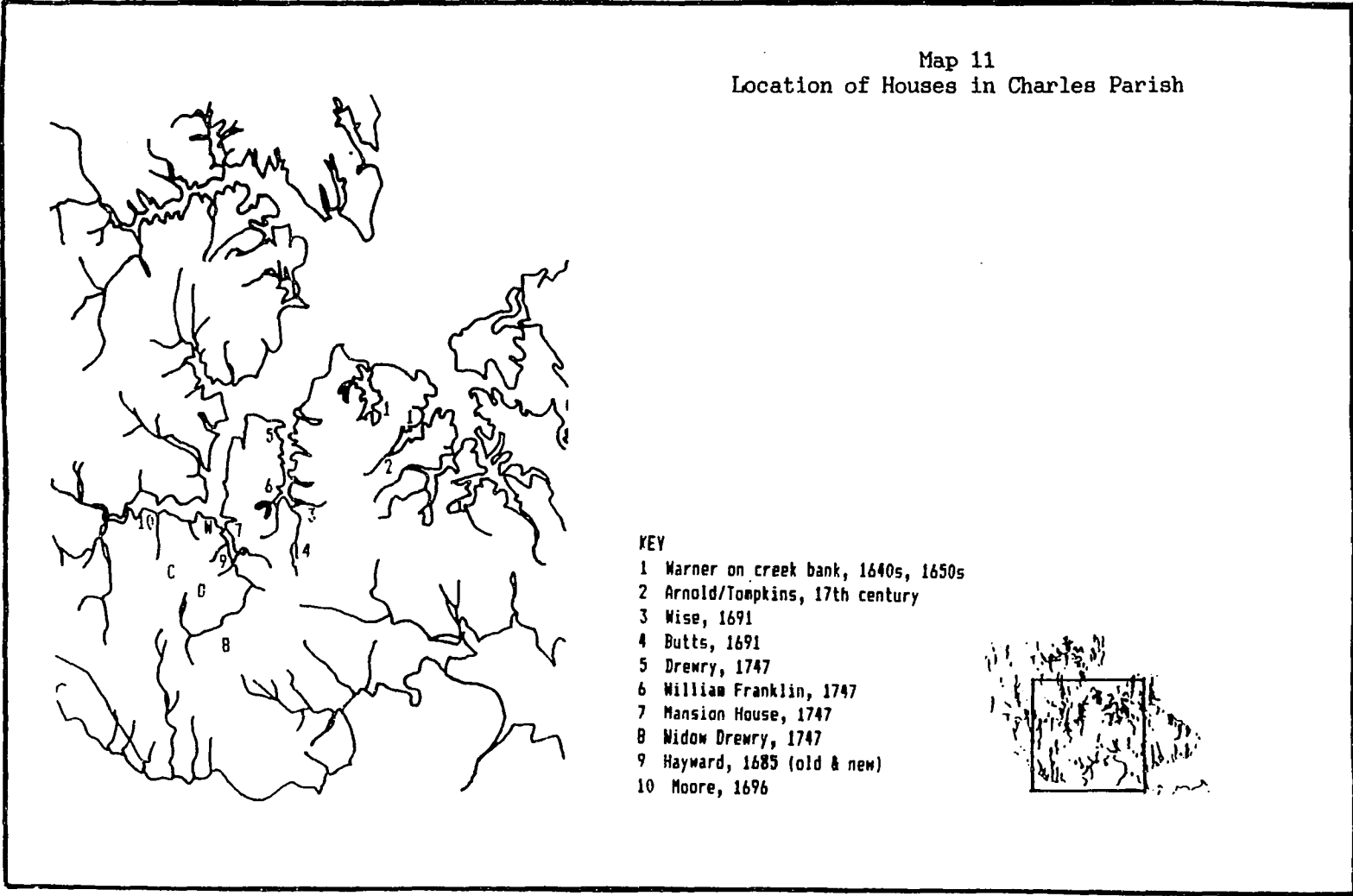
of better land along one of the waterways or in the interior section of Charles. The owners of tracts in Boar Quarter included the younger sons of parish residents and first-time landholders. Charles Powers Junior had twenty head of cattle on his parcel of land in Boar Quarter at the time of his death in 1720. His contemporary and neighbor, the younger Thomas Roberts, had forty-five steers, cows, and heifers in his pens. Both men planted some tobacco and wheat in addition to raising cattle, pigs, and sheep.

The three agricultural areas in Charles did not become distinct social sections for three reasons. First, most of the parish's planters had both fertile waterfront soil and unproductive inland ground within the boundaries of their property. (Map 4) Men tended tobacco fields and looked for ways to increase and diversify their agricultural production, whether it was out of necessity or it was a way to add to their wealth. Next, the system of roads gave Charles an internal focus even though the planters usually had their houses on necks of land near their fields.⁵⁹ (Map 11) The parish's topography enabled men and women to travel throughout the lower end of the parish, whether on foot or on horseback. Third, Charles's male and female residents chose to form friendship ties to contemporaries who lived within a mile or two of their homes. By the end of the seventeenth century, there were five neighborhoods in the lower end of York County.⁶⁰ Even though the three agricultural sections did not shape the social development of the parish's five neighborhoods, the quality of the soil affected the prosperity of planters and their families. The different levels of success enjoyed by Charles's residents can be seen in the size of the tracts in each of the parish's five neighborhoods and in the value and

⁵⁹Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia From Whence Is Inferred a Short View of Maryland and North Carolina, ed., Richard L. Morton, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Virginia Historical Society, 1956), p. 73.

⁶⁰See Chapter 4.

Map 11
Location of Houses in Charles Parish



- KEY
- 1 Warner on creek bank, 1640s, 1650s
 - 2 Arnold/Tompkins, 17th century
 - 3 Wise, 1691
 - 4 Butts, 1691
 - 5 Drewry, 1747
 - 6 William Franklin, 1747
 - 7 Mansion House, 1747
 - 8 Widow Drewry, 1747
 - 9 Hayward, 1685 (old & new)
 - 10 Moore, 1696

range of possessions in the estates of the inhabitants of the lower end of York County.

The Distribution of Wealth Among the Residents of Charles Parish

Wealth was not equally distributed among the seventeenth- and the eighteenth-century residents of Charles. (Tables 3.1a and 3.1b) Only thirty-six of the 161 decedents had inventoried estates that are known to have been worth more than £226.⁶¹ Thirteen of the parish's wealthier men lived in the area near Calthorpe's Neck, a section that had large areas of fertile land. Close to one-third of the decedents of the eastern portion of Charles had possessions that placed them in the top wealth category, an indication that their land might have been some of the best in the parish. Many of the men who made their homes near one of the main waterways in Charles had plantations that were more viable and productive than the farms in the central and western sections of the parish because the tracts were larger in size and the overall soil

⁶¹Appraisers did not include the value of the possessions owned by thirty-nine of the 200 decedents from Charles.

Men who valued estates in Virginia did not include the land that a decedent owned in inventories or appraisals. However, there almost always was a close correlation between the value of a decedent's personal and real estate. I deflated the total estate values of the inventoried estates to a constant currency and used Russell R. Menard's list of annual prices of tobacco in pence sterling to convert total estate values from pounds of tobacco to pounds sterling. Russell R. Menard, "The Tobacco Industry in the Chesapeake Colonies, 1617-1730: An Interpretation," Research in Economic History, V(1980):109-177, Appendix. See Carr and Walsh, "Inventories and Analysis of Wealth and Consumption," on the need to use deflators.

It was difficult to determine where many of the Haywards and the Chismans lived at the time of their deaths because both families owned land in the area near Chisman's Creek and in the western section of the parish, near Warwick County. The elder Henry Hayward lived on a tract of land along the New Poquoson River, not near the tan yard, when he died. Thomas Chisman Senior also lived near the creek that bore his family's name at the end of his life. I determined the place of death for other members of the Hayward and the Chisman families from the residence of the appraisers of their estates.

quality was better.⁶² (Tables 3.6a and 3.6b) Profits from milling corn and tanning hides added to the wealth of the Chisman and Hayward families. The western and central sections of Charles had a small number of prosperous inhabitants. Craftsmen did not get rich from their work because coopering, carpentry work, wheel-making, and shoemaking required less skill than milling and tanning did and one's wages were not as high as a miller's or a tanner's were.⁶³ Isaac Emery did not become wealthy by tending herds of cattle on the Islands. In 1696, Emery requested that the York County Court free him from paying taxes because he was "very aged & decipred & hath sustained great loss in his stock being thereby reduced to poverty & incapable of maintaining himself by his labor...."⁶⁴

Charles's wealthy residents were able to diversify their agricultural and household production and to acquire additional labor sooner and to a greater degree than were the poorer residents of the lower end of York County because they had larger, more productive plantations. Profits from tobacco crops enabled the successful planter to increase the economic distance that already separated him from tenants and craftsmen. Information about the ownership of cattle, pigs, sheep, dairy equipment, gear for textile production, and labor from estate inventories provides details about the timing and degree of diversification in Charles Parish.

Appraisers noted the ownership of cattle by Charles's decedents beginning in the 1650s, and over eighty percent of the 200 inventoried decedents had at least one steer, bull, cow, or heifer at the time of

⁶²The range of prices for land in Charles shows that there was some unproductive soil in the area around Calthorpe's Neck and Chisman's Creek and in the eastern portion of the parish. Improvements to land, such as clearing new fields or building houses, especially in the central portion of the parish, increased the price per acre when the owner decided to sell a tract.

⁶³Innes, Labor in a New Land, pp. 81, 82, 88-89, 103.

⁶⁴York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (10) 286, 25 May 1696.

their deaths. (Tables 3.7a to 3.7f) The proportion of cattle owners who had herds of more than thirty head grew from almost eight percent in the seventeenth-century to nearly twenty-eight percent after 1700. Over two-thirds of the wealthy decedents had large herds of steers and cows and three-quarters of the middling planters owned at least eleven head of cattle. Most of Charles's poorer residents acquired a cow and a heifer so that their families could have some milk and meat.⁶⁵ The herds of the less successful men tended to be small because it was difficult for the poor to feed a large number of cattle on their small tracts of land during the winter months and it was too costly to rent pastures on the Islands or Boar Quarter.

As Charles's wealthy planters increased the size of their herds after the turn of the eighteenth century, they were able to expand their production of milk, butter, and cheese. (Table 3.8) Just under two-fifths of the large planters had the necessary equipment to make dairy products as compared to almost one-quarter of the middling residents and less than nine percent of Charles's poor men and women. Almost all of the parish's residents limited their production of dairy items to what they needed for their families. The few men who had large herds of cows had milk, butter, and cheese to exchange with their neighbors who lacked the livestock or necessary pots, pans, tubs, and churns.⁶⁶

Beef from cattle was not the only source of meat in the diet of Charles's residents.⁶⁷ Men owned pigs and hogs by the decade of the 1650s and most decedents had a sow or boar among their possessions by the 1680s. Half of the poor planters had a boar or a sow, and those who did usually owned less than ten. At least four-fifths of the middling

⁶⁵Carr, Menard, and Walsh, Robert Cole's World, chapters 2-4, appendix 3.

⁶⁶Ibid., pp. 36, 38, 73-75, 95-96; Kelly, "Never the Twain Shall Meet," pp. 8, 10.

⁶⁷Carr, Menard, and Walsh, Robert Cole's World, chapters 2-4, appendix 3.

and wealthy residents had pens for at least ten pigs. (Tables 3.9a to 3.9f). The proportion of wealthy decedents who possessed more than thirty pigs increased from under four percent during the seventeenth century to twenty-six percent after 1700.

It was not common to find sheep listed in the inventories of Charles's decedents until the decade of the 1680s because of the large number of wolves in the area and the small number of cleared fields.⁶⁸ (Tables 3.10a to 3.10f) Only six men who lived near Calthorpe's Neck and Chisman's Creek owned rams, ewes, and lambs during the seventeenth century. After 1700, the ownership of sheep increased, but it never reached the level that the possession of cattle and pigs did. Just half of Charles's decedents had at least one ram or ewe, and less than ten percent held flocks of more than thirty head. As the number of rams and ewes increased after the turn of the eighteenth century, sixty-three men and women acquired the tools that enabled them to make yarn and cloth out of the fleece shorn from the sheep.⁶⁹ (Table 3.11) Items including cotton wheels and cards, flax hackles and brakes, wool cards, spinning wheels, and looms enabled individuals to produce cotton, linen, and wool. Slightly more than half of the parish's wealthy decedents were engaged in textile production. Thirty-five percent of the middling planters and one-sixth of the poor inhabitants, respectively, prepared

⁶⁸Gloria L. Main, Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 62-63, 72-73; Carr, Menard, and Walsh, Robert Cole's World, p. 51.

⁶⁹The York County records provide evidence that two residents of Charles produced textiles out of flax in the 1690s. In 1694, "Mr Thomas Chisman haveing presented before this Court a peice of lining cloath of the growth of his owne plantation in this county being made this present year by his family in his now dwelling house...." A year later, "Capt: Dannll: Taylor presenting before this Court a peece of lining cloth of his owne plantation growth made by his family in this County which by the Court being adjudged the principall best...." received the 800 pounds of tobacco for producing the highest quality linen in York County. The elder Chisman settled for second and third best that year. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (10) 56, 12 November 1694; *ibid.*, p. 231, 25 November 1695.

cotton, flax, and wool for spinning and weaving.⁷⁰

The acquisition of livestock gave a planter several ways in which he could diversify his agricultural production. A man who raised large herds of cattle, pigs, or sheep was able to provide his family with butter, milk, cheese, meat, cloth, and yarn and to exchange these items in the local area. However, if a man who lived in Charles wanted to increase the number of acres that he planted, the number of animals that he raised, and his wealth, he needed to have either indentured servants or slaves to help him tend his fields, herd his livestock, and make textiles and dairy products.

Just ten of the fifty-two seventeenth-century decedents and five of the men whose died after 1700 had indentured servants at the time of their death. (Table 3.12) Ten of the fifteen individuals who owned servants were either poor or middling planters. The prices of indentured males and females were low enough that residents from all three wealth levels could acquire at least one laborer for several years. Charles's poorer master planters usually had one indentured servant, and the number of a man's indentured laborers increased as his wealth did. The elder Christopher Calthorpe had nine servants who owed him time when he died in 1662. During the second half of the seventeenth century, two prosperous planters, Armiger Wade Senior, and his son, Armiger Junior, had six and nine laborers, respectively, on their plantation on the northern shore of the Old Poquoson River near Boar Quarter.

An indentured servant only provided a planter with an extra pair of hands for a short period of time and black slaves were a life-long source of labor. The parish's residents lagged behind their

⁷⁰Walsh found that by the 1750s, at least half of the inventories of tobacco growers included items needed to spin wool, cotton, and flax. In poorer and marginal areas of the Chesapeake, more than half of the inventoried households were able to weave cloth and to make yarn. Lorena S. Walsh, "Urban Amenities and Rural Sufficiency: Living Standards and Consumer Behavior in the Colonial Chesapeake," Journal of Economic History, XLIII(1983), p. 116.

counterparts in the upper portion of York County in the acquisition of slaves. Only by the last quarter of the seventeenth century when almost all of the planters in Bruton and Hampton parishes had switched to black laborers, did the wealthier planters in Charles began to buy slaves.⁷¹ (Tables 3.4 and 3.13a) The ownership of slaves was not common among Charles's better-off decedents until the first decade of the eighteenth century. Over eighty percent of the wealthy planters who died after 1700 had at least one slave. The proportion of slave owners among the middling and the poorer residents in Charles dropped to sixty percent and to two and one-half percent, respectively. The value of slaves, as given in the recorded inventories, was close to half of the value of a decedent's entire estate, an investment that almost all of the poor and many of the middling planters could not afford to make. The men who did not own slaves tended their fields with the help of their sons and sons-in-law. The inability to increase one's labor supply kept the farms of the middling and poor planters small in size, especially in the areas with unproductive soil. Residents of the central and the western sections of the parish tended to own a smaller number of slaves than their counterparts in the rest of Charles did. (Table 3.13b) In contrast, the planters in the eastern portion had the highest number of black laborers at an average of seven slaves per decedent. Slaves tended fields and fished in the New Poquoson and the Old Poquoson rivers and in the Chesapeake Bay for their owners.⁷²

Because the middling and wealthy planters of Charles invested a large portion of the profits of their tobacco crop in the purchase of

⁷¹Kelly, "Never the Twain Shall Meet," pp. 6-7, 10. The York County inventories do not always convey an accurate picture of a man's slaveholding because he might have bequeathed some or all of his slaves in his will.

⁷²John Parsons had a fourteen year old slave boy named Boatswain in August 1723. In his 1753 will, Parsons left his slave, Boson, to his son, the fourth John Parsons. It is likely that Boatswain and Boson were the same slave. York County Orders and Wills (16) 221, 19 August 1723; York County Wills and Inventories (20) 302-303, 20 August 1753.

new slaves and many of the poorer residents struggled just to make ends meet, the parish's inhabitants did not spend a lot of money on objects to make their lives more comfortable. Just over eighty percent of Charles's decedents owned a bed, an indication that they could afford to purchase a mattress and that they did not want to sleep uncomfortably on a dirt or a plank floor. (Tables 3.14a to 3.14c) The values of bedding and bedsteads in the inventories indicates that the prices of mattresses and frames were not very high, ranging from L1 for a cattail bed to L8 for a new feather mattress. The bedsteads cost between a few shillings for an old one up to L2 for a bed frame in good condition. The majority of the people in Charles rested on a straw, rag, or cat tail mattress that lay on the floor. Less than half of all the parish's men, women, and children slept on a featherbed that rested upon a bedstead. Among the middling and the wealthy planters, a bedstead was more important than a more comfortable mattress. The poorer planters were more likely to have a feather mattress that they placed on the floor of their small houses than they were to have a bedstead.⁷³ Most decedents did not own enough beds for each member of his or her family to have the privacy of sleeping by oneself in spite of the low cost of bedding.

Since many residents of Charles did not invest in good mattresses and bed frames to make their lives more comfortable, it is not surprising that they did not spend much on silver objects or a large number of books. (Tables 3.15 and 3.16) Just twenty-eight of the 200 inventoried decedents owned an item made out of silver, including fourteen of the wealthy men and women. Silver spoons and bowls were valued heirlooms in the Calthorpe, Chisman, Hayward, Robinson, and Nutting families. Residents of Charles also bequeathed books to family members. Close to fifty percent of the residents had the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer among their possessions. Only Doctor Henry

⁷³Many of the houses in the Chesapeake were too small for bedsteads. Carr, Menard, and Walsh, Robert Cole's World, pp. 102, 103, 109.

Andrews had a large number of books and titles in his collection of seventy-three volumes. For Charles's planters, the acquisition of livestock and slaves working in the fields and producing larger crops of tobacco, corn, and wheat was a better way to indicate their wealth and status to neighbors than the possession silver utensils was. Learning how to make use of all the land in their plantations, both productive and swampy, was more important to residents of Charles than the knowledge that they could gain from books.

In spite of the fact that planters in Charles Parish concentrated their efforts on increasing and diversifying the production of their plantations, they lagged behind their contemporaries in Bruton and Hampton parishes. In his examination of the intra-county economic differences in York between 1690 and 1709, Kevin P. Kelly concluded that it was likely that "there were two zones of agricultural production in York County at the end of the seventeenth century. In the northwest area, a large diversified plantation system was well in place by 1700. Planters there, employing slaves in large numbers, grew tobacco, grain, and grasses, raised large herds of livestock, and engaged in dairying." The same was not true for those who tended fields in Charles. Even though the planters in the parish tended to hold a larger number of acres than their counterparts who lived thirty miles up the York River and there was a greater percentage of freeholders among the white adult men in Charles than in the county's other parishes, the residents of the lower end of York County "seem to have been unable to translate this seemingly superior position into levels of wealth comparable to those found in the other parishes."⁷⁴ (Table 3.4)

During the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the wealthy planters in Charles caught up to their contemporaries in Bruton and

⁷⁴Kelly, "Never the Twain Shall Meet," pp. 4, 10, Table 1 "Regional Characteristics of York County 1690-1709." Kelly did not use a deflator when he calculated the figures in Table 1. This is not a problem because Kelly's data is from a short period of time.

Hampton parishes, diversified their agricultural production, and raised larger numbers of cattle, pigs, and sheep. It took several generations for the prosperous residents to accumulate enough wealth to purchase additional livestock, to plant a wider range of crops, to acquire the necessary equipment for dairy and textile production, and to buy slaves because of the large patches of unproductive soil in much of the parish. The poorer and many of the middling planters saw their fortunes improve slightly after the turn of the eighteenth century, but they were not able to expand and diversify to the degree that the Chismans, Haywards, Calthorpes, Robinsons, Moores, and Tabbs did.⁷⁵ The cost of a butter pan or a pair of cotton cards was small if a man needed just one of the items. However, the price of all the gear to begin to make milk, butter, cheese, or textiles was beyond the means of most of the less successful parish residents.

Charles was not "the best poor man's land" in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries. The unhealthy conditions in the parish improved only a small degree over the course of one hundred years. Men and women of Charles Parish had shorter lives than their contemporaries in New England and in several places in the Chesapeake. It was difficult for the less successful planters to improve their position. If they were landowners, their tracts tended to be either in the western section of the parish or in what the Reverend Joseph Davenport described as the "cheap Neighbourhood" near the church. Other men leased land near Calthorpe's Neck and Chisman's Creek from the Calthorpe, Chisman, and

⁷⁵Walsh found that the men and women who lived at the lower end of York County "accumulated the least wealth overall and there was a high proportion of poorer decedents...." She noted that the "differences between wealth levels in the three parishes diminished in the eighteenth century. Evidently planters in Charles Parish found ways, probably through increased agricultural diversification, to raise their levels of wealth, so that these became comparable to those of planters in Bruton and Yorkhampton parishes." Lorena S. Walsh, "Urban and Rural Residents Compared," in Peter V. Bergstrom, Cathleene B. Hellier, Kevin P. Kelly, Michael J. Puglisi, Julie Richter, Linda H. Rowe, and Lorena S. Walsh, "Urbanization in the Tidewater South: Town and Country in York County, Virginia 1630-1830. Part II. The Growth and Development of Williamsburg and Yorktown," NEH Grant RO-20869-85, 1989, p. 10.

Hayward families but never gained possession of their own property.

The different agricultural potentials of sections in Charles affected the wealth and opportunities for men, women, and children to improve their economic position in the parish. The next chapter in this study will look at the impact of the parish's physical geography on the pace of settlement and the formation of neighborhoods. In addition, the affect of economic stratification on the associations that residents of Charles formed with each other will be examined. A study of the ties among the parish's inhabitants will provide information about the reasons why a poor man would stay in Charles when he could easily leave by traveling on one of the main roads that passed through the parish.

PART II

THE FREE PEOPLE OF CHARLES PARISH

The second part of this study of Charles Parish focuses on the free men, women, and children who lived in the parish between 1630 and 1740. I use two approaches to learn about the structure of the parish community. First, I examine the associations that the residents of Charles formed (with family, friends, and neighbors) and the five neighborhoods that emerged within the lower portion of York County. Second, I look at four groups of free residents: the men who served their parish and county in official positions; the male and female residents who were not as successful as those in the upper level of Charles's social and political order; the women, both married and single, who made their homes in the lower section of York County; and the free black men and women who established a neighborhood of their own in the parish during the second half of the eighteenth century. A focus on status, gender, and race enables me to look at the different experiences of men and women, white and black, and at the ways in which power and the use of power shaped the parish community.

If one looks at Charles as a whole, the parish appears to fit the description of a single neighborhood because its small size meant that almost all of the men and women who made their homes in the lower end of York County lived within a five mile radius of each other.¹ The

¹Lorena S. Walsh, "Community Networks in the Early Chesapeake," in Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo, eds., Colonial Chesapeake Society, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1988), pp. 200-241; Allan Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1986), pp. 208-217; Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia 1650-1750, (New York: W. W. Norton &

topography of the parish did not present any barriers to communication. Inhabitants of Charles could travel along the parish's waterways and a system of roads and paths that connected Charles's residents with men and women in other areas of the parish and in the upper portion of York County.² In spite of the fact that people could and did travel between the various sections of Charles, men and women chose to concentrate their interactions within particular portions of the parish. A close examination of the associations of Charles's male and female residents indicates that neighborhoods emerged in the parish over the course of the seventeenth century. Charles's five neighborhoods--Calthorpe's Neck, Central, Eastern, Chisman's Creek, and Western--developed at different rates as a result of the backgrounds of the initial settlers, the topography and varying levels of agricultural productivity in the parish, and in the abilities of the residents to make use of the land that they acquired.

Governmental institutions provided the inhabitants of Charles Parish and of the Old Dominion as a whole with a second, more formal means of organizing their local society.³ There were three levels of

Company, 1984), pp. 53-59.

²See Chapter 3 for a discussion of Charles Parish's topographical features and system of roads.

³Several historians have argued that political instability characterized Virginia during most, if not all, of the seventeenth century. See, for example, Bernard Bailyn, "Politics and Social Structure in Virginia," in James Morton Smith, ed., Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1959), pp. 90-115; Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1975), chapters 11-18; Warren M. Billings, "The Growth of Political Institutions in Virginia, 1634 to 1676," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., XXXI(1974):242; and T. H. Breen "Looking Out for Number One: The Cultural Limits on Public Policy in Early Virginia," in T. H. Breen, Puritans and Adventurers: Change and Persistence in Early America, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 106-126.

Jon Kukla took the opposite position when he maintained that Virginia enjoyed political continuity before the Restoration. In Kukla's opinion, this development occurred because Virginians and their leaders wanted to create a stable society. James R. Perry found that the

government in the rural areas of seventeenth-and eighteenth-century Virginia: colony, county, and church.⁴ The hierarchical organizations of both the lay and the ecclesiastical governments were familiar to the residents of Charles Parish because they were adaptations of the systems that early inhabitants of the colony had known in England.⁵ Similar to their counterparts in the Mother Country, the men and women in this parish accepted a structured social and political system as being a natural part of life. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Virginians believed that men of the upper level of society should hold positions of power and influence.⁶

landholders on Virginia's Eastern Shore formed neighborhoods during the generation after the collapse of the Virginia Company in 1624. See Kukla, "Order and Chaos in Early America: Political and Social Stability in Pre-Restoration Virginia," American Historical Review, 90(1985):275-298; James R. Perry, The Formation of a Society on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1615-1655, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1990).

⁴The two chartered towns of Williamsburg and Norfolk had municipal officials beginning in 1722 and 1736, respectively.

⁵Donald G. Matthews, Religion in the Old South, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), p. 3; William H. Seiler, "The Anglican Church: A Basic Institution of Local Government in Colonial Virginia," in Bruce C. Daniels, ed., Town and County: Essays on the Structure of Local Government in the American Colonies, (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1978), pp. 134-159; Philip A. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, 2 vols., (New York: 1910), 1:484-646; and Charles S. Sydnor, Gentlemen Freeholders, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1952), p. 132.

⁶Roy Porter stated that in England "the social hierarchy was another basic fact. Few questioned that there should be aristocrats, and 'shopcrats,' nobility and 'mobility' ('nobs' and 'mobs'), lords, esquires, Mr and Mrs down to plain Hodge....Accent and idiom, dress, address, and addresses echoed status differences." A man's identity was based on his birth, property holding, education, occupation, and place in the social hierarchy. A woman's status was that of her father or her husband if she was married. See Porter, English Society in the Eighteenth Century, (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1982), pp. 30, 63-112. Keith Wrightson pointed out that according to men who lived in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the basic characteristic of their society was the high level of stratification and inequality. One's rank and status did not restrict an individual to his place in the social hierarchy because social mobility was another important feature of society. See Wrightson, English Society 1580-1680, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1982), pp. 17-38, 140, 148, 180, 222-228. See also Peter Laslett, The World We Have Lost, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965), pp. 22-52.

For the residents of Charles, the most significant level of government was the York County Court and the parish vestry, not the General Assembly. The men who sat as members of the county bench or who served Charles as constables, surveyors of the highways, and vestrymen played a visible, influential part in the lives of the men, women, and children who lived near them. Justices of the peace conducted the business of the local court and represented their neighbors in court cases. The parish leaders enforced standards of moral behavior and kept an eye out for those who did not attend church services on a regular basis. The constables helped the county sheriff to maintain the peace, and the surveyors of the highways made sure that their neighbors could travel on the roads within their precinct and Charles as a whole.

Although the majority of the leaders from Charles were not part of the colony's gentry, they did occupy the top level of the parish's social order.⁷ Men and women of lower standing in the parish deferred

Rhys Isaac described the role of the county court and the gentry in Virginia's social hierarchy in The Transformation of Virginia 1740-1790, (Chapel Hill: The University Press of North Carolina for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1982), pp. 88-94, 104-115. See also Jack P. Greene, "Society, Ideology, and Politics: An Analysis of the Political Culture of Mid-Eighteenth-Century Virginia," in Jack P. Greene, Richard L. Bushman, and Michael Kammen, Society, Freedom, and Conscience: The Coming of the Revolution in Virginia, Massachusetts, and New York, ed. Richard M. Jellison, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1976), pp. 22, 23, 34.

⁷For a description of Virginia's gentry see Louis B. Wright, The First Gentlemen of Virginia: Intellectual Qualities of the Early Colonial Ruling Class, (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1940); Jackson Turner Main, "The One Hundred," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., XI(1954):354-384; idem., The Social Structure of Revolutionary America, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965); Daniel Blake Smith, Inside the Great House: Planter Family Life in Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Society, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1980); Isaac, The Transformation of Virginia.

The work of social historians has provided additional evidence of the middling and humble origins of some county leaders in the Chesapeake region during the seventeenth century. See for example, Lorena S. Walsh, "Charles County, Maryland, 1658-1705: A Study of Chesapeake Social and Political Structure," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1977), chapters 6 and 7; David W. Jordan, "Political Stability and the Emergence of a Native Elite in Maryland," in Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, eds., The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society & Politics, (Chapel Hill: The University

to their local leaders in political matters. During the seventeenth century, it was common for the poorer and middling planters in Charles to ask the prominent men in their neighborhoods to appear in court in their behalf. This practice indicates that males and females believed that a man of a higher social and political standing was more capable of arguing their case than they were themselves. Residents of Charles also turned to the prominent men in their parish when they needed help in local matters. During the September 1701 meeting of the York County court, Thomas Chisman Senior appeared before the justices of the peace "in behalf of himself & neighbours by his peticon haveing made complt to this ct agt James Blaxton for stoping up the ancient road that have been made for several years amongst them to pass and repass from one to another about their lawfull accassions & the sd Blaxton haveing made a new road over mill swamp wch in winter is neither passable for man nor horse...." Chisman's neighbors believed that he could do a better job of persuading Blackstone to clear the road than they could on their own. It is likely that Blackstone cleaned up the old road before the York County court met the following month because Chisman dropped the case against him.⁸

The relationship between the men who held prominent positions and the rest of the residents of Charles Parish resembled that of a group of "patrons" and their "clients."⁹ In 1756, Samuel Johnson defined a

of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1979), pp. 243-273; Carole Shamas, "English-Born and Creole Elites in Turn-of-the-Century Virginia," in *ibid.*, pp. 274-296.

⁸York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (11) 488, 24 September 1701; 516, 24 October 1701.

⁹The label of "cavalier" does not fit the local leaders of Charles Parish. Only two families, the Calthorpes and the Chismans, were part of the English gentry class, and they emigrated before the tensions between the Crown and Parliament developed. A large number of the early settlers of Charles arrived in Virginia before the middle of the 1640s. For discussion of the place of the "cavalier tradition" in the history of Virginia, see Richard L. Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2 vols., (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Virginia Historical Society, 1960), 1:166-168; Wesley Frank Craven, *The Southern Colonies in*

patron as one who approved, supported, or protected another. Johnson's contemporaries also used the term "steward" to refer to a man who managed the affairs of others and who often served in official positions. A client was one who turned to a superior for advice, protection, and assistance.¹⁰ Jack P. Greene noted that the role of patron or steward had another dimension to colonial Virginians. For these men and women, part of leadership "was the commitment to the notion built into the concept of stewardship that it was not merely the right but the duty of the social and economic leaders of society to exercise the responsibilities of government...not primarily to secure the relatively small tangible economic rewards they derived from their efforts but rather to fulfill the deep sense of public responsibility thrust upon them by their position in society."¹¹ The tie between patrons and their clients was reciprocal in nature. Both the local

the Seventeenth Century 1607-1689, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949), p. 247; Carl Bridenbaugh, Myths & Realities: Societies of the Colonial South, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1952), p. 12; David Hackett Fischer, Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 207-225; idem., "Albion and the Critics: Further Evidence and Reflection," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., XLVIII(1991):286; James Horn, "Cavalier Culture? The Social Development of Colonial Virginia," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., XLVIII(1991):240-241. William R. Taylor placed the cavalier in a broader context in his book, Cavalier & Yankee: The Old South and American National Character, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1957).

¹⁰Samuel Johnson, A Dictionary of the English Language, (London, 1755; reprint, London: Times Books Limited, 1979); Mary S. Gwaltney, "Image and Performance: Gentry Stewardship in York County, Virginia, 1715 to 1745," (unpublished paper, 1984).

¹¹Greene, "Society, Ideology, and Politics," p. 29. When faced with the task of selecting new members of the county bench, York's justices of the peace met "& taking into your serious consideration the great abilities required in & trust committed to the sd. for Commissioner..." chose Nathaniel Bacon and George Reade. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (4) 157, 18 October 1667.

Stephen Innes noted that "the patron-client relationship harkened back to the manor by its emphasis on person-to-person ties, but even more it anticipated the triumph of contractualism and the cash nexus by its preeminently economic nature. Patron-client ties occupied the middle ground between feudalism and capitalism..." Stephen Innes, Labor in a New Land: Economy and Society in Seventeenth-Century Springfield, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 18.

leaders of Charles and the rest of people who lived in the parish depended upon each other. Once a Charles Parish man was in office, he had to use his power wisely and fairly if he wanted to retain the respect of the humble inhabitants of his neighborhood and parish and to continue to exercise the duties of his position. The residents of the lower portions of Charles's hierarchical society, free men and women, white and black, counted on the individuals who had political influence to be capable and diligent.

In February 1727/8, Governor William Gooch described the qualities and behavior of responsible officials when he reminded members of the House of Burgesses that

as the Laws of our Country are the measure of our Civil duty, I shall think it particularly incumbent upon me to see them put in strict Execution. To the due observance of these all Ranks & Conditions of Men are to look upon themselves as equally obliged: and 'tis to these we owe both the preservation of public Peace, and the security of private Prosperity.

But, besides these obligations, which are strictly legal, and may be enforced by just authority, there are also Duties & Virtues of a social Nature, which, tho greatly tending to the welfare of Communities are not directly the matter of human Laws: such as Civility & good Nature Hospitality & good Neighbourhood and all that mutual Affection which tends to the enlarging improving & securing a friendly Intercourse and Correspondence between Man & Man: I mention this with the greater pleasure, not for their importance only, but because by all I have yet heard, or seen, I am rather to request their continuance, than recommend their practice.¹²

All officeholders, not just the Burgesses, had both legal and civil duties to perform. A look at the ways in which Charles's leaders used their power and authority provides information about the role that the men at the top of the social and political ladder played in the development of the parish and the place that poorer men, women, and free blacks had in the lower end of York County.

¹²H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses, 13 vols., (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1910), (1727-1734, 1736-1740), p. 4.

CHAPTER 4

THE NEIGHBORHOODS OF CHARLES PARISH

Charles's physical geography and demography had an impact on the pace of settlement, the formation of neighborhoods within the parish community during the seventeenth century, and the relationships that joined the inhabitants to one another. Planters who had fertile soil within the bounds of their plantations or the money to set up a mill or a tan yard were more likely to stay in Charles Parish than were the men who planted small, unproductive tracts of land. Settlers who arrived in the lower portion of York County with kin or friends were more likely to make their homes in the parish than were the men who moved to Charles on their own. Many of the individuals who patented land along the waterfront areas near Calthorpe's Neck, Chisman's Creek, and the eastern portion of the parish during the first thirty years of settlement stayed in Charles and established family and friendship ties to others in their neighborhoods. In contrast, a majority of the initial residents of the central and western districts moved on to other areas of Virginia and Maryland after a short period of time in Charles. From the 1630s to the early 1660s, the migration out of the parish made it more difficult for the men and women in the middle and westernmost sections to come to know their neighbors. In the second quarter of the eighteenth century, opportunities in the county's two urban areas, Yorktown and Williamsburg, and the chance to acquire land in the Piedmont and in the Southside pulled residents in all areas of the parish away from the lower end of York County.

As in all areas of the early Chesapeake, the unhealthy environment in Charles affected the length of the lives of the men and women who

were natives of the parish.¹ The short life expectancies meant that a parish native could not always count on having a member of his or her immediate family or a relative to turn to in times of trouble. As a result, bonds with friends and neighbors were important to Charles's seventeenth-century residents. Because there was only a small improvement in life expectancies for natives born after 1700, the parish's men and women continued to place a high value on friendships and good relations with their neighbors. In spite of the fact that people could and did travel between the various sections in Charles, the residents chose to concentrate interactions within particular localities.

The continued reliance upon friends and neighbors set the residents of the parish at the lower end of York County off from the contemporaries in other areas of the Chesapeake. (Tables 4.1a to 4.1c and 4.2a to 4.2c)² By the early eighteenth century, inhabitants of Middlesex County, Virginia and Charles County, Maryland relied upon family members in time of trouble instead of their friends.³ An

¹See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the demographic characteristics of Charles Parish.

²The tables for Chapter 4 can be found in Appendix 4.

³In their study of Middlesex County, Virginia, between 1650 and 1750, Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman found that there was a maximum number of interpersonal networks in which an individual could be involved. Friendship ties were especially important in the third quarter of the seventeenth century because the high mortality levels prevented many men and women from seeing their children grow up and few individuals had many relatives in the local area. The Rutmans determined that in 1687 more than 50% of the residents of Middlesex did not have kinship ties based on family or marriage ties. In the early eighteenth century, family members began to replace friends in social networks and by 1724, more than half of Middlesex's families were connected to at least five other families. These two historians concluded that as familial associations grew stronger those based on communal bonds declined in importance. Lorena S. Walsh noticed that a similar shift from friends to family members in associations took place in Charles County, Maryland. She observed that an improvement in demographic conditions at the end of the seventeenth century resulted in a greater attachment to family members, and possibly an extension of social networks to include kin who lived in other counties. These changes indicated that the neighborhood and community had declined in importance by the last decade of the seventeenth century. See Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County,

examination of the associations that residents of Charles formed between 1630 and 1740 provides information about the emergence of neighborhoods in the lower end of York County and the reasons why the parish differed from other areas of the Chesapeake. I divided the ties between social equals and between men in the upper level of the social hierarchy and the middling and poor planters into three time periods. The first phase was from 1630 to 1660. During these thirty years, the initial settlers patented almost all of the land in Charles and most of the residents who had not been able to acquire land or who wanted better soil and/or larger tracts of land had left for other areas of Virginia or Maryland. Between the early 1660s and the end of the seventeenth century, many of Charles's residents formed family and friendship bonds to those who lived near them. The final period, from 1700 to 1740, was a time when the parish's men and women maintained close ties to relatives and neighbors as Charles experienced social change from the out-migration of residents and an increased number of connections that joined individuals from one district to their contemporaries in other sections of the lower end of York County.

The five neighborhoods in Charles--Calthorpe's Neck, Central, Eastern, Chisman's Creek, and Western--developed at different rates as a result of the differences in the backgrounds of the initial settlers, the length of time that they made their homes in the lower end of York

Virginia, 1650-1750, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984), pp. 50, 59, 100, 103; idem., A Place in Time: Explicatus, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984), chapter 8; Lorena S. Walsh, "Charles County Maryland, 1658-1705: A Study of Chesapeake Social and Political Structure," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1977), pp. 244-305; idem., "Community Networks in the Colonial Chesapeake," in Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo, eds., Colonial Chesapeake Society, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1988), p. 225. See also Allan Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1986), p. 241.

County, and their abilities to use the land that they acquired.⁴ The Calthorpe and Chisman families influenced the quick emergence of the neighborhoods near Calthorpe's Neck and Chisman's Creek, respectively. Several men who had been neighbors in England and in the Elizabeth City settlement shaped the development of the Eastern district of Charles soon after their arrival in the 1630s and the 1640s. The central and western sections of the parish lagged behind the other three areas in the formation of social and familial ties because they lacked a group of permanent residents from all levels of the social hierarchy until the last third of the seventeenth century. However, by the turn of the eighteenth century, Charles had five distinct neighborhoods that reflected the different backgrounds of their residents and the various agricultural potentials of the parish. Between 1700 and 1740, the distinctions among the sections of Charles decreased as a result of the increased number of family and friendship ties that bound residents of the five districts together.

Calthorpe's Neck Neighborhood

Christopher Calthorpe, a younger son of Christopher Calthorpe, Esquire, of Blakeney, Norfolk County, received the first patent for Charles Parish property in 1631, nine years after his arrival in Virginia. By 1635, Calthorpe owned 1000 acres that he named "Thropland" after the family estate in England.⁵ During the 1630s, "Thropland"

⁴The names of Charles's five neighborhoods are not contemporary to the colonial period.

⁵Christopher Calthorpe's mother was Maud, the daughter and co-heir of John Thurston, Esquire, of Brome, also in Norfolk County. His paternal grandparents were Sir James Calthorpe of Stirton in Suffolk County and his wife Barbara Bacon. Lyon G. Tyler noted that the Christopher Calthorpe who immigrated to Virginia was the second son of the elder Christopher Calthorpe. Annie Lash Jester and Martha Woodroof Hiden stated that he was his father's third son. There is evidence that the senior Christopher Calthorpe matured between the time of his arrival in Elizabeth City and the time that he became a prominent official in the 1640s and the 1650s. In March 1623/4, George Sandys wrote that

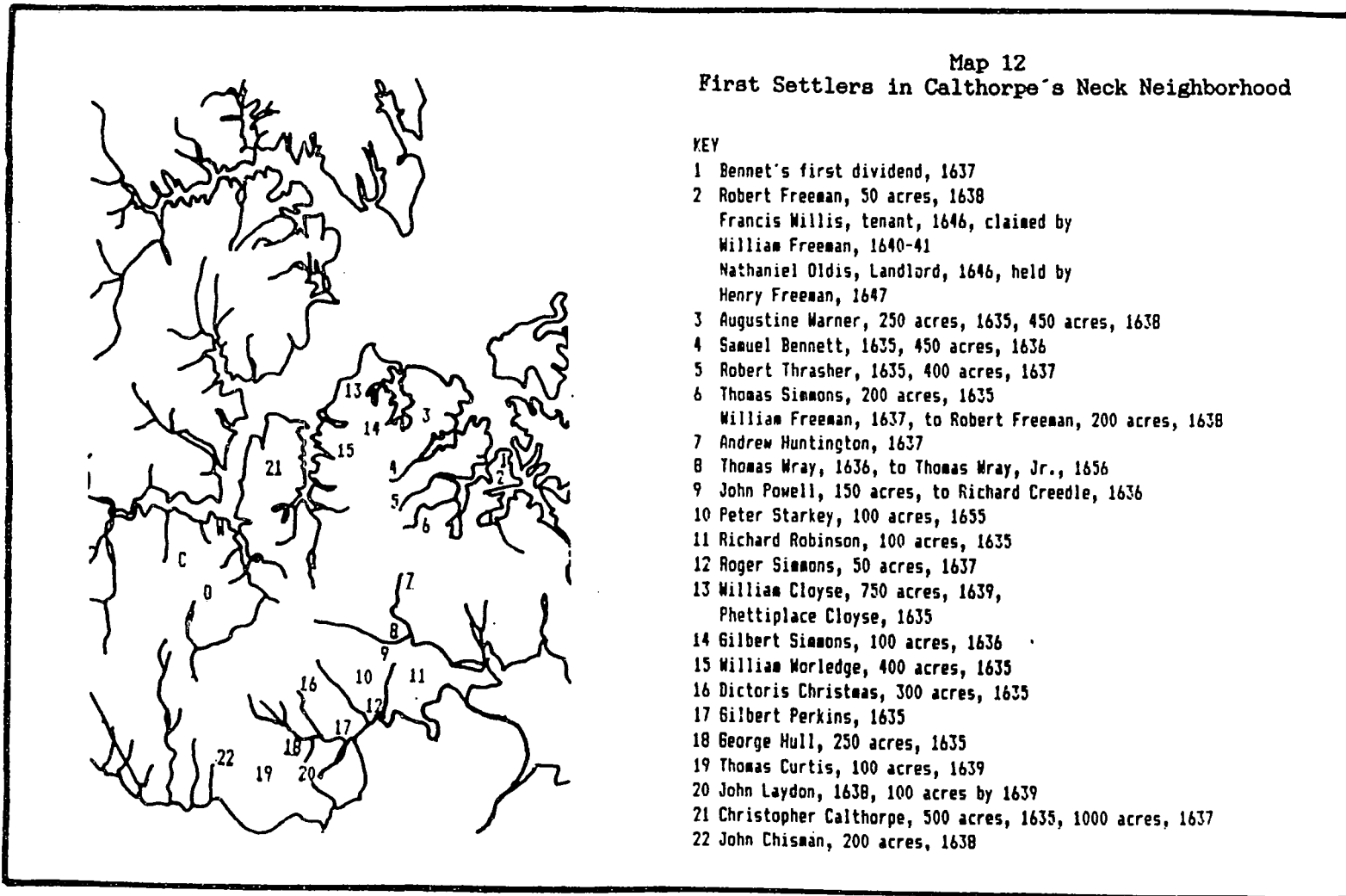
became the center of activity in the neighborhood because it was the first tract to be settled, it was the location of the parish church, it was close to Charles's public landing, and it was home to the section's prominent family and a number of tenants and servants. The Calthorpe family owned the land that the parish church stood on until Christopher's son, James Calthorpe Senior, bequeathed "two hundred Foot of Land Square forever, for the use of the Church where the Church Now stands" to Charles Parish in his 1688 will.⁶ The Charles Parish church building was on Calthorpe's Neck until the first decade of the eighteenth century. (Map 12)

Calthorpe began his officeholding career soon after he moved to "Thropland." The positions that he held indicated his place at the top of the social and political hierarchy in his district and in York County: justice of the peace, burgess, and colonel in the militia. Service as a county- and colony-level official pulled this prominent man away from the daily activities in the area around Calthorpe's Neck and

I used Mr. Calthorpe at his landing with all courtesie I could and brought him acquainted with the Governour. I proffered him the entertainment of my house and my own Chamber to lodge in wch he refused in that I was to bee but seldome there my selfe in regard of my almost daillie attendance at the Councel....I have given him from time to time the best Councell I am able; at the first he kept companie too much with his Inferiours who hung upon him while his good liquor lasted. After, he consorted with Captaine Whitacres (at Hampton), yet wheresoever he bee, hee shall not bee without the reach of my care nor want for anie thing that I or my credit can procure him.

It is likely that "Thropland" totaled 735 acres, not 1000 acres, because James Calthorpe's holdings on the 1704 Rent Roll included a 735 acre parcel and there is no evidence that the Calthorpe family sold any section of this piece of property during the seventeenth century. Lyon G. Tyler, ed., Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography, 5 vols., (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1915), 1:202; Annie Lash Jester and Martha Woodroof Hiden, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person: Virginia 1607-1625, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), pp. 113-114 (George Sandys to Samuel Wrote, 28 March 1623/4, p. 113).

⁶York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (8) 427-429, 26 May 1690.



pushed him towards county and colony business.⁷ His friends were social equals who lived in other sections of Charles, including the western neighborhood's William Hay Senior and the elder Armiger Wade from the easternmost portion of the parish, but not his middling and poor neighbors. Calthorpe had connections to the less successful residents of the neighborhood as a landlord and an employer. At the time of his death in 1662, his lessees included Henry Faison Senior, George Avery, Bennett Maddon, Thomas Evans and his wife, and the Dutchman William Arnold and his wife. In addition, he had nine servants--Humphrey Freeman, Thomas Wragg, John Hansford, William Orr, John Gillian, Thomas Hazelton, Margaret Fisher, John Vardneerin, and Walter Oliver--who worked at "Thropland."

The neighborhood's middle level included men who arrived in Virginia on their own, with their families, and as indentured servants. By 1635, William Worledge, a former servant of Mr. Francis Chamberlain; Robert Thrasher and his family; and Richard Robinson, a servant in Mr. John Banum and Robert Sweet's muster in 1624/5, held titles to land in Charles. The following year, Joan Bennett, the widow of Samuel Bennett, received a patent for 450 acres on the south side of the New Poquoson River. The Bennetts arrived in Virginia in 1622, and three years later they appeared as servants on William Tyler's muster.⁸ It is probable that Worledge, Thrasher, Robinson, and Bennett met each other in Elizabeth City and that friendship connections influenced where these four men chose to settle in Charles Parish. (Map 12)

In 1662, John Hunt Senior repatented the 750 acre plantation that had been William Worledge's. The elder Hunt probably lived near Calthorpe's Neck before the decade of the 1660s because he was present

⁷See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the authority of the various colony-, county-, and local-levels offices that residents of Charles Parish held between 1630 and the second half of the eighteenth century.

⁸Jester and Hiden, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, pp. 37, 54, 58, 63, 65.

at the December 11, 1644 wedding of Samuel Bennett's daughter, Hannah, and Abraham Turner. Hunt's neighbor, John Ensworth, was another witness to the Bennett-Turner wedding. Ensworth became the owner of part of the Thrasher plantation in 1652, the same year that Anthony Franklin Senior gained possession of land that Augustine Warner deserted when he moved to Gloucester County.⁹

The service of Hunt, Ensworth, Franklin, and other middling planters as constables and surveyors of the highways indicated their status in their neighborhood. The responsibilities of the local-level officials kept them active in the day to day affairs of their neighborhood and did not pull them towards involvement in county- and colony-level matters. The middling residents of the area around Calthorpe's Neck turned to Hunt, Ensworth, Henry Freeman, and Anthony Rooksby when they needed witnesses for deeds, deeds of gift, and agreements because the local-level officials were their social equals and had the real power in the neighborhood. They did not turn to Calthorpe because neighborly ties were reciprocal in nature and he did not interact with those who lived near him on a social basis. The men of the Calthorpe's Neck neighborhood called upon family members to distribute legacies and to settle any debts. Decedents bequeathed real and personal property to family members or relatives, and to friends if they did not have kin. (Tables 4.3a and 4.4a)

The majority of the individuals who settled in the area around Calthorpe's Neck during the initial thirty years of settlement made the neighborhood their permanent home. The productive soil, especially along the New Poquoson and the Old Poquoson rivers, and the size of the tracts helped to keep landholders from moving on in search of larger, more fertile parcels in other areas of Virginia.¹⁰ The first settlers

⁹York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (3) f. 159, 10 March 1661/2.

¹⁰See Tables 3.6a and 3.6b in Chapter 3.

in the area included men and women from the upper, middling, and lower social levels, and family groups and men who arrived in Virginia on their own. By the end of the first thirty years of settlement, the residents of the Calthorpe's Neck area had a neighborhood in which social equals could count on one another for assistance and friendship. The smaller planters and servants in the area looked to the elder Christopher Calthorpe, the neighborhood's prominent resident, as their landlord and employer. The wills and inventories indicate that some friends became relatives when the single men who settled near "Thropland" married the widows and daughters of their neighbors. By the end of the 1650s, marriage joined the Bennett, Chapman, and Tompkins families together.

Between the 1660s and the end of the seventeenth century, the inhabitants of the Calthorpe's Neck neighborhood experienced both continuity and change. The children and grand-children of the section's initial settlers lived on the plantations that had been in their families for several decades. Christopher Calthorpe bequeathed "Thropland" to his only son, James. In 1677, Anthony Rooksby gave 200 acres to each of his grandsons, Argall Travillion and Anthony Butts Senior. Two years later, John Hunt Senior divided his 750 acres among his sons John Junior, William, and Richard. Sons and grandsons followed in the footsteps of their fathers and grandfathers as local officials and jury members. John Hunt Junior, the elder Samuel Tompkins, William Arnold, and the younger Thomas Wray provided testimony in court cases; witnessed deeds, powers of attorney, and wills; stood as securities on bonds; and appraised estates. (Tables 4.3b and 4.4b)

The persistence of the initial settlers and their descendants made it difficult for former servants and lessees to become landowners in the neighborhood. Even though there were a few opportunities to buy land near "Thropland" and to move up in the social order, the divisions that developed among the inhabitants of the area near Calthorpe's Neck during

the first thirty years of settlement were not set in stone. The arrival of new residents in the neighborhood and the marriages between the children of poor, middling, and wealthy planters produced a changing social order during the last forty years of the seventeenth century. The fluidity did not add insecurity to the lives of the males and females who lived in the area near "Thropland" because both the new and the old relationships that bound the neighborhood's residents together grew out of family and friendship ties.

Connections to long-term inhabitants in the vicinity of Calthorpe's Neck made it possible for newcomers who had a commitment to Charles, the willingness to serve, and the necessary talent to become active in daily affairs of their neighbors and local government.¹¹ Anthony Lamb Senior became a part of the middle layer in the Calthorpe neighborhood in the decade of the 1670s. The elder Lamb benefitted from the fact that he counted James Calthorpe Junior as one of his friends. In addition, his second wife, Hannah, was the daughter of the elder Anthony Franklin. Lamb received an appointment as surveyor of the highways in 1679, the year of his marriage to Hannah. He also served as a witness to deeds and wills and as an estate appraiser during his lifetime.

In the late 1660s, another newcomer, Thomas Roberts Senior, married Constant Finch, daughter of Francis Finch, the man who built the bridge between Charles Parish and Elizabeth City County. During the early years of his political career, Roberts acted as a witness, security, and attorney for friends, neighbors, and relatives and held several local-level offices. The elder Roberts worked his way up to the positions of vestryman, justice of the peace, sheriff, burgess, and colonel. As the importance of his positions increased, Roberts's involvement in the affairs of his friends and neighbors decreased.

Thomas Roberts Senior became the prominent officeholder in the

¹¹See Chapter 5.

area around Calthorpe's Neck because the elder James Calthorpe did not follow in his father's footsteps. James Calthorpe Senior played a more active role in the day to day matters in his neighborhood than his father did, and he had friends who were from the lower and middling levels of the social order. He appeared in court to help his friends, Ollister Reho, one of his father's tenants, and Anthony Lamb Senior. Calthorpe appraised the estate of the elder Thomas Evans, another one of his father's lessees. The terms of Calthorpe's will showed his concern for the men who leased tracts of land on "Thropland." He gave his tenants "the first refusall of the plantacons they Live on att the yearly rent of five hundred pounds of tobacco & Cask, & fower dayes worke when their Leases are out, but for noe Longer time then my Daughter Barbary shall bee of the Age of twenty one yeares."¹² Barbary turned twenty-one in 1704, fourteen years after the probate of her father's will. The terms of Calthorpe's last testament gave the leaseholders a degree of security in their lives.

Two former servants of the Calthorpes established personal ties to the family. In 1671, the elder Thomas Wragg married his master's daughter, Eleanor, and they lived at "Thropland." The status of the Calthorpes did not rub off on Wragg or his son, Thomas Junior. Neither man ever served as an officeholder or held land in his own right. Thomas Hazelton fared somewhat better than the elder Wragg did. Hazelton took Eleanor Wragg's god-daughter, Mary Dunning, as his wife by 1689. He served on one jury and was a tenant of Anthony Franklin Junior in 1690. It appears that Hazelton felt that he would not have an opportunity to improve or maintain his position in the Calthorpe's Neck neighborhood. By 1694, Hazelton lived on a tract of land in the central section of the parish that he leased from Jane Cox.

The men and women who made their homes near "Thropland" saw the social divisions in their neighborhood blur somewhat over the course of

¹²York County Deeds, Orders and Wills (8) 427-429, 26 May 1690.

the last four decades of the seventeenth century as family and friendship ties began to include individuals from different social backgrounds. The poor and lower-middling planters had allies among the successful men in their district and James Calthorpe Senior participated in the day to day matters of the neighborhood with his friends and kept his distance as a landlord. After the turn of the eighteenth century, the relationships among the social layers shifted again as the successful planters expanded their involvement in day-to-day activities of their neighborhood. The increased localism of county-level officials reduced the part that the area's middling planters played in their section of Charles Parish as witnesses, securities, and estate appraisers. (Tables 4.3c and 4.4c) There were also changes in the personal relationships of the neighborhood's residents. The males and females who called the section around Calthorpe's Neck their home established closer ties to their neighbors and to the inhabitants of the two adjoining sections in the parish, the central district and the easternmost portion of Charles through the marriages of their children.

The greatest visible change that residents saw in the Calthorpe's Neck neighborhood took place during the first decade of the eighteenth century when the parish vestrymen decided to construct a new church building in the middle district of Charles.¹³ The relocation of the parish reflected the fact the focus of activities had shifted from "Thropland" to the lower portion of the neighborhood near the Old Poquoson River. The move began when Thomas Roberts Senior, not a Calthorpe, served as a county- and colony-level official during the last third of the seventeenth century, and became complete after 1700 when two of Roberts's neighbors, Thomas Nutting and Daniel Moore Senior, served as justices of the peace from 1699 to 1717 and from 1738 to 1761, respectively. Both Nutting and Moore moved to Charles as adults and

¹³See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the controversy among the vestrymen that stemmed, in part, over the decision to move the Charles Parish Church.

married daughters of successful planters. Nutting's wife Elizabeth was the daughter of William Booth and Moore married Elizabeth who was the daughter of Richard Sclater Senior and one of Nutting's granddaughters. Unlike Christopher Calthorpe Senior and the elder Roberts, Nutting and Moore witnessed documents, testified in court, and appraised estates for the men and women who lived nearby in addition to their duties as members of the county bench.

In 1718, Anthony Robinson Junior of the eastern section of Charles inherited 400 acres of land on the Old Poquoson River that was between Nutting's land and the property that the elder Daniel Moore held. Robinson's move from Charles's eastern neighborhood to the area near "Thropland" placed him in a spot where he was accessible to a greater portion of the parish's population and he could gain the attention of York's leaders as a man who was willing to serve in county-level positions.¹⁴ Like Nutting and Moore, the younger Robinson served as a member of the York County bench and helped friends, neighbors, and relatives who needed his assistance. During the second quarter of the eighteenth century, Robinson's plantation became a center for the exchange of goods and services.¹⁵ The names of men and women, white and black, successful and poor, appeared in the estate settlements of Anthony Robinson Junior and his nephew, the fifth Anthony Robinson in the second half of the eighteenth century. Members of the Robinson family did business with residents of all areas of Charles and the adjoining counties of Elizabeth City and Warwick, and the greatest number of customers were from the central and eastern neighborhoods of the parish.

¹⁴See Chapter 5.

¹⁵See Lois Green Carr, "Diversification in the Colonial Chesapeake: Somerset County, Maryland, in Comparative Perspective," in Carr, Morgan, and Russo, eds., Colonial Chesapeake Society, pp. 342-388 and Jean B. Russo, "Self-Sufficiency and Local Exchange: Free Craftsmen in the Rural Chesapeake Economy," in *ibid.*, pp. 389-432. See also Chapter 8.

The descendants of the elder Christopher Calthorpe and Thomas Roberts Senior were active in the day to day affairs of their neighborhood during the eighteenth century. Men and women turned to several members of the Calthorpe family--Charles Senior, James Junior, Elimelech, the third James, and Charles Junior--to provide evidence in civil court cases and to assist them as witnesses of deeds and securities. The elder Thomas Roberts's sons and grandsons frequently witnessed deeds, appeared to testify in court, and guaranteed the appearance of defendants in the role of security. The participation of the section's county-level officeholders and the descendants of Calthorpe and Roberts in local matters reduced the role that the sons and grandsons of middling planters played in their neighborhood. Samuel Tompkins Junior, Bennett Tompkins Senior, the fifth John Hunt, and Daniel Lamb Senior spent more time settling the estates of family members than they did helping those who lived near them. (Tables 4.3c and 4.4c)

During the eighteenth century, the descendants of the neighborhood's initial settlers married inhabitants of the area near Calthorpe's Neck and residents of the adjoining sections. Hannah Bennett's grandchildren had in-laws in the Turner, Chapman, Tompkins, Clark, Tomer, and Travillion families, all of the area near "Thropland." The descendants of Christopher Calthorpe Senior found spouses in the Butts, Freeman, Moore, Clifton, and Robinson families. The elder Robert and Rachel Hay's daughter, Elizabeth, became the wife of Armiger Parsons Senior, of the eastern neighborhood. Constant, the daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Tomer, moved to the central section where her husband, David Cox, kept an ordinary at the Halfway House Tavern. Elizabeth Presson left the home of her parents, John and Elizabeth, near the middle of Charles when she married the third Anthony Lamb. The men and women of the neighborhood tended to rely upon neighbors, not on relatives, even though marital ties linked many of the families of the

Calthorpe's Neck section to each other.

The eighteenth-century residents of the neighborhood around Calthorpe's Neck enjoyed a sense of security and continuity that had its roots in the family and friendship ties that the initial residents of the section established during the first period of settlement. The area around "Thropland" developed into a neighborhood because the residents established neighborly ties to social equals and deferential connections between a landlord and his tenants. Over the course of the seventeenth century, the lines between social layers blurred as a result of marriages between the children of wealthy planters and the sons and daughters of their less successful contemporaries. It was easier for newcomers from all social levels to become active in the neighborhood if they married into families that had been in the Calthorpe's Neck area for a generation or longer.

After the turn of the eighteenth century, the men who served on the York County bench and the descendants of Calthorpe and Roberts participated in the day-to-day affairs and in the settlement of estates. This change indicated a shift in the local power from the middling planters who filled local-level positions into the hands of the county-level officials who lived near the banks of the Old Poquoson River. The increased localism of the neighborhood's wealthy residents further reduced the social distance among inhabitants of the area around Calthorpe's Neck. The marriages of the district's young men and women to contemporaries in the parish's other neighborhoods and the emergence of the Robinson family plantation as an exchange center gave the residents of Calthorpe's Neck connections to people throughout Charles. In spite of an increased number of family ties, the men and women who lived near "Thropland" continued to depend upon those who lived near them as the first settlers of the neighborhood had done in the 1630s.

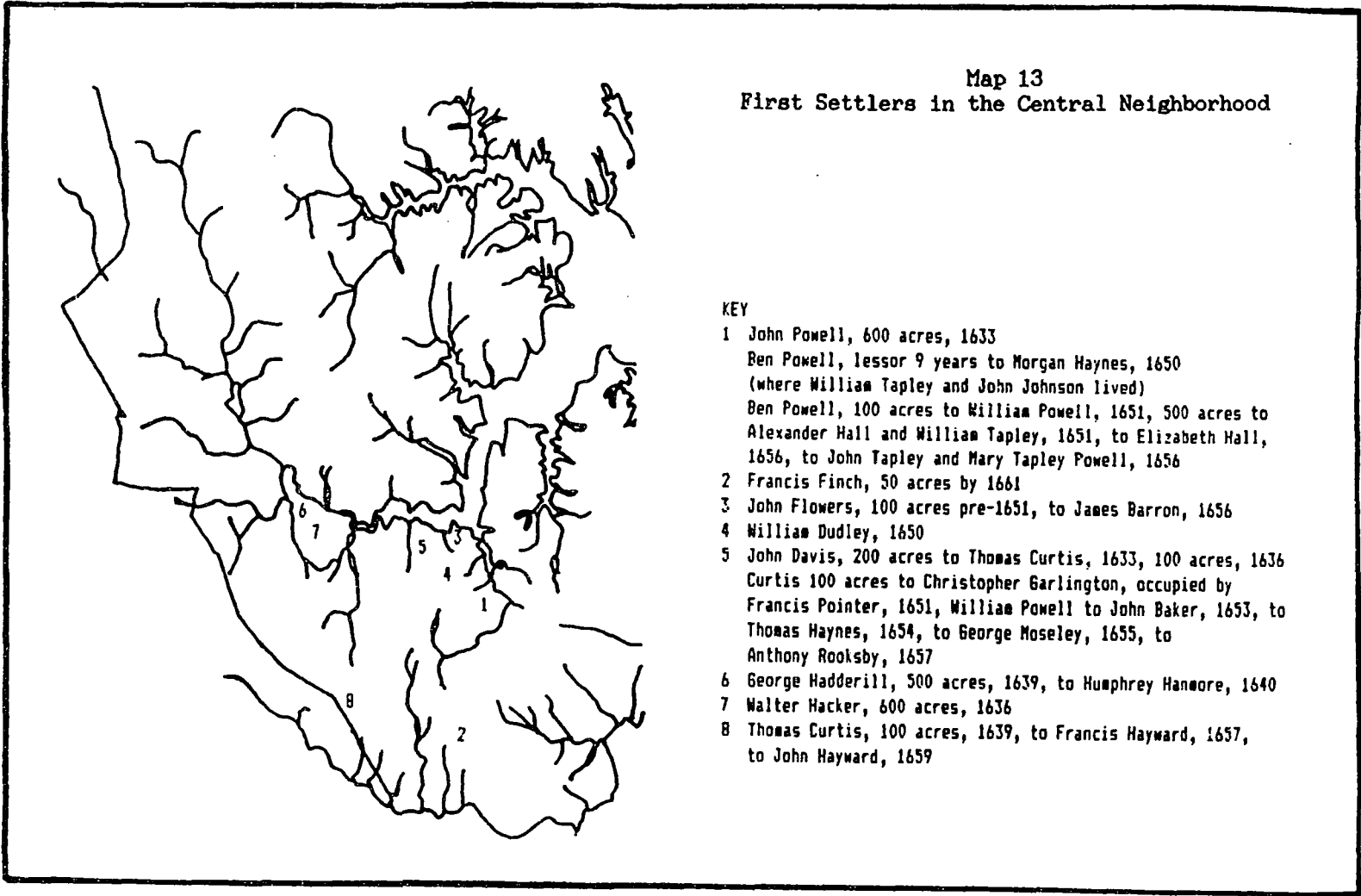
Central Neighborhood

Unlike the first inhabitants of the Calthorpe's Neck neighborhood, most of the initial residents of the parish's central section arrived in the lower end of York County without ties to family, friends, or other settlers. John Powell, who had been a resident of the Elizabeth City settlement since 1609, his wife Katherine, and their children and the elder Robert Draper, who was listed as a servant in the 1624/5 muster of Elizabeth City's Mr. John Banum and Robert Sweet, were the exceptions. None of the other initial patentees of land in the middle portion of Charles appeared on the 1624/5 muster. This indicates that the central area's early landholders arrived in Virginia after 1625 and that they were less likely than the individuals who had been in the colony for several years to have friendship or family connections to other settlers.¹⁶

Only a small number of the initial residents spent more than ten years in Charles's middle section. The steady turnover that characterized the first thirty years of settlement in the central district of the parish can be traced to two related factors. First, the quality of much of the soil in the central neighborhood was poor. The planters realized that much of the ground in the central area was not productive, and several of the tracts in the section remained unclaimed until the decade of the 1680s. (Map 13) Both landowners and leaseholders moved to areas where they could acquire property that was of a higher quality than that they left behind.¹⁷ Henry Faison Senior's

¹⁶Jester and Hiden, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, pp. 50-51, 54. Irene W. D. Hecht found that only fifty-six individuals in Virginia in 1624/5 are known to have arrived in the colony as part of a family group (forty-four husbands and wives; eight husbands, wives and children; and four mothers and children). She noted that at least 51.9% (and possibly as many as 75.5%) of the children were fourteen years and under and had been born in Virginia. This indicates that men and women formed families after they moved to Virginia. Irene Hecht, "The Virginia Muster of 1624/5 As a Source for Demographic History," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, XXX(1973):72, 83.

¹⁷Instead of remaining in the older Tidewater section of the colony, several of the men who held land in the central neighborhood of Charles moved on northward and westward and became the owners of productive



1666 patent for 214 acres was the first tract in the middle district that stayed in one family for more than two generations.¹⁸ Second, the mobility of the central area's first residents made it difficult for men and women to become friends with their neighbors. The small number of attachments that settlers felt to the middle section of Charles probably made it easier for many landowners and tenants to leave the area after a short length of time.

The associations that residents had with each other also reflected the impermanent character of the parish's middle section during the initial period of settlement. The high turnover rate of the central district's population reduced the possibilities that a man could call on a neighbor more than once to serve as a witness or a security. Edmund Watts, the parish clerk, was the only individual who had more than one association with any of his neighbors. Watts's residence in the lower end of York County from 1647 until his death in 1676 and his service as parish clerk led to residents turning to him when they needed someone to witness a deed or a will. (Tables 4.5a and 4.6a)

There were a small number of the central district's male inhabitants who found women to marry and raised children. The few

waterfront property in Gloucester, New Kent, Lancaster, and Middlesex counties. It is likely that settlers patented the inland areas in the older section of the colony as a whole and in Charles's central neighborhood after the waterfront land in other counties had been claimed. See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the quality of soil in the central section of Charles Parish. Kevin P. Kelly observed a similar pattern in Surry County, Virginia. Kevin P. Kelly, Economic and Social Development of Seventeenth-Century Surry County, Virginia, (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1988).

¹⁸Benjamin and William Powell inherited 600 acres from their father, John Powell. In 1650, Benjamin Powell leased the one hundred acres where William Tapley and John Johnson lived to Morgan Haynes for a nine-year term. Three years later, William Powell sold John Baker a one hundred acre tract. This parcel of land had been held by Christopher Garlington and Francis Pointer was the occupant in 1651. Baker held the land for a year and then sold it to Thomas Haynes. In 1655, Haynes transferred title to George Moseley who held the parcel for two years until he moved to Gloucester County. The next owner was Anthony Rooksby who made his home in the neighborhood near Calthorpe's Neck. Rooksby rented out the tract to tenants until his death in 1677. Tapley, Baker, and Rooksby were the only occupants of the two tracts who are known to have died in Charles.

marriages tended to be short. Some couples stayed in Charles. John Griggs Senior married Margery, the widow of Joseph Jolly, by 1652. Within three years, Margery wed her third husband, William Hay, a prominent resident of the western neighborhood. Margery died soon after becoming Hay's wife. Hay married his second spouse, Elizabeth, in 1661, and a third wife named Bridget by 1666. Other families left the parish's middle section a short time after the couple married. Elizabeth, the widow of George Tapley, became a resident of Gloucester County soon after she became the wife of Francis Hathaway in 1657. Mary Hayward remarried the elder Bartholomew Ennals two years after the death of her first husband, Francis Hayward Senior, in 1659. The Ennals family, including Mary's children from her first marriage, moved to Maryland early in the decade of the 1670s.

It would be incorrect to use the word neighborhood to describe Charles's central section during the first three decades of settlement. Most of the men and women lived in the middle portion of the parish for a short period of time before moving on to other areas of Virginia or to Maryland in search of better land. Few of the residents were in the area for a long enough period of time to establish family and friendship ties that were reciprocal in nature. In addition, the initial settlers included only middling and small planters. The section did not have any residents from the upper portion of the social order. However, several of the men who moved to the central district during the 1650s and the early 1660s decided to stay in the parish's middle portion with their wives, sons, and daughters. The persistence of a few families made it possible for the area in which they lived to start to become a neighborhood after the early 1660s.

During the last forty years of the seventeenth century, a greater number of men and women looked upon the parish's middle neighborhood as their permanent home because they made family and friendship ties to the people who lived around them. Marriage joined the children of several

of the middle district's early settlers. Silas Love Senior wed Elizabeth, the daughter of his neighbor Elias Davis, in 1672. The Loves lived with Davis, who was known as one of the "ancient inhabitants" of his neighborhood.¹⁹ In 1686, John Johnson Senior and his wife, Elizabeth, welcomed their first child. Elizabeth was the daughter of her husband's neighbor, the elder Enos MacIntosh. Three years later, another one of MacIntosh's daughters, Jane, became the wife of John Lewis who grew up on the land that his father, David Lewis Senior, owned near the "Damms" between Charles and Warwick County. The elder Lewis lived in the parish by 1653 and the elder MacIntosh moved to the lower end of York County from Hampton Parish early in the decade of the 1660s.

The central neighborhood's men and women turned to friends and neighbors, not kin, when they needed a witness for a deed or someone to act on their behalf in court. (Table 4.5b) It is possible that part of the reliance upon friends was tied to the fact that most of the relatives of the central district residents were too young to appear before York's justices of the peace. The middle district's decedents turned to family members when they bequeathed their personal possessions and chose who would administer their estates. (Table 4.6b) Men tended to leave their land to their minor children and to name their wives as their executors. The elder David Lewis and Henry Faison Junior appointed their wives, Mary Lewis and Ann Faison, to execute their wills in 1669 and 1698, respectively. Elizabeth MacIntosh handled the probate of her husband, Enos Senior's, estate in 1686/7. If these three men had had adult male children or kin, it is likely that they would have turned to them to fill the responsibilities of executorship. Decedents and their executors called upon their male friends and neighbors to serve as overseers, witnesses, assistants to widows, and securities.

Two residents of the central district, John Hayward Senior and the first William Wise, stood out because of the number of times that their

¹⁹York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (6) 257, 26 October 1680.

neighbors turned to them for assistance in daily activities and in the probate of estates during the last third of the seventeenth century. Hayward made his home on the tract where the public warehouse stood. Friends and neighbors turned to Hayward over fifty times even though he served on just one jury, never held an office, and possessed property that his wife Bridget inherited from her first husband, William Hay Senior. Hayward ceased to be active in local affairs after he leased the land he lived on to the elder Robert Hay in 1699. The location of his residence, the status he gained from his wife, and his willingness to represent friends and neighbors enabled Hayward to play an active part in the parish's middle district.

The elder William Wise also resided on a tract of land near the New Poquoson River. In contrast to Hayward, Wise served on twelve juries, including six sessions as the foreman of the jury, and held several offices including surveyor of the highways, constable, and York County bailiff. His friends and neighbors asked Wise to serve as an attorney thirteen times and York's justices of the peace appointed him to appraise twelve estates. Wise was one of the few residents of the parish's central neighborhood who was active in all the areas of public service: jury duty, officeholding, estate activities and daily court matters. Wise gained his place in the upper level of the social and political order through family connections. His first wife, Mary, was the daughter of Anthony Rooksby and the relict of Samuel Travillion and his second marriage was to Thomas Wray Junior's widow, Sarah. The matches also gave Wise ties to a number of prominent families in Charles Parish, including the Robinsons, Starkeys, and Wades in the parish's eastern neighborhood. Wise left the central district shortly after he purchased 200 acres that adjoined Calthorpe's Neck in 1691. Wise did not take as active a role in his new neighborhood as he had in the central section because the men and women who lived near "Thropland" had a number of relatives and neighbors who could provide evidence in court

or witness a bond.

By the end of the seventeenth century, Charles's central section had become a neighborhood. Wise and his neighbor, Daniel Taylor, served as county-level officials and were the prominent residents of their district. Men and women stayed in the parish long enough to become friends with each other and to find marriage partners. In addition to the increase in kinship and friendship ties that joined the middle section's residents to each other, the emergence of a small scale service center in the area made it possible for some craftsmen and ordinary keepers to add to the money that they made from growing small crops of tobacco in the central neighborhood's poor soil. The small-scale service center that developed in the second half of the seventeenth century became the focal point for Charles's middle district because the craftsmen and ordinary keepers provided needed goods and services in addition to being permanent residents of the area.²⁰

During the first four decades of the eighteenth century, the number of ties that bound the central section's residents together continued to grow. The increase in kin and friendship connections eliminated the part that Edmund Watts played in the first period of settlement and the role that John Hayward and William Wise filled during the last three decades of the seventeenth century. Neighbors continued to call upon each other, not upon relatives, to serve as witnesses to deeds and securities on bonds. After 1700, the residents of Charles's middle section appointed a smaller number of friends and neighbors as the executors or the overseers of their estates. The increased reliance upon family and kin to settle estates indicates that many of the central area's residents had relatives who were of age and that family ties were not as uncommon as they had been in the seventeenth century. (Tables 4.5c and 4.6c)

Marriages brought old and new residents of the central area

²⁰See Chapter 3.

together. Mary Love, daughter of Silas Love and his second wife, Sarah, married James Faison Senior in March 1704/5. Two years later, John and Elizabeth Johnson's daughter, Mary, became the wife of Matthew Barnes Senior. Barnes moved to the central section from the area near Calthorpe's Neck. In addition, men and women from the middle section of Charles found spouses in the families who lived in the adjoining neighborhoods. The Pressons counted members of the Lamb, Tomer, Hay, (all of Calthorpe's Neck) and the Patrick (Chisman's Creek) families as relatives. Descendants of Silas Love married into the Woodfield (Western) and Dixon (Calthorpe's Neck) families.

The marital ties that joined central section residents to their contemporaries in other areas of the parish and longer spans of residence in their neighborhood helped the males from the middle district to begin to play a more active role in local-, county-, and colony-level government after the turn of the eighteenth century. Before 1700, only a small number of men from Charles's middle portion held local-level offices. While thirty-three men from the central section of Charles served as petit or grand jurors, only six of this group of thirty-three also held a county office such as surveyor of the highways or constable. It is likely that the turnover of the initial settlers and the slow development of family connections among residents hindered the degree to which men from the central neighborhood were called upon to serve their parish and county as officeholders and as jurors. Two men, William Wise Senior and Daniel Taylor, held several offices during the time that they lived in the central neighborhood. They were not able to pass on their status or positions as local leaders to sons because Wise moved to the section near Calthorpe's Neck, and Taylor did not have a male child to follow in his footsteps. Also, the view of the county justices that craftsmen were not quite up to having the responsibilities of dealing with detailed matters helps to explain why their service was restricted primarily to jury duty during the

seventeenth century. There were a few exceptions. John Drewry Junior, a wheelwright, was a parish vestryman and surveyor of the highways. A blacksmith named Owen Davis and two carpenters, Edward Day and Francis Penrice, served as constables.²¹

The low level of political participation by the central neighborhood's residents changed after the beginning of the eighteenth century. Many of the men were second- and third-generation inhabitants who showed a commitment to their native area by making it their permanent home. Nearly all of the families who resided in Charles's middle section had one male member who served as a juror at least once during the first four decades of the eighteenth century. John Drewry Junior ruled on eleven court cases, the most of any man from the parish's middle section. David Cox and James Faison Junior served as constables and three members of the Presson family were responsible for clearing the roads that passed by their houses and plantations.

The central neighborhood was without a prominent county- or

²¹During the seventeenth century, there were two constables and two surveyors of the highways, one for each of the parish's precincts. Surveyors of the highways in the upper precinct of Charles would have had the responsibility of maintaining the public roads that passed through the central section of the parish, the western neighborhood, and the area near Chisman's Creek. Eight of the men responsible for the roads lived around Chisman's Creek, four made their homes in the western neighborhood, and one, John Drewry Junior, was from the central section. In theory, each of the constables represented one of the parish's precincts. However, it appears that York's justices of the peace appointed qualified men, regardless of their residence. During the seventeenth century, twelve constables hailed from the Calthorpe's Neck neighborhood, nine from Chisman's Creek, eight from the eastern district, one from the western section, and three--Owen Davis, Edward Day, and Francis Penrice--from the central portion of Charles.

The York County records provide some evidence about the way in which contemporaries viewed seventeenth-century craftsmen. In October 1662, the York County Court charged William Hatton with verbal abuse of the local justices of the peace. Hatton had called the magistrates "Coopers, Hogg trough Makers, Pedlars, Cobblers, Tailors, Wavers & saying they are not fitting to sit where they doe sit." York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (3) 175, 24 October 1662. See Chapter 5 and Linda H. Rowe, "Peopling The Power Structure: Urban Oriented Officeholders in York County, Virginia, 1699-1780," (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1989), pp. 29, 34, 37, 46. Rowe's thesis focuses on county officeholders from Yorktown and Williamsburg, but the qualifications for county offices would have been the same for men living in rural areas of York.

colony-level official until Edward Tabb moved his family to the area from Elizabeth City County during the 1700s decade. The elder Tabb served as a churchwarden, tithetaker, tobacco commissioner, justice of the peace, and burgess. His son, Edward Junior, held the positions of a justice of the peace, tithetaker, and deputy sheriff. Though newcomers to the parish, the Tabbs had the status and connections to families in Charles and Elizabeth City County that enabled them to become officeholders and the prominent residents of the parish's middle area soon after their arrival. The Tabb family filled the top spot in the central district's social and political hierarchy as the Calthorpes had for the neighborhood around "Thropland" during much of the seventeenth century before Thomas Roberts Senior, Thomas Nutting, Daniel Moore, and Anthony Robinson Junior became the section's prominent leaders.

A neighborhood did not form in the middle district of Charles Parish during the first period of settlement because many of the initial residents were single men who left the area after a few years in search of better soil. The ties that the first residents had to the section were weak because they did not have much of a chance to get to know their neighbors or to find women to wed. However, a few of the men who married and raised children decided to remain in the parish's central area. The development of a small scale service center gave a small number of ordinary keepers and craftsmen a way to supplement the money they made from their tobacco crops. By the end of the seventeenth century, the residents of Charles's central district had the security of having family and friends to spend time with and to turn to for help that the inhabitants of the area around Calthorpe's Neck had enjoyed since the first years of settlement.

After 1700, the central neighborhood gained a family to fill the top spot in the social and political order when the Tabbs relocated to the area from Elizabeth City County. Edward Tabb Senior and his nephew, the third Edward in the Tabb family, helped to settle the estates of

neighbors and appeared in court to assist friends as Thomas Nutting, Daniel Moore, and the Robinsons did in the area near Calthorpe's Neck. The parish's middle district developed the characteristics that made it a neighborhood just as the men and women who called the central area of Charles their home began to form ties to their contemporaries near "Thropland" and in the eastern portion of the parish. However, the features that set the central neighborhood apart from the rest of the lower end of York County were still evident in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Some of the residents moved on in search of better land in the Southside and the Piedmont regions of Virginia, or to Yorktown and Williamsburg. The small-scale service center continued to serve as the focal point for the neighborhood. In addition, the relocation of the parish church a short distance down the road from the Halfway House ordinary turned Charles's middle district into the center of activities for the men and women who lived in the lower end of York County.

Eastern Neighborhood

The first residents of the eastern area in Charles included two sets of brothers and a group of men who had known each other in England and in Elizabeth City before settling in the same section of the lower end of York County.²² It is likely that Thomas Kerby and Thomas Simmons were from Norfolk County, England. Kerby, who paid for his own passage, probably arrived in the New World in 1634 and Simmons reached Virginia the following year. Both men were skilled craftsmen who worked at William Claiborne's mill in Elizabeth City County in 1635. Two years later, Simmons patented 550 acres of land in the eastern neighborhood of

²²For information on the English background of the Kerby, Simmons, Shelston, Curson, and Starkey families see James Lewis Kirby, "Thomas Kirby of New Pogooson--Some notes on early settlers in York County and Elizabeth City, Virginia," (typescript at the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia, n. d.).

Charles Parish that adjoined his brother Gilbert's tract. In October 1642, Kerby transferred the 150 acres which he had gained possession of in 1636 to Thomas Simmons. In December of the same year, Kerby received his neighbor's 450 acre tract of land.

Kerby's neighbors included friends from both the Old World and the New World. It is known that Thomas Kerby lived near Robert and Thomas Shelston, Thomas Curson, and Peter Starkey Senior in England and that they were all neighbors in Charles Parish. The elder Kerby employed Thomas Shelston as his overseer and appointed Robert Shelston, his "loving friend," as his attorney. Kerby's second wife Mary married Robert Shelston within two months of her first husband's death. Robert Kerby Senior, the only son of Thomas and Mary, took Thomas Curson's daughter Mary as his wife. Other early residents in Charles's easternmost neighborhood also arrived in Virginia with family members. The elder Giles Tavernor moved with his sons Giles Junior, Michael, and William to Charles during the 1640s, the same decade that saw Armiger Wade and his son Armiger Junior make their home in the parish. By 1660 the Kerby, Shelston, Curson, Starkey, Tavernor, and Wade families owned adjoining tracts of land. (Map 14)

Why did this group of friends and family settle in the eastern section of Charles? By 1637, the two Simmons brothers, Gilbert and Roger, patented 150 acres of land in the neighborhood near "Thropland." The Simmonses and Christopher Calthorpe Senior were relatives by marriage and all three men hailed from Norfolk County, England. The eastern area was attractive to the Simmons brothers and their friends because of the greater availability of tracts with productive and fertile soil.²³ A man could still take out a patent for waterfront property in the eastern neighborhood in 1637, the year that Thomas Simmons and Peter Starkey Senior became landholders in the easternmost portion of Charles.

²³See Chapter 3.

Map 14
First Settlers in the Eastern Neighborhood



KEY

- 1 William Brocas, 600 acres, 1639, to Humphrey Floyd pre-1642, to Humphrey Floyd, Jr., by 1642, to Robert Lucas, 1642, to Thomas Burbage, 1643, to Christopher Calthorpe, 1646
- 2 Henry Coleman, 100 acres, 1635
- 3 Peter Starkey, 250 acres, 1637, 127 acres, 1664
- 4 Thomas Brice, 100 acres, 1637
- 5 Humphrey Floyd, 1636, 250 acres, 1637
- 6 William Bannister, 1000 acres, 1638, 4 parcels including Boar Quarter to John Hawkins, 1639
- 7 Giles Tavernor by 1655, to son Michael, 1656
- 8 Thomas Simmons, 1636, 100 acres, 1637
- 9 Thomas Wray, 50 acres, 1636
- 10 Thomas Brice, 100 acres, 1637
- 11 Gilbert Simmons, 1636
- 12 Joseph Moore, 200 acres, 1636
- 13 Thomas Simmons 1636, 450 acres, 1637, to Thomas Kerby, 1642

Like the area around Calthorpe's Neck, the parish's eastern section had wealthy, middling, and poor individuals in its first group of residents. Armiger Wade Senior served as a Burgess for York County in the 1650s and as a member of the county bench in the 1670s. The elder Wade counted Christopher Calthorpe Senior among his friends. At the other end of the social hierarchy were two indentured servants. Isaac Emery had finished his term of service by the time his former master, Giles Tavernor Senior, bequeathed a heifer and a sow to him in 1655. Emery was a tenant of the elder Peter Starkey's in the 1670s and he looked after cattle on "The Islands" and "Cow Island" for other parish residents. This former servant did not rise out of the lower social layer in Charles's eastern section. In 1696, he petitioned the York County Court to be freed from public taxes because he was "very aged & decrepid & hath sustained great loss in his stock being thereby reduced to poverty & incapable of maintaining himself by his labor."²⁴ Emery's petition was successful and he remained in the neighborhood near the Chesapeake Bay until his death three years later. John Parsons Senior, another servant who worked for the elder Giles Tavernor, also stayed in the eastern section of Charles after he completed his indenture. In 1663, Parsons purchased 400 acres that bordered on the land of his former master, Tavernor, and in 1692 he patented a 250 acre tract that adjoined his own property. Parsons served as a constable, an indication that he had risen to the level of a middling planter.

Between 1630 and the early 1660s, the first settlers in the eastern section of Charles formed a neighborhood based on the family and friendship bonds that had joined them in England and in the Elizabeth City settlement. Their location, on the eastern edge of the parish, helped to separate them from the rest of Charles's early residents and to turn their attention inward on their neighborhood. Isaac Emery and John Parsons Senior were the only outsiders who are known to have become

²⁴York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (10) 286, 25 May 1696.

a part of the group that Thomas Kerby and the Simmons brothers led to the lower end of York County during the 1630s and 1640s. Both new and old connections among relatives and neighbors helped to keep almost all of the initial settlers of the easternmost district in Charles. Men also stayed to plant tobacco and other crops in the productive soil along the New Poquoson and Old Poquoson rivers.

During the last four decades of the seventeenth century, the location of the eastern neighborhood on the edge of the parish strengthened the bonds among the descendants of the first settlers as the second generation men and women married the sons and daughters of their parents' friends. Three of the elder John Parsons's six children found spouses within their neighborhood. In 1698, James married Dorothy, the daughter of Armiger Wade Junior. The following year, Peter Starkey Junior became the first husband of Sarah Parsons, and her sister Jane wed Anthony Robinson Senior. The sons stayed in Charles's eastern section because their fathers had enough land to bequeath a tract to each of their male children and they found wives. The small number of civil cases that involved two parties from the easternmost district of the parish indicates that the residents enjoyed peaceful relationships with their relatives, friends, and neighbors. Over the course of the seventeenth century, there were not many deeds for the men and women of the eastern district to witness because Thomas Kerby Senior, the elder Giles Tavernor, the first Armiger Wade and their contemporaries bequeathed property to sons. (Tables 4.7a, 4.7b, 4.8a, and 4.8b)

It is likely that the distance that separated the eastern section's men from their counterparts in the rest of Charles limited their political participation to local-level offices and to jury duty. Armiger Wade Senior was the only man from the eastern district to hold county- and colony-level offices during the seventeenth century. Robert Kerby Senior, William Tavernor, Thomas Curson, and Armiger Wade Junior held positions that focused their attention on the area in which they

lived. Service as a constable, surveyor of the highways, or a church official brought men from the eastern neighborhood into contact with men and women who lived in other sections of Charles. Between 1660 and 1700, Curson, the elder Kerby, Tavernor, and the younger Wade witnessed deeds, acted as attorneys, and provided testimony in civil court cases for middling planters near "Thropland," including the elder Parsons's son-in-law, John Hunt Junior, the younger Anthony Franklin, and Francis Kniveton. (Tables 4.7b and 4.8b) In addition to the friendship ties that joined Curson, Kerby, and Starkey to men in the adjoining neighborhood, John Robinson Senior became related to a family in the area near Calthorpe's Neck when he married Anthony Rooksby's daughter, Elizabeth, in the early 1660s. Robinson's brothers-in-law were the elder William Wise and John Travillion Senior.

By the end of the seventeenth century, the eastern district's residents had extended their family and friendship ties to include men and women who lived in the adjacent neighborhood. During the first four decades of the eighteenth century, Thomas Kerby Junior, John Parsons Junior, and James Parsons Senior expanded the number of contacts that eastern district inhabitants had with residents in other areas of Charles and served as jurors and local-level officials. The eastern section's male residents continued to be willing to witness documents, appraise estates, and stand as securities for their friends and neighbors. They also provided testimony and attested to signatures on deeds for men and women they knew in Charles's upper precinct, Yorkhampton Parish, and adjoining Elizabeth City and Warwick counties. (Tables 4.7c and 4.8c)

As the circle of one's acquaintances and kin grew over the course of the eighteenth century, an individual's ties to family members and neighbors in the easternmost section of the parish did not decrease in importance or in number. The decedents from the area near the Chesapeake Bay made a greater number of bequests to cousins, in-laws,

friends, and godchildren than did the decedents in the parish's other four neighborhoods put together. (Tables 4.7c and 4.8c) Marriages bound the children of the eastern district in an increasingly denser network. The descendants of the two Armiger Wades married women from the Robinson and Parsons families. The Kerbys had two marriage ties to the Mansons and the Parsonses. Although marital bonds did not directly join the Kerbys and Robinsons together, weddings between in-laws pulled these two families and the other households near the Chesapeake Bay into a close-knit neighborhood.

The Robinsons became the prominent family in the eastern section because of the number of friends and relatives that they had and the active role that the men played in their neighborhood. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the Robinsons counted the Calthorpes, the Tompkins, the Wises, the Travillions, the Chapmans, the Chismans, the Tabbs, and the Swenys of Charles; the Goodwin and Digges families of Yorkhampton Parish; and Thomas Everard, the York County clerk and a Williamsburg resident as in-laws. Marital connections to families in Charles's other neighborhoods and in the upper portion of York County helped the third and fourth generations of the Robinson family to become active in county-level government because they were not as secluded in the eastern section of Charles as most of their neighbors were. In addition, by the second quarter of the eighteenth century, Anthony Robinson Junior made his home on land that he inherited in the vicinity of Calthorpe's Neck. The move ended the physical separation of the family from the rest of the parish. The younger Robinson and his nephew, the fifth Anthony Robinson, held local- and county-level offices during their lives and participated in day to day matters in behalf of their family, friends, and neighbors in the eastern district and in the area near "Thropland."²⁵

The Robinsons also played an important economic role in their

²⁵See Chapter 5.

neighborhood. The estate settlements of the second and the fifth Anthony Robinson indicate that many of the residents of the Calthorpe's Neck, Central, and Eastern districts turned to the Robinson family when they needed to purchase food and supplies or to hire a slave to help them with their own crop. From time to time, the Robinsons purchased tobacco, other crops, and hand-made goods from their less successful customers and employed several of the parish's skilled free blacks on their plantations near Calthorpe's Neck and the Chesapeake Bay.²⁶ By the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the elder John Robinson's grandsons filled the top spot in the eastern neighborhood's social order that had been empty since the death of Armiger Wade Senior in 1677.

The initial settlers of Charles's eastern area carried the security of family and friendship ties from England to their new home in the lower end of York County. By the 1650s, the easternmost section of the parish appeared close to the eighteenth century picture of planters who lived among their families on large tobacco plantations and had the time to serve as local officials. During the seventeenth century, the property held briefly by Thomas Simmons and then by the Kerby family was the focal point of the neighborhood for two reasons. First, the road that connected the eastern area to the rest of the parish passed through Kerby land. Second, Thomas Kerby Senior was one of the neighborhood's first residents, and he had ties to friends from the Old World and in the New World. After 1700, the center of the eastern section shifted as the Robinson family became more prominent in day to day matters and in local- and county-levels of government. By the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the economic and neighborly activities that took

²⁶Anthony Robinson Junior and his nephew, the fifth male to be named Anthony, were not the only planters who did business with their neighbors. The settlements of the two estate do provide evidence of multiple exchanges between the Robinsons and their customers and between two generations of families in all areas of Charles, especially in the section near "Thropland" and in the eastern and central neighborhoods. See York County Wills and Inventories (21) 163-165, [15] November 1763; *ibid.*, (22) 476-487, 20 March 1780. See Chapter 8.

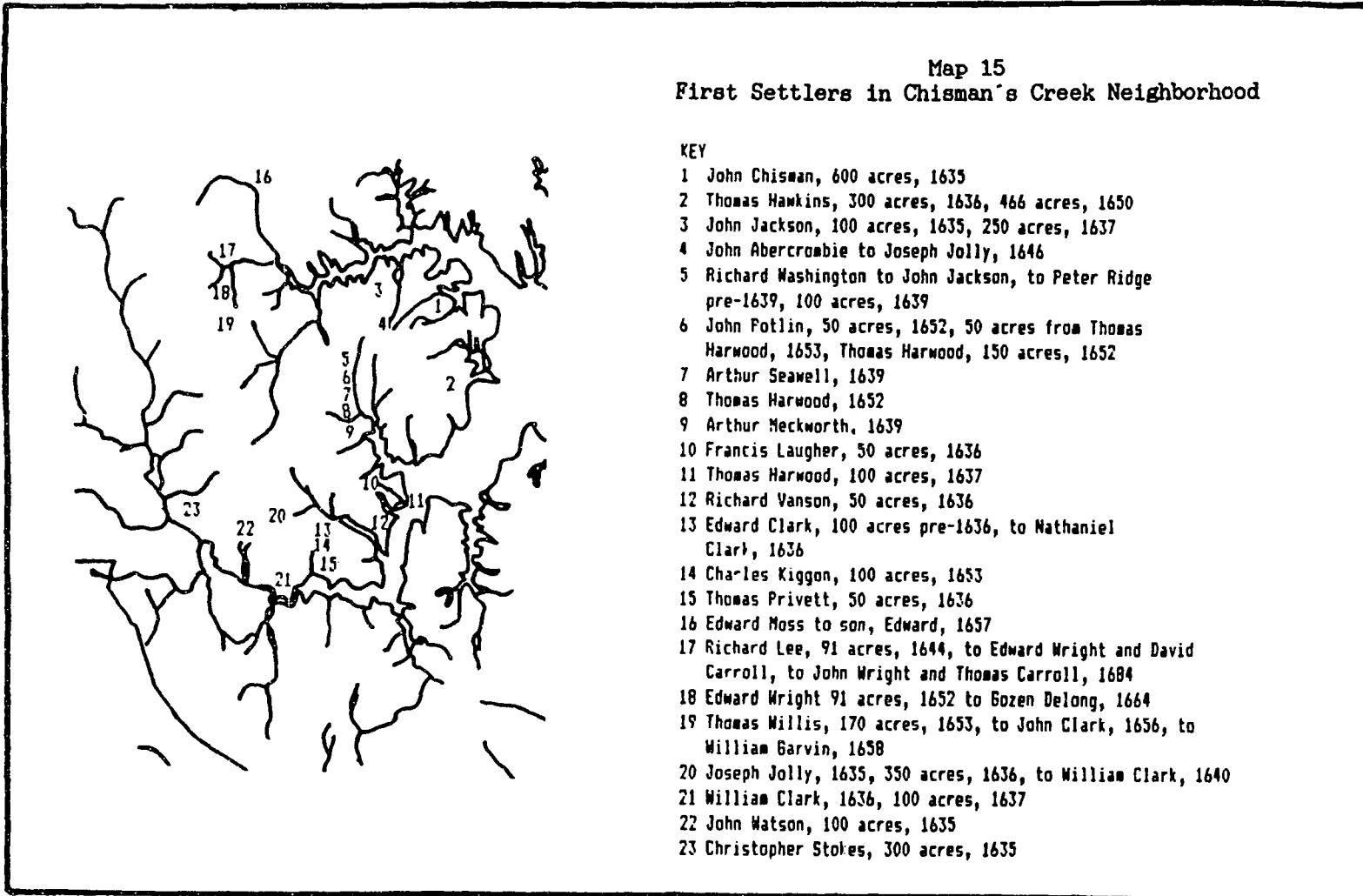
place on the Robinson's plantation on the Old Poquoson River, close to Calthorpe's Neck helped to pull the eastern area residents towards the rest of the parish. In spite of the greater involvement with men and women who lived in other areas of Charles, the constant influence on the inhabitants of the eastern portion of Charles was the security that they gained from their family, friends, and neighbors.

Chisman's Creek Neighborhood

The area near Chisman's Creek became the home of recent immigrants from England and of men and women who moved to the neighborhood from the Elizabeth City, Warwick, and James City settlements in the 1630s. The district's initial residents included individuals from the upper to the lower levels of the social hierarchy. At the top was Lieutenant John Chisman and his younger brother Edmund who became inhabitants of Elizabeth City in 1621 and 1623, respectively.²⁷ In 1635, John Chisman patented 600 acres of land on the south side of Chisman's Creek and on the New Poquoson River. The following year he added 200 acres on the north side of the creek and another tract of the same size that lay inland between two branches of the New Poquoson River. (Map 15)

Christopher Stokes Senior, who had been a burgess for Warwick River in 1629 and for Denbigh the following year, patented 300 in 1635. Stokes moved his wife Elizabeth and their children William, Henry, Elizabeth, and Christopher Junior to Charles Parish soon after he received the title to his new plantation. John Watson, who had been a servant of Mr. Jonas Stockton in Elizabeth City in 1624/5, became the owner of one hundred acres on the north side of the New Poquoson River in 1635. Francis Laughner and Richard Vanson assigned the one hundred acres that they had received from their master, Captain Michael Marshall, to Thomas

²⁷The fact that their brother Thomas's name was on the 1623 list of Virginia residents but not on the 1624/5 muster suggests that he had returned to England by the time of the second muster. Jester and Hiden, eds., Adventures of Purse and Person, pp. 56, 124.



Harwood Senior in 1637. Harwood was a former resident of the Neck of Land area in the James City settlement and Warwick's Mulberry Island section. John Jackson, his wife Ann, and their son Thomas had lived in Martin's Hundred (later part of Bruton Parish) before Jackson received a title to 550 acres on Chisman's Creek that adjoined John Chisman's land. Jackson had been a burgess for James City Island in 1632.²⁸ In 1636, Nathaniel Clark patented the one hundred acres due to him as the heir of his father, Edward Clark "as being an Ancient Planter in the time of the govmt. of Sir Thomas Dale."²⁹ Joseph Jolly claimed the headright of Nathaniel Clark, a relative by marriage, as part of his 350 acre patent in the same year.

John Chisman's status and position as the largest landholder in the neighborhood led to his service in county and colonial government. Between 1634 and 1661, Chisman held the offices of justice of the peace, burgess, collector for the north side of the New Poquoson River, lieutenant colonel, and councillor. Edmund Chisman sat on the county bench as one of York's justices of the peace. Thomas Harwood, a justice of the peace, and Christopher Stokes Senior, a constable, were the only other men from the neighborhood near Chisman's Creek to hold political offices during the initial period of settlement.

The majority of the men, women, and children who moved to the Chisman's Creek area during the first thirty years of settlement made the section their permanent home. Much of the soil in the neighborhood, especially on the south side of Chisman's Creek and along the northern bank of the New Poquoson River, was of good quality. The persistence of the early settlers from all social levels led to the development of family and friendship ties. In the late 1650s, Elizabeth, the widow of

²⁸Ibid., pp. 24, 56, 124, 206.

²⁹Nell M. Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers. Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, 3 vols., (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1934-1979; reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, Inc., 1963), 1:49.

Thomas Harwood Senior, married her neighbor, Charles Dunn. Elizabeth Shield's second spouse, Edward Myhill, also lived close to her house. John Abercrombie remembered his neighbors, Joseph and Margery Jolly, with bequests in his April 1645 will. Thomas Harwood Senior appraised the estates of two men who lived close to him, Abercrombie and Stokes. John Chisman witnessed the 1655 marriage agreement between Margery Jolly Griggs Hay and William Hay. Edward Myhill agreed to serve as an overseer of the agreement. (Tables 4.9a and 4.10a) The bride and the groom were friends of the two witnesses and Margery lived near Chisman and Myhill while she was Joseph Jolly's wife.

Unlike the social ties that joined social equals to each other, the economic connections between a merchant and his customers brought men and women from different social layers together. John Chisman and two other merchants had store houses in the vicinity of Chisman's Creek during the first three decades of settlement in Charles.³⁰ John Humphrey lived on a tract on the western side of Chisman's property and counted his neighbors Joseph Jolly, Charles Kiggon, John Potlin Senior, Thomas Mitchell and James Williams, and Lawrence Platt of the western section of the parish among his customers. Charles Kiggon, who operated a small store on the northern side of the New Poquoson River during the 1650s, did business with John Clark Senior, Charles Dunn, Humphrey, Mitchell, and Williams. (Table 4.10a) Mitchell, who was a lessee of Humphrey's kinsman, John Jackson, and the elder John Potlin who owned a

³⁰The location of the section at the upper end of Charles made it a good spot for persons who wanted to establish and maintain ties, both social and business, with their neighbors, or the residents of other sections of the parish, the upper portion of York County, or the adjoining counties of Elizabeth City and Warwick. John Chisman was a merchant and it is likely that he had ties to people beyond the area near Chisman's Creek and the boundaries of Charles Parish in addition to the middling and poor planters who lived near his plantation. Perhaps if his estate had been settled in Virginia there would be some information about the people with whom John Chisman did business. See Lothrop Withington, ed., Virginia Gleanings in England: Abstracts of 17th and 18th-century English Wills and Administrations Relating to Virginia and Virginians, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1980), pp. 137-138 for a copy of John Chisman's will and Chapter 3.

fifty acre tract were among the district's poor planters. Humphrey and Dunn were large landowners who did not have the status of the Chisman brothers. The men who are known to have purchased goods from Humphrey and Kiggon were lower and middling planters.

During the first thirty years of settlement, the activities of the Chisman's Creek section were centered in the eastern portion of the neighborhood because that was where the elder Chisman, Humphrey, and Kiggon had their storehouses. Between 1660 and the end of the seventeenth century, three more merchants, William Weatherall, Edward Phelps, and Joseph Davis lived in the area around Chisman's Creek. Phelps had his store on the property that had been John Humphrey's between 1673 and his death in 1678. The following year, Phelps's nephew, Davis, sold the remaining goods while he settled his uncle's estate. Weatherall operated a storehouse on land that belonged to his step-son, the third Robert Shield, from 1672 until his death in 1681. After Weatherall's passing, men in the Chisman's Creek neighborhood did not pursue mercantile activities because of the growing concentration of merchants in the area that became Yorktown in 1691.³¹

In spite of the persistence of many of the early settlers, some residents did leave the area around Chisman's Creek. The departure of large landowners including John Chisman who returned to England and the Hawkins family who relocated to Essex County and the death of Edward Phelps gave the social order some fluidity and made it possible for newcomers to lease tracts of productive land that the descendants continued to possess. In the 1670s and 1680s, Charles Dunn, William Weatherall, and the elder John Clark leased tracts to small planters. Their tenants, Thomas Floyd, William Anderson, and George Johnson Senior, died before they completed their leases and saved enough money to acquire their own land. In 1691, John Northern and Samuel Johnson

³¹See Ronald E. Grim, "The Absence of Towns in Seventeenth-Century Virginia: The Emergence of Service Centers in York County," unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1977 and Chapter 3.

occupied plantations on the property that the third Robert Shield sold to John Tomer Senior. John Hawkins, a resident of Essex County, rented tracts to James Pardoe, Robert Croucher, and Simon Stacy on the plantation that he sold to Henry Hayward Senior in 1694. Northern and Stacy left the ranks of tenant planters and became landowners. Northern owned 130 acres on the northern bank of the New Poquoson River by 1704 and Stacy possessed 200 acres of land in the western area of the parish by the same date.

A look at James Forsyth Senior and his family provides details about how one family became connected to other residents in the area near Chisman's Creek during the last forty years of the seventeenth century. The elder Forsyth, who probably arrived in Virginia in 1660 as a servant, purchased at least 125 acres from John Clark in 1679. After acquiring land of his own, Forsyth became more active in his neighborhood. He witnessed the wills of Edmund Chisman Senior and his neighbor, Charles Dunn, and served on two grand juries. Forsyth's daughters, Tempérance and Elizabeth married neighbors, John James Senior and the elder John Broster, respectively. Two neighbors, Robert and Isabel Toplady, witnessed Forsyth's will in February 1695/6. Forsyth left legacies of land to his daughter, Tempérance, and his grandsons, James Broster and Samuel Hill. The elder James was a native of Charles and the first Broster served as the parish clerk.

Family and friendship connections, both those dating from the time of the initial settlement in the neighborhood and those dating from later in the seventeenth century, bound residents of the Chisman's Creek area together. (Tables 4.9b and 4.10b) Small and middling planters like John Potlin Senior and Forsyth and leaseholders including the elder George Johnson and John Travillion Senior appointed family members as their executors and turned to friends and neighbors who were their social equals as witnesses or for assistance in the probate process. Robert Curtis Senior, the son-in-law of the elder Edmund Chisman, and

Charles Dunn witnessed the wills and appraised and divided the estates of men from all social layers and from all of the other neighborhoods in Charles except the eastern section of the parish.

After the turn of the eighteenth century, residents of the neighborhood near Chisman's Creek developed more and stronger ties to their counterparts in the western section of Charles. The connection between the two districts had its roots in the last third of the seventeenth century. During the 1670s and the 1680s, the younger Thomas Harwood and Thomas Chisman Junior patented land in Charles's westernmost section and Harwood relocated to his new property. Henry Hayward Senior moved to the 466 acres on the north side of the New Poquoson River that he bought from Essex County's Thomas Hawkins sometime between 1694 and the first decade of the eighteenth century. By 1704, the elder Thomas Chisman made his home on his 850 acre tract in the western portion of the parish and the younger Thomas Chisman lived on a tract on the banks of Chisman's Creek that bordered on the plantation of the elder Hayward.

Family ties also joined the residents of the westernmost district and the area near Chisman's Creek. The third John Chisman married Eleanor, the daughter of Henry Hayward Senior, in 1708. Ten years later, in 1718, Sarah Burnham wed Thomas Nixon from the western district after the death of her second husband, Thomas Burnham Senior. The elder Burnham and Sarah's first spouse, Robert Pescod Senior, lived on the northern bank of the New Poquoson River.

The increased number of connections between the Chisman's Creek and the western neighborhoods can also be seen in daily activities of middling and wealthy planters, especially of John Doswell Senior and his son, John Junior. During the 1700s and the 1710s, men and women who lived near Chisman's Creek and close to the line between Charles Parish and Warwick County called upon the Doswells for assistance. Their place of residence on adjoining tracts near the main road to Yorktown and close to the smaller paths that connected the Chisman's Creek area to

the public highway made them accessible to many men and women who needed a witness in court or a security for a bond.³² Unlike the Doswells and their social equals, most of the section's smaller planters had ties to neighboring men and women from their social level because they did not have the same opportunities that the middling and large planters had to come into contact with men from all areas of York County while serving as officeholders and members of petit and grand juries. (Tables 4.9c and 4.10c)

After the death of the two John Doswells in 1718, several of the district's successful planters took their place as the men who assisted neighbors in the Chisman's Creek area and in the western section of the parish as witnesses, securities, and appraisers. The descendants and in-laws of Thomas Chisman Senior played an active role in the neighborhoods on both sides of the main road just as the grandsons and great-grandsons of the elder Christopher Calthorpe and John Robinson Senior did in the area around Calthorpe's Neck and in the eastern district. Two cousins, the third and the fourth John Chisman, and their relatives, the elder Edmund Curtis and his son, Edmund Curtis Junior, joined the descendants of Henry Hayward Senior in serving as witnesses, appraisers, and securities for family, friends, and neighbors. The fifth Francis Hayward was active in day to day affairs at the same time that he held several local- and county-level offices including justice of the peace and York County sheriff.

Unlike their counterparts in the other neighborhoods in Charles, the middling planters in the area around Chisman's Creek continued to play an important part in daily matters and in the probate of estates as the localism of the section's wealthy residents increased. There were

³²The public road did not serve as a divider between the western and Chisman's Creek neighborhoods during the initial phase of settlement. The populations of the two areas were concentrated near the centers of activity, the mills and tan yard and the merchant's storehouses, respectively. See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the part that roads played in Charles Parish.

opportunities for men including the third John Patrick, Thomas Pescod Senior, and his son the third Thomas Pescod to assist family members and friends because of the location of their neighborhood adjoining Yorkhampton Parish and close to Yorktown and the growth in the number of debt cases that involved Yorktown merchants. Shopkeepers in York's port city called upon their friends on the southern bank of Chisman's Creek to help them by providing evidence to the justices of the peace and standing as securities on bonds. In spite of the increased involvement with residents of the adjoining parish and the county's port town, the inhabitants of the Chisman's Creek neighborhood spent most of their time helping their family members and neighbors.

The initial residents in the vicinity of Chisman's Creek included individuals and family groups who moved to the area from other settlements in the colony and others who arrived directly from England. The area became a neighborhood during the first thirty years of settlement because many of the early settlers made it their permanent home and established ties, both social and economic, to others who lived near them. Family and friendship connections joined residents who had an equal status while the economic connections linked inhabitants who had different social standings. The presence of several merchants in the neighborhood between the 1630s and the early 1680s pulled the residents' activities toward the eastern end of the section.

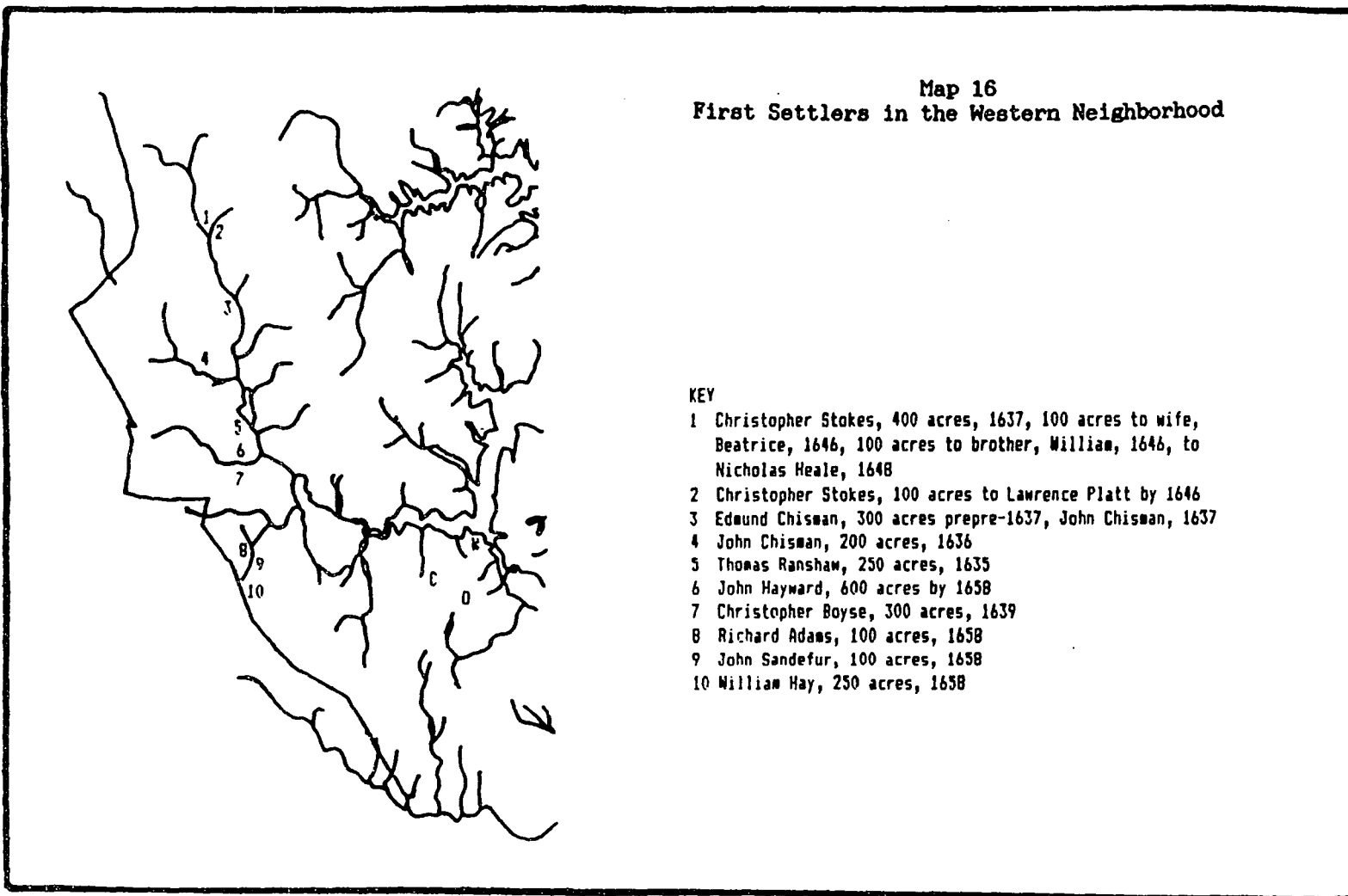
By the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the inhabitants of the area around Chisman's Creek began to develop ties to the residents of the western portion of Charles. Successful planters including Thomas Chisman Senior and Junior, the younger Thomas Harwood, and the elder Henry Hayward owned land on both sides of the main road and spent part of their lives as inhabitants of the two neighborhoods. After the turn of the eighteenth century, marriages and friendships helped to connect wealthy, middling, and a small number of the poorer planters from the Chisman's Creek section to their social equals on the western side of

the public highway. The localism of the descendants of the prominent residents increased and they played a larger role in the day to day activities of their friends and neighbors than their seventeenth-century counterparts had done. The opportunities for lower-middling and poor planters to move up in the neighborhood's social hierarchy decreased after 1700 because there were not as many absentee landowners as there had been. The middling residents of the section near Chisman's Creek continued to serve as executors, administrators, and securities for the probate of the estates of family members and relatives and as witnesses to deeds for their neighbors. Members of the Pescod and Patrick families also assisted residents of Yorkhampton Parish and Yorktown in civil matters.

During the eighteenth century, the focal point of the Chisman's Creek neighborhood shifted from the eastern area where the seventeenth-century merchants had their storehouses to the main road between York County and Elizabeth City County because of the absence of merchants and the increased number of connections between residents on both sides of the public highway. Also, many of the neighborhood's men and women had ties to their contemporaries in adjoining Yorkhampton Parish and in the county's port city. The increased localism of the wealthy planters and the family bonds of the section's middling and poor residents were the basis of relationships among relatives and neighbors in the area near Chisman's Creek.

Western Neighborhood

The western area of Charles was settled at a slower pace than the other four sections of the parish even though several patentees acquired tracts in the area during the initial period of settlement. (Map 16) By 1637, John and Edmund Chisman held 500 acres of land along the inland courses of the New Poquoson River but did not move from their property near Chisman's Creek. Two of the three other patentees from the 1630s



decade, Thomas Ranshaw and Christopher Boyse, held their parcels for a short period of time before they relocated to Warwick and Northumberland counties, respectively. The third patentee, Christopher Stokes Senior, made his home on the land he owned in the section near Chisman's Creek. Richard Adams, John Sandefur, and William Hay Senior became the next known owners of land in the parish's western portion when they took out patents in 1658. In addition, the elder John Hayward held 600 acres near the line between Charles Parish and Warwick County by the end of the 1650s. The rest of the land in the western section remained empty until the 1670s and the 1680s because much of the soil in the neighborhood was poor in quality and unproductive.³³

The acquisition of land in the western portion of Charles proved to be a good investment for Hayward, Hay, and the Chismans. John Hayward Senior had a tan yard on his 600 acre plantation by the time of his death in 1661, and William Calvert, who married Hayward's widow, Margaret, operated the tan yard until his own death eight years later. Henry Hayward Senior, the eldest son of John Hayward Senior, ran the tan yard during his adulthood. Hayward and Calvert were not the only industrious members of the western district. William Hay established a mill on the headwaters of the New Poquoson River during the 1660s. The elder Henry Hayward bought Hay's Mill in 1691, and he and his descendants ground corn at the mill that came to be known as Hayward's Mill over the course of the eighteenth century. Edmund Chisman Senior and his son, Thomas Senior, built a second mill on the head waters of the New Poquoson River in 1670. The Chisman family operated the Upper Poquoson Mill throughout the eighteenth century.³⁴ (Map 9)

Some friendship and family ties developed among the residents of the parish's westernmost district. William Hay was an overseer of the

³³See Chapter 3.

³⁴Ibid.

estate of his loving friend, John Hayward. Hayward's widow, Margaret, next married her neighbor, William Calvert. The small number of men and women in the western section turned to those who lived in other areas of the parish if they needed goods or supplies because they did not have many neighbors. John Sandefur Senior was a debtor to the estate of a merchant named Charles Kiggon. William Hay owed money to the estates of the merchant John Humphrey, and Francis Stokes, both of the Chisman's Creek area. Hay was a creditor of Thomas Hudson of the central neighborhood, Mary White of York Parish, and his neighbor, William Calvert. (Table 4.12a)

The first enterprising residents of the western section of Charles Parish stood out because they had the capital to build and operate a tannery and a mill, respectively. Hayward, Calvert, and Hay each held several offices during the time that he lived in the parish's western district and participated in the day-to-day activities of the small number of people who lived in or near Charles's western section between 1630 and 1660. (Tables 4.11a and 4.12a) The justices of the peace tapped Hayward to appraise the estates of Christopher and Francis Stokes. Calvert valued the possessions belonging to the estate of his wife's brother-in-law, Francis Hayward Senior. William Hay was the most active of the three in local matters. The fact that people from different social levels and areas of Charles called upon Hay for his assistance reflects his prominence in his district, parish, and York County as a whole.

In spite of the impact that Hayward, Calvert, and Hay had upon the economic development of the western portion of Charles, the section did not become a neighborhood during the first thirty years of settlement. The population of the area was small and did not include individuals from all levels of the social hierarchy until the end of the 1650s decade. Hayward and Hay were from the upper level and Calvert was a successful middling planter. There is no evidence that the section's

small planters--Richard Watkins, Richard Adams, John Sandefur Senior-- had associations with any of their wealthier counterparts until the last third of the seventeenth century.

Between 1660 and 1699, the parish's western district became a neighborhood as a result of an increase in its population and the formation of relationships among the section's residents. Newcomers to Charles and men from other areas of the parish patented the remaining land in the parish's western section. It is likely that the availability of land influenced Robert Everitt to move his family to the western neighborhood from the area around Calthorpe's Neck where he had not been able to acquire property in his own name. Everitt took out a patent on 147 acres in 1678 and for an additional 280 acres two years later. In 1687, Robert Calvert added seventy-five acres to the 300 acres that his father William bequeathed him. Four years later, Calvert sold fifty acres to John Nixon Senior who had previously rented land in the section near Calthorpe's Neck. Edmund Chisman Junior, Thomas Chisman Senior, and Thomas Harwood Junior also took up land near the boundary between Charles and Warwick County in the 1670s and the 1680s. The younger Harwood moved from Chisman's Creek to the western portion of the parish in the decade of the 1670s.

Not all of the new residents moved to the western area of Charles in order to acquire land. The tan yard and the two mills also attracted several men to Charles's westernmost section. Roger Long Senior, a shoemaker and Thomas Floyd, a tanner lived near Hayward's tan yard during the latter portion of the 1660s decade and the first part of the 1670s, respectively. It is likely that Floyd's wages as a tanner were not enough to support his family because he became a tenant planter in the Chisman's Creek area in the middle of the 1670s. The Chismans employed a miller named Gload Massey during the same decade. A second shoemaker, William Cook, and the saddler Anthony Watts moved to the western district at the end of the decade of the 1680s.

The growth in population and the fact that many of the section's residents viewed the western neighborhood as their permanent home made it possible for men and women to form family ties and friendship bonds with their neighbors. Henry Hayward Senior's first wife was Diana Bartlett, Robert Everitt's step-daughter. Everitt's own daughter, Rebecca, married his neighbor Anthony Watts. Robert Calvert's widow, Isabel, became the wife of a neighbor, Robert Toplady, a few years after his death. Lawrence Platt's daughter Ann married Henry Watkins. Her sister Beatrice's two husbands were neighbors named Joseph Stroud and Thomas Harris. Marriage also connected individuals in the western area to families in other sections of the parish and the county. The elder Thomas Roberts's daughter, Elizabeth, was the second wife of Thomas Harwood Junior. Chisman's ties to prominent residents in the county is reflected in his choice of Elizabeth Reade as his wife. Her father, George Reade, was one of the leading planters in York County.

The newcomers and the men and women who grew up in the western section turned to their social equals for assistance. (Tables 4.11b and 4.12b) Robert Everitt and his step-son, the younger Michael Bartlett, and John Nixon Senior and his son, Richard Nixon, appeared in court in behalf of other small and middling planters and witnessed deeds and wills for neighbors and friends. The upper-middling and successful residents of the western district tended to turn to Thomas Harwood Junior, Samuel Snignall, John Wills Senior, and the elder Henry Hayward when they needed a witness or someone to appear in court on their behalf. Thomas Chisman Senior was not active in his neighborhood as William Hay and the elder John Hayward had been during the first phase of settlement. Service as a burgess and a justice of the peace pulled Chisman away from the westernmost section of the parish as it had pulled his grandfather, John Chisman Senior, from the day to day affairs in the area around Chisman's Creek. Decedents from all of the social levels turned to relatives to settle estates and distribute legacies.

The western section of Charles became a neighborhood during the last forty years of the seventeenth century because of an increase in the number of men and women from all social levels who made the area their permanent home. Family and friendship ties joined the neighborhood's residents together and gave them more security than the first inhabitants of the district had enjoyed. The parish's western portion was in the process of becoming a neighborhood when residents started to form ties to the Chisman's Creek section. The connections between the inhabitants on both sides of the main road increased during the eighteenth century. Marriage tied the Haywards to families from the other neighborhoods in Charles (the Cliftons, Moores, Wades, and Tabbs) and Yorkhampton Parish (Wythes, Mosses, and Goodwins). The descendants of Thomas Chisman Senior married into the Chapman, Phillipson, Goodwin, and Moss families of Yorkhampton in addition to the Pescods who made their home in the Chisman's Creek area.

The family and friendship ties that spanned the public highway tended to join the upper and upper-middling planters. The men and women from the lower portion of the western neighborhood's social order found their friends and potential marriage partners a short distance from their homes. There was a degree of fluidity in the western neighborhood that was not present in other districts in Charles during the eighteenth century. Several male residents became the first landowner or officeholder in their families. Benjamin Clifton Junior purchased fifty acres near the border between Charles and Warwick County from William Wise Junior in 1718. His father, Benjamin Senior, had never been able to rise above the level of a tenant in either the section near Calthorpe's Neck or in the central neighborhood. Joseph Stacy, one of the parish's constables in 1719, did not have a family tradition of serving the parish and county as an official before he did so.

The opportunity to purchase land or to serve as a local-level official did not mean that men from the lower and middling levels of the

western neighborhood would also play an active role in civil matters and in the settling of decedents' estates. (Tables 4.11c and 4.12c) As in the other areas of Charles, the prominent residents of the westernmost section filled the roles of witness, security, and appraiser for their neighbors. The performance of these activities gave members of the Chismans and the Haywards the local power that middling planters such as Everitt, Bartlett, and the Nixons had exercised during the last part of the seventeenth century. The grandsons and great-grandsons of the first John Hayward and Thomas Chisman Senior also served as local- and county-level officials, another indication of the increase in feelings of localism after 1700.

The neighborhood along the border between Charles Parish and Warwick County developed slowly during the initial period of settlement because of the poor quality of much of its soil. Between 1630 and the late 1650s, there were three men--John Hayward, William Calvert, and William Hay--who had the capital to make use of the land. In 1670, the elder Edmund Chisman and his son, Thomas Chisman Senior, joined the group of enterprising men in the western area of the parish. The members of these four families enjoyed a feeling of security at an earlier date than most of the other inhabitants of Charles's westernmost area because they had ties to family and friends.

During the last third of the seventeenth century, the family and friendship connections of upper middling and wealthy planters began to bring the western neighborhood and the area around Chisman's Creek together. The population of the western section grew as men moved to the district in order to patent land or to work at the mills or tan yard. The smaller planters, millers, and leather workers married into families who lived in the neighborhood adjoining Warwick County. By the decade of the 1690s, the western district's residents had the security from family and friendship ties that their counterparts in the eastern section and in the areas near Calthorpe's Neck and Chisman's Creek had

enjoyed since the first period of settlement in Charles.

In the eighteenth century, the families at the top of the western neighborhood's social order developed a greater number of ties to residents in other areas of Charles, particularly the area near Chisman's Creek, and in adjoining Yorkhampton Parish. The leading planters also began to play a larger role in the day-to-day affairs of their neighborhood than their seventeenth-century counterparts had. The localism of members of the Hayward and Chisman families reduced the chances that a middling planter had to hold local-level offices such as constable and surveyor of the highways. However, there was some fluidity in the western neighborhood and it was possible for men to purchase land. The opportunity to become a landholder and the presence of the mills and the tan yard distinguished Charles's western neighborhood from the area around Chisman's Creek as the number of connections between the two sections continued to increase over the course of the eighteenth century.

The Significance of Neighborhoods in the Charles Parish Community

In The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction, Bernard Bailyn pointed out that there was no one pattern of settlement in the British North American colonies due to the variety of the immigrants who made their homes in the New World.³⁵ The same statement is also true for Charles Parish even though almost all of the initial settlers in the lower end of York County shared a common cultural background and were part of the seventeenth-century migration from England.³⁶ It is likely that the single men who had moved several times

³⁵Bernard Bailyn, The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction, (New York: Vintage Books, 1988), p. 59.

³⁶For discussion of migration within England and to Virginia in the seventeenth century see James Horn, "Servant Immigration to the Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century," in Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, eds., The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American

in England before they left the Old World would continue to move on in search of better land and greater opportunities after they reached Virginia. On the other hand, kin groups, including the Kerbys, Simmonses, Haywards, and Chismans who had a settled family situation and more wealth to risk, tended to settle in an area where they could acquire large tracts of land, earn a decent living, and keep their families together.

The differences among the initial settlers, their varying cultural backgrounds, and the quality of their land played a part in the formation of five neighborhoods in Charles Parish over the course of the seventeenth century. The central area reflected the instability of life in seventeenth-century Virginia, while from the decade of the 1630s, the eastern portion of the parish appears closer to the eighteenth-century picture of planters who lived among their families and who had the time to serve as local officials. The residents of the neighborhood around Calthorpe's Neck enjoyed a sense of security based on ties that probably grew out of earlier associations in the Elizabeth City settlement. The area near Chisman's Creek and the parish's western section attracted enterprising merchants and entrepreneurs, respectively.³⁷

The five neighborhoods were a source of security for the men and women who lived with family members and close to friends. It was difficult for the former indentured servants who could not purchase or

Society and Politics, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1979), pp. 51-95 and Peter Clark, "Migration in England during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries," in Peter Clark and David Souden, eds., Migration and Society in Early Modern England, (Totowa, New Jersey: Barnes & Nobles Books, 1988), pp. 213-252. For discussion of the migration of family groups to Virginia see Peter Laslett, "The Gentry of Kent in 1640," The Cambridge Historical Journal, IX(1947):148-164. For an examination of the cultural background of colonists in Virginia, see David Hackett Fischer, Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 207-418.

³⁷See Jack P. Greene, Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), pp. 8-10, 26 for a discussion of the commercial orientation and acquisitiveness of early Virginians.

lease land and for the individuals who arrived in Charles on their own to develop kinship ties to their neighbors. During the seventeenth century, the males and females who lived in the parish's middle and western sections had a harder time forming connections to the people who lived near them than their contemporaries in the other three neighborhoods did because of the short time that the residents of the westernmost and central areas stayed in Charles and the slow increase in a permanent population in the two districts.

Although there were differences among the five neighborhoods, there were also common aspects. A structured society with several layers was in place in all sections of Charles by the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Men and women tended to form family and friendship ties with social equals who lived in their area. There were certain situations in which one would turn to friends for assistance and others in which one would call upon family and kin. Over the course of the seventeenth century and the first four decades of the eighteenth century, family ties grew out of the friendship connections among neighbors. In spite of the increased number of relatives that the eighteenth-century residents of each of the parish's neighborhoods had, the distinction between the kind of ties that one had to friends and to family remained. (Tables 4.1a to 4.1c and 4.2a to 4.2c)

The differences among Charles's neighborhoods narrowed over the course of the seventeenth century. Residents of the five sections became tied together as men from the eastern area acquired land closer to the center of the parish. Families on both sides of the main road between Yorktown and Hampton formed friendship and family connections. Marriages between sons and daughters from the five areas increased the connections among residents. The descendants of John Robinson, Armiger Wade, Thomas Kerby, John Drewry, John Chisman, Christopher Calthorpe, John Hayward, and William Hay served as local-level officials. The central neighborhood functioned as the focal point for the parish as a

whole and pulled all of Charles's residents together because it was the location of the parish church, Row's Warehouse, the Halfway House and the service center. Even though there were initial differences among the neighborhoods, the settlement process led towards family stability and to community throughout the parish.³⁸

In spite of the connections among residents from all of the parish's district and the greater similarity among the five areas, distinctions based on the location of the neighborhoods remained. The variety of services available in the area near the parish church increased and the ordinary known as the "Halfway House" because of its location halfway between Yorktown and Hampton was a well-known landmark. "The Islands" and "Boar Quarter" continued to be used as grazing areas by those who lived nearby and by residents from other sections of Charles. The inhabitants of the area near Chisman's Neck had a greater number of connections to men and women in Yorkhampton Parish and Yorktown than did their contemporaries in other areas of Charles. The Robinson family plantation acted as the center of trade for the inhabitants of the Calthorpe's Neck neighborhood and the middle and eastern sections. The Haywards and Chismans continued to grind Indian corn and wheat at their mills. In addition, the Haywards' tan yard was still in operation. Even as the parish developed into a more interconnected community, the five districts retained the characteristics that emerged as each section developed into a neighborhood.

Why did the eighteenth-century men and women of Charles continue to rely upon friends and neighbors when their contemporaries in other areas of the Chesapeake turned to members of their immediate families

³⁸Both Jack P. Greene and James A. Henretta have pointed out that subsistence and family stability were more important to colonists than financial gain. See Greene, Pursuits of Happiness, pp. 196-197 and James A. Henretta, "Families and Farms: Mentalite in Pre-Industrial America," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., XXXV (1978):3-32.

and their relatives?³⁹ First, the life expectancies for men and women born in Charles after 1700 improved only a small degree over those for their seventeenth-century counterparts. Also, beginning in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the parish experienced a second phase of out-migration as young men and their families left Charles in order to acquire land in the Southside or the Piedmont or to take advantage of the opportunities in Yorktown and Williamsburg. As a result, ties to friends and neighbors remained an important element of the security that males and females gained from their associations with other residents in the lower end of York County.

Third, the shift in local power from the middling planters to the wealthy men that took place in the second quarter of the eighteenth century enlarged the prestige and the importance of local-level activities and the parish's neighborhoods. The increased localism of the males in the upper level of Charles's social order was a result of changes in York County's government that gave them a smaller role in county- and colony-level matters than the elder John Chisman, Christopher Calthorpe Senior, and the first John Hayward had had in the seventeenth century. Participation in local affairs gave the descendants of Charles's early leaders a way to maintain their status within their neighborhoods and parish.

³⁹The Rutmans, Walsh, and Kulikoff found that family ties grew in number during the second half of the seventeenth century and became more important than associations among friends in the 1700s. The greater reliance upon family which resulted in a decreased emphasis on friends also meant that community was less important to Virginians in the eighteenth century than it had been to residents in the early years of the colony. The settlement process can be summarized as the evolution from a frontier settlement to neighborhood groups to kin networks and the decline of community. This linear model of the development of neighborhoods assumes that social change destroys community. See Thomas Bender, Community and Social Change in America, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1978), pp. 4, 71 and Richard D. Brown, Modernization: The Transformation of American Life, 1600-1865, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976), chapter 1 for discussion and critique of modernization theory. See books and articles cited in footnote 3 above for information on other neighborhoods in the colonial Chesapeake.

CHAPTER 5

NEITHER "COOPERS, HOGG TROUGH MAKERS, PEDLARS, COBLERS, TAILORS, [OR] WEVERS": THE LOCAL LEADERS OF CHARLES PARISH¹

Between 1630 and 1740, the Charles Parish men who served in county and local offices worked first to establish, and then to maintain, a social and political order that was based on the hierarchical system which the initial settlers had known in England. In spite of the fact that most of the men and women who lived in Charles accepted the notion that society was hierarchical in nature, the officials in the parish faced some challenges during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. First, there were the periodic violations of behavioral and moral standards, and affronts to the authority of Charles's local leaders. Second, gatherings, uprisings, and disputes posed a potential threat to the parish's social and political order. These events included the meetings of Quakers in the late 1650s and the first years of the next decade, Bacon's Rebellion in 1676, a controversy between the parish vestry and the Reverend James Sclater from 1708 to 1710, the refusal of landholders to allow the required land processionings to take place, and an increase in the number of families that argued amongst themselves about the ownership of land during the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The seventeenth-century events presented a challenge to the position and authority of the men who helped to maintain the social and political hierarchy in Charles. After the turn of the eighteenth century, the nature of the conflicts changed, and the officials in Charles dealt with problems that stemmed from the ways in which the parish had developed between 1630 and 1699.

¹York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills, (3) f. 175, 24 October 1662.

The following examination of the local leaders of Charles Parish reveals who was able to enter the officeholding ranks, how and at what age male residents became local officials, the offices that a man from Charles could expect to hold, and the ways in which leaders responded to social tensions and potential threats to the status quo in Charles and York County. A focus on the political careers of the prominent families in each of the five neighborhoods in the parish makes it possible to study officeholding patterns across time, to examine the personal qualities of leaders, and to trace changes in the positions which the local officials exercised between 1630 and the middle of the eighteenth century.

The Characteristics of Charles Parish's Political Leaders

What characteristics distinguished a man in the upper layer of the social and political order in Charles Parish from one who was at the bottom? In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Virginia, land and labor were the keys to wealth. Evidence from the inventories of 1085 York County residents who died between 1636 and 1777 indicates that the officeholders and jurors from Charles tended to have more valuable personal possessions and a greater number of slaves at the time of their deaths than their fellow parish residents did. The difference between the officials and the non-officials in Charles increased over the course of the eighteenth century. (Table 5.1)² The political leaders from the lower end of York County were also more likely to be property owners than the men and women who did not play an active role in local, county, or colonial government. (Table 5.2) Just fifteen of the males who

²Information on the inventories of Charles Parish and York County decedents is from the St. Mary's City Commission database. For an explanation of the wealth categories see Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "Inventories and the Analysis of Wealth and Consumption Patterns in St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1658-1777," The Newberry Papers in Family and Community History, Paper 77-4C; reprinted in Historical Methods, XIII(1980):81-104. The tables for Chapter 5 can be found in Appendix 5.

served as an officeholder or as a juror did not have evidence of landholding at the time of their death. The wealth of Charles's leaders is not as substantial when their estates, acreage, and slave holdings are compared to those of officeholders who lived in Williamsburg and Yorktown. In fact, the officials and jurors from the parish at the lower end of York County had less substantial estates than all the urban political players except those who only served as a member of a petit jury. The leaders from Charles did have larger estates than the non-officeholders from Williamsburg and Yorktown. (Table 5.3) The figures from the inventories indicate that the officials from Charles were among the wealthiest residents of their parish but that they did not have the personal possessions, land, or slave holdings of the more prominent officeholders who made their homes in York County's urban centers.³

Real estate and slaves were not the only determinants of one's place in the social hierarchy in Charles Parish or colonial Virginia. Social titles, militia rank, occupation, and officeholding also contributed to an individual's status. In addition, family connections, both those brought over from the Old World and those formed in Virginia, and personal qualities, including trustworthiness and a willingness to hold public office, affected the place which a man had in this colonial society.⁴ Respect gained through experience as a local official could increase one's standing. A man's status could improve or decline over the course of his lifetime in response to changes in his personal

³Linda H. Rowe, "Peopling the Power Structure: Urban Oriented Officeholders in York County, Virginia 1699-1780," (M. A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1989). Lorena S. Walsh discussed the difference in the amenities owned by urban and rural decedents in York County in "Urban Amenities and Rural Sufficiency: Living Standards and Consumer Behavior in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1643-1777," Journal of Economic History, XLII(1983):109-117.

⁴Rhys Isaac, The Transformation of Virginia 1740-1790, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1982), pp. 131-135; Charles S. Sydnor, Gentlemen Freeholders, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1952), pp. 60-73.

fortunes and his performance in office.

Officeholding and jury service are the clearest available measures of an individual's social standing in seventeenth- or eighteenth-century Charles Parish. York's justices of the peace and the vestrymen of Charles chose the individuals who would perform the necessary duties in the county and parish, respectively.⁵ The local magistrates and parish officials tried to choose responsible, trustworthy men for the tasks of jury service, clearing and repairing roads, and reporting breaches of the peace and behavioral norms because it was in the best interest of residents from all levels of the social order to have these jobs performed quickly and thoroughly.⁶

⁵In theory, the Governor appointed the sheriff and new members of the county court. However, he made his selection for sheriff from a list of three current justices of the peace that he received from the local magistrates in each county. Surveyors of the highways and constables received their appointments from the county court. After March 1661/2, the vestrymen selected the two churchwardens from among the members of the vestry and chose new vestrymen if any vacancies occurred. Local justices of the peace and vestrymen did not pick the county burgesses; these men were elected by all of the local freemen until October 1670; after that date, only freeholders could vote in burgess elections. Justices and members of the vestry may have influenced the list of candidates for the position of burgess. See William Waller Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, From the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619, 13 vols., (Richmond, New York, and Philadelphia, 1819-1823; reprint, Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia for the Jamestown Foundation of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1969), 1:333-334 (burgesses), 402 (justices of the peace), 404 (surveyors of the highway); 2:44-45 (vestrymen and churchwardens); 280 (burgess elections). For discussion of elections in colonial Virginia see Sydnor, Gentlemen Freeholders, Robert E. and B. Katherine Brown, Virginia 1705-1786: Democracy or Aristocracy, (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1964), and Lucille Griffith, The Virginia House of Burgesses, 1750-1774, (Northport, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1963).

⁶In their study of Middlesex County, Virginia, Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman noted that one's status set individuals apart from each other. They defined status as "an individual's position in some sort of normative hierarchy that in sum makes up the society within which one lives." See Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia 1650-1750, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984), pp. 142, 143-144, 152; *idem.*, A Place in Time: Explicatus, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984), pp. 133-164.

James R. Perry found that landholding, experience, and respect played an important part in the status of local leaders on Virginia's Eastern Shore. See James R. Perry, The Formation of a Society on Virginia's Eastern Shore 1615-1655, (Chapel Hill: The University of North

There were personal and financial standards that potential officeholders and jurors had to meet before they could be appointed to their positions. Justices of the peace were supposed to be "men of Substance and Ability of Body and Estate; of the best Reputation, good Governance, and Courage for the Truth; Men fearing God, not seeking the Place for Honour or Conveniency, but endeavouring to preserve the Peace and good Government of their County, wherein they ought to be resident...." Most justices of the peace did not have a background in law before gaining a seat on the county bench. York's magistrates learned through experience and by reading the law books that the county gave them.⁷ In his 1736 handbook for justices of the peace, George Webb noted that the three qualifications of a constable were:

1. Honesty; to execute his Office truly, without Malice, Affection, or Partiality.
2. Science; to know what he ought to do.
3. Ability, as well in Substance, or Estate, as in Body; to execute his Office diligently, and not thro' Impotency, or Indigence, to neglect it: For if poor Men, who live by the Labour of their own Hands, are elected to this Office, they will rather permit Felons, and other Malefactors, to escape, and neglect the Execution of their Office in other Points, than intermit their Labour, by which their Wife and Children are to be maintained.

The personal qualities that Virginians expected a constable to have probably could be extended to men appointed to serve as surveyors of the highways and proprietors of tobacco warehouses. Grand and petit jurors were also to be men of substantial estates.⁸

Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1990), pp. 196, 198, 201.

⁷See York County Orders, Wills, and Inventories (18) 458, 20 November 1738 for a reference to the law books furnished to the justices of the peace by York County. The county courts were to have copies of the statute books and handbooks for specific officers. Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 2:246.

⁸George Webb, The Office and Authority of a Justice of the Peace, (Williamsburg: William Parks, 1736), pp. 201, 89. See *ibid.*, pp. 90-97 (duties and fees of constables); 134 (justices of the peace can be removed from office for drunkenness); 143 (fees for several offices); 173 (duties of surveyors of the highways); 193-200 (duties of grand, petit, inquest,

Not all of the men who met the personal and financial guidelines could expect to be called on to serve as a juror or as an official. Webb noted that "aliens, or Foreigners not naturalized, Apothecaries, Persons indicted, attainted, or outlaw'd, Conspirators, Clergymen, and Infants under 14 Years, may not be Jurors in any Case whatsoever." In 1735, the York County clerk noted that "it is Ord. that it be a Standing rule of this Ct. that the Sher. doth not Sumon any person to be of the Grand Jury who he shall know to be a Drunkard, a common Swearer, a Sabbath Breaker, or Surveyor of the highways or guilty of any other misdemeanor." A man's religion determined whether or not he could serve in an official capacity. Men known to be Catholics were "liable to Grievous Fines, Penalties, and Disabilities, laid upon them, by divers Statutes; among which, there are some, viz. They must not practise Physic, or Law, nor bear any Office, Civil or Military, on Penalty of 100 l." A Quaker might "be appointed Constable, or chosen to any Parish Office, which he may execute by Deputy."⁹

The men who had the status, personal qualities, and religious background that qualified them to represent Charles in colonial and county government or to serve in a local capacity were small in number.¹⁰ On the average, officeholders and jurors made up between one-

and land survey jurors); 203, 206-207 (jurisdiction of justices); 292-306 (duties of sheriff and undersheriff). See also Rowe, "Peopling the Power Structure," pp. 41, 43.

See Jay B. Hubbell and Douglass Adair, "Robert Munford's 'The Candidates,'" William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., V(1948):217-257 for discussion of the proper conduct of candidates during burgess elections.

⁹Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 3:175-176; York County Orders, Wills, and Inventories (18) 226, 15 September 1735; Webb, The Office and Authority, p. 133. For additional exemptions see Webb, The Office and Authority, pp. 89 (from office of constable), 153 (ferry keepers free from officeholding).

¹⁰The gaps in the York County records reduced the number of known seventeenth-century officeholders and jurors from Charles Parish. The Rutmans noted that just over one-third of Middlesex's heads-of-family were active parish and county government in 1700. They included estate appraisers, ministers, and appraisers of work or labor as offices in their

tenth and one-quarter of the adult men who lived in Charles Parish during each year. (Table 5.4) Just 347 of the 1241 adult males (27.9%) born before 1741 played an active role as an officeholder or as a juror during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A total of 186 men out of the 1241 adult males (14.9%) held at least one office during their lifetimes. Ninety-seven of these 186 individuals (52.2%) exercised the power and authority of more than one position. One hundred forty-three (76.9%) of the group of 186 leaders in Charles also sat on a petit, grand, inquest, or land survey jury during their political careers.¹¹ An additional 161 males out of the 1241 adult men who lived in the parish received a summons to participate as member of a jury.

Residents of Charles who performed the duties of officials and jurors were set off from the majority of the adult males in the parish. The upper portion of the political hierarchy contained several different layers that distinguished the parish resident who held colony offices from those who did not advance past service as a York County justice of the peace, a surveyor of the highways, or as a petit juror. The thirty-seven offices to which inhabitants of Charles received appointments varied in the amount of power that one in the position had and in the range of one's authority. I ranked the offices held by the parish's residents on the basis of the extent of an officeholder's influence, whether it was over colonial matters, events in York County, or happenings in Charles Parish. I placed jury service below all offices, even those that gave men jurisdiction limited to their parish or precinct. (Figure 5.1) This decision reflects the fact that all property holders were eligible to be called upon to serve as a juror for

figures and I did not. See Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, p. 144; idem., A Place in Time: Explicatus, p. 142; and Figure 5.1.

¹¹It was a common and accepted practice in colonial Virginia for an individual to hold two or more offices at the same time. Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1975), p. 210.

Figure 5.1Colony Offices

councilor
 burgess
 collector--north side of the New Poquoson River
 collector--south side of the New Poquoson River
 colonel
 lieutenant colonel
 major
 coronet of troop of horse
 member of the committee of the forest

County Offices

justice of the peace
 sheriff
 deputy sheriff
 bailiff
 coroner
 tithetaker/tobacco receiver
 county surveyor
 inspector of lumber
 examiner of weights and scales
 his majesty's officer for York County

Juries

grand
 petit
 grand inquest/inquest
 land survey

Local Offices

churchwarden
 vestryman
 vestry clerk
 parish clerk/parish registrar
 constable/headborough
 surveyor of the highways
 assistant surveyor of the highways
 processioner
 tobacco inspector
 assistant tobacco inspector
 tobacco commissioner (possibly an additional duty of justices)
 tobacco teller
 tobacco warehouse proprietor
 captain
 captain of foot
 ensign
 lieutenant
 militia officer

Note: At least one man from Charles Parish filled each of these positions at least once between 1630 and 1740.

one court session. Personal qualities and status played an important role in the selection of a man who would perform the duties of any office for a year, if not longer.¹²

The Officeholders and Jurors of Charles Parish

The men who became officeholders during the initial thirty years of settlement in Charles were among the first individuals to make their homes in this parish. The York County clerk described Christopher Calthorpe Senior, John Chisman Senior, and Edmund Chisman Senior as gentlemen soon after they arrived in Charles. The reputations of these three men, based on their family connections, wealth, and experience as leaders in the Elizabeth City settlement, helped them to move into the upper level of the new parish's social and political order. Calthorpe and the elder Chisman brother, John, held several colony-level offices while Edmund was one York County's justices of the peace during the 1650s. It is likely that other early officeholders including Anthony Rooksby (vestryman), Thomas Harwood Senior (justice of the peace), and William Hay Senior (justice of the peace, sheriff, and burgess) also were named to positions of prominence and authority because of the status that they enjoyed prior to their relocation to Charles.

Two gaps in the York County records, the first between November 1648 and October 1657, and the second from December 1662 to February 1664/5, make it difficult to determine how long it took for a man to become a local leader after his arrival in Charles.¹³ (Tables 5.5a and

¹²For other ways to categorize and compare the duties of colonial, county, militia, and municipal offices see Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time: Explicatus, pp. 136, 142, 161 (notes 8 and 9); Rowe, "Peopling the Power Structure;" and Lorena S. Walsh, "Charles County, Maryland, 1658-1705: A Study of Chesapeake Social and Political Structure," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1977), chapter 6.

¹³It is possible to ascertain this information for some of the officials and jurors who arrived in Charles Parish between 1630 and 1659. The average number of years between arrival and first appointment for men who moved to Charles during the initial period of settlement differ only

5.5b) During the first three decades of settlement in the parish, a man usually was a propertyholder and a resident of Charles for a little more than eight years before holding an office and just over eight and a half years before serving on a jury. Less than twenty percent of the men who settled in Charles between 1630 and the early 1660s received an appointment to an office during their first twelve months in the parish. The senior Calthorpe, the elder Chisman brother, Rooksby, and Nicholas Pescod, who was a constable in the upper precinct of Charles, became leaders within a year of their arrival in Charles Parish.

Reputation and land ownership undoubtedly played a part in the quick choice of these four men to fill positions that gave them authority in matters at the colony, county, and local levels of government. However, prominence and property holding were not enough to assure a man who appeared to be of a high social standing that he would receive an appointment to an office or a jury soon after he settled in the parish. The justices of the peace wanted to know if a man was going stay in Charles Parish or if he was going to move on before they selected him to perform the duties of an official or a jurymen. The members of the county bench also needed time to determine if an individual had the right personal qualities to make a diligent, trustworthy official. On the surface, Thomas Curtis, Francis Hathaway, and Edward Wills appeared to be likely candidates for leadership positions because they all were landowners. However, these men left Charles for Gloucester County after a short time of residence in the parish. Francis Hayward Junior, a nephew of John Hayward Senior, a York County burgess from Charles Parish, also had the necessary qualities to follow in his uncle's footsteps. The younger Hayward changed his place of residence to Dorchester County, Maryland soon after he reached adulthood.

The selection of men who had a stake in the parish in which they

a small degree from those for later time periods.

lived helped to add a degree of stability to the local leadership and the community. (Tables 5.6a and 5.6b) Continuity among the local officials was especially important during the years in which Charles's society was formed. Between 1630 and the first years of the 1660s decade, Charles Parish experienced demographic instability as a result of migration in and out of the parish and the high mortality rates in the lower end of York County. The character of Charles's society changed during the 1660s as the parish began to enjoy an extended period of demographic expansion. It is likely that a majority of the inhabitants of Charles were natives of the parish by the end of the third quarter of the seventeenth century. A decrease in the out-migration and an improvement in the sex ratio enabled Charles's population to reproduce themselves. These developments helped to give the parish a measure of social cohesion and continuity that other areas in York County did not have until the end of the seventeenth century.¹⁴

The social stability in Charles translated into a greater degree of political stability.¹⁵ Between the middle of the 1660s and the beginning of the 1720s, there was an increase in the number of males from the parish who became officeholders and jurors. During the second stage of political development, a minimum of two and as many as four of the justices of the peace traveled to the monthly meetings of the York County Court from their homes in Charles Parish.¹⁶ Each man served an average of ten years on the county bench. (Table 5.7) An average of twenty-six Charles Parish men joined the ranks of jurymen per decade

¹⁴See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the demographic characteristics of Charles Parish and York County as a whole.

¹⁵Walsh found that the political order rested upon institutional stability rather than social stability in seventeenth-century Charles County, Maryland. See Walsh, "Charles County, Maryland," chapter 6.

¹⁶See Appendix 1, Section 1. Between 1670 and 1720, York County's parishes had between two and four residents who served as justices of the peace. Charles's representation on the county bench was either equal to or greater than that of the other parishes during the second stage of political development.

during the years between 1670 and 1720 and journeyed to Yorktown to participate in the monthly court sessions as petit, grand, and land survey jurors. There were two factors behind the large number of men from the parish who received an appointment as a juror. First, by the last third of the seventeenth century, the lower section of York had a growing white population and the other areas of the county did not. Second, the justices of the peace gave those of low and middling status a sense of involvement in their county, parish, and neighborhood by calling upon them to serve as jurors. The local magistrates in York were less likely to be challenged by men who had an active political role, even if it was a small one.

A total of forty-six men entered the constabulary between the mid-1660s and the beginning of the 1720s. Thirty-eight of their contemporaries were responsible for the maintenance of the roads that connected the residents of Charles with each other and with men and women who lived in the adjoining parishes and counties. These figures indicate that there was a sizeable group of men who were willing to serve their precincts in positions that required them to put in long hours, often without receiving compensation for their efforts. Charles Parish's constables and surveyors of the highway usually fulfilled the duties of their positions for two years, even though they were required by law to do so only for a twelve-month period. (Table 5.7) It is likely that men performed these responsibilities because they felt a sense of duty as a leader to do so. In addition, these parish residents probably hoped that diligent service in the area in which they lived would help them to advance to the next layer in Charles's political hierarchy.¹⁷

¹⁷Jack P. Greene noted that members of the gentry class felt an obligation to hold political offices because of their position at the top of the political and social order. He also pointed out that it was possible for a man with talent and ambition to work his way up and to hold positions of power and authority. See Jack P. Greene, "Society, Ideology, and Politics: An Analysis of the Political Culture of Mid-Eighteenth Century Virginia," in Jack P. Greene, Richard L. Bushman, and Michael

Beginning in the decade of the 1670s, justices of the peace could select officeholders and jurors from men who had either moved to the parish as adults or from those who had been born in Charles.¹⁸ (Tables 5.8a, 5.8b, 5.9a, and 5.9b) Although there was a steady increase in the number of parish natives who served as local officials during the last third of the seventeenth century, men born elsewhere continued to hold the majority of the positions of jurors and officeholders until early in the eighteenth century. The men in charge of York's county government in the latter years of the seventeenth century and in the first two decades of the eighteenth century knew more about the group of potential officeholders and jurors than their counterparts had known about likely candidates for office during the early stages of settlement. In spite of the greater knowledge that they had about men born in Charles, York's justices of the peace continued to wait before appointing parish natives to positions so that they could choose men who had a commitment to the parish and the county. (Tables 5.6a and 5.6b) The local magistrates wanted to maintain the county's political stability. The adult men who moved to the parish during the last third of the seventeenth century usually were residents of Charles for nearly ten years before receiving an appointment as an official and just under seven and a half years before being selected to serve on a jury. Most of the men whose birthplace was Charles Parish started their political careers within ten years of their twenty-first birthday. (Tables 5.10, 5.11a, and 5.11b)

There were exceptions to this pattern. Edmund Chisman Junior

Kammen, Society, Freedom, and Conscience: The Coming of the Revolution in Virginia, Massachusetts, and New York, ed. Richard M. Jellison, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1976), pp. 16, 20, 29-30. For information about the fees that officeholders received see Webb, The Office and Authority, pp. 143-144.

¹⁸Until the decade of the 1670s most, if not all, of Charles's officeholders and jurors were natives of England. By the last third of the seventeenth century, sons who had been born to some of the parish's local cavaliers during the latter part of the 1640s reached adulthood and became eligible to hold office.

received his appointment as a justice of the peace when he was twenty-two years old. Chisman became a magistrate at such a young age because of his status and wealth, and the fact that the death of his father Edmund Senior in 1674 opened a position on the court. Henry Hayward Senior, son of John Hayward Senior who had represented York County as a burgess in the decade of the 1650s, began his officeholding career at the age of twenty-five as the surveyor of the highways in Charles's upper precinct in 1676. Hayward's quick start in positions with local authority was also tied to the early death of his father in 1661. Samuel Tompkins Senior received his appointment as the constable for the lower portion of the parish soon after his twenty-seventh birthday and three years after the death of his step-father, William Arnold, a former surveyor of the highways in the same precinct.

The influence of a father or a step-father on the timing of a son's or step-son's entrance into the ranks of a local leader in the latter portion of the seventeenth century and the early years of the eighteenth century was two-fold. First, the reputation of a parent as a responsible, diligent official or juror passed on to his child or step-child. Second, the beginning date of a son's participation in any of the three levels of government or on a jury usually depended upon whether or not his father or step-father was alive. A comparison between the highest office that a son held and the most prominent position that his male parent attained indicates that the child of a local political leader could improve upon the role that his father held during the seventeenth century. In addition, it was possible for a man who did not inherit a reputation for political participation from his parent to move up into the ranks of Charles's local leaders. This suggests that officials of the parish were flexible enough to allow talented individuals to move up the political ladder.¹⁹

Sixty-five Charles Parish natives became officeholders between

¹⁹See Greene, "Society, Ideology, and Politics," pp. 16, 20.

1670 and 1720. There is information about the officeholding careers of the fathers of fifty-six of these officials. Just eight sons of this group of fifty-six men (14.3%) failed to rise to the level that their fathers had achieved.²⁰ (Table 5.12) The rest of the second generation of local leaders saw their standing in Charles's political hierarchy equal or improve upon that of their father. This group consisted of fourteen men who followed in their father's path as local officials, and one as a county leader. The sons of nine jurymen attained the positions of constable and surveyor of the highways. In addition, there were seventeen second-generation residents who became the first officeholders in their families. Sixteen of the forty-six men limited to jury service followed in their fathers' footsteps and twelve of the forty-six became the first male from their families to play an active role in local government. However, seventeen of their contemporaries failed to hold a position of the same rank and authority as the one that their male parent had held. It is likely that the men who became the first official or the first juror in their families were able to do so because York's justices of the peace recognized their leadership abilities.

Marriage connections also helped newcomers to Charles to enter the upper end of the parish's political hierarchy. Information about the status of the father-in-laws of the thirty-five officeholders and the thirteen jurors who were first-generation residents in Charles in the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries demonstrates that marriage ties could help a new arrival in the parish to become a local official or a juror.²¹ (Table 5.13) Just five of the thirty-five non-

²⁰Forty-three men born in Charles Parish during the seventeenth century became officeholders as adults. Eleven individuals in this group did so before the turn of the eighteenth century. Twenty-six of the sixty-eight jurors born in the parish before 1699 appeared as part of a jury in the last thirty years of the seventeenth century.

²¹There is no information in the York County records about the fathers of the forty-eight men who were born during the seventeenth century. Table 5.13 includes men who only served as jurors, not men who held offices in addition to their service as jurors.

native officeholders failed to reach the county- and colony-level positions that their wife's father had attained. The other thirty officials either held a similar position or improved upon the political standing of their fathers-in-law. The parish newcomers tended to perform the local-level duties of constable or surveyor of the highways. Eight of the thirteen immigrants to the lower end of York County who were called upon to serve just as jurors matched or passed the power that their in-law had exercised. The five remaining jurymen born outside of Charles did not equal the officeholding roles that their relatives had attained.

A total of three-quarters of the men who participated in government as officeholders, jurymen, or both during the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-centuries matched or improved upon the highest position that their fathers or their fathers-in-law had reached. However, the degree of upward political mobility was limited. The rank of a Charles Parish resident's first role affected the level of participation that he could expect to attain during his lifetime.²²

(Table 5.14) It was not likely that a man who began his public service career as a jurymen listening to the arguments of plaintiffs and defendants would progress beyond offices that dealt with local affairs

²²The Rutmans found that service as a petit juror in Middlesex County did serve as the first stage in political careers for a number of men. It was possible for a petit juror to progress first to service as a grand juror, then to a term as a surveyor of the highways or a constable, and finally to membership on the vestry or county court. In her study of the urban-oriented officeholders in York County, Rowe found that it was not easy for men to move between levels of offices in Williamsburg and Yorktown. Gwenda Morgan noted that middle level officials in Richmond County helped local government to function and provided stability to society, but did not gain a high rank or status. D. Alan Williams's work on Surry and Charles City counties indicated that there was a definite gap between justices of the peace and other county offices. Evidence suggested that jurors on the lower western shore of Maryland also were unable to move up to offices which would have given them power in their counties. See Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time: Explicatus, p. 145; Rowe, "Peopling the Power Structure," p. 3; Gwenda Morgan, "The Hegemony of the Law: Richmond County, 1692-1776," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, 1981), pp. 111-115; D. Alan Williams, "The Small Farmer in Eighteenth-Century Virginia Politics," Agricultural History, 43(1969):98; and Walsh, "The Development of Local Power Structures," pp. 61-62.

and become a justice of the peace.²³ Most of the men who began their leadership careers as local-level officials and received a summons to serve as a juror later in their lives were of a slightly higher political and social standing than those who were jurymen first. It was uncommon, but not unheard of, to find the name of a man who held colony-level position on the list of jurymen. Prominent residents of Charles such as John Hayward Senior, William Booth, Thomas Chisman Senior, and Thomas Roberts Senior appeared as land survey jurors in cases where they could provide information about the boundaries of a tract of land in a dispute over property. Also, the service of prominent men as members of an inquest jury imparted a degree of authority to an investigation into a suspicious or accidental death in their neighborhood.

The political order--jurymen, officeholder, local official and juror, county leader, and member of colony government--that was part of Charles Parish's hierarchy underwent some changes during the eighteenth century as a result of developments within and outside of the parish. First, after the turn of the eighteenth century, the majority of the local officials were natives of Charles. (Tables 5.8a, 5.8b, 5.9a, 5.9b, and 5.10) The upper level of the parish's political hierarchy also included men born in the adjoining counties of Elizabeth City and Warwick, and in neighboring Yorkhampton Parish. Many of the newcomers were not strangers to Charles. In 1718, Thomas Hind Junior left Elizabeth City County and moved to the one hundred acres of land which his father Thomas Hind Senior had purchased in 1678. The elder Edward Tabb settled his family on land he inherited from a relative, Edward Day, in the decade of the 1700s.

The eighteenth-century justices of the peace followed in the

²³Forty-two (79.2%) of the jurors whose date of birth was in the seventeenth century went on to exercise the responsibilities of constables, surveyors of the highway, vestrymen, churchwardens, militia lieutenants, and clerk of the Charles Parish vestry. Ten of their contemporaries took an active part in York's government as justice of the peace, York County sheriff, York County surveyor, and bailiff. See Table 5.16

tradition of their predecessors and made an effort to select only those men who appeared to have a commitment to Charles Parish as officials and jurymen. (Tables 5.6a and 5.6b) The eighteenth-century immigrants spent an average of just over seven years in the parish before being selected to participate as a local-level officer or as a juror. In fact, the typical newcomer became an active participant in local and county government at a quicker pace than the sons of Charles's leaders did. The seventy-eight officeholders born in the lower end of York County did not receive their initial appointment to an office until they were in their early thirties and their fathers had died. The delay was not as great for the 127 jurors who sat on their first jury within seven and a half years of their twenty-first birthday. (Tables 5.5a, 5.5b, 5.6a, 5.6b, 5.10, 5.11a, and 5.11b)

Just over seven-tenths of the eighteenth-century officeholders equaled or surpassed the highest position held by their fathers. Only seven men born in Charles Parish held offices that gave them to a smaller degree of authority than their fathers had exercised as colony- or county-level officials. Twenty out of the thirty-five parish natives who only served as jurors after 1700 reached or surpassed the political standing of their father. The other fifteen jurors born in Charles did not receive an appointment to a local-level office as their fathers had.²⁴ (Tables 5.12 and 5.13)

How was it possible for young men in Charles Parish to match, or in some cases, to improve upon, the political participation of their male parents or their fathers-in-law when the sons of officeholders in Middlesex County struggled during the first quarter of the eighteenth century just to reach the political level that their fathers had

²⁴It is probable that more than two non-natives married into Charles Parish families with officeholding and/or jury service traditions during the eighteenth century. It is difficult to trace women in the York County records after the first quarter of the eighteenth century because of the lack of detail in the county records.

enjoyed?²⁵ The answer lies in changes in the demographic characteristics of Charles Parish and in alterations to the structure of county government in York. The population growth that the parish had experienced since the middle of the decade of the 1660s ended after 1720. There were two factors behind the decline in the demographic fortunes of Charles: first, the growth and success of Yorktown and Williamsburg, and second, the pressure that the parish's population put on the available resources. The greater economic opportunities in the urban areas in York attracted several of Charles's residents, especially the merchants and the craftsmen. Other natives left the parish because they did not have enough land to support their families or to bequeath to their children.²⁶ The possibility of being named to a local position or to a jury increased for the men who stayed in Charles because of the out-migration of young adult males from the parish reduced the pool of potential political participants.

In addition to losing residents to York County's two towns, males in Charles saw a large portion of their political clout in the county shift to men who lived in the two urban centers. By the second half of the eighteenth century, the majority of the seats on the county bench belonged to merchants who lived in Yorktown and Williamsburg, not to rural residents. The mercantile magistrates used their numbers to influence the official business of the court. As a result of their actions in controlling the court docket, the York County court gained a

²⁵The Rutmans found that by the eighteenth century fewer sons were able to equal the level of officeholding which their fathers had achieved than had been able to match and even surpass their fathers in the seventeenth century. See Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time: Explicatus, pp. 147-154.

²⁶See Chapter 2 for an examination of migration, both into and out of Charles. For a discussion of push ("subsistence") and pull ("betterment") migration in early modern England see Peter Clark, "Migration in England during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries," in Peter Clark and David Souden, eds., Migration and Society in Early Modern England, (Totowa, New Jersey: Barnes & Nobles Books, 1988), pp. 213-252.

reputation of handing down judgments that were favorable to those involved in trade. The urban justices of the peace maintained their authority by naming other inhabitants of Yorktown and Williamsburg, not their rural contemporaries, to fill vacancies on the bench.²⁷ Only five men who had ties to Charles gained a seat as a magistrate during the second half of the eighteenth century. Each of these individuals also had connections to Yorktown. Daniel Moore, a man with marriage ties to several prominent families in Charles Parish and Elizabeth City County, became a justice of the peace in 1738. The younger Robert Shield and Augustine Moore, both natives of the parish, lived in Yorktown and worked as merchants when they received their appointments to the county bench in 1747 and 1767, respectively. Both men retained ownership of land in Charles after they moved to Yorktown, and Shield returned to the parish during the decade of the 1760s where he lived until his death in 1773. Augustine was the eldest son of Daniel Moore. Two justices, Starkey Robinson and the younger Anthony Robinson, maintained their residences in Charles Parish. However, they had connections to Yorktown through their cousin, another Anthony Robinson, who was a merchant in the port town during the third quarter of the eighteenth century.

The reduction in the participation of residents of Charles in county-level government as justices of the peace occurred at the same time that there was an expansion in the number of local-level offices that had to be filled. Two developments accounted for the growth of positions that gave a Charles Parish man a role to play in his neighborhood, precinct, or parish. First, as a result of the tobacco inspection acts passed by the General Assembly in October 1712, each warehouse in the colony had a proprietor or, after 1732, several

²⁷Rowe, "Peopling the Power Structure," pp. 55, 71-82; James Soltow, The Economic Role of Williamsburg, (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, distributed by the University Press of Virginia, 1965).

inspectors.²⁸ Experience gained through service as a constable or a surveyor of the highways raised one's chances of being appointed as the inspector at Roe's Warehouse which was located near the center of Charles Parish. Second, a growth in the number of roads that connected the parish's five neighborhoods to the upper portion of York and the adjoining counties of Warwick and Elizabeth City resulted in a need for more than two men to serve as surveyors of the highways by the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Men became responsible for the upkeep of a specific stretch of a road, usually near their plantations, instead of all the roads within one of the precincts of the parish. In 1724, members of the county court named Gerrard Roberts Senior as the surveyor of the roads near the headwaters of the Old Poquoson River and John Hay received responsibility for all the highways from Garrett's Run to Finch's Dam. Five years later, Jones Irwin was charged with care of all the paths from John Chisman's plantation down to John Doswell Junior's landing. Also, in 1729, the elder Francis Mennis was to tend the several roads between Chisman's Creek and the New Poquoson River.

Opportunities for residents of Charles to serve as petit jurors continued to grow after the middle of the eighteenth century. As the merchants in Yorktown and Williamsburg increased the amount of business they did with London merchants and local planters, the number of debt suits heard by the York County jurors also grew, especially during the 1760s and the 1770s. Twenty-three of the men who sat on juries in the eighteenth century listened to cases at twenty or more meetings of the

²⁸Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 4:32-36 (October 1712--warehouse to be maintained by proprietors), 92 (November 1720--warehouse in care of "capable person"), 251 (May 1730--Governor to appoint three tobacco inspectors, "fit and able persons, who are reputed to be skilful in tobacco"), 331-332 (May 1732--number of inspectors reduced to two), 390 (August 1734--justices of the peace can hear complaints against inspectors); Waverly K. Winfree, comp. and Randolph W. Church, ed., The Laws of Virginia Being a Supplement to Hening's The Statutes at Large 1700-1750, (Richmond: The Virginia State Library, 1971), pp. 75-90 (November to December 1713), 119-127 (November-December 1714), 207-212 (May to June 1722). In Charles, the owner of the land where the warehouse was located did not serve as the proprietor of the warehouse.

York County Court.²⁹ John Patrick Junior appeared at fifty-four court sessions over a twenty-two year period in the capacities of a petit and a grand juror. Richard Sclater Junior was close behind the younger Patrick with attendance on juries at a total of fifty-three court meetings. In contrast, the third Robert Shield and John Doswell Junior were the only two residents of Charles to serve as jurymen at least twenty times before the decade of the 1740s.

Between 1630 and the second half of the eighteenth century, the offices that Charles Parish residents could hope to attain declined in the extent and amount of authority. As a result, except for the men at the upper end of the parish's political hierarchy, the officials in Charles focused their efforts on maintaining the local tobacco warehouse, keeping the existing roads in repair and clearing new paths, providing for the parish poor, and making sure that men and women adhered to the behavioral norms, instead of dealing with county-wide problems as a member of the county bench. A concern with local affairs replaced the duty to nurture and support the stability of York County as a whole for those Charles Parish residents who had aspired to, but did not realize, county-level offices.

How the Leaders of Charles Parish Used Their Authority

The leaders of Charles, whether they served as a justice of the peace or as a surveyor of the highways, used the authority of their offices to foster political and social stability in their parish and York County. Legislation passed by the General Assembly during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries spelled out the powers of officeholders and outlined the behavior and activities that the local

²⁹If a juror attended twenty court sessions he probably heard more than one hundred cases argued because there was more than one jury trial during each meeting of the county court in the second half of the eighteenth century. A total of 183 Charles Parish men sat on a jury after 1700.

and county officials were to regulate. The laws served as guidelines, not as a set of hard and fast rules. The colonial officials could not foresee all the problems that would arise as leaders at all political levels worked to adapt the English system of government to the realities of life in Virginia. The statutes gave Charles's leaders room to assess the actions and the activities of their fellow residents in the lower end of York County and to respond to those that they saw as being a potential threat to the parish's stability in order to maintain the social and political order.

Local- and colonial-level officials faced challenges to social stability that came from outside and inside Charles. In 1644, the parish's residents and other areas along the James and York rivers experienced a second attack from the Indians of the Powhatan Confederacy. The uprising and the battles that followed caught the colonists off-guard and disrupted the lives of the survivors for several years.³⁰ The York County records contain evidence that Charles Parish officials worked to preserve the social order of their parish during this time of turmoil. In 1648, the parish vestrymen presented three men for offenses that questioned the authority of the church and of the local government.³¹ First, the justices of the peace found Oliver Segar guilty of "profaning the saboath day by going fishing and for not receiving the sacrement...." York's magistrates ordered Segar to build a "bridge over the swamp between Left Wm Worlegs & Capt Christo. Calthropes being the Churchway...." to make it easier for this

³⁰Richard L. Morton, Colonial Virginia, 2 vols., (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Virginia Historical Society, 1960), 1:153-157; Robert Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, ed. Louis B. Wright, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1947), pp. 59-61.

³¹Segar was one of a number of Charles Parish residents who did not attend church during the period under study. Holland and Dunning were the two of the three inhabitants of the lower end of York County who openly questioned the authority of the parish's leaders.

fisherman and for others to get to the parish church. Next, Daniel Holland protested his presentment for not attending church because Charles's minister,

Mr Charles Grimes would admitt of non to receive the sacrement but such as came to be [examined] & instructed to his chamber and that the cause of his not receiving was because that many hath been [illeg] for that purpose & instead of giving them instructions he hath [torn] full speeches and biding them learne better....

The justices of the peace decided that "daniell Holland [torn] court make proof thereof or otherwise he in the parish Church of the New Pawquoson in the time of divine servis aske the sd Mr Grimes forgiveness for so great an abuse & slander by him laid on the sd Mr Grimes...." Third, Richard Dunning "did in the presents of the Ct abuse the authority thereof by unreverent speeches uttered agt them & saying in particular to Mr Henry Lee that it were as good that they never sate for any good they did[.]" The members of the county court did not punish Dunning, who was one of the parish churchwardens, for questioning their position at the upper end of York's political hierarchy and their ability to provide strong leadership because it was his first offense.³²

It is likely that these three transgressions were more serious in the opinion of Charles Parish's vestrymen than were the wrongs that other men and women in Charles committed in the second half of the decade of the 1640s. Although the couples presented for adultery and fornication did violate behavioral and moral standards, they did not openly challenge the authority and integrity of the parish ministers and the local justices of the peace as Segar, Dunning, and Holland did. Segar took part in pleasurable and perhaps necessary activities instead of attending church and Holland stated that Charles's rector was not willing to give religious instruction to his parishioners. Dunning announced that the justices of the peace did not attend court on a

³²York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills, (2) 386-387, 25 July 1648.

regular basis and that when this group of men did meet, they did little good for the parish or for the county. The church and county governments provided the institutional basis of Virginia society, and Charles's leaders might have felt that the lay and ecclesiastical structures needed extra protection in the years following the second Indian attack.

The justices did not punish these three men equally for their offenses. York's magistrates made examples out of Segar and Holland because they were from the lower level of Charles's social order. Segar was a laborer who hired himself out for short periods of time and Holland was an indentured servant who received his freedom as a legacy from his master, Humphrey Hanmore. The punishment of a laborer and a former servant helped to reinforce the social distinctions among parish residents. It would have been difficult for the justices of the peace to have assigned Dunning the task of building a bridge or to have required him to ask for forgiveness during a church service because Dunning was also from the upper portion of the social hierarchy in the lower end of York County.³³

Another perceived threat to the social order came from a group of men and women who were pacifists. During the late 1650s and the early 1660s, the meetings of the Quakers concerned the leaders of Charles. In September 1659, York's justices of the peace decided that

such frequent meetings & unlawfull Assemblyes doe tend to the disturbance of the peace & great hurt of many the Inhabitants & supposing such meetings to be oftner & consequently the danger of misleading & secuding the people greater in this County then in the other parts of the Countrey...Wherefore they humbly offer to the Hoble Governrs Condideracon the premisses & earnestly desyre his Honour to take such speedy Course with & against the Quakers as shall appeare agreable to Law....³⁴

³³York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (2) 145, 16 June 1646; p. 208, 26 January 1646/7.

³⁴York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (3) f. 66, 24 October 1659. See also Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 1:532-533.

Whatever assistance that Governor Berkeley gave the residents of this county in the matter of the Quakers did not put an end to the meetings of the people of this faith and their attempts to convert residents of York. Two years later, the Reverend Justin Aylmer charged Thomas Bushrod of York Parish, one of York County's burgesses, with speaking out against the clergy and being a Quaker. Aylmer testified that Bushrod stated that "the Quakers should & would continue their meetings in despite of yor petr or any others that they would meet the Sunday following his wife should be there...." The minister believed that "Church & State at once strook at (according to the usuall practice of those Dangerous persons the Quakers.)" The sheriff of York County arrested Bushrod and put him in jail without bail because he "used much mutenous sclanderous & abusive language....tending highly to the disturbance of his Majestys peace in this his Collony & being of very dangerous consequence both to Church & State." It appears that Bushrod kept his religious views to himself after 1661. Bushrod continued to play an active role in local matters during the rest of his life and he received an appointment as a justice of the peace in 1673. His request to be buried "w/o common prayers or other customs used at funerals" indicates that Bushrod retained his belief in the Quaker religion until his death in late 1676 or early 1677.³⁵

Elizabeth Bushrod, Thomas's wife, was not the only woman who attended Quaker meetings. In August of 1661, York's justices of the peace noted that

it appeares that all Quakers are to be conformable to the Law as from publicacon thereof severall meetings have been of the said Quakers in this Countrey especially by women whereuppon his Matjies said Governr ord that all women who should after publicacon of the said proclamacon and explanacon continue their

³⁵York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (3), f. 131 and 127, 26 August 1661; *ibid*, (6) 5, 29 April 1677. It is possible that Bushrod and his immediate family members held meetings of their own. In September 1663, the General Assembly prohibited gatherings of five or more Quakers who were above the age of sixteen years. See Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 2:180-183.

said unlawfull meetings & breach their schismaticall and hereticall doctrines & opinions should by their adjoining magestrate be tendered the oathes of Supremacy & allegiance & the refusees to be Imprisoned according to Law.

Mary Chisman, the wife of Edmund Chisman Senior, was among this group of females. The county clerk noted that "it appearing by 2 oathes taken this day in Court that severall Quakers mett the 25th instant in the woods amongst which were Mrs Mary Chisman and 2 or 3 Negroes belonging to hir husband." The elder Chisman was to "restreyne his said Negroes & whole family from repairing to the said unlawfull Assemblies at his perill."³⁶ It is likely that Chisman shared his wife's belief in the Quaker faith. Edmund and Mary Chisman did not have the births of their four children, Edmund Junior, Thomas Senior, Jane Chisman Reade, and Mary Chisman Curtis recorded in the Charles Parish Birth Register. It is possible that the younger Edmund followed the doctrine of the Society of the Friends as an adult because he married Lydia, the daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Bushrod, late in the decade of the 1660s. The birth of Edmund and Lydia Chisman's son, John Junior, in 1669 did not appear in the parish record.³⁷

In the opinion of the colonial leaders, county and parish officials needed to keep an eye on the behavior of their neighbors, especially professed or supposed Quakers, in order to prevent clandestine meetings from growing into something more dangerous.³⁸ The fact that women and slaves attended meetings where they listened to

³⁶Ibid., (3) f. 125, 26 August 1661; Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 2:48, 180-183, 198. In 1699, the General Assembly extended the English Act of Toleration to the Protestant dissenters in the colony. Ibid., 3: 171, 360.

³⁷The chances that either the Charles Parish minster or the parish clerk neglected to enter the births of these five Chisman children in the parish birth register are small. Daniel Blake Smith estimated that the minister and the parish clerk failed to record just six percent of the births of children to Charles Parish parents in the register. See Daniel Blake Smith, "Mortality and Family in the Colonial Chesapeake," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, VIII(1978):406-407.

³⁸See Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 2: 180-183.

Quaker ideas was of great concern to the leaders of York County's and Charles Parish's hierarchical, patriarchal society for two reasons. First, if a woman attended a gathering outside of her home, it appeared that a man could not control the actions of his wife, daughter, or female servant or slave. The teachings of the Quakers could be dangerous to the social order in Charles and other areas of Virginia because the Society of the Friends allowed women to speak out during the meetings.³⁹ Second, the mixing of white women and black slaves away from the watchful, protective eye of a husband, a father, or a master challenged the separation of the races. This division between white and black was essential to the system of slavery that the General Assembly began to create during the decade of the 1660s.⁴⁰

A short time after the tensions caused by the Quaker gatherings had calmed down, a third resident of York County questioned the abilities of some, and possibly all, of the local justices of the peace and their place at the top of York's social and political hierarchy. In 1662, William Hatton called the members of the county bench "coopers, Hogg trough Makers, Pedlars, Coblers, Tailors, Wavers & saying they are not fitting to sit where they doe sit."⁴¹ Hatton pointed out the kinds of persons whom he did not feel should be members of York County's

³⁹Frederick B. Tolles, Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia 1682-1763, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948), pp. 3-28.

⁴⁰York's planters shifted to slavery earlier than many plantation owners in other areas of the colony did. For discussion of the development of slavery and the separation of whites and blacks see Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1975); Kathleen M. Brown, "Gender and the Genesis of a Race and Class System in Virginia, 1630-1750," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1990), chapters 2 and 3.

⁴¹York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills, (3) f. 175, 24 October 1662. Three months later, Hatton "acknowledged the abuses & scandalls towards the Court...asked for givenesse for the same promising not to comitt the like for the future." Ibid., f. 182, 29 December 1662. The only other reference to Hatton was in October 1659 when he served as an inquest juror. Unfortunately, there is no information about what prompted his outburst against York's justices of the peace.

court: men who worked with their hands or who wandered from place to place while selling goods. It appears that other men in York County and Charles Parish shared Hatton's opinion that craftsmen and peddlers did not have the proper status, personal qualities, or talent to serve as a justice of the peace. (Table 5.15) During the seventeenth century, just three craftsmen from Charles, the blacksmith Owen Davis, a carpenter named Edward Day, and John Drewry Junior, a wheelwright, held local offices. Davis was a constable and a vestrymen, Day was also a member of the constabulary, and Drewry served as a surveyor of the highways and on the parish vestry. Men saw residents of Charles who operated the local mills and tan yards in a different light because the grinding of grain was important in colonial communities and the tanning of hides and leather required skill.⁴² Thomas Chisman Senior, Thomas Harwood Junior, and the elder Henry Hayward operated mills located on the headwaters of the New Poquoson River and served as justices of the peace beginning in the 1670s. William Calvert, who married Hayward's widow and took over the tan yard in 1662, was a surveyor of the highways for the upper precinct of Charles. It is likely that his early death in 1666 was all that prevented him from holding more powerful offices. Charles's mill owners and tan yard operators also tended to have above average personal and landed wealth. The two Henry Haywards and the elder Thomas Chisman were among the wealthiest men in the lower end of York County. Appraisers noted the value of the estates of just two craftsmen, Owen Davis and John Drewry Junior. Their personal worth, L182 and L163, respectively, put them just above the parish average. It

⁴²Stephen Innes noted that "as on the English manor, the most symbolic expression of local pre-eminence was ownership of the community mills....Because grain was a staple in the diet of all early New Englanders, mill owners were invariably powerful figures within the township." A water-powered mill could reduce the costs of labor to a tenth of the expenditures to grind grain by hand. Innes pointed out that "making leather out of animal hides was an exceedingly laborious, time-consuming, and often unpredictable process and men experienced in this trade were hard to come by." Stephen Innes, Labor in a New Land: Economy and Society in Seventeenth-Century Springfield, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 34, 81-82, 88-90.

is likely that the estates of the other men who worked in the parish's service center did not need to be appraised because of their small value.⁴³

In addition to differences in occupations and wealth, the political leaders reserved specific activities for themselves as a way to maintain a separation between the parish's and the county's social layers. In September 1674, the justices of the peace fined James Bullock, a tailor, 100 pounds of tobacco because he "made a race for his mare to run with a horse belonging to Mr Mathew Slader for 2000 lbs. of tob. & ca. & it being contrary to Law for a labourer to make a race being a sport only for gentlemen." Thirty years later, a horse race between Richard Dixon and Thomas Rogers, two upper-middling planters, for ten pounds sterling did not cause a problem because both men, who were cousins, had ties to several prominent families in York and Gloucester counties.⁴⁴

The potential harm to the social order from James Bullock's horse race probably seemed minor to county and local leaders in Charles after the beginning of Bacon's Rebellion in 1676. The York County Court records contain small pieces of information about the role that

⁴³Henry Hayward Senior's personal possessions were worth L618 and the younger Henry Hayward's personal items totaled L833. Appraisers made an inventory of the first Thomas Chisman's estate and valued the possessions of his widow, Elizabeth, at L547. John Hayward Senior was the exception among the mill and tan yard owners. The value of his estate was only L47. Unlike his son, grandson, and members of the Chisman family, the elder John Hayward was a young man when he died. Also, shortly before his death, Hayward set up the tan yard and invested in livestock.

⁴⁴Ibid., (5) 84, 10 September 1674; (12) 206, 24 May 1704. Apprentices, artificers, fishermen, husbandmen, laborers, mariners, all servants, and waterman were prohibited from gaming Webb, The Office and Authority, pp. 165-168. For discussion of the ways in which the Virginia gentry distinguished themselves from the rest of society see Isaac, The Transformation of Virginia; A. G. Roeber, "Authority, Law, and Custom: The Rituals of Court Day in Tidewater Virginia, 1720-1750," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., XXXVII(1980):29-52; and T. H. Breen, "Horses and Gentlemen: The Cultural Significance of Gambling Among the Gentry of Virginia," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., XXXIV(1977):239-257.

residents of Charles played in the uprising led by Nathaniel Bacon.⁴⁵ It is known that one of the justices from this parish, Edmund Chisman Junior, relinquished his social and political position when he became one of Nathaniel Bacon's followers. The younger Chisman joined the rebels sometime after the June 1676 court session, and Robert Beverley captured him after the death of Nathaniel Bacon in October of the same year. Lyon G. Tyler wrote that when Chisman "was arraigned before Berkeley, and was asked 'why he had engaged in Bacon's designs,' his brave young wife [Lydia] took all the blame on herself and besought the Governor 'to hang her and pardon him.' The Governor retorted with an indecent reproach, but Chisman cheated the gallows by dying in prison 'of feare, of grieffe or bad usage.'"⁴⁶ York's justices of the peace allowed Lydia to inherit a portion of her deceased husband's estate even though they could have confiscated all of his real and personal property to pay the county's debts.⁴⁷

There is evidence that several of Charles's residents participated in Bacon's Rebellion on the side of Governor William Berkeley. In August of 1676, John Nixon decided that he would ride a horse that belonged to John Needler of Elizabeth City County. Nixon's commander, William Weatherell, ordered him to take one of Needler's horses, perhaps because Nixon did not have a horse of his own. After Needler

⁴⁵There are no court records from July of 1676 until April of the following year. Because only four pages of the sixth book of deeds, orders, and wills are missing, it is likely that the York County court did not meet for nine months during and immediately after Bacon's Rebellion. For discussion of Bacon's Rebellion see Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom, chapter 13 and Warren M. Billings, John E. Selby, and Thad W. Tate, Colonial Virginia--A History, (White Plains, New York: KTO Press, 1986), chapter 4.

⁴⁶Lyon G. Tyler, "Maj. Edmund Chisman, Jr.," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., I(1892): 89-98.

⁴⁷The house of another rebel, Thomas Hansford, became the York County courthouse for several years after the insurrection. Governor Berkeley allowed York's magistrates to use Hansford's house because his estate "for his [rebellion] & treason is forfeited to his sacred Majestie...." York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (6) 9, 24 April 1677.

successfully petitioned Nixon for the payment of the cost of the horse, Nixon sued Weatherell to recover the money that he paid Needler. Two years later, in November 1678,

it appearing by the testimony of Mr William Arnold and Mr Richard Trotter that a horse belonging to Mr John Needler was in the late troublesome times ridd by Mr John Nixon but by order of Mr Wm Weatherall his Comander it is therefore ord that sd Weatherall make John Nixon satisfaction for sd horse the sd Nixon having already satisfied Needler for same & weatherall pay costs als exec.⁴⁸

In addition to Weatherell, Nixon, Arnold, and Trotter, it appears that Henry Faison Junior fought against Bacon and his followers. In August 1678, York's justices ordered the younger Faison to pay Nixon "one case of pistolles and Holsters and brestplate and a sword in kinde or otherwaies returne the value."⁴⁹ William Arnold used equipment that belonged to a rebel during the uprising. Nixon and William Wise Senior testified that Arnold "had noe more then one Carbine & belt of Mr John Pages armes."⁵⁰ Like Edmund Chisman Junior, John Page was a York County justice of the peace when he took the oath of the Baconians against the government of Sir William Berkeley. However, Page was luckier than Chisman. He avoided capture, recanted his support of Nathaniel Bacon, and regained his seat on the county bench in March 1676/7. In part, Page owed his reappointment to John Baskervyle, the clerk of York County and a man who remained loyal to Berkeley. Baskervyle asked the governor to name men to the York County bench because there were not enough officials to conduct business.⁵¹ It is probable that Berkeley, and later Herbert Jefferys, reappointed magistrates who disavowed Bacon's oath to their former positions in county government in order to restore

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 26, 27, 14 January 1677/8; p. 79, 13 November 1678; p. 78, 24 February 1678/9.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 46, 27 August 1678.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 52, [24 April 1678].

⁵¹Ibid., p. 9, 24 April 1677; *ibid.*, p. 52, 30 March 1678.

peace and order to all the counties that had felt any disruption from the rebellion as quickly as possible.

It is likely that Charles's leaders were especially concerned about challenges to the authority of a constable and the improper behavior of a local official in the years after Bacon's Rebellion. In the summer of 1684, William Tompkins "with other his confederates & associates did then & there challenge severall persons to fight...." The local constable, John Wayman, stepped in to try to stop the fighting. When the members of York's bench learned that William Tompkins contested the authority of a member of the constabulary by "running up to the sd constable with his fist in his face, bidding damn his power & the peace too" they gave him a fine of 500 pounds of tobacco.⁵² It is possible that Tompkins, a younger son of a middling planter named Humphrey Tompkins Senior, felt frustrated by his lack of political power and property holding in Charles. He did purchase a lot in Yorktown in 1691, but forfeited ownership because he did not build on it within a year. Tompkins's older brother, Samuel Tompkins Senior, served two terms as constable for the lower precinct of Charles Parish and inherited the family's plantation on the south side of the New Poquoson River.

All of Charles's leaders had to meet the same moral and behavioral standards as the other colonists did, especially if they wanted to appear to have the personal qualities of an official. The conduct of one of the parish's officeholders brought his own political downfall. In May 1689, William Booth, a justice of the peace from Charles Parish, arrested Francis Penrice, a constable,

for fornication and basterdy comitted w/the sd Penrice's wife's owne sister, & hee acknowledging the same in ct, itt is therefore ord that Penrice for that most heighinous sin, doth in a white sheete bare leggs & bare foote in the parish church of Pocoson publickly for 3 Sundays successively stand dureing the prayers & divine service, & acknowledge his sd crime therein.

⁵²Ibid., p. 603, 24 September 1684.

Four months later, Robert Kerby became the constable for the lower precinct of Charles in place of Penrice who had left the parish and county.⁵³ Perhaps Penrice moved away from the area in which he grew up because he realized that he had done irreparable damage to his character and status in Charles.

Between 1630 and 1699, there were several challenges to the social and political order that Charles's leaders had to meet in order to maintain social stability and their authority in the parish. The justices of the peace used a combination of fines and harm to one's reputation to punish the men and women who violated standards of moral behavior and challenged the authority of lay and ecclesiastical leaders. For the most part, residents of the parish viewed their local officials as men who were capable and worthy of exercising the power and influence of their positions. Richard Dunning, Daniel Holland, and William Hatton were the only individuals who questioned the legitimacy of their officials. The small number of challenges indicates that the parish's residents approved of or at least accepted the authority of local- and county-level leaders.

During the seventeenth century, Charles's men who served as justices of the peace, constables, surveyors of the highways, vestrymen, and churchwardens worked together to insure the harmony and the stability of the area in which they lived: William Booth, a justice of the peace, arrested Francis Penrice, a constable; the churchwardens of

⁵³Ibid., (8) 249, 24 May 1689; 313, 24 September 1689. For discussion of the punishment that the York County justices of the peace gave Penrice for fornication see Kathleen M. Brown, "From 'Foul Crimes' to 'Spurious Issue': Sexual Regulation and the Social Construction of Race," (paper presented at the Institute of Early American History and Culture colloquium, October 1990), pp. 339-348, 385 n. 25.

Unfortunately, the court clerk did not make a note of what kind of misbehavior resulted in James Gemmill being replaced as constable for the lower section of the parish in December of 1739. Although Gemmill experienced a decline in his social and political standing, his actions did not cause him to leave Charles or prevent his son John from becoming a surveyor of the highways thirty years later. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (18) 531, 17 December 1739.

Hampton Parish presented William Hatton for his slander of the members of the county bench; and the local magistrates fined William Tompkins for contesting the authority of a constable. However, this sense of cooperation among Charles's political leaders did not last long after the turn of the eighteenth century.

Discord among the prominent men in Charles Parish became visible in first days of March 1707/8. The two Henry Haywards, the elder John Doswell, and John Drewry Junior complained that Thomas Nutting, Armiger Wade Senior, Thomas Roberts Senior, Daniel Taylor, John Hunt Junior, the second John Parsons, and the older John Tomer refused to allow Thomas Chisman Senior and the third Robert Shield to cast a vote at a meeting of the vestrymen. The plaintiffs told Edmund Jenings, the President of the Council, that members of the vestry were in disagreement about whether they should repair the present church or whether they should construct a new building for religious services.⁵⁴ The older Robert Curtis, the third Robert Shield, Henry Hayward Senior, John Drewry Junior, the first Thomas Chisman, and the elder John Doswell, members of the "Vestre of the uper p'cinct of Charles Parish, Send by Henry Hayward, Jnr., & John Doswell, Jnr., who are members of ye aforesaid Vestre, and Humbly begg your Honners Gracious Favour in ordering a Reconciliation among us..." Less than two weeks after the discord became public, the Council decided that "the present Constitution of the said Vestry is irregular & illegal And for removing all differences that have or may arise in the said Parish by continuing the said Vestry It is

⁵⁴In February 1707/8, the grand jury presented the churchwardens of Charles Parish for "not repairing the church & payling in the Church yard." York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (13) 120, 25 February 1707/8. It is possible that the faction from the upper precinct wanted to move the church from Calthorpe's Neck to the center of the parish. Contests over the location and construction of churches were often heated in the colonial period. The decision to build a new church involved raising taxes, upset those with vested interests in the location of the old church, and pleased individuals who might profit from the move. The Rutmans found that the residents of Middlesex paid to repair the county's church several times in the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries. They also fought over the construction of a new courthouse in Urbanna. Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex, pp. 202-233.

ordered that a new vestry be fairly and legally elected & chosen by the Freeholders and householders of the said Parish...." The Councilors called for an election in April 1708.⁵⁵

The differences between the two groups of vestrymen did not disappear with the selection of a new governing body for the Charles Parish church. After the vestry election in the fourth month of 1708, the new vestrymen wanted to take their oath of office. However, several residents of the parish complained that the results of the voting were not fair. In June of that year,

upon hearing the Testimonys of the severall Witnesses brought by each party with the arguments of the Coucil thereupon, It hath been made appear to this Board that there were diverse indirect practices & irregular proceedings in the sd Election Tending rather to the widening the differences that had arisen in that parish than any way to unite the minds of the Inhabts there as was the true intention of and accordingly recommended by this Board.

In spite of the presence of the York County sheriff at another election in June of 1708, there were new charges of irregularity in the polling process. Edward Tabb Senior and the elder Henry Hayward noted that "the Votes of the parishioners were taken at their own houses twelve days before the day of the sd Election & two days before publication of the order and diverse other irregularitys were committed in the same." In October of 1708, the Council called for a third election of vestrymen for Charles Parish later in the same month. After listening to the petitions of members of the new vestry and residents of Charles at a meeting in February 1708/9, the Councillors decided that the election in

⁵⁵Wm. P. Palmer, ed., Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts, 1652-1781, Preserved in the Capitol at Richmond, (Richmond: R. F. Walker, Superintendent of Public Printing, 1875), p. 120; H. R. McIlwaine et al., eds., Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, 6 vols., (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1927-1966), 3:168. The vestry records, which are not extant, probably would provide information about the discord between the vestrymen from the two precincts of Charles.

October of the previous year had been a legal one.⁵⁶

The problems with the vestry still were not settled. Members of the Charles Parish vestry petitioned the Council again in April 1709.

This time,

seven members of the late elected Vestry of Charles parish Who have qualified themselves setting forth that the other five persons Chosen of the said Vestry have refused according to law to take their Oaths or act as Vestrymen & desireing the advice of the Board whether the petitioners may act as a Vestry and proceed to Chose others in the room of those that have refused to qualify themselves, The Council are of Opinion that the five persons that have refused be again desired to qualify themselves & in case they shall refuse then the petrs may Choose five other of the most able and discreet freeholders to Compleat the number of the said Vestry.⁵⁷

This refusal to take the oath of a vestryman suggests that the election results did not give each of the sides in the 1707/8 dispute an equal number of representatives on the governing body of Charles's church. If the five men in the minority did not take the oath of office, the seven who had done so would be able to select other men to fill the empty seats on the vestry. The result would be a vestry that supported the beliefs of the vestrymen who had sworn their oath of office. It is likely that the five men took the necessary step to join the vestry in order to insure that their concerns would be heard because there are no references to additional elections.

Even after the vestrymen chosen in October 1708 took their oaths, Charles Parish was not free from internal conflict. Next, members of the vestry had a dispute with their minister, the Reverend James Sclater Senior. Some of the men on the governing board of the Charles Parish church wanted to remove Sclater from the position that he had held in their parish since 1686. Edmund Jenings expressed his feelings and concern on this matter in a letter to the vestry members in September

⁵⁶McIlwaine et al., eds., Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, 3:185-186, 197, 207-208. See also pp. 183, 192, 205.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 216.

1709. This prominent colonial official wrote that

I can't tell how you may apprehend the consequences of such a proceeding, as you seem to have undertaken, but for my part, think it of so extraordinary a nature, both in respect to the whole Country & the Clergy in general, (for whome I shal always have a just and equal regard,) that I intend to have ye advice of the Council thereon, at their first meeting, after wch you shal have a further answer: In the mean time, I expect and require it of you, that you will give Mr Sclater no interruption in ye Exercise of his ministry in Yor Parish, but that he may be permitted to discharge it as heretofore--I think fitt also to satisfy you, that I can't agree in opinion with you as to removing ministers, that have so long officiated in a parish as Mr Sclater has in yors without a legal hearing before proper Judges--I have some interest in yr parish, and have a regard for its Inhabitants, and notwithstanding the just respect I have for ye Clergy, you may depend on equal Justice & favour, & I shal be extremely Concerned, if you force me to begin the Execution of that Right, her Majesty hath been pleased to intrust me with, in such a manner as may not be gratefull to you--You seem to hint, I had recd informations from Mr Sclater--I can assure you Mr Sclater has never given me any informations, that have prevailed with me, so much as my own observations, and the accts of persons altogether disinterested, whom I had no reason to disbelieve, who have told me of yr proceedings with astonishment at yr rashness & inconsideration.⁵⁸

In October 1709, the Council heard the arguments of the vestrymen and the rector of Charles Parish. The Councilors sided with Sclater in this matter. The colonial officials found that

the said Vestry have at sundry times shutt the Church door against the said Minister to the great disturbance of the parish and endangering the publick peace. It is Ordered that the Churchwardens and Vestry of the said parish do not presume to shutt the Church doors or to hinder Mr Slater from performing divine Service and preaching in the said Church as he formerly used to do and for the more decent Celebration of the publick Worship that the said Churchwardens and Vestry cause the books and Ornaments of the Church to be putt up every Sunday as usual untill the differences between them and their Minister be legally determined.

The vestrymen did not listen to the warning that they received from the Council. In December of 1709, the Councilors learned that since October of that year the vestry had "shutt the Church Doors and lockt up the reading Desk, and by other unwarrantable means riotously hindered the

⁵⁸Palmer, ed., Calendar of Virginia State Papers, p. 133. In 1709, Jenings owned the 1650 acre tract known as Boar Quarter.

said Mr Slater from the exercise of his Ministry to the Disturbance of the peace and the Contempt of the aforesaid Order." This judicial body ordered "that Mr Attorney General do consider of the proceedings of the said Vestry and thereupon prosecute according to Law such as have been guilty of the breach of the Peace and Disturbance of the divine Service in the said parish."⁵⁹

In May of 1710, Henry Hayward Junior and Edward Tabb Senior, the churchwardens for Charles Parish, were the plaintiffs in a civil suit against Reverend Sclater. The following month the churchwardens asked to have the case dismissed.⁶⁰ Perhaps the prosecution for disturbing the peace and church services caused the churchwardens and the members of the vestry to drop their action against Charles's minister. It is not known if the dispute between the vestrymen and the rector of the parish continued after this date because the York County and colonial records are silent on the matter. It is known that Sclater continued to serve Charles in the role of minister until his death in November 1723.

Were these two disputes involving the Charles Parish vestry connected? What part did the repair of the standing church or the construction of a new building play in either or both of the conflicts? Did the church officials put aside their differences in order to deal with their mutual dislike of Sclater? Or did one group of the vestrymen disapprove of Sclater? Landon C. Bell suggested that the dispute over the parish church brought the argument between the vestrymen who approved of Sclater against those who did not into view. He also thought that the conflict might have involved "the question of the power and authority of the colonial officials to keep a minister in the office of rector of a parish, against the will and wishes of the vestry, and to tax the inhabitants for his support, whether they wished his services or

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 225, 229. See also Ibid., p. 222.

⁶⁰York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (14) 12, 24 May 1710; 17, 24 June 1710.

not...." Bell believed that it was possible that the vestrymen who gained office in October 1708 disapproved of Sclater and took steps, including shutting the church doors, in order to force him to leave his position as minister of Charles Parish.⁶¹

Bell's interpretation of the causes of the controversy that troubled Charles between early 1708 and the fall of 1710 rests upon a split over Sclater between vestrymen from the two precincts of the parish. It is unlikely that the location of a vestryman's house would have been the sole determinant in whether or not a man approved or disapproved of a minister. The division of both the vestry sitting in March 1707/8 and of the vestrymen selected in October 1708 was almost, but not completely, along precinct lines. (Figure 5.2) When one looks at the composition of the 1709 vestry, Bell's explanation of the troubles in Charles becomes less satisfying. Only three of the twelve vestry members were from the lower precinct of the parish. If the dispute was one over which section of the parish would control Charles and the fate of its rector, it is likely that the voters in the lower precinct would have cast their ballots for more men from their area of Charles than they did.

Family and friendship connections played a part in determining which side a member of the vestry took in this dispute. Daniel Taylor and John Tomer Senior both lived in the upper section of Charles, but sided with the vestrymen from the lower portion of the parish. Taylor was a friend of Sclater and the god father of one his daughters. Tomer had marriage ties to the minister. The upper precinct's two John Doswells were relatives of both Nutting and Tomer, but joined with the Haywards and Thomas Chisman Senior in the conflict. In this case, the friendship bonds that joined the Doswells, the Haywards, and the elder Thomas Chisman were older and stronger than the family ties.

⁶¹Landon C. Bell, ed., Charles Parish, York County, Virginia. History and Registers Births 1648-1789 Deaths 1665-1787, (Richmond: The Virginia State Library, 1932), pp. 8, 16, 19.

Figure 5.2

Members of the Charles Parish Vestry, May 1704

Thomas Nutting--lower
 Richard Dixon--lower
 Owen Davis--upper
 John Doswell Senior--upper
 Henry Hayward Junior--upper
 James Calthorpe--lower
 John Hunt--lower
 [Robert Shield]--upper
 [Thomas Chisman Senior]--upper
 Henry Hayward Senior, churchwarden--upper
 Armiger Wade Senior, churchwarden--lower

Members of the Charles Parish Vestry, March 1707/8

Opposed to Sclater:

Henry Hayward Senior--upper
 John Doswell Senior--upper
 Henry Hayward Junior--upper
 John Drewry Junior--upper
 Thomas Chisman Senior--upper
 Robert Shield III--upper
 Robert Curtis Senior--upper
 John Doswell Junior,
 churchwarden--upper

In Favor of Sclater:

Thomas Roberts Senior--lower
 Armiger Wade Senior--lower
 Thomas Nutting--lower
 Daniel Taylor--upper
 John Hunt Junior--lower
 John Parsons Junior--lower
 John Tomer Senior--upper

Opinion of Sclater Unknown:

John Wills Senior--upper
 Anthony Robinson Senior, churchwarden--lower

Members of the Charles Parish Vestry, February 1708/9

Opposed to Sclater:

Henry Hayward Senior--upper
 Thomas Chisman Senior--upper
 Robert Curtis Senior--upper
 Henry Hayward Junior--upper
 John Drewry Junior--upper
 John Doswell Senior--upper
 John Doswell Junior--upper

In Favor of Sclater:

Thomas Nutting--lower
 Thomas Roberts Senior--lower

Opinion of Sclater Unknown:

Simon Stacy Senior--upper
 Edward Tabb Senior--upper
 Anthony Robinson Senior--lower

It is possible that the difficulties between the minister and the residents of the parish grew out of Sclater's acquisition of land in Charles's upper precinct. According to law, each parish provided its preacher with a glebe. Instead of living on this parcel of land in the center of the parish, Sclater purchased property of his own in the upper precinct. His first tract was along the New Poquoson River and the second plot of land was near the dams between Charles and Warwick County. Both parcels were located near waterways and the soil probably was of a better quality than that in the glebeland.⁶² Perhaps the vestrymen disliked the fact Sclater did not live on the property that the parish provided him. In addition, the prominent families in the upper precinct of Charles, the Haywards and the Chismans, might have had their eyes on the tracts that Sclater purchased because the minister's acreage was close to land that members of these two families owned.

Sclater's real estate activities might have aggravated tensions that already existed.⁶³ The York County records reveal that the rector had disputes with residents of Charles Parish. In September 1709, Sclater and his wife Mary brought Mary Davis, Elizabeth Jones, and Susanna Lovell to court "for their reporting severall scandelous &

⁶²See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the quality and productivity of soil in Charles Parish.

⁶³Contemporary documents suggest that Sclater was not always an agreeable person. In 1688, Sclater served as one of the temporary preachers in Bruton Parish. He got into at least one disagreement with Edward Thomas, a Quaker. In January 1688/9, Sclater "declared that the sd Thomas did wickedly and mallishously scandalize and abuse the sd Sclater in his Ministeriall function by severall opprobrious & defamatory words, att severall times. by saying that hee had heard the plt speake blasphemous words and blasphemie, to the plt's greate losse, staine to his credit and reputation and to his great injury in his parochall charge...." The jury ruled in Sclater's favor and awarded him L50 sterling. When there was another vacancy in Bruton Parish in 1710, Sclater was one of the ministers called on to preach in December of that year. A few days before Sclater was to conduct services in Bruton, the vestry of this church decided that Sclater should be left out of the group of visiting ministers. Perhaps residents of Bruton Parish remembered the difficulties with Sclater in 1688, and did not want him to return. See York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (8) 196, 24 January 1688/9; John C. McCabe, "Sketches of Bruton Parish, Williamsburg, Virginia," American Ecclesiastical History, (1856):605-607.

reproachfull speeches." It is possible that the unkind words about Sclater referred to a conflict between the minister and Henry Hayward Junior, one of the vestrymen who opposed Sclater. It appears that this dispute was separate from the one between the vestry and the rector. The younger Hayward had a suit against the minister "relateing to the sd Sclaters Malitiously scandalizeing and defameing the said Hayward by publickly calling & declareing him to be a whoremaster a ravisher & a rogue...."⁶⁴ Four years later, Hayward and Sclater fought over a parcel of land that Hayward claimed. The Council decided that "the said land hath always been reputed as Wast land, and so surveyed by the Father of the said Haward above twenty years ago." However, Sclater had the right to dispute Hayward's title to the land, and he did so.⁶⁵ Charles's minister contended that the swampy tract of ground was his, and in 1716, he refused to allow the processioners to walk the property lines between himself and Hayward until the local magistrates issued an order for the processioning.⁶⁶

This two year battle involving the parish vestry and their minister and the conflicts between Sclater and several parish residents took place at a time when conditions in Charles needed the attention and leadership of the local officials. The number of Charles Parish inhabitants who were presented for violations of behavioral and social norms during the first decade of the eighteenth century increased dramatically over the total for the previous decade. (Table 5.16) A number of men received presentments for neglecting their duties. The vestry and the members of grand juries charged two men with not

⁶⁴York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (13) 251, 24 September 1709.

⁶⁵McIlwaine, ed., Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, 3:341. See also *ibid.*, pp. 335, 337. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (14) 315, 15 March 1713/4; 337, 21 June 1714; 362-363, 20 September 1714; 399, 21 March 1714/5.

⁶⁶York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (14) 503, 21 May 1716; York County Orders and Wills (15) 6-7, [16 June 1716]; 16, 16 July 1716; 23-26, 20 August 1716; 502-503, 16 November 1719.

appearing to serve as a grand juror, one male for refusing to exercise the duties of a constable, and forty men for not helping Anthony Watts Senior, the surveyor of the highways, to clear the roads in the upper precinct of the parish.

The increased number of grand jury presentments indicates that the officials in Charles could not contain the conflicts within their parish. In addition to spending a lot of time and energy in the dispute with Sclater, many of the county-level leaders from Charles had removed themselves from the day to day activities in the parish in order to hold offices that involved them in the affairs of York County. The separation of the officials from Charles served to detach these men from the basis of power, the local area. The distance between the officials and the rest of the parish's inhabitants indicated that the leaders from the lower end of York County had not yet become good patrons or stewards to their clients. It is likely that the incident involving the vestry and Sclater and the number of presentments between 1700 and 1709 showed the prominent residents of Charles that they needed to pay more attention to matters in their parish. After the first decade of the eighteenth century, the localism of Charles's prominent men increased. Stronger ties to the parish enabled the officials to increase their influence over events in their parish.

During the decades of the 1710s and the 1720s, several parish residents refused to allow the required land processionings to take place. This unwillingness to let the processioners do their jobs revealed tensions among neighbors that the process of marking property boundaries was intended to eliminate. In March 1661/2, colonial officials instituted processioning because "it tending much more to the preservation of ffriendshipp among neighbors to have a present and finall decission of their differences, while men yet live that are acquainted with the ffirst surveys, and while land is yet at a low value, then it will be when time hath rooted out all knowledge to the

bounds and added a greater value to the land."⁶⁷

It is likely that Charles Parish residents in the early eighteenth century knew the location of many of the property lines because the majority of the tracts had been handed down to family members since the second half of the seventeenth century.⁶⁸ By the second and third decades of the eighteenth century, the population of Charles began to put pressure on the available resources in the parish. Property, even though swampy and unsuited for growing crops, might be used as a grazing area for livestock or might be turned into an orchard. As a result, all of the tracts in Charles were of higher value during the 1720s and the 1730s than they had been in the seventeenth century. It is possible that the men and women who did not want the processioners on their property were afraid that they would lose part of their tract if someone closely examined the boundaries.⁶⁹

The county surveyor, two processioners, and twelve land survey jurors walked the disputed property lines between neighbors. With the exception of Henry Hayward Junior and Thomas Nutting, the twelve men called upon to serve as processioners during the first quarter of the eighteenth century held local-level offices, such as constable and surveyor of the highways, and owned at least one hundred acres of land. William Row and Nutting were the only processioners who were not natives of the parish. Row's wife, Sarah, the daughter of the elder John Parsons and the former spouse of Peter Starkey Junior, could have told

⁶⁷Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 2:102. Processioning involved the walking of property boundaries by neighbors every four years.

⁶⁸Carville Earle noted that many property lines remained unchanged for several generations. Carville V. Earle, The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallow's Parish, Maryland, 1650-1783, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Department of Geography Research Paper No. 170, 1975), pp. 182, 196, 202.

⁶⁹The inaccurate surveys of land patented by the parish's early settlers led to the disputes over property boundaries in the eighteenth century. Lines between plantations became important as planters needed to clear new tobacco fields and to divide their land among their children.

her second husband about the previous owners of tracts in the lower precinct of the parish. Nutting's relatives in the Booth, Tomer, and Doswell families could also have informed him about property lines in several of the neighborhoods in Charles. The men who performed the duties of a land survey juror also included natives and long-term residents of the parish because of their knowledge about the property boundaries of their current and previous neighbors. This group of forty-nine individuals included prominent men from the Hayward, Chisman, and Robinson families as well as small planters such as Elias Love Senior and Humphrey Nixon. Many of the individuals who accompanied the processioners also served Charles in local offices or the county as petit jurors.

The majority of the landholders in the parish accepted the judgment of the processioners and the jurors during the 1710s and the 1720s. It appears that the officials in charge of each processioning straightened out the disputes over land before the arguments could put an end to peaceful relations among neighbors. However, the settlement of land boundaries by the processioners and the land survey jurors did not eliminate the possibility of property disputes. During the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the members of several families disagreed about the legacies that they received and turned to the York County court in order to resolve land disputes.

At times, the disagreements that lasted several years caused harm to the relations among family members. For seven years, the third James Calthorpe retained possession of the 735 acres known as Calthorpe's Neck that his father, Elimelech, bequeathed to his daughters, Frances and Mary, in his 1734 will. In December 1741, the York County court ruled in favor of Elimelech's widow, Mary, and her second husband, Peter Goodwin Junior, who represented the young girls in the chancery suit. James Calthorpe probably made his home on Calthorpe's Neck until he died in 1744. He left his personal property to his brothers John and

Charles, and did not bequeath anything to his two sisters or to his mother in his will.⁷⁰

The children and grandchildren of the Reverend James Sclater Senior did not gain possession of their legacies until 1749 for two reasons. First, Sclater's widow, Mary, did not administer a portion of her husband's property before her death in January 1744/5. Second, the elder William Sheldon Sclater sued his cousins and brother Richard Sclater Junior for his share of their grandfather's estate. The rector's descendants fought over the division of his real and personal property for four years before a jury settled the disagreement. The suit did not stop communication between the two Sclater brothers or between the elder William Sheldon and his cousins. In 1757, William Sheldon named his cousin Richard as one of the executors of his will and bequeathed personal property to two of his nephews, John Sclater and Augustine Tabb.⁷¹

After the death of the fifth John Chisman in 1735, his widow Frances contested her mother-in-law, Eleanor Chisman, for the control of his land. Frances Chisman sought to gain possession of the property for her young son John. Eleanor Chisman wanted a share of the plantation as her dower from her husband, the third John Chisman. The two women carried on their suit for twelve years, between 1735 and 1747. In February 1746/7, Eleanor received her dower and the mansion house on the plantation. She held this property until her death in the decade of the 1760s. The seventh Chisman to be named John gained possession of the rest of his father's plantation. Unlike the dispute that split the Calthorpe family, the suit involving the Chismans did not end relations between Eleanor Chisman and her grandson John who was a legatee in her

⁷⁰York County Orders and Wills (19) 96, 15 March 1741/2; 335-336, 17 December 1744. See also York County Land Causes (1746-1769) 76-77, 17 November 1746, 15 June 1747, 21 March 1747/8.

⁷¹York County Judgments and Orders (1) 207-208, 19 June 1749; 255, 20 November 1749; York County Wills and Inventories (20) 441, 18 July 1757.

will.⁷²

Land disputes such as those in the Calthorpe, Sclater, and Chisman families presented a challenge to eighteenth-century leaders that their seventeenth-century counterparts had not faced. The establishment and growth of Yorktown and Williamsburg also had the potential to have an unsettling effect on the social and political structure in rural York County. Residents of Charles played a role in the development of Yorktown by purchasing lots in the county's port town in November of 1691. Eleven of the parish's men were among the initial group of fifty lotowners. The buyers ranged from Henry Hayward Senior and Daniel Taylor at the top of Charles's social order, to the blacksmith Owen Davis, and a tenant planter named Francis Callowhill Senior. Just four of the eleven lotowners--Richard Trotter, Owen Davis, Thomas Harwood Junior, and the younger Thomas Chisman--held their urban property for more than a year. The parish's other seven lotholders probably looked on their urban properties as passive investments that they hoped a lessee would develop. When the town did not materialize overnight, they were unwilling or unable to maintain their investment. Even though a number of the first purchasers did not retain their lots for a long period of time, their investment proved that there was support for urbanization among residents of Charles and of York County as a whole.⁷³

After the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the opportunities in the county's port town and in the colonial capital

⁷²York County Land Causes (1746-1769) 7-19, 21 July 1746, 18 August 1746, 15 September 1746, 17 November 1746, 16 February 1746/7; York County Wills and Inventories (21) 301-303, 16 February 1767.

⁷³The act that created Yorktown required all lotowners to build a house on their lot within a year. Failure to follow the instructions resulted in the forfeiture of the urban property. Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 3:53-69. See Julie Richter, "In Pursuit of Urban Property: Lotholders in Colonial Yorktown and Williamsburg," in Peter V. Bergstrom, Cathleene B. Hellier, Kevin P. Kelly, Michael J. Puglisi, Julie Richter, Linda H. Rowe, and Lorena S. Walsh, "Urbanization in the Tidewater South: Town and Country in York County, Virginia 1630-1830. Part II: The Growth and Development of Williamsburg and Yorktown," NEH Grant RO-20869-85, 1989, pp. 13-21.

captured some of the parish's inhabitants who left the lower end of York County.⁷⁴ Although the development of Yorktown and Williamsburg affected Charles's political order, the parish did not experience much social disruption as a result of the two urban areas. Residents of Yorktown, including Augustine Moore, the fifth Robert Shield, and the fourth Anthony Robinson, maintained ties to family members who remained in the lower end of York County. Richard Hunt Singleton, a successful ordinary keeper in Williamsburg, served as a witness to deeds and wills for friends who remained in Charles. Craftsmen in the parish's service center continued to make agricultural items for sale in the local area. Ordinary keepers still served drinks to their friends and neighbors and provided lodging for travelers. Estate settlements indicate that a number of the parish's successful residents provided smaller planters in the lower end of York County with necessary supplies and services.⁷⁵

Charles did not experience much social disruption as a result of the development of Yorktown and Williamsburg because the prominent men who focused their attention on Charles after the first decade of the eighteenth century did a good job in returning order to the parish and learning how to handle new problems that arose from population growth and the establishment of York County's two urban areas. The declining number of presentments made by grand jurors during the 1710s, 1720s, and 1730s indicates that the local-level officials maintained a greater sense of order in the parish than their counterparts did in the first ten years of the eighteenth century. (Table 5.16) The stability was possible because the majority of Charles's prominent eighteenth-century

⁷⁴See Chapter 2.

⁷⁵See Chapters 3, 4, and 8. The Rutmans noted that the development of Urbanna resulted in the reorientation of trade in Middlesex: "a new sequence of hegemonies appeared to serve the small and middle planters, successors to but different from the hegemonies of Burnham, Beverley, the first Robinson, and Churchill in being town-based rather than plantation-based...." Unlike the establishment of Yorktown and Williamsburg, the development of Urbanna led to disputes among Middlesex's residents. See Rutman and Rutman, *A Place in Time: Middlesex*, pp. 204-233 (quote p. 231)

leaders had positions that gave them authority in the local area instead of in York County. In spite of the fact that the parish's justices of the peace spent much of their time in Yorktown dealing with urban matters, they probably continued to handle local matters between meetings of the county court as their seventeenth-century counterparts had done. This practice kept the magistrates in touch with the concerns of their neighbors, gave the residents of Charles the opportunity to conduct business without having to travel to Yorktown, and helped to maintain the social order in the lower end of York County.⁷⁶

The Adjustments of Charles's Leaders to Political Changes

How did the officials in Charles adapt to the political changes and developments that took place in their parish between 1630 and the first quarter of the eighteenth century? How did the prominent families in each of the parish's five neighborhoods react? Were they able to maintain their position in Charles's political hierarchy by learning new ways in which to exercise their power or did they lose out to others who were willing and able to make adjustments in how they gained their positions of authority? The upper-level families in the parish reacted differently to the political and social developments that took place. The various responses affected the position that the local leaders and their descendants held in the Charles Parish hierarchy and the power that they exercised.

Christopher Calthorpe Senior was the first man to acquire land in

⁷⁶Perry noted that the practice of allowing justices of the peace to take depositions, settle debts that were under twenty shillings, and handle other official tasks reduced the work load of the magistrates at the monthly court meetings and gave colonial Virginians easier access to the services of their county government. Perry, The Formation of a Society, pp. 166, 172-176. David T. Konig noted that the "entries Webb compiled seem designed for a system in which justices of the peace discharged their authority mainly when sitting out of session as rural administrators and conservators of the peace." David Thomas Konig, "The Williamsburg Courthouse: A Research Report and Interpretive Guide," (unpublished report, Department of Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1987), p. 113.

Charles Parish when he took out a patent for 1000 acres (a later survey measured the tract at 735 acres) in 1630. The size of the tract allowed Calthorpe and his descendants to rent out small sections of land to tenants. Calthorpe's officeholding career involved him in county and colony matters, and he spent little time developing ties to neighbors of lesser status. His son, James Senior, followed in the footsteps of his father as a landlord in the 1670s and the 1680s, but did not hold any offices. Unlike his father, the elder James Calthorpe counted several of his neighbors among his friends. It is possible that the absence of James Calthorpe Senior's name from the list of Charles's leaders limited the officeholding prospects of his sons, James Junior, Elistrange Senior, and Charles Senior. Only the younger James Calthorpe became an official in the early eighteenth century, and he did not attain positions higher than churchwarden and deputy sheriff.

For almost twenty years, men from the Roberts and Booth families filled the political positions serving the Calthorpe's Neck section that the Calthorpes may have been unwilling to fill.⁷⁷ Thomas Roberts Senior

⁷⁷The Calthorpes retained their social standing in the parish during the first half of the eighteenth century. Descendants of Christopher Calthorpe Senior married into other prominent families including the Haywards and the Robinsons. They also had marriage ties to families who counted local-level officials among their numbers--Freeman, Butts, Clifton, and Moore. In addition, members of the Calthorpe family rented out tracts of land on Calthorpe's Neck during the eighteenth century.

In reference to prominent merchants who did not take an active role in government, Rowe stated that "their fellow urban merchants on the county courts and in the Williamsburg common hall may have honored their disinclination to be included in the pool of potential appointees, though it cannot be proven." Rowe, "Peopling the Power Structure," p. 46.

The selection of a man to any office involved choice. An individual who lived in Charles could decide that he wanted to hold political positions or he could come to the decision that he preferred to devote his energies to planting his fields. Also, York's justices of the peace could determine that a man did not have the proper personal qualities to become an officeholder, even if he wanted to do so. A male resident could exhibit the proper behavior, but not the desire to become an active political participant. The local magistrates needed to have knowledge of a man's character and willingness to serve before they sent the names of potential officeholders to the governor or filled empty positions on the local level. It is possible that the Calthorpes, like some of the merchants in Yorktown and Williamsburg, were of a high enough standing that they could ask York's magistrates not to appoint them to office.

began his officeholding career as a constable soon after his arrival in Charles in 1665. Roberts progressed up to service as a Burgess for York in 1677, and then returned to the county-level roles of justice of the peace and county sheriff in 1691 and 1712, respectively. His eldest son, Thomas Junior, began an officeholding career as a constable for the lower precinct of Charles in 1708. The younger Thomas did not move a great distance up the political ladder because he died in 1718, a year before his father did. Gerrard Roberts Senior, another son of Thomas Senior, received an appointment to his first office within a year of his father's death. The elder Gerrard served the lower precinct as a constable (1720 to 1722) and a surveyor of the highways (1724, 1738 to 1748), but he never held an office with county-wide responsibilities. The same was true for his nephew, the third Thomas Roberts who was an assistant surveyor of the highways in 1739. Another nephew, Gerrard Roberts Junior, served as the inspector of lumber for York County in 1753. Members of the Roberts family were active as both grand and petit jurors and in their neighborhood as appraisers and witnesses of wills during the eighteenth century. It is likely that these men were content to play a minor part in county- and local-level government and a larger role in their neighborhood.

Two men who lived near the Roberts family, William Booth and his son-in-law Thomas Nutting, served as justices of the peace during the 1690s. Nutting also performed the duties of a militia captain, vestryman, county coroner, and county sheriff between the early 1690s and his death in 1717. His only son, Booth Nutting, died before he was old enough to participate in politics. Nutting's place in the political order passed to his daughter Mary's husband, Richard Sclater Senior who served as the York County surveyor in the decade of the 1710s. After Sclater's death, Daniel Moore, the second husband of his daughter

Maybe the justices of the peace did not believe that James Calthorpe Senior had the necessary personal qualities to be a responsible official.

Elizabeth, took over the family officeholding duties.

Daniel Moore held the position of a tobacco inspector at Row's Warehouse before being named as one of the county's justices of the peace in 1738. During his twenty-three years on the bench, Moore served with his step-son William Sheldon Sclater Senior in 1754. Daniel also carried out the duties of a justice with his brother Merritt Moore Senior for a seven-year period between 1744 and 1751. The Moore family's experience in county-level offices helped Daniel's son, Augustine, to gain an appointment as a county magistrate in 1767 at the age of thirty-five. Augustine Moore was a merchant and an ordinary keeper in Yorktown. His marriage to Lucy Smith, daughter of Yorktown's Lawrence Smith Junior, reinforced his place in the social hierarchy. Like his father, Augustine also spent part of his tenure as a justice with a family member. Augustine's cousin, Merritt Moore Junior, worked his way up through lower offices including surveyor of the highways and vestryman before gaining a seat on the county bench in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. The younger Merritt attained the position of sheriff after spending eight years as a justice.

A number of factors enabled William Booth, Thomas Nutting, and two generations of the Moore family to function as the political leaders for the neighborhood located near Calthorpe's Neck. The willingness of the men from this family to serve in local- and county-level positions is reflected in the fact that each man held a seat on the bench for an average of almost fifteen years. These leaders strengthened their place in the social order through marriages with prominent families. Daniel Moore, his brother Merritt Senior, and his cousin Merritt Junior acquired tracts of land in their neighborhood which gave them the status of large plantation owners. Augustine Moore took advantage of the opportunities in Yorktown. He successfully entered the mercantile circle in York's port town after serving an apprenticeship with William Nelson Senior, one of the leading merchants in the town. Unlike the

second generation of the Calthorpe and the Roberts families, Booth and his descendants took it upon themselves to fill the leadership void. In addition, men in this family found ways to gain seats on the county bench at a time when it was difficult for man from rural areas to become a justice of the peace in York County.

Like the elder Christopher Calthorpe, John Chisman Senior and his brother Edmund Chisman Senior used their gentry background to gain a position at the top of Charles's political hierarchy soon after they moved to the parish. The elder John Chisman acquired land on the south side of a creek that came to be known as Chisman's Creek and along the main road between York County and Elizabeth City counties in the western neighborhood. He served as a justice of the peace, burgess, and councilor before he returned to England in 1663. Chisman's nephews, Edmund Junior and Thomas Senior, inherited his position in the upper level of Charles's society. The political career of Edmund Chisman Junior was cut short by his participation in Bacon's Rebellion on the side of the rebel and his death in jail. It appears that his brother's decision to oppose the colony's government did not harm the reputation of Thomas Chisman Senior. After gaining experience as a justice of the peace between 1680 and 1691, Thomas Senior moved on to represent York County in the House of Burgesses in 1685. The elder Chisman also held the positions of captain in the militia between 1692 and 1717 and parish vestryman from 1677 to 1709.

The third generation of Chismans to serve as local officials were not able to attain the level of political leadership and power that their father and grandfather had exercised. Thomas Chisman Junior worked his way up to membership on the county bench between 1719 and his death three years later. His younger brother, the third John Chisman, took an active part as a leader in the upper precinct of Charles Parish in the 1710s and the 1720s. In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, two of Thomas and John's cousins, Edmund Curtis Senior and

Thomas Curtis Senior, fulfilled the duties of surveyor of the highways and constable, respectively. Their brother-in-law, Lawrence Smith Junior, continued the family tradition of county- and colonial-level service as a justice of the peace (1704 to 1739), sheriff of York County (1705 to 1706, 1708 to 1710), and burgess (1718 to 1734).⁷⁸

By the time that the third generation of a prominent family such as the Chismans were ready to become players on the political scene, there were not enough upper-layer positions to go around to each member. After the Smith branch of the family established their claim on the more prominent county-level offices, the Chisman side turned their attention to service in the upper precinct of Charles. Grandsons and great-grandsons of Thomas Chisman Senior performed the duties of a surveyor of the highways and a constable during the rest of the eighteenth century. Although the family's standing in York County's political hierarchy declined, they were able to maintain their place at the top of Charles's social and political order through an increased level of interaction with their neighbors by serving as appraisers, witnesses, and securities. In addition, the large plantations that the elder John Chisman patented from the mid 1630s to the early 1660s enabled the family to support themselves and to rent out tracts to others in their neighborhood. The Chismans operated a water grist mill that Edmund Senior built in the 1670s into the second half of the following century.⁷⁹ The descendants of John Chisman Senior provided a necessary economic service that helped to preserve a prominent place for their family in the local hierarchy of Charles Parish.

The Hayward family's pattern of officeholding and of accommodation

⁷⁸Lawrence Smith Junior's father Lawrence Senior was a high-ranking officer in the York County militia. The younger Lawrence lived in Yorktown for several years, a possible factor behind his rise to political prominence during the first three decades of the eighteenth century. Smith was the father of Lucy, the wife of Augustine Moore.

⁷⁹Innes, Labor in a New Land, pp. 34-35, 82-84; Chapter 3.

to the political changes in Charles Parish was similar to that of the Chismans. The elder John Hayward was an entrepreneur who set up York County's first tan yard on his 600 acre plantation in the western neighborhood of the parish. After his death in 1661, his widow's second husband, William Calvert, agreed to operate the tan yard and to use the proceeds to support Hayward's young orphaned sons, Henry Senior and William Senior. The elder Hayward left behind an estate which was large enough to support both of his sons comfortably. As the older child Henry inherited the larger share of his father's holdings and his personal items which included the family's reputation and status in Charles and the parish's western neighborhood.

Henry Hayward Senior held his first office, surveyor of the highways, at age twenty-five. The fact that he never attained an office higher than churchwarden suggests that Hayward's standing enabled him to decline an appointment to a time-consuming position such as justice of the peace. Hayward continued to operate the tan yard and in 1691 he purchased a water grist mill in order to take advantage of the location of his land along the headwaters of the New Poquoson River.⁸⁰ His brother William Senior bought one hundred acres of land on the banks of the New Poquoson River. William's political career, which consisted of service as a petit juror on two occasions and as a grand juror once, was closer to that of a small to middling planter than it was to his brother's.

The elder Henry Hayward left each of his four sons--Henry Junior, John Junior, William Junior, and Francis Junior--at least 300 acres of land when he died in 1711. As his father had done before him, Henry Junior, the eldest son, inherited the family's political niche in the parish and county. Unlike most of his fellow officeholders, the second Henry Hayward had been a vestryman and churchwarden before the death of his father. He added the roles of justice of the peace and York County

⁸⁰Innes, Labor in a New Land, pp. 34-35, 81-84, 88-89; Chapter 3.

sheriff before his own death in 1720. The family's political position passed to his younger brother Francis, the next eldest son of Henry Senior, because Henry Junior did not have a son to follow his footsteps.

Francis Hayward received his first appointment to office at the age of eighteen when his brother Henry Junior named him as one of his deputy sheriffs. Hayward gained the status of a justice of the peace soon after his twenty-sixth birthday and that of York County sheriff eight years later. The sound judgment that Hayward demonstrated during his quick rise through the officeholding ranks failed him during his term as sheriff. While serving as the leading law enforcement officer in the county, Hayward tried to use his position to influence the outcome of a York County burgess election. On August 27th, 1736, John Randolph, the speaker of the House of Burgesses

informed the House, That he being a Candidate at the late Election of Burgesses for the County of York, had been informed that Francis Hayward, then Sheriff of the said County, some little Time before the Election, had made several Leases of small Parcels of Land, of little or no Value, on Purpose to qualify Persons to vote at the said Election; taxed the said Hayward with it, before the Poll began; telling him, that as he was to judge, between the Candidates, who were legal Voters, if he had made such Leases, he could not be indifferent, and unprejudic'd, as he ought to be in that Matter: That the said Hayward acknowledged, that he had made several such Leases; and said the Lessees should vote, and accordingly admitted them to vote at the said Election, in Prejudice to the Rights of the lawful Freeholders, and to the evil Example of all others, in the like Cases.

The Burgesses questioned Matthew Hubbard, the clerk of the York County court, about the leases that Hayward had made with nineteen men.

Hubbard testified that Hayward "did not engage them to vote for any particular Person or Persons" but that "he expected the Lessees would vote for those Persons whom he should like, at the said Election, otherwise he would not have made the Leases" On the first day of September John Randolph informed Hayward that.

the Committee of Privileges and Elections having made their Report, upon the Complaint made against you, for male administration in your Office of Sheriff of York, in the Execution of

the writ for Election of Burgesses to serve in this General Assembly, for that County; this House have come to a Resolution, That making Leases of small and inconsiderable Parcels of Land, in order to create a Right of voting at Elections, is a fraudulent Practice, contrary to Law, and tending to destroy the Rights of the true Freeholders; and that you, in making such Leases, have acted corruptly, against Law, and the Duty of your Office: You must consider, that when Persons have been judged guilty of Corruption, in the Discharge of any Office, by the House of Burgesses, they have been usually disabled from holding any Office of Trust for the future, which would have been a lasting Disgrace upon you: But this House taking into Consideration, your Confession and Submission, before the Committee, have been so favourable to you, as to command me only to reprimand you; and I do reprimand you accordingly.⁸¹

The rebuke that Hayward received from the House of Burgesses did not prevent him from continuing to serve in the offices which he held at that time--justice of the peace, York County coroner, surveyor of the highways--or from being appointed as a churchwarden for Charles Parish the following year.

Francis Hayward's eldest son, the fourth male child in the family to be named Henry, was the only member of his generation to hold official positions. This Henry Hayward's political activities were limited to service as surveyor of the highways, churchwarden, and tobacco inspector in the latter portion of the eighteenth century. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the Haywards had lost their position in county-level government and became active in their neighborhood. They were able to maintain their place in the hierarchy of Charles Parish through a combination of local-level offices and a greater number of associations with their neighbors. The fourth Henry and his uncle John witnessed the wills of friends and appraised estates of men who lived on the west side of the main road through Charles

⁸¹H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 13 vols., (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1910), (1727-1734, 1736-1740):276, 277, 282, 283. While the Burgesses investigated Hayward's actions in the York County election they also passed a law that regulated who could vote in burgess elections. See Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 4:475-478. See York County Deeds and Bonds (4) 360-377, 16 June 1735, for the leases which Hayward made. Unfortunately, the names of all the candidates in the burgess election are not known. John Buckner of Yorktown and Edward Digges of Yorkhampton Parish were chosen as the burgesses for York County.

Parish. Henry and his cousins continued to operate the mill which their grandfather, the first Henry, purchased in the 1690s. Edward Calthorpe Hayward, the fourth Henry's son, and his cousin, Robert Hayward, were joint owners of the mill in the 1780s.

The continuity of the Chisman and Hayward families as the prominent residents of their respective neighborhoods stood in contrast to the way in which the central section of Charles developed. It is likely that the steady turn-over in the population and the slow formation of family connections among residents hindered the degree to which men from the central neighborhood received appointments to serve their parish and county as officeholders and as jurors. While thirty-three men from this section of Charles served as petit or grand jurors during the seventeenth century, only six also performed the duties of surveyor of the highways or constable.

The inability of the residents of the center portion of the parish to receive appointments to local- and county-level offices and then to pass their political status to their sons made it possible for newcomers with strong reputations and the abilities to match to become the prominent inhabitants of the central neighborhood. Daniel Taylor moved to Charles Parish from Hampton Parish after his marriage to Mary Day, a widow. Mary's first husband Edward Day, a constable for the upper precinct of Charles, was the owner of 225 acres near the parish church, the ordinary known as the Halfway House, and the public landing. Taylor served as a captain in the militia, justice of the peace, vestryman, and county sheriff before his death in 1712. He did not have a son or a son-in-law to take up his political position.

Taylor's legacy was the fact that the location where he lived was advantageous for a man with political aspirations. Edward Tabb Senior moved to Charles Parish from neighboring Elizabeth City County in the decade of the 1700s. Tabb was a relative of Edward Day and under the terms of Day's will, he and his brother William Tabb Senior were to

inherit Day's 225 acres following the death of his widow, Mary. Members of the Tabb family held offices in Elizabeth City County in the seventeenth and the first part of the eighteenth century. Edward Senior became a justice of the peace in 1722, four years after gaining sole possession of the tract near the center of Charles. In 1723, Tabb added the position of burgess to his list of offices. The elder Edward passed his political and social standing onto his son Edward Junior when he died in 1731. Edward Junior was a justice of the peace at age twenty-two in 1734 and deputy sheriff for York two years later. It is likely that the early death of the second Edward Tabb in 1741 at the age of twenty-nine was all that prevented him attaining a colony-level office. In the early 1740s, a third Edward, the son of the eldest Edward's brother Thomas Junior, picked up where his cousin Edward Junior had left off. His appointment to the county bench came three years after his cousin's death. In addition to service as one of York County's justices of the peace, the third Edward was a tobacco inspector and churchwarden during his lifetime.

Like the Chismans and the Haywards, the Tabb family bolstered their social and political position in their neighborhood by participating in local affairs. Three generations of the Tabbs were active as appraisers and settlers of estates, and were available when a neighbor needed a witness for a will or a deed. In addition, the Tabbs took advantage of their place of residence. Edward Senior and Junior served their neighbors with food and drink at their ordinary near Row's Warehouse and the youngest Edward operated a store. Family and friendship connections added to their status and helped them to fill the leadership role for this neighborhood.

The unsettled nature of Charles's central section during much of the seventeenth century was in contrast to the neighborhood that bordered the Chesapeake Bay. The first residents of the eastern portion of the parish included two sets of brothers and a group of men who had

known each other in Norfolk County, England and in the Elizabeth City settlement before settling in the same Charles Parish neighborhood. By 1660, the Kerby, Shelston, Curson, Starkey, Tavernor, and Wade families owned adjoining tracts of land. In addition, there were a number of marriages that bound these neighboring families together by the end of the seventeenth century. The majority of the landholders in the eastern neighborhood served as local-level officials and jurors during their lifetimes. Fathers were able to pass on their political standing to their sons, but the second generation did not make a large improvement upon the level of political participation that their parents had reached. Children of jurors became surveyors of the highways or constables. It was common for descendants of local-level officials to hold more than one position and to participate on several juries during their political careers.

Why was Armiger Wade Senior the only man from the eastern section of Charles to serve as a burgess (1655 to 1657) and a justice of the peace (1670 to 1677) during the seventeenth century? The answer lies in the location of the eastern neighborhood. A candidate for a position on the county court needed live in a place that was convenient for residents to reach.⁸² The eastern district was out of the way for all of the parish residents except the men and women who lived in this section of Charles. John Robinson Senior and his descendants found ways in which they could become active players in all levels of government and still maintain a connection to the eastern portion of the parish.

Soon after his arrival in Charles in 1662, the elder John Robinson married Elizabeth Rooksby. Her father, Anthony Rooksby, lived in the neighborhood near Calthorpe's Neck and served the parish as a vestryman for more than twenty years. Although Robinson never held an office and only sat as a juror on one case, he gained a place at the upper end of Charles's social ladder as a result of his marriage and the personal

⁸²Perry, The Formation of a Society, pp. 166, 172-176.

ties that he established with his neighbors. His son, Anthony Robinson Senior, built upon the legacy he received from his father and grandfather, and became an official who had responsibilities in the area in which he lived as a vestryman (1708 to 1709), churchwarden (1708), and militia officer (1712). Anthony Senior strengthened the family's social standing through his marriages to Mary Starkey and Jane Parsons. In addition, his acquisition of land in the Calthorpe's Neck neighborhood helped to give the Robinsons a tie to a section of Charles that was more accessible to a greater portion of the parish's residents.

The elder Anthony Robinson's son, John Robinson Junior, was the first member of the family's third generation to enter political activities. He had the necessary position at the top of Charles's political and social order to attain a prominent place in government. It appears that John Junior did not want to be a very active participant because he only performed the duties of a constable (1715 to 1717) and a churchwarden (1721). His brother, Anthony Junior, was the one who took advantage of the Robinson name. The younger Anthony worked his way up the political ladder, moving from surveyor of the highways (1729 to 1746), to justice of the peace (1732 to 1738, 1744 to 1751), and major in the county militia (1750 to 1756) during his lifetime. Anthony's marriage to Diana Tabb, niece of Edward Tabb Senior, by January 1720/1 also helped to associate the family with prominent residents in other areas of Charles.

The third Starkey Robinson, Anthony Junior's eldest son, built upon the political legacy of his father. After beginning his officeholding career as a surveyor of the highways (1764), Starkey progressed to more prominent and responsible positions including justice of the peace (1765 to 1782) and sheriff of York County (1761 to 1771). For eight years Starkey served on the county bench with his cousin, the fifth male in the Robinson family to given the name Anthony. Though younger than his cousin Starkey, the fifth Anthony Robinson began his

political career at an earlier date (as a justice of the peace in 1759) because his father, John Junior, never played a large part in government. The elder Starkey was joined on the county bench by his younger brother John in 1758, two years after the death of their cousin Anthony. The fourth John Robinson reached a level of responsibility and authority that equaled his brother and his cousin by serving as a justice of the peace from 1777 to 1784. The fact that three members of this family were called upon to serve as justices of the peace during the third quarter of the eighteenth century indicates that the Robinsons were known for their leadership capabilities and knowledge. In addition, another cousin, also named Anthony, was a resident of Yorktown, and an urban connection could only have strengthened the place of the Robinsons in the political and social order of Charles and of York County.⁸³

Members of the Robinson family progressed upward through the officeholding ranks in Charles because of their ability to establish connections to residents in other areas of the parish in the seventeenth century and in Yorktown in the eighteenth century. The Robinsons took full advantage of opportunities such as marriage and land acquisition to add to their status and prominence. The grandsons and great-grandsons of John Robinson Senior were able to sustain a higher level of political and economic participation in both Charles and the port city than the other prominent families in the parish could because at least two members of each generation participated in local- and county-level government during the second half of the eighteenth century.

This look at the leading family in each of the five neighborhoods in Charles Parish indicates that members of the upper level of the parish's political hierarchy experienced either upward or downward mobility after the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Men in each

⁸³The fourth Anthony Robinson was the son of William Robinson Senior, the youngest son of Anthony Robinson Senior.

of the prominent families--the Tabbs, the Chismans, the Haywards, the Moores, and the Robinsons--had a decision to make. Did they want to continue to exercise positions with county-wide power? Or did they want to turn their attention to offices that had jurisdiction in their neighborhood and precinct? Either choice required the officeholders to accommodate their expectations to the changes in the parish's population and political influence in York County.

After the turn of the eighteenth century, sons of surveyors of the highways, jurors, or men who were not politically active had to reduce their hopes of moving up very far in Charles's hierarchy. There were fewer chances for men from the lower end of the social and political ladder to serve as a constable or to supervise the upkeep of roads because members of the Chisman and Hayward families received these positions. However, the great increase in the number of debt cases argued in the York County court made it possible for a number of Charles's men to participate as petit jurors during the second half of the eighteenth century.

The residents of Charles accepted the changes in the political structure. Descendants of John Chisman Senior and John Hayward Senior were still the local leaders to the men and women in the parish, even if the offices that the eighteenth-century Chismans and Haywards held were not as prestigious as the ones that their family members filled in the seventeenth century were. The sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of Chisman and Hayward continued to use their prominence to maintain the social order and stability in Charles Parish as their fathers and grandfathers had done before them. In addition, after the first decade of the eighteenth century, men from each of the prominent families took a more active role in neighborhood activities in order to reinforce their position in Charles's social and political order, and their role as patrons and stewards to the men and women in the lower end of York County. These third-and fourth-generation leaders appraised estates and

settled estate accounts of decedents in their neighborhood, witnessed deeds and wills, and served as securities on bonds.

The associations of Charles's eighteenth-century officials with the men and women who lived in their neighborhood contrasted with the small degree of involvement in daily affairs by the parish's leaders during the seventeenth century. While the first and second generations of the prominent families worked to establish a place in the parish's political order, men who did not have the same aspirations to serve in county-level positions or were seen as lacking the necessary qualities to be called on to hold offices, emerged as the real power brokers in the neighborhoods in which they had their homes.⁸⁴ During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, men and women who lived near Chisman's Creek turned to John Doswell Senior or his son John Doswell Junior, not a member of the Chisman family, if they needed assistance in day to day matters. The elder Simon Stacy witnessed deeds, bonds, and wills for a number of his friends in the western neighborhood of Charles. A second John Hayward Senior acted as a witness and a security for many of the men and women who lived in the central section of the parish. Thomas Kerby's location on the edge of the eastern-most portion of Charles allowed him to aid residents in his section of the parish or in the neighborhood near Calthorpe's Neck. In the eyes of the majority of the parish's residents, the men who assisted their neighbors, not the officeholders, were the ones with the local power because of their involvement in day to day matters.

The neighborhood leaders and the prominent families in each of the parish's sections worked to maintain Charles's social and political stability respectively from the first years of settlement until the beginning of the decade of the 1720s. The two groups of men usually

⁸⁴The men who were active in their neighborhoods in the seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries tended to have a lesser social standing and be of middling means while the county-level officials were the wealthy planters from the top of Charles's social order. See Chapter 4.

worked on their own because the sources of their power, authority, and influence were different. The neighborhood leaders attained their position by being trustworthy and serving the needs of their families, friends, and neighbors. The county-level officials received their appointments from the Governor who selected new members of the county bench from a list that the current magistrates submitted to him.

Over the course of the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century, the members of the leading families took over the roles that Doswell, Stacy, and Kerby had carved out for themselves in their neighborhoods as they got pushed out of county-level offices. Members of the Chisman, Hayward, and Roberts families gained the trust of their neighbors by exhibiting a willingness to become involved in day to day matters such as witnessing deeds and standing as securities on bonds. As a result, social and political leadership became concentrated in the hands of men from the upper level of Charles's structured society. The parish's leaders enjoyed a greater amount of power and authority in Charles than their predecessors had exercised. By exercising the both the civic duties that had been performed by neighborhood leaders and the responsibilities of their political positions, Charles's third- and fourth-generation officials resembled the leaders that Governor Gooch described to the members of the House of Burgesses in 1727/8.⁸⁵

Conclusion

Although there was a change in the political positions that Charles's prominent leaders held between 1630 and 1740, the goals of the officials did not change. Officeholders and jurors continued to use their power and authority to maintain social and political order in the parish. The increased localism and participation in day-to-day matters

⁸⁵H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses, 13 vols., (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1910), (1727-1734, 1736, 1740), p. 4 and the Introduction to Part II.

on the part of Charles's eighteenth-century leaders resulted in closer ties among all layers of the parish's social order. The prominent families in each of the five neighborhoods had occupations that required them to maintain connections to the men and women who lived near them: the Haywards and the Chismans each operated a mill, the Robinsons had mercantile ties to Yorktown, the Tabbs ran an ordinary on the side of the road between the upper portion of the county and Elizabeth City County, and members of the Moore family conducted business at a store in York's port town.

Participation in government allowed the prominent men from Charles to play a role in the parish's development because they could help to choose men to fill vacant offices. The holders of local-level positions recommended the names of potential officials to the justices and the vestrymen who made the selections from the lists that they received. The opportunity to aid in the choice of officeholders made it possible for Charles's leaders to keep their sons and sons-in-law in the upper level of the parish's political hierarchy. The perpetuation of the prominent political families and the increased localism of the eighteenth-century officials helped to maintain the social order that had been in place in Charles since the 1640s.

Not all of Charles's residents participated or could expect to participate as active members of the political order, especially after the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The next chapter looks at the men who were in the bottom level of the parish's social and political hierarchy and the quality of their lives in Charles Parish.

CHAPTER 6

DOWN AND OUT IN CHARLES PARISH

Most of Charles's residents did not share in the good fortunes of the Calthorpe, Chisman, Hayward, Roberts, Tabb, and Robinson families or their position at the top of the parish's social and political order. The prosperity of middling inhabitants such as the Kerbys, Hunts, and Parsons also set them off from the males and females who were in the lower portion of Charles's social and political hierarchy. The York County records contain evidence about Charles's landless men, widows, and impoverished orphans that makes it possible to consider the quality of their lives. This chapter examines the experiences of the men, women, and children who were in the bottom level of the parish's social and political hierarchy by looking at the characteristics of Charles's less-successful residents, identifying as many of the poor inhabitants as possible, examining the circumstances that caused the impoverished males and females to appear before the members of the York County court, and assessing the public perception of the poor by their contemporaries in the lower end of York County.¹

¹It is necessary to read the York County court records very closely to find evidence of the poor men, women, and children who lived in Charles because the individuals in the bottom layer of the parish's social hierarchy did not leave as large a mark in the records of their community's public life as their more successful and better off contemporaries did. The name of a male who did not own land, serve as a local-level official, or sit as a member of a jury did not appear as often in public documents as did the name of a man who played an active part in the parish because the non-landowners and non-officeholders did not have as many reasons to attend meetings of the York County court as their better-off, more active contemporaries did. It is always difficult to trace a woman through public records because Virginia's legal system restricted them from playing an active political role in their community. A poor female is harder to identify and to follow in county court records than her wealthier counterpart because she was less likely to appear in court to acknowledge the sale of a tract of land. It is also unlikely that she traveled to the courthouse to gain the probate of her husband's

The Characteristics of Charles Parish's Poor Residents

The impoverished residents of Charles Parish can be divided into four categories: the powerless poor, the able-bodied poor, the poor who were dependent because of their status as an indentured servant or slave, and the marginal poor. The first group, the powerless poor, included the parish's men, women, and children who were not able to support themselves as a result of their age, physical disability, and/or status. Males petitioned to be freed from public, county, and/or parish levies because they were old and disabled.² In November of 1687, the local magistrates decided that "being credible informed that William Thrift a liver in the new Pocason parish is a very poore man haveing noe estate either real nor personall, and alsoe disabled in his limbs....be clearly exempted and free from paying any levies either publique, county or parish." Thrift probably was a tenant who could no longer tend tobacco fields. Occasionally, York's justices of the peace freed a young man from paying public levies because he was incapable of working because of a physical disability. In June 1719, Giles Tavernor asked the local magistrates to declare his nineteen year old son, William,

estate. The fact that many poor men did not write last testaments makes it difficult to determine whether or not they were fathers because a will is a good place to find children's names, especially if a couple did not have the birth of a son or a daughter registered by Charles's clerk. Because of the difficulties involved in identifying and following the parish's impoverished residents through the York County court records, the numbers and yearly totals of the white men, women, and children at the bottom of Charles's social hierarchy in this chapter represent minimum figures.

²William Waller Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, From the First Session of the Legislature, in 1619, 13 vols., (Richmond, New York, and Philadelphia, 1819-1823; reprint, Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia for the Jamestown Foundation of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1969), 1:242, 263-264; 2:310. In 1736, George Webb stated that "The legal Poor of this Colony are indigent Persons, disabled by Age, Sickness, or Corporal Infirmities, and incapable of maintaining themselves by their own Labour, and therefore are provided for and supported at the Charge of the Parish wherein they have gain'd a legal Settlement: This is levied annually, by the Vestry, in the Parish Levy." George Webb, The Office and Authority of a Justice of the Peace, (Williamsburg: William Parks, 1736), p. 250.

free from taxes since he "is by infirmity become incapable of labour...."³ The third William Tavernor remained infirm and died in the fall of 1722.

Unlike the parish's male residents, Charles's married white females did not rely on earnings from their labor in order to guarantee their financial security.⁴ Women who lived in the lower end of York County depended upon their husbands to provide for them and their sons and daughters. When one of the parish's small or unsuccessful planters died, he left behind a spouse who often had a hard time making ends meet. Between 1630 and 1740, several of Charles's poor widows petitioned York's justices of the peace for financial assistance because the estate that they inherited from their husbands was not sufficient to support themselves and their young children. After hearing the December 1677 petition of Mary Lloyd, "widow of Thomas Lloyd deced being left in a very poore & lowe condicon with a sucking child at her breast," the members of the county bench decided that "she have three Barrells of

³York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (8) 46, 24 November 1687; York County Orders and Wills (15) 439-440, 15 June 1719.

⁴By the third quarter of the seventeenth century, it was not customary for white females to work in tobacco fields along side their husbands, masters, male indentured servants, or slaves. It also was not common to find white female indentured servants doing agricultural labor. Black women did work in the tobacco fields and were part of the tithable population in Virginia. Kathleen M. Brown, "Gender and the Genesis of a Race and Class System in Virginia, 1630-1750," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1990), chapter 2. See Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., XXXIV(1977):542-571 for information about the work done by white women on plantations in the Chesapeake. The York County records contain evidence that white wives and widows did help out in the tobacco fields. In July 1688, Elizabeth Price relinquished her right to her deceased husband's estate, "onely craveing to have her God, a pott and frying pann, together with the bennifitt of her labour in the cropp this present year...." York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (8) 137, 24 July 1688.

In the eighteenth century, three of Charles's planters petitioned to have a female slave declared levy free. In 1712, Daniel Taylor told the justices of the peace that a slave woman was dumb and could not work. Nine years later, Robert Kerby Senior had a female slave who was unable to work because she suffered from fits and burns. In 1729, Joseph Stacy told the county court that a slave named Jenny was old and infirm. The justices of the peace granted the three petitions.

Indyan Corne if there be soe much, her bedd & provisions for the maintenance of her selfe and Infant...."⁵

A small number of Charles's poor relicts decided to bind out their sons and daughters as apprentices to masters who agreed to teach them a skill that they could use to support themselves as adults. In 1698, Frances Bartlett, the widow of Michael Bartlett Junior, bound her four-year old daughter, Elizabeth, as "an apprentice to the above named Adduston Roggers....to dwell & serve....untill she the sd Eliz attain to the age 21 yrs or day of marrage wch shall first happen....during all wch sd time & term she the sd Eliz him the sd Adduston Roggers as her master well & faithfully shall serve...." In return for Elizabeth's service, Aduston Rogers agreed to "teach & instruct or cause to be taught & instructed her prayers & the church catechisme....also shall find & allow unto his sd apprentice good holesome & sufficient meat, drink, washing, lodging, & apparrell during the terme aforesd & at the expirations thereof shall give & allow his sd apprentice two suit of apparrell lenen & woolen shoes &c one for working days and the other for holidays together w/her freedom corn...."⁶ Unfortunately, it is not known if the skills that Elizabeth Bartlett learned during the time of her apprenticeship to Aduston Rogers helped her to attract a husband or to support herself in she did not marry.

County- and local-level officials looked after the poor boys and

⁵York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (6) 22, 10 December 1677/8 [sic].

⁶Ibid., (11) 24 October 1701. Also see Chapter 7 for a discussion of the efforts of Charles Parish's women to provide for their children. It is likely that the women who bound out their sons and daughters were the widows who were not likely to remarry because of their age, small estate, or incapacity. Lorena S. Walsh, "'Till Death Us Do Part': Marriage and Family in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," in Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, eds., The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society & Politics, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1979), p. 144; Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, "'Now-Wives and Sons-in-Law': Parental Death in a Seventeenth-Century Virginia County," in *ibid.*, pp. 159, 161.

girls who lost both of their parents.⁷ Charles's leaders wanted to protect the possessions of the children and to insure that the impoverished orphans did not become an expense to the parish. In March 1717/8, the justices of the York County court ordered John Gibbons, "Unkle to the Orphans of Thomas Gibbons decd.... [to] bind the sd. Gibbons's Orphans to Such persons & trades as he think may best Suit their Capacities." Almost two decades later, in March of 1736/7, the local magistrates ordered "that the Church Wardens of Charles Parish do bind out the 3 sons of Ambrose Singleton to good Trades." Samuel Singleton became an apprentice of a Charles Parish bricklayer named Samuel Spurr Junior in the 1740s and Richard Hunt Singleton was a successful ordinary keeper in Williamsburg during the 1760s and the early 1770s.⁸

In contrast to the older men, disabled adult males of working age, and impoverished widows and orphans who made up Charles's powerless poor residents, the parish's able-bodied poor were males in their twenties to fifties who had the physical strength to work in tobacco fields. However, these men had not been able to purchase land of their own to plant.⁹ The landless males included former indentured servants,

⁷Rutman and Rutman, "'Now-Wives and Sons-in-Law,'" pp. 159, 161; Sarah Jane Weatherwax, "The Importance of Family in the Community of New Poquoson Parish, York County, Virginia in the Late Seventeenth Century," (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1984). The local justices of the peace attended a special meeting of the county court each fall called the Orphans Court. The colony's laws required guardians to bring in accounts of the possessions that belonged to the orphans in their care. See Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 1:336; 2:266-267, 298; 3:375; 4:212; and Webb, The Office and Authority, p. 252.

⁸York County Orders and Wills (15) 222, 18 March 1717/8; York County Orders, Wills, and Inventories (18) 352, 21 March 1736/7. It is possible that Samuel Singleton joined his brother Richard in Williamsburg because his master, the younger Samuel Spurr, relocated to the colonial capital by 1750. Unfortunately, nothing more is known about Ambrose Singleton's third son.

⁹In Charles Parish, as in all rural areas of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Virginia, a man needed to have access to land in order to form a household and to have a place in his community and a chance of becoming prosperous and wealthy. Allan Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800, (Chapel

immigrants who arrived in the lower portion of York County during the second half of the seventeenth century, and sons of parish residents who did not inherit property in Charles. It was difficult for men to take up a tract in the parish after the early 1660s, even if they had the money to do so, because the initial group of parish residents patented almost all of the acreage in the lower end of York County during the first thirty years of settlement. Inhabitants of Charles and a few newcomers to the lower end of York County took out titles to the remaining unpatented land in the central and western neighborhoods between the late 1670s and the early 1690s.¹⁰

Some of the parish's landless men leased property from the planters who held either a large tract or several smaller parcels of land in Charles. Others performed a variety of tasks for the residents in the lower end of York County.¹¹ In 1646/7, Robert Lucas employed Oliver Segar "to go over to MockJacke Bay to help fetch his cattle about 10 days for wch the sd Lucas promised the sd Segar satisfation...."¹²

Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1986), p. 45.

¹⁰See Chapter 3.

¹¹In September 1660, Anthony Hardaker of adjoining York Parish stated that "your Depont and William Ward being at Work together winter hoeing of the Corne field Wm Ward then told your depont that hee had [hired] him selfe to Lewis Roberts from the Christmas then past untill Christmas next following...." York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (3) f. 91-92, 11 September 1660. See Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 2:115-116. Even though the York County records do not contain evidence that a Charles Parish resident entered into a year-long contract with a master as Anthony Hardaker did, it is likely that several did so. For a discussion of English servants who had annual contracts with their masters see Ann Kussmaul, Servants in husbandry in early-modern England, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981). In seventeenth-century Maryland, a freedman who worked for a planter for one year received wages or part of the crop in return for his labor. Former servants also leased property and worked by the day. Lois Green Carr and Russell R. Menard, "Immigration and Opportunity: The Freedman in Early Colonial Maryland," in Tate and Ammerman, eds., The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century, p. 212.

¹²York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (2) 208, 26 January 1646/7. When Lucas sent Segar to Mobjack Bay on the northern side of the York River, it was still part of York County. In 1651, the land on the river's northern bank became Gloucester County. Segar moved to Middlesex County

In 1680, the elder John Hayward paid John Metcalf Senior for five months of service, and Samuel Dunsterfield packed hogsheads of tobacco for a merchant named Duke Rothmeall in the early 1680s. Richard Bentley spent two days hoeing and weeding a cornfield for Francis Kniveton's widow, Susanna, in the first decade of the eighteenth century. All of these men were landless.

Charles's third group of impoverished individuals, the dependent poor, included the males and females who arrived in the parish as indentured servants, parish natives who agreed to work for other residents of the lower end of York County because they could not support themselves, and enslaved blacks. The distinguishing characteristic of this group of impoverished men, women, and children was their status as servants or slaves.¹³ A native of Charles named Charles Dickinson had what appeared to be a promising future when he inherited one hundred acres from his father, Richard Dickinson, in February 1681/2. However, when the younger Dickinson settled his father's estate, he found that he had also acquired several large debts which he could not pay. In August 1685, Dickinson rented his plantation to Charles Price and his wife Elizabeth in return for freeing him of his father's debt to William Wise. Four months later, Dickinson sold his tract to Wise so that he could pay some of his father's other creditors. The young man became Price's servant in the latter part of 1685 and bequeathed his "loving master" his bed, bed furniture, and pewter when he died in February 1686/7. Other individuals born in Charles, such as Robert Croucher Junior and Mary Sables, became servants because they did not inherit a sufficient estate or land from their fathers.

in the 1650s. Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia 1650-1750, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984), pp. 46-48, 51, 52, 62, 117, 146.

¹³William Calvert may have been the only resident of Charles who had an Indian servant. In July 1665, Calvert bought an Indian boy named Ben from Joseph Croshaw of Marston Parish for the sum of L24. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (4) 27, 24 August 1665.

The last group of men, women, and children in the bottom portion of the parish's hierarchy were the marginal poor. This fourth category included males who were able to support their families at a subsistence level during good years, but had a difficult time trying to make ends meet if they had a smaller harvest than usual. One bad year could push a planter and his family from living at a subsistence level down to living in poverty.¹⁴ During the first four decades of the eighteenth century, several men requested to be excused from the payment of levies for a year in order have a little more tobacco to use to purchase food for their families. For example, in July 1732, the justices of the peace granted the elder John Birdsong's petition to be freed from levies. John Birdsong Senior, a widower with a young child, probably did not have a good harvest in 1731. It appears that Birdsong's fortunes improved because he did not petition the members of the county court for help a second time and he married a woman named Sarah by August of 1733.

Men and women who left behind estates that appraisers valued at L50 or less also fall into the category of Charles's marginal poor.¹⁵

¹⁴See the 1714 statute entitled "An Act for the Relief of persons who by reason of the drought of last Summer have made small quantities of Corn and Tobacco, and who for want of opportunity of shipping have great quantities of old Tobacco now by them, And for Punishing persons who shall carry any hogshead of Tobacco not Stamped Out of this Colony" in Waverly K. Winfree, comp. and Randolph W. Church, ed., The Laws of Virginia Being a Supplement to Hening's The Statutes at Large 1700-1750, (Richmond: The Virginia State Library, 1971), pp. 115-119. It is likely that years of drought and poor harvests were especially hard on the small planters who tended fields in the central and western neighborhoods of the parish because of the poor quality of their soil.

¹⁵The St. Mary's City Commission devised wealth-holding categories in order to analyze the value of possessions owned by residents of St. Mary's County, Maryland during the colonial period. The estates of poor decedents had a value of L50 or less; personal estates of middling decedents were worth L51 to L225; and the value of the personal possessions of wealth decedents totaled L226 and over. Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "Inventories and Analysis of Wealth and Consumption in St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1658-1777," The Newberry Papers in Family and Community History, Paper 77-4C; reprinted in Historical Methods, XIII(1980):81-104.

In a study of decedent's estates inventoried in St. Mary's County,

The majority of the individuals with estates worth less than L50 did not own land or head their own household. Typical were William Langham who died in 1667 and Henry Kendrick whose death appeared in the Charles Parish Death Register in early 1680. It is likely that these males and females worked for the middling and prosperous planters in the lower end of York County and made their homes in small one-room buildings on rented land or slept in the planter's house.

This examination of the characteristics of the four groups of impoverished residents--the powerless, able-bodied, dependent, and marginal--in Charles indicates that there was not a single cause of poverty in the lower end of York County between 1630 and 1740. In addition, the parish's poor individuals included males and females who were aged and young, disabled and healthy. Old men who had labored for years in their tobacco fields received relief from levies as did younger men who did not have the physical strength to tend tobacco plants or who were having a difficult time making ends meet. The widows of the parish's smaller planters and their children joined the ranks of Charles's poor if their husbands and fathers did not leave them a sufficient estate for their support. By the 1670s, former indentured servants and landless men found that they might have to lease land or work for a plantation owner instead of acquiring a tract of their own. Even a landowner was not always assured of being able to provide for

Maryland, between 1658 and 1665, Lois Green Carr, Russell R. Menard, and Lorena S. Walsh found that only two landowners had estates worth less than L50, the appraised value of possessions that belonged to non-landowners was less than L23, and only two of the ten decedents worth less than L10 were the head of their household. Lois Green Carr, Russell R. Menard, and Lorena S. Walsh, Robert Cole's World: Agriculture and Society in Early Maryland, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1991), p. 98.

See tables in Appendix 3 for an examination of selected items--livestock, riding equipment, beds, bedsteads, books, and silver objects--owned by Charles Parish decedents. It is important to note that York County inventories do not contain real estate.

himself and his family.¹⁶

It is important to note that poverty was not a permanent condition for all of the parish's impoverished men, women, and children. A look at the number of poor in each of the four categories of impoverished residents provides information about the extent of poverty in the lower end of York County, the leading cause of poverty in Charles Parish, and the chances that males and females, old and young, had to increase their wealth and move up in Charles's social order.

The Causes of Poverty in Charles Parish
and the Possibilities for Leaving Poverty Behind

Charles Parish had unsuccessful residents who struggled to make ends meet throughout the period under study. (Tables 6.1 and 6.2) The fluctuations in the annual totals of poor males and females during the initial thirty years of settlement result, in part, from the gap in the York County Court orders from December 1648 to September 1657.¹⁷ The changing proportion of impoverished inhabitants is also an indication that former servants and men in search of large tracts of productive land left the parish during the 1640s, 1650s, and early 1660s. In the final four decades of the seventeenth century, impoverished white men, women, and children accounted for close to twenty percent of Charles's residents. The small drop in the proportion of impoverished individuals in the parish's population that occurred in the late 1670s reflected the fact there were fewer indentured servants in the lower end of York County in the last quarter of the seventeenth century than there had been in the previous decade. It is likely that this decline would have been greater if more of the parish's planters had been able to follow their counterparts in the upper portion of York County in a shift from a

¹⁶Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, chapter 5; Carr, Menard, and Walsh, Robert Cole's World, chapters 4 and 6.

¹⁷See Appendix 1, Section 1.

reliance upon the labor of indentured white servants to a system that depended upon black slaves to tend tobacco fields.¹⁸

Between 1700 and 1720, the poor accounted for almost one-fifth of the parish's population. (Table 6.1) During the second quarter of the eighteenth century, out-migration from Charles and the small number of indentured servants accounted for a modest decline in the proportion of poor who made their homes in the parish. The opportunity to acquire land in the Southside and the Piedmont areas of Virginia or to practice a trade in Williamsburg or Yorktown pulled a small portion of the parish's unsuccessful residents away from their families. The impoverished inhabitants did not contain equal proportions of the parish's powerless, able-bodied, dependent, and marginal poor.

The parish's powerless poor reveal themselves through their petitions to York's justices of the peace for financial assistance. The men, women, and children who were unable to support themselves made up a small portion of Charles's poor population in each year between 1630 and 1740. (Table 6.2) The number of aged and weak males increased and decreased as did the parish's population as a whole. During the seventeenth century, the number of men who were levy-free did not exceed four in any year. Between 1700 and 1720, the annual totals of men who did not pay taxes were higher than at any other time during the period under study. This twenty year period also marked the time when Charles's population reached its peak. In the third and fourth decades of the eighteenth century, the number of old and/or disabled males did not climb above two in any year. It is possible that the out-migration of landless sons enabled a planter who stayed in Charles to take his elderly father into his house and care for him because the planter no longer had to help support his landless sons. The number of aged and infirm residents in Charles never was large because of the high mortality rates in the lower end of York County. An old, feeble man did

¹⁸See Chapter 3.

not have a chance of improving his position in Charles because his productive years were behind him. It also was unlikely that a younger, disabled male would move up to a higher position on the parish's social and economic ladder because of his physical disabilities.

Evidence from the York County records suggests that poor widows and orphans accounted for a smaller portion of Charles's powerless poor population than the men freed from levies did. (Table 6.2) The low total of impoverished widows is due to two factors. First, it is likely that remarriage kept several of the parish's relicts out of poverty. A second (also third or fourth) marriage provided a woman with the best way she had of guaranteeing herself and her children a secure future. A widow with a few personal possessions and a lifetime right to a tract of land would have been an attractive marriage partner for a former indentured servant or a small planter. The likelihood that a poor widow would move up in the social order as a result of her remarriage was small, but her chances of staying out of poverty improved. Second, the parish's widows probably received assistance from family members or relatives, if they had any in the area, and friends. The cow or heifer that a child received from his or her god-parent also helped a widow to make ends meet and provided the child with some capital.¹⁹ Aid from family, kin, and friends probably helped to keep some of the relicts and orphans of the parish's unsuccessful planters out of poverty.

Not all of Charles's poor widows were successful in their attempts to support themselves and their children. During the seventeenth century and the first two decades of the following century, Frances Bartlett and other widows who realized that they could not keep their families together took the necessary steps to bind out their sons or daughters. One woman named Martha Provo even had to indenture herself as well as her son to parish residents in the 1690s. During the second quarter of the eighteenth century, Charles's churchwardens began to play

¹⁹Carr, Menard, and Walsh, Robert Cole's World, pp. 222, 223-224.

an active role in placing orphaned children with masters who could teach them skills. As a result of the efforts of the church officials, the number of poor orphans who were bound out to parish inhabitants increased even though the total of impoverished widows did not. (Table 6.2) It is likely that the diligence of the parish's officials was connected to demographic changes in Charles, not to the failure of mothers to care for their sons and daughters. The population decrease that resulted from the out-migration meant that there were fewer inhabitants who paid taxes to cover the parish's annual costs.²⁰ If an impoverished orphan became an apprentice, he or she would not become a financial burden on the parish during his or her childhood. In addition, an orphan who served as the apprentice of a craftsman in the eighteenth century gained a skill that he could practice as an adult and the opportunity to improve his economic position as the Singleton brothers did.

The men who fell into the category of the able-bodied poor made up the largest portion of Charles's impoverished residents. (Table 6.2) After the initial period of settlement in the lower end of York County, between forty-four and fifty-nine percent of the parish's adult males were landless each year.²¹ (Table 6.3) It was especially difficult for

²⁰The decline in the number of residents who made their homes in the lower end of York County did not increase the amount of tobacco that each of Charles's tithes owed to defray county expenses because of the overall growth in York's population. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the demographic characteristics of York County and Charles Parish, and York County Deeds, Wills, and Orders (1-15), York County Orders and Wills (16-17), and York County Orders, Wills, and Inventories (18) for the annual county levies. Accounts of York County's yearly expenses do not survive for the following years: 1634-1647, 1649-1656, 1663-1664, 1669, 1676, 1689, 1707, and 1709.

²¹Just 499 of the 1286 adult white males from Charles Parish in the study population owned land during their lives. There is evidence that another 134 men (8.2%) rented property. Fifty-three percent of the parish's males did not have access to land during their adulthood. In 1673, Thomas Ludwell estimated that one-quarter of the freedman in Virginia did not have any land. Anthony S. Parent, "'Either a Fool or a Fury': The Emergence of Paternalism in Colonial Virginia Slave Society," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1982), p. 25.

men to acquire property during the last third of the seventeenth century and the initial twenty years of the eighteenth century for three reasons. First, between the 1660s and the 1690s, men did not become property owners until they had been in the parish for five or six years. Charles's natives tended to gain possession of land when they were in their late twenties.²² Once this group of men acquired their title to a parcel of land, they made their homes on their tracts for an average of sixteen years. (Table 6.4a) Most of the parish's landholders kept possession of their plantations and bequeathed them to their heirs. Second, there was an increase in the number of males born in Charles who hoped to possess land in their native parish. Finally, men who already owned parcels of land in the lower end of York County, such as Thomas Chisman Senior and Thomas Harwood Junior, took out patents on much of the available acreage in the central and western sections of the parish during the last third of the seventeenth century. The out-migration of younger sons who did not have the prospect of inheriting the family's plantation in Charles reduced the total of landless males in the parish a small degree during the late 1720s and the 1730s.

Some of the parish's landless men tended tobacco fields on rented plantations in order to support themselves and their families. (Tables 6.2 and 6.4b) There is evidence that 134 males were leaseholders between 1630 and 1740. The number of known lessees increased over the course of the seventeenth century because landowners, especially the men in the central section of the parish, rented out tracts as a way of

²²After the initial period of settlement, the waiting period of five to six years before becoming a landowner was consistent. James R. Perry noted that the median number of years that a settler lived on the Eastern Shore before becoming a landowner increased over time. James R. Perry, The Formation of a Society on Virginia's Eastern Shore 1615-1655, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1990), p. 52.

getting their land cleared and orchards planted.²³ The drop in the number of leaseholders after the turn of the eighteenth century did not mean that there was a decline in the total of landless males in Charles. If that had been the case, the fifth Francis Hayward could not have resorted to renting one acre tracts of land to nineteen of Charles's male residents in order to qualify them to vote in the 1735 York County burgess election.²⁴

Hayward's lessees and other male tenants in the lower end of York County found that it was not easy to make the transition from tenant to landowner.²⁵ Only one man who received a lease from Hayward in 1735 bought a tract in the lower end of York County. William James Senior purchased eighty acres in the central neighborhood in 1739. The elder

²³Earle noted that the number of landowners did not grow quickly and that the total of tenants did increase. Carville V. Earle, The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallow's Parish, Maryland, 1650-1783, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Department of Geography Research Paper No. 170, 1975), p. 203. Leaseholding benefitted both the landlord and the tenant in the 1640s and the 1650s. Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, pp. 73-75. Most leaseholders were not heads of households. Carr, Menard, and Walsh, Robert Cole's World, p. 128.

There is information about the individuals who acquired land by patent, purchase, or inheritance from a will or a deed of gift than there is about the people who acquired their land by more obscure means. Land transfers by patent, purchase, deed of gift, or will had to be officially recorded. Leases, subleases, or arrangements regarding land acquired by right of marriage to a propertyholder or held in life interest after a spouse's death did not have to be recorded, and, given the costs of doing so, usually were not. Long-term arrangements were more likely to be recorded than were short-term leases because both parties had an interest in the arrangements being observed.

²⁴See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the fifth Francis Hayward's activities as a landlord during his tenure as the York County sheriff.

²⁵Menard noted that tenancy had shifted from a temporary to a permanent status by the end of the seventeenth century. Russell R. Menard, "From Servant to Freeholder: Status Mobility and Property Accumulation in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., XXX(1973):60. On the difficulties that leaseholders had in trying to get ahead, see Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves, pp. 90, 296. Gregory Stiverson noted that only a few of Maryland's tenants became property owners. He stated that it is possible that tenancy played a smaller role in Virginia than in Maryland because Virginia had a larger frontier and more available land. Gregory Stiverson, Poverty in a Land of Plenty: Tenancy in Eighteenth-Century Maryland, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), pp. xii, 39-40.

James decided to sell his parcel of land three years later and to relocate to King William County. The parish's other leaseholders fared slightly better than the 1735 group of tenants. Just under twenty-one percent of the 134 lessees gained possession of their own property in Charles. One-quarter of this group of twenty-eight men inherited land from their fathers soon after they reached their majority. The twenty-one males who purchased their tracts spent slightly more than four years as a tenant before they bought property. The sons of propertied fathers inherited an average of 130 acres and the purchasers acquired tracts that tended to be 123.1 acres in size. The real difference was in the quality of the soil. Only one legatee, the elder Justinian Love, received land in the central neighborhood. John Nixon Senior bequeathed fifty acres in the western district to his son, Richard. The majority of the former lessees who became property-owners lived in the vicinity of Calthorpe's Neck or Chisman's Creek. The acquisition of land, even if it was not the most productive property, helped men to improve their standing in the parish's social and political order in the lower end of York County. Two men, the younger Lewis Burton and Benjamin Clifton Junior, became the first landowners in their families in the second decade of the eighteenth century.

The younger Benjamin Clifton continued the upward progress that his father, Benjamin Clifton Senior, began in the second half of the seventeenth century. The elder Clifton arrived in Charles Parish as an indentured servant and as one of the parish's dependent poor. The males and females who made up Charles's dependent poor never accounted for more than one-fifth of the population in the lower end of York County. (Tables 6.5 and 6.6)²⁶ Half of the parish's bound laborers were young men who arrived in the lower end of York County from the 1630s to the

²⁶The Rutmans noted that servants, 334 whites and sixty-five blacks, accounted for forty-five percent of Middlesex's population in 1668. Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, p. 71.

1700s as servants.²⁷ Almost twenty percent of this dependent group were women who left England between the 1650s and the first decade of the eighteenth century. (Tables 6.7a and 6.7b) Close to one-tenth of the male and female servants were natives of Charles Parish who entered servitude because their parents were not able to support them or because they had not been successful in their attempts to make a living. The place of birth of the remaining bound laborers is unknown.

What were the prospects for the men, women, boys, and girls who spent time as bound laborers in the lower end of York County?²⁸ Evidence from the county court records and the parish death register indicates that just over twenty-one percent of the male servants died before they completed their time of service. It is known that thirty-three of the forty-six males (71.7%) who finished their servitude stayed in Charles while seven (15.2%) definitely left the lower end of York County. It is probable that a greater number of the former male servants hoped to become landowners and relocated to other areas in the Tidewater region of Virginia, Maryland, or the Carolinas in order to gain their own property.

Just four of the thirty-three (12.1%) male servants who remained in the lower end of York County became landowners in Charles after they gained their freedom. An equal number of this group tended tobacco fields on rented plantations. It is important to note that the males who made the transition from servant to landowner or from servant to

²⁷The males and females who arrived in the Chesapeake without indentures probably were younger, less skilled, and from a lower status than the indentured servants. Joseph Douglas Deal III, "Race and Class in Colonial Virginia: Indians, Englishmen, and Africans on the Eastern Shore During the Seventeenth Century, (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1981), p. 110; James Horn, "Servant Emigration to the Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century," in Tate and Ammerman, eds., The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century, pp. 51-95.

²⁸The figures in the following discussion of the fate of the men, women, and children who worked as bound servants in Charles represent minimum totals because of the incomplete nature of the evidence. It is unknown if sixty-one (44.5%) of the males and thirty-three (57.9%) of the females finished their term of servitude to a parish resident.

tenant finished their terms of servitude by the decade of the 1670s.²⁹ These individuals became independent at a time when there was still some fluidity in the parish's social order and a small amount of available land. John Parsons Senior stands out among the group of former indentured servants in Charles because of the great success that he enjoyed. The elder Parsons became the owner of 650 acres in the eastern neighborhood, served as constable, and saw his children marry into leading families in the parish's easternmost section and in the area near Calthorpe's Neck.³⁰ It is probable that the experiences of the former indentured servants who remained in Charles were closer to that of John Berry Senior. The elder Berry was twelve years old when he arrived in Virginia in 1673. He finished his servitude in 1685 and married Margaret Tavernor by early 1690. It is likely that the couple lived on her father's plantation in the section of the parish near the Chesapeake Bay. Berry probably continued to make his home on a section of his father-in-law's tract after Margaret's death in 1692 because he associated with people from the eastern end of Charles during the rest of his life. The former servant married two more times, the first to a woman named Mary from 1699 to 1700, and the second to Eleanor from 1703

²⁹T. H. Breen estimated that no more than six percent of the former servants were able to become independent planters. T. H. Breen, "A Changing Labor Force and Race Relations in Virginia, 1660-1710," Journal of Southern History, 7(1973):6. Deal found that thirty-nine (17%) of the servants who arrived in Accomack County between 1663 and 1697 without indentures became property holders and the less than nine percent of their counterparts in Northampton County acquired tracts. Deal, "Race and Class," p. 114.

³⁰Carr and Menard noted that freedman served on juries and as undersheriffs in Maryland before the creole population began to increase at the end of the seventeenth century. The time of arrival in the Chesapeake was crucial for a servant's opportunities. Carr and Menard, "Immigration and Opportunity," pp. 229, 231, 233-234. See also Paul G. E. Clemens, The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's Eastern Shore: From Grain to Tobacco, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1980), p. 99.

to 1713. John Berry Senior outlived his third wife and died in 1718.³¹

It is known that almost eighteen percent of the female servants passed away before they could complete their indentures. Six (46.2%) of the thirteen women who gained their freedom definitely stayed in Charles Parish and at least one of this group, Katherine Masterson who moved to Bruton Parish, chose to leave the lower end of York County. Only two of the six former female servants who stayed in Charles are known to have married. In 1680, Judith Owen became the first wife of Thomas Wooton Junior. Her husband refused to pay the £5 sterling that her master wanted in compensation for her services.³² Twenty-two years later, Jane Middleton wed Thomas Edmunds of Yorkhampton Parish after she completed her service to John Doswell Senior. It is possible that the growth in the native-born population and the improved ratio between the sexes in Charles at the end of the seventeenth century made the former females servants less attractive marriage partners to small planters and young men than they had been in the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century.

The majority of the English men and women who completed their terms of servitude in the lower end of York County did not find great opportunities awaiting them there once they had their independence. The prospects of the native-born servants such as Elizabeth Bartlett and Charles Dickinson were not much better than those of the immigrants even though they lived near family members and friends. It is likely that

³¹Berry stood out from the other former servants who stayed in Charles because the parish churchwardens charged him with fathering the mulatto child born to Mary Cattilla in September 1693. Mary Cattilla's step-father, a white man named Stephen Pond, stepped forward to pay her fine and to provide support for the child. See Chapter 8.

³²Judith Owen's master, Jeremy Elliott, sued Wooton for payment of £5 sterling. The justices decided that Wooton did not have to pay the sum "in regard he was publicly asked at the parish Church and given in marriage by sd Owen Davis & neither he nor any other person bidding the same nor demanding any money or other satisfacon for use of sd Elliott...." York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (6) 211, 24 March 1679/80.

former male and female servants whether immigrants or parish natives, were among those who left Charles in search of land in newer settlements in the Old Dominion and the adjoining colonies. Out-migration improved the prospects of the men and women who moved from the lower end of York County and helped to keep the proportion of the parish's adult landless men down around fifty percent.³³

The marginal poor accounted for a small portion of the parish's impoverished males and females throughout the period under study.³⁴ (Table 6.2) The individuals who lived on the edge between subsistence and poverty in Charles tended to be men in their twenties and thirties who did not live long enough to accumulate an estate that could support their widows and orphaned children in comfort.³⁵ The fluctuations in the number of Charles's marginal poor indicate the times that were especially hard on the less-prosperous residents of the lower end of York County. It is likely that Robert Ross Senior, the elder Edward Bridges, the first Robert Drewry, Thomas Platt, Charles Price, and John Pond Senior died during a measles epidemic in the winter of 1687 and 1688. Only Price and the elder Pond left land to their widows and young children. The epidemic of 1718-1719 also took its toll on younger men and their families. Humphrey Nixon, Francis Clark Senior, and the

³³Clemens noted that out-migration prevented the development of a larger group of landless poor. Clemens, The Atlantic Economy, p. 114.

³⁴I decided to include men, women, and children in the category of marginal poor only for the year in which the appraisers valued a decedent's personal possessions because of the small amount of information on the standing of individuals both before and after the known inventory date. It is possible that a male decedent had been able to support his family by tending crops on a rented plantation during his lifetime. If his estate had not been sufficient to provide for his family after his death, his widow would have petitioned the justices of the peace for assistance. The data on the marginal poor is better in the eighteenth century because the reporting rate for inventories in York County improved after 1700.

³⁵If the reporting rate for inventories had been higher, it is likely that the marginal poor would have also included older males who had spent their lives as tenants on the plantations of the parish's middling and successful planters.

younger Lewis Burton bequeathed small estates to their heirs. Nixon's widow, Susanna, had five children who were under the age of nine and Clark's orphans had lost their mother, Mary, in 1706. Two of the parish's single men, George Wilkinson Junior and Thomas Watkins, left a small number of personal possessions to their parents and siblings. The increase in the total of marginal poor after the turn of the eighteenth century indicates that it became increasingly difficult for those at the bottom of the social and economic order in Charles to make ends meet.

There were always impoverished residents in the lower end of York County because of the small number of opportunities for the males and females at the bottom of the parish's social order to improve their position. The widows in the group of powerless poor could keep themselves out of poverty if they learned how to manage their deceased husband's plantation or to operate his business, or if they remarried a landowner.³⁶ Orphaned children who learned skills during an apprenticeship could support themselves by practicing their craft in Charles's service center, Williamsburg, or Yorktown. It is likely that a large portion of the landless young men were tenants who worked in tobacco fields on plantations that belonged to the parish's middling and successful planters.

The time of great opportunity in Charles was limited to the first thirty years of settlement when the initial settlers patented almost all of the land, both productive and non-productive, in the parish. Although Charles was not "the best poor man's country," it is probable that the majority of the individuals who lived in the lower end of York County were able to support themselves and their families at a subsistence level. If that had not been the case, a greater number of men and women would have petitioned York's justices of the peace for financial assistance or bound out their children. Not one resident of Charles asked to plead his or her case as a pauper who could not afford

³⁶See Chapter 7.

to pay the costs of a court case. By the last third of the seventeenth century, the males and females who hoped to improve their social position and increase their wealth could do so by leaving Charles Parish. However, ties to family members and friends kept many of the parish's impoverished residents in the lower end of York County until the second quarter of the eighteenth century when the opportunity to acquire rural land or to practice one's craft in Williamsburg or Yorktown pulled poor young men away from their place of birth.

Reasons Why Charles's Impoverished Males and Females
Appeared in the York County Court

Although the impoverished residents of Charles Parish did not share the social, political, and economic standing of their more successful neighbors, they did participate in the day to day activities in the lower end of York County. This participation included attendance at the monthly meetings of the justices of the peace and reflected the fact that the people at the bottom of the social order were knowledgeable about the colony's legal system. The appearances of Charles's poor men, women, and children in York County fall into two categories: first, the cases initiated by the impoverished individuals as a way of protecting their own interests and second, the suits that other parish residents introduced against them. Charles's impoverished inhabitants helped to define the standards of acceptable behavior in their parish by traveling to the monthly meetings of the local magistrates in the roles of plaintiff and defendant.

Indentured servants turned to the local magistrates if they believed that their masters tried to extend the time of their servitude or failed to honor the terms of their indentures. In January 1674/5, Daniel Parsons claimed "his freedome by vertue of an Indenture hee had at Rapahanocke...." His master, Richard Trotter, was not "satisfied therewith as alledging he had till June next to serve...." The justices

"ordered that he continue with his master till that time the sd Trotter having promised to make him satisfaction for the overplus service in case he be free before then[.]"³⁷ It is probable that Parsons could not find his indenture because there is no evidence that he tried to receive payment from Trotter for the five months of labor. In April of the same year, Edmund Chisman Junior gave a servant named William Brown permission to go across the York River to Gloucester County to obtain a copy of his indenture that stated he had four years to serve. Two months later Brown appeared before the justices of the peace

but producing noe such Indenture is ordered to serve the custom of the Countrey & having beene absent from his said masters service from the said 26th of April to this day as alsoe a compleat weeke before is alsoe ordered ordered [sic] to make good the same by service after his first time is expired & in case any thing more appeare from him of ill language or ill behaviour towards his said master or any other person to be proceeeded against & punished accord to Demeritt...."

Brown's witness, a fellow passenger from the voyage across the Atlantic who stated that he saw Brown's indenture, did not persuade the members of the county bench to rule in favor of the servant. It is likely that Brown's bad language and behavior also counted against him.³⁸

In August of 1692 Stephen Clark found that the justices of the peace did take the side of a servant who could prove his case against his master. Clark filed a complaint against Henry Hayward Senior in which he stated that he

served the deft his master the full terme of 8 yrs by indenture wherein the deft covenanted & agreed to teach the plt his art or trade of a cordwinder or shoe maker yet neverthelesse after the plt had thus entered into indenture the deft not regarding the covenant therein in his part to be performed as aforesd nor in the least complying or [wither] endeavouring the same but through his covetous & sinister ends kept the plt his whole time of service to worke in the ground as appears to this ct whereby [he] is altogether to seek in his trade aforesd for which wrong & injury don to the plt it is ord that the deft pay him 1000 lbs of

³⁷York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (5) 94, 25 January 1674/5.

³⁸Ibid., pp. 118, 120, 24 June 1675.

principall good sweetsented tob & ca...."³⁹

This ruling indicated that the local magistrates believed that all masters, no matter how important and prestigious they were in their parish and county, had to uphold the terms of a contract with an indentured servant.

It was easier for former servants such as Stephen Clark to complain that their masters had not taught them a skill than it was for bound workers to charge their current master with abusive treatment for two reasons. First, Clark could demonstrate that he did not know how to make a shoe and it could be difficult for an ill-treated servant to convince the justices of the peace that he or she had been abused or given too much work to do. Second, Clark had completed his time of service to Hayward. He did not have to wonder if he would be treated more cruelly after the end of the court case. However, in spite of these difficulties, the justices of the peace did rule on cases that caused them to look into the question of physical abuse of servants.⁴⁰ In September of 1712, William and Elizabeth Young "in behalf of William Varnum by their pet sett forth that one Humphry Nixon to whom the sd Varnum [sic] was bound had evilly treated him & contrary to law without the order of a justice of the peace had whiped the sd Varnum naked & praying the penalty in such cases...."⁴¹ Varnum was Elizabeth Young's son from her second marriage to Lewis Varnum. The justices of the peace believed Nixon's two witnesses and returned Varnum to his master's house.

One female servant turned to local officials for protection from

³⁹Ibid., (9) 158, 24 August 1692.

⁴⁰See Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 2:117-118 for a statute that prohibited a master from treating a servant cruelly.

⁴¹York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (14) 191, 15 September 1712.

an abusive master.⁴² In March of 1682/3, Mary Adney complained that her master, John Wright, the minister of Charles Parish, treated her cruelly. The sheriff received a list of witnesses from Mary Adney who appeared in court the following month. Wright also traveled to the monthly meeting of the justices of the peace

to answer the complaint of Mary Adney his servt for his barbarous usage to her acted, & the sd Wright appearing & it manifestly appearing by good & credible witnesses that the sd Jno Wright had by beating & whipping, treated & used the sd Mary Adney after a most grosse, inhumane & barbarous manner, to the great scandall & infamy of this Country...he shall enter into Bond of 500 L Sterl with good & suff. security that he the sd Jno Wright shall not beat strike whipp or any other ways evilly intreate any Christian servt or servts whatsoever, that now is or hereafter shall be under him especially her sd Mary Adney & that he shall not ord or command any overseer or any other person whatsoever to strike beate or whipp any of his sd servts....⁴³

Wright possibly treated Mary Adney in a kinder manner after the court case because she did not complain to the local magistrates a second time.

Bound laborers also received assistance from the members of the county bench when their masters did not provide them with their freedom dues upon completion of their service.⁴⁴ Men from all of Charles's social layers withheld the required freedom dues, perhaps as a way to

⁴²Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 1:255, 440; 2:117-118; 3:448-449.

⁴³York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (6) 493-494, 24 April 1683. Unfortunately, the county clerk did not record the names of the witnesses who substantiated Mary Adney's charge against John Wright.

⁴⁴In October 1705, the General Assembly noted that "whereas there has been a good and laudable custom of allowing servants corn and cloaths for their present support, upon their freedom; but nothing in that nature ever made certain, Be it also enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted, That there shall be paid and allowed to every imported servant, not having yearly wages, at the time of service ended, by the master or owner of such servant, viz: To every male servant, ten bushels of indian corn, thirty shillings in money, or the value thereof, in goods, and one well fixed musket or fuzee, of the value of twenty shillings, at least: and to every woman servant, fifteen bushels of indian corn, and forty shillings in money, or the value thereof, in goods...." Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 3:451.

keep their indentured servants from leaving their service. Judith Walker's 1665 petition against her former master, Edmund Chisman Senior, was successful. In 1715, Simon Stacy charged Sarah Whitefield with "harbouring & entertaining the plts servt Ann Grey...." The jury found for the defendant, Sarah Whitefield, because Ann Grey was no longer a servant. Stacy continued to treat Ann Grey as his servant even though she had completed her time of service. In February 1715/6, Grey entered a petition against her former master "seting forth that notwithstanding she had been discharged from the sd Stacy by a jury yet he detaining her in servitude the Ct having dully heard both partys do adjudge her free & ordered that the sd Stacy pay costs...."⁴⁵ In July of 1735, David Cox informed the local magistrates that

he was bound an Apprentice to Adam Russell for the Term of 4 Years to learn the Trade of a Taylor & that at the expiration of the said term of Years the said Adam Russell was to find & provide for him a full Sute of Clothes & that notwithstanding the expiration of the term of Years as aforesaid & the said Adam Russell's being often required to find & provide the Cloths aforesd. he hath as yet refused....

The members of the county bench ordered Russell to attend the next meeting of the court to answer Cox's complaint.⁴⁶ York's justices of the peace treated petitions of former servants seriously because they charged masters with the violation of a contract. In addition, the local magistrates did not want the former indentured men and women to become a burden on the parish if they were unable to feed or clothe themselves.⁴⁷

⁴⁵York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (14) 420, 20 June 1715; *ibid.*, p. 475, 20 February 1715/6.

⁴⁶Russell probably gave Cox his suit of clothes before the next meeting of the York County Court because the case did not appear again. York County Orders, Wills, and Inventories (18) 208-209, 21 July 1735.

⁴⁷It is likely that most of the former servants started out with only their freedom dues because there is no evidence that the parish's masters allowed their indentured laborers to work for wages while they were servants. In October 1677, John Griggs Junior allowed his slave Andrew James "to worke for himselfe paying his sd master....2000 lbs sweet sented

Like indentured servants who counted on receiving fair treatment from their masters, orphans relied upon their guardians. A guardian was to provide food, clothing, and shelter for his or her wards and to protect any real or personal estate that the child or children inherited from a parent. It was the duty of neighbors to inform the justices of the peace about a guardian who did not fulfill his or her responsibilities.⁴⁸ In August 1681, the clerk of the York County court noted that the justices had received several complaints

on behalf of orpht of William Gill decd agt Jno Metcalf who had the Guardianship of sd Orpht & possession of estate belonging to her, how hee the sd Jno Metcalfe had in a most Gross and evell manner abused & treated sd Orpht & that if speciall care were not taken the hard usuage she underwent might endanger her life, this Ct out of the tender care they have & as they are the fathers of poore helpless Orphts & finding by the will of sd Orphts father that the estate in case the sd Orpht should depart this life before she came to age to receive her sd estate then the sd estate to come to the wife of the sd Jno Metcalfe have ord that the orpt shall bee putt into the keeping of Agnes Hulett the wife of Stephen Hulett....

Metcalf agreed to relinquish control of Eleanor Gill's estate to Henry Hayward Senior who managed her livestock until she married George Chambers in late 1697 or early 1698.⁴⁹

A few years after the turn of the eighteenth century, an orphan named Anthony Butts Junior informed the local magistrates of the neglect

tobo & caske." In addition, Griggs was not "to hinder sd Andrew from working at his trade of Carpenter" except to plant and tend 3000 corn hills. Four years earlier, Griggs promised to free James when he died. Andrew James successfully petitioned for his freedom in February 1678/9. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (6) 67, 24 February 1678/9; *ibid.*, p. 117, 25 August 1679. See also Chapter 8.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, (3) f. 176, 25 October 1662; *ibid.*, f. 182, 30 December 1662; Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 1:416-417; 2:94-95; 3:371-376; Weatherwax, "The Importance of Family."

⁴⁹York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (6) 340-341, 25 August 1681. Metcalf, who married Gill's widow, did not turn over control of the estate to the elder Hayward until March of the following year. Hayward gained possession of "2 parts of the land orchard & houses for & in right of the Orphan, wch did belong to the sd William Jill, the sd land & plantation being the remainder of a lease for [terme?] of yrs the sd Heyward paying the proportion of the rent & performing the contents of the sd lease...." *Ibid.*, p. 394, 24 March 1681/2.

of his guardian. In February 1702/3, the seventeen year old Butts complained that "Daniel Holland being here to fore appointed his guardian & suffering the said orphants estate to runne to decay praying the said guardian may be dismist from his charge...." The justices agreed with Butts and allowed him to choose Edmund Curtis Senior as his new guardian in place of his step-father.⁵⁰

Not all of Charles's poor residents chose to appear before the justices of the peace as Daniel Parsons, William Brown, Stephen Clark, and Mary Adney did. Masters also charged servants with the failure to honor indentures. The most common offense committed by servants was running away from their master's plantation. The parish's planters depended upon the labor of their servants.⁵¹ Most of Charles's planters did not have to search beyond the upper portion of York County or Elizabeth City and Warwick counties to find their runaway servants. William Wise Senior went to great lengths to find a white indentured man who ran away with a free black servant in late 1690. The elder William Wise rented a sloop, traveled to Philadelphia, and spent almost L12 in order to find John Sherry, a Portuguese man, and a free black named Thomas Roberts and to take them back to his plantation. In January of 1690/1, York's justices of the peace decided that Sherry, "haveing absented himselfe from sd master's service 79 days....ord that

⁵⁰Ibid., (12) 80, 24 February 1702/3. The local magistrates could have allowed the younger Butts to have the profits of his labor because of his age. Other Charles Parish orphans who were not bound out as apprentices--John Figg Junior (1660), William Hayward Senior (1676), Stephen and Ann Searles (1677/8), Nicholas Presson (1679)--petitioned for and received permission to work as adults after they reached their seventeenth birthday. Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 1:416-417.

⁵¹Carr and Menard, "Immigration and Opportunity," in Tate and Ammerman, eds., The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century, pp. 206-242; Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, pp. 43, 72-76; Carr, Menard, and Walsh, Robert Cole's World, pp. 3, 28, 31, 33, 38-39, 43-45, 81, 82, 92-93, 97, 109-111, 148, 171, 209-213.

A servant needed to have the permission of his or her master to leave the plantation. A bound worker was not supposed to behave in an unruly manner. Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 2:118, 195.

he serve sd master 18 monthes after his 1st time of servitude be compleated & served out, itt being double the time for his runing away, & for losse & damages in the cropp & alsoe for expence & charges of takeing him upp...." Roberts had his term of servitude extended twenty-two months past its original completion date.⁵²

Indentured females also ran away from their masters. In July of 1703, John Doswell Senior told the justices of the peace that his servant Jane Middleton ran away on the fifth of January and "was absent 5 months & twenty days & likewise that he was at a great expense and trouble in getting of her again...." The magistrates decided that Jane Middleton was to "serve him sd master double the tyme of her absence to which is 11 mts & 10 days & likewise for his trouble and charges 1 year 146 days amounting in the whole to 2 years and 126 days after her tyme by indenture is expired." The extension guaranteed that Jane was still a servant when she gave birth to her daughter, Katherine, in December of the same year. As a result, Jane Middleton served the elder Doswell for an additional year for bearing an illegitimate child.⁵³ It is likely that Jane Middleton ran away another time or had a second child because she did not finish her servitude until 1711/12. In January of that year, Thomas and Jane Edmunds told the justices of the peace that Jane's late master, John Doswell Senior, "refuses to pay her the allowance of corn & cloth given by law the Ct hearing the defence of the sd Dozwell

⁵²York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (8) 527, 536, 26 January 1690/1. See Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 2:116-117, 187-188, 266, and 299-300.

⁵³Ibid., (12) 138, 24 July 1703 and p. 194, 24 March 1703/4. See also *ibid.*, (5) 127, 25 October 1675 for the increased servitude of Mary Hault who ran away from her master William Wise Senior. In August of 1678, Hester Blair received a whipping and two additional years of service to her master Henry Freeman because she gave birth to an illegitimate child. *Ibid.*, (6) 46, 27 August 1678. Eleven years later, Mary Barker's service was extended two years for her crime of bastardy and another six months because her master, Samuel Toplady, paid her fine of 500 pounds of tobacco. *Ibid.*, (9) 11, 24 March 1690/1. For punishments given to servants who ran away from their masters see Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 1:254-255, 401, 440; 2:116-117, 266, 277-279; 3:12, 28-29, 455-459; 4:168-175.

do order that he pay & deliver unto the sd Thomas Edmunds & Jane his wife fifteen bushells of indian Corn & 40 shills in mony of the value thereof in goods as the law directs with costs als ex."⁵⁴

Evidence from the York County records suggests that Charles's planters did not attempt to control the sexual behavior of servants such as Jane Middleton during the time of their indentures.⁵⁵ Seventeen of the twenty-two single women presented by the churchwardens for committing fornication or bearing an illegitimate child between 1630 and 1720 were servants. Four of these females gave birth to two children out of wedlock. In November of 1674, the justices of the peace decided that "Sarah Paskey servant to Mr Charles Dunn having had a second bastard in the time of her first service is ordered to serve two yeares after the expiration of her former time[.]"⁵⁶ Hester Blair and the father of her illegitimate children, Henry Horn, were both servants of Henry Freeman in the 1670s. Ann Winball's and Frances Lee's partners were slaves who may have had the same master as they did.

The fact that just one of the twenty-two single women who bore an illegitimate child married the father of her child and moved out of the lower social level probably helped to associate immoral behavior with

⁵⁴York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (14) 122-123, 21 January 1711/12. The Edmunds retained ties to the Doswell family in spite of the differences that occurred between the master and the servant during Jane's servitude. In 1718, John Doswell Junior witnessed the will of Thomas Edmunds and agreed to serve as the overseer. The widow Edmunds turned to the son of her former master as a security when she served as the executor of her husband's estate. In the will that Jane Edmunds wrote a month before her death she bequeathed "unto my Daughter Katharin Banks all my whole Estate after my Debts & funeral Charges being first paid & it to remain in my Execrs hands till she be free or married...." It is unknown if Katherine Banks lived long enough to finish her servitude as her mother had done. *Ibid.*, (15) 377, 19 January 1718/9.

⁵⁵In counties where testimony in servant bastardy cases was recorded, both officials and respectable local women emphasized the woman servant's responsibility to avoid sexual liaisons, especially where marriage was not promised. For a discussion of the statutes that the General Assembly passed in order to regulate sexual behavior in seventeenth-century Virginia see Brown, "Gender and the Genesis," chapter 5.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, (5) 91, 26 November 1674.

poverty in the minds of Charles's local- and county-level leaders. Additional presentments by the churchwardens and the grand jury also indicate the existence of this connection. In 1665, Robert Penrice and the Reverend John Prosser told the justices of the peace that Enos MacIntosh Senior, a former indentured servant, "kept a Bawdy house & kept a whore and a Rogue by name Nicholas Tailor and Susanna Bewford...."⁵⁷ Taylor, who had committed fornication with a servant named Elizabeth Knight in 1659, was "presented by the vestry of New Poquoson for coming into Church drunk & in full view of the congregation in time of divine service there spewing Ordered for his offense he be put in stocks & there remain until released by court" in 1665.⁵⁸

The parish's officials also charged men from the lower portion of the social hierarchy with civil offenses that they deemed to be unsettling to the social order.⁵⁹ In December 1666, Henry Lewis and Ollister Reho were "bound to this court concerning some mutinous words by them spoken tending to the break of peace of the collony...."⁶⁰ Failure to pay one's tithes also caused one to be presented by the grand jury as Henry Freeman, Thomas Sudland, Garrett Connor, James Holloway, Michael Bartlett, Benjamin Lovell, and William Morgan discovered in the fall of 1690. Just one man of this group of seven, Michael Bartlett, was a propertyholder. On occasion, men also neglected to help clear the parish's public roads. It is possible that one's responsibility to clear a highway was not a high priority to a tenant who did not depend on passable roads to get his tobacco to the public landing or to a small

⁵⁷Ibid., (4) 27, 24 August 1665.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 38, 1 November 1666.

⁵⁹Evidence from the York County records suggests that the Charles's indentured servants were not involved in the potential servant uprising in adjoining York Parish during January of 1661/2. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (3) f. 149, 25 January 1661/2.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 119, 20 December 1666. The county clerk did not mention what Lewis and Reho said.

planter who could not afford to leave his fields and work on the highways. In October 1702, thirty-seven men, including twelve who were landless, neglected to help Anthony Watts Junior, the surveyor of the highways, to repair the roads in the parish's upper precinct. It is possible that this group of small and middling planters from the upper precinct did not appear as a protest against the date that Watts asked them to work or the amount of labor that they had to do.⁶¹

The majority of the males who received a presentment for not attending church also tended to be from the bottom of the parish's social order or to be small planters. In June of 1708 Thomas Chisman Senior and the third Robert Shield discovered that a middling or wealthy planter who was not present at religious services received the same treatment as the parish's poor residents did: each man had to pay a fine if he did not have an excuse for his absence. The grand jury excused the elder Chisman because of his deafness and Shield paid the same fine--five shillings or fifty pounds of tobacco--that all non-church goers paid. The third Robert Shield also received presentments for missing Sunday services in July 1709 and June 1712. Perhaps he did not agree with the teachings of the Anglican Church or used his absence as a way to indicate his displeasure with the minister, the Reverend James Sclater.⁶²

York's justices of the peace fined any individual who did not have an adequate explanation for his failure to pay his taxes, to help to clear the public highways in his precinct, or to travel to the parish church for religious services. Quick action on the part of Charles's leaders made examples of the offenders for the rest of the parish's

⁶¹The justices of the peace ordered the thirty-seven men to appear at the next court to explain their reasons for their refusal to do the required work. The fact that there is no further reference to this case suggests that the county-level officials did not consider the incident to be a threat to the social order or that the work had been done by them.

⁶²See Chapter 5.

inhabitants, a practice designed to discourage other residents from the neglect of their civic and religious duties. The majority of the individuals who received a presentment for immoral behavior or for actions that were seen as a threat to the social order were from the parish's group of poor men and women.

The Public Perception of the Poor in Charles Parish

The layered social hierarchy that the first settlers of Charles brought to the New World included a lower rank for poor and impoverished people. Like their English counterparts, the men and women in the lower end of York County and all of colonial Virginia accepted the fact that some individuals would be poor.⁶³ However, the acceptance of the existence of poverty did not mean that the wealthy and middling males and females believed that those who were less successful should be idle and dependent on their parish. In addition to making distinctions between different types of poverty, Charles's better-off inhabitants saw differences among the types of people who were at the bottom of their parish's social order.⁶⁴ Contemporary documents concerning the poor and poor relief provide information about how the middling- and upper-level planters viewed their impoverished neighbors.

Throughout the period under study, the residents of Charles felt that it was their duty to provide financial assistance to the poor and infirm who could not labor to support themselves. Between the 1660s and

⁶³For discussion of the English attitude toward the poor during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries see Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1975), pp. 65, 68, 188, 320-326; and Keith Wrightson, English Society 1580-1680, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1982), pp. 37, 78, 83-84, 140-142, 144, 148, 166-167, 180-182, 223-228. Morgan also examines the lazy Englishmen who were among the early residents of Jamestown in American Slavery, American Freedom, pp. 44-70.

⁶⁴Helena M. Wall, Fierce Communion: Family and Community in Early America, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 105.

the 1730s, York's justices of the peace granted all the petitions that they received from the parish's males who asked to be relieved from paying tithes. The local magistrates excused a total of twenty-four men from the payment of levies. Impoverished widows such as Mary Floyd and Elizabeth Price obtained financial assistance that probably enabled the women to keep their children with them.

Two Charles Parish residents remembered and provided for the poor in their wills. In January of 1720/1, the younger Henry Hayward noted that his executors were to "pay & deliver of the Goods of my Store to the poor of Charles parish Twenty five pounds in Such Sort of Goods as Shall suit their wants best...." A month later, Hayward's executor, Edward Tabb Senior, swore in court that the decedent "desired that fifteen pounds might be given to the poor of the sd parish more than what is specified by his the sd Haywards Will...." The following year Jane Cully bequeathed her estate to John Davis Junior, and if he did not live to age twenty-one, it was her "will that my sd estate Shall be distributed amongst the poor of the sd Charles parish according to the discretion of my Execrs...." The impoverished men, women, and children in the lower end of York County probably benefitted from Jane Cully's estate of L30 because there is no evidence that the younger John Davis reached adulthood.⁶⁵

Like their counterparts in other areas of the colony, Charles's seventeenth- and eighteenth-century leaders were willing to provide financial assistance to the men, women, and children who truly needed the help. They did not want to extend help to those individuals who were physically able to labor but who chose not to support themselves by working. Colonial legislators also designed poor relief to train children so that they would not grow up to become idle, impoverished adults. In October 1646, the Assembly noted that

⁶⁵York County Orders and Wills (16) 11-12, 16 January 1720/1; *ibid.*, pp. 9, 20, 20 February 1720/1; *ibid.*, p. 46, 15 May 1721.

WHEREAS sundry laws and statutes by act of parliament established, have with great wisdom ordained, for the better educating of youth in honest and profitable trades and manufactures, as also to avoyd sloath and idlenesse wherewith such young children are easily corrupted, as also for releife of such parents whose poverty extends not to give them breeding, That the justices of the peace should at their discretion, bind out children to tradesmen or husbandmen to be brought up in some good and lawfull calling....⁶⁶

During the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century, the concern about vagrants and idle persons increased because the colony-level officials believed that the size of this group was increasing and would place a greater financial burden on parishes. Statutes passed by the Assembly in 1723, 1727, and 1755 put the English Poor Laws concerning settlements into effect, required the churchwardens to keep a register of the poor, and ordered the poor to wear a badge which indicated the fact that they had received relief from the parish in which they had their legal residence.⁶⁷

Events in the life of one of Charles's residents, Daniel MacIntosh Senior, illustrate the problems that poor relief presented to parish officials and how MacIntosh's behavior probably helped to strengthen an image of the impoverished as a group of lazy, unreliable individuals in the minds of the middling- and upper-level men and women who made their homes in the lower end of York County. MacIntosh, the son of a former indentured servant who became a landowner, did not inherit the work habits of his father, Enos MacIntosh Senior. In September 1695, Daniel MacIntosh appeared in court "to answer the Complaint of Mr James Sclater Complnt: for his wicked boysterous & ungovernd course of life & comon practice in his abusive languidges together with his threats & mennaces

⁶⁶Hening, ed., The Statues at Large, 1:336.

⁶⁷Ibid., 4:208-211; 6:475-478; Winfree, comp. and Church, ed., The Laws of Virginia, pp. 253-257.

Carr and Menard found that there was little concern with paupers and warning out vagrants in Maryland during the seventeenth century. Carr and Menard, "Immigration and Opportunity," p. 216.

perpetrated & don as well agt the Complt: as also agt diverse others their Maties leidge subjects...."⁶⁸ MacIntosh put up his own bond to guarantee his good behavior because he could not find anyone who was willing to do so. The unwillingness of MacIntosh's brothers, brothers-in-law, and neighbors to stand as a security suggests that they believed that he would continue to disturb the peace and threaten the minister and other parish residents.

MacIntosh's behavior improved after he entered into the bond: between 1695 and 1700 he married, became a father, and sat on a petit jury. However, Daniel was in trouble less than three years after the death of his wife Frances in June 1700. Thomas Roberts Senior arrested his neighbor, MacIntosh, for ranging and shooting on his land without permission in 1703. Four years later, the grand jury presented MacIntosh for being absent from church and for being a vagrant. By calling MacIntosh a vagrant, the grand jurors told Charles's residents that he was fit to work but did not labor to support himself.⁶⁹ In February 1709/10, the parish churchwardens, Henry Hayward Junior and the elder Edward Tabb, voiced their complaint

relateing to One Daniell Mackentosh a lame & Impotent man who has been lately Illegally Conveyed into the said Parish by Nathaniel Hoggard one the Church Wardens of Denbeigh Parish in Warwick County where the said Daniell has been a Resident for the Space of four Months being heard this ordered that this Complaint be referred untill the Next Court for Some of the vestry of the Said Parish of Denbeigh to appear & Shew Cause if any why the said Mackentosh may not be remanded to this said parish where is his

⁶⁸York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (10) 209, 24 September 1695.

⁶⁹In 1723, the colonial legislators noted "That all persons able in body, and fitt to labour, and not having wherewithal otherwise to maintain themselves, who shall be found loytering and neglecting to labour, and all persons who run away from their habitations and leave either Wives or Children without Suitable Means for their Subsistence whereby they are like to become burthensome to the Parish wherein they Inhabit, And all persons who refuse to work for the usual and common Wages, and all other Idle, vagrant, or dissolute persons, wandering abroad without betaking themselves to some lawful Employment or honest Labour, or going about begging, shall be adjudged and deemed Rogues and Vagabonds." Winfree, Comp. and Church, ed., The Laws of Virginia, p.254. See also Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 4:209.

proper Residence--

The following month, the justices of the peace decided that "It did not appear....by an Testimony or Authority produced....that the said Mackintosh ever was Legally Settled in the said parish of Denbigh and therefore are of opinion that he ought not to be returned thither as Such--"⁷⁰ It is likely that the parish's leaders were not pleased by the decision of the county court that MacIntosh was a resident of Charles. The local officials had not wanted to give MacIntosh assistance in 1707 when he was capable of doing physical labor to support himself and did not want to maintain an infirm man, even though he was a native of the lower end of York County. The financial concerns of Charles's leaders and the fact that MacIntosh's behavior was disruptive to daily life in the parish led the local officials to treat him as an outcast.⁷¹

The church officials and grand jurors tried to put an end to MacIntosh's disruptive actions and his idleness because he served as a bad example for his son, Daniel MacIntosh Junior, and other children in Charles. The parish's churchwardens also focussed their attention on a misbehaving orphan named William Coudert. In June of 1729, the eighteen year old Coudert received a summons to appear before the justices of the York County Court and "give an acct by what means he is supported" after Edward Tabb Senior told the local magistrates that the orphan lived "an Idle and Scandelous life." Because Coudert had not inherited land from

⁷⁰York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (14) 2, 24 February 1709/10; *ibid.*, p. 9, 24 March 1709/10.

⁷¹The tax payers of Denbigh were pleased by the decision of the York County Court. MacIntosh disappeared from the York County records after the justices of the peace decided that he was a resident of Charles Parish. He was dead by 1719 when his son, Daniel MacIntosh Junior, sold a tract of land that had belonged to his grandfather. Providing support to any impoverished man, woman, or child increased the financial responsibilities of a parish. It is possible that Charles's officials hoped to avoid supporting MacIntosh in early 1709/10 because of the additional charges the parishioners paid to construct a new church building.

his father, Bernard Coudert, a former parish and vestry clerk, is it probable that the churchwardens bound him out to learn carpentry.⁷² While Coudert did not live an idle life as an adult, the church officials would not have held him up as an example for Charles's residents because the grand jury presented him for swearing in November 1747 and not listing himself as a tithable in the fall of 1751.

In the opinion of Charles's middling and prosperous planters, Daniel MacIntosh Senior and William Coudert were not at the bottom of the parish's social hierarchy, in spite of their idle behavior. The male and female servants held the lowest position in the white social order throughout the Chesapeake region.⁷³ Bound laborers were dependent and the males in this group did not participate in government as officeholders or jury members. The initial settlers in the lower end of York County brought English attitudes about the behavior of impoverished males and females with them when they moved to the New World. As a result, the middling and prosperous planters expected the poor, especially the servants, to be disorderly and lazy. It is possible that the majority of the men and women presented for social crimes and disruptive behavior were from Charles's poor residents because the church officials and grand jurors paid closer attention to their actions and interpreted their behavior differently.

The parish's enslaved black men and women were at the bottom of the social order.⁷⁴ The York County records provide information about the number of slaves that Charles's decedents owned at the time of their deaths. Ninety-four (47%) of the 200 inventoried estates listed slave

⁷²York County Orders and Wills (16) 602, 16 June 1729. There is not a surviving indenture or apprenticeship agreement for William Coudert, but he worked as a carpenter as an adult.

⁷³Carr, Menard, and Walsh, Robert Cole's World, pp. 126-128, 137, 164, 166; Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, pp. 129-134; Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves, pp. 31-40; Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom. See Chapter 8 for a discussion of Charles Parish's free black population.

⁷⁴Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom.

men, women, and children. Only the father and son named Henry Hayward owned more than twenty slaves and over three-quarters of Charles's decedents possessed less than ten bondsmen at the time of their death. Eighty (85%) of the slaveholders lived in the vicinity of Calthorpe's Neck, near Chisman's Creek, or in the eastern neighborhood. Just fourteen the planters who tended fields in the parish's central and western districts could afford to invest in slaves because of the poor quality of their soil.⁷⁵

Unfortunately, the contemporary court documents do not contain many details about the interracial meetings that brought white and black residents together and what these interactions meant to the participants. It is known that Mary Chisman attended Quaker meetings with her husband's slaves in the early 1660s, sexual unions between the races produced free and enslaved mulatto children, and free blacks were a part of the economic network in the parish by the 1750s.⁷⁶ However, it is impossible, to determine what role racism played in the development of the Charles Parish community. It is likely that the parish's planters viewed their white bound servants as being at the bottom of the social order for a longer period of time than did their counterparts in the upper portion of York County because the number of slaves in the parish was small and a several of Charles's planters relied on indentured laborers throughout the seventeenth century and into the first two decades of the eighteenth century.

The inhabitants of the lower end of York County found that their needy neighbors proved to be a financial burden. Poor relief for the parish's impoverished men, women, and children did increase the expenses that the church officials incurred each year. However, it is impossible

⁷⁵See Table 3.13b in Appendix 3 for mean and median slaveholding by Charles Parish decedents and Table 3.4 for information about slaveholding by decedents throughout York County.

⁷⁶See Chapters 5 and 8.

to determine if the combination of the costs of assisting those who were destitute and the loss of income by freeing white males and blacks of both sexes from the payment of levies was a great hardship on the parish because there is not an extant vestry book for Charles.⁷⁷

If the parish residents were afraid that the behavior of the impoverished males and females would disrupt their social order, most of their concerns proved to be unnecessary. Men like Daniel MacIntosh Senior and William Coudert were the exception, not the rule. It is possible that the quick action which the local- and county-level officials took in response to individuals who were idle and disorderly, who ran away from their masters, who neglected to perform their required civic duties, and who failed to attend church deterred others from the same actions. In spite of the fact that most of Charles's impoverished men, women, and children did not live down to the expectations which the parish's better-off residents had for their behavior, the local- and county-level leaders watched their behavior and used their power as officeholders to control their actions.

The Place of the Poor in Charles Parish

During the period under study, impoverished men, women, and children accounted for close to one-fifth of the Charles Parish population. The causes of poverty were varied and included age, physical disability, lack of money, dependent status, and inability to gain possession of land. The parish's poor were males and females, old and young. Although it was possible for one to improve his or her wealth and social standing, it became increasingly difficult to do so. By the latter third of the seventeenth century, a landless man had to leave Charles in order to have a good chance of becoming a

⁷⁷See Marion Ruth vonDoenhoff, "The Vestry Book of Elizabeth City Parish 1751-1784," (M. A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1957) for the expenses incurred by the vestrymen in adjoining Elizabeth City Parish.

propertyholder. In spite of the bleak prospects, large numbers of residents did not begin to relocate to other rural areas in the Tidewater region, the Southside, the Piedmont, or to urban centers such as Williamsburg and Yorktown until the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

Connections to family, friends, and neighbors probably influenced one's decision to leave or to remain in the lower end of York County. It is also possible that some men and women could not afford to make a move. Charles's officials kept an eye on the individuals at the bottom of the parish's social hierarchy in order to control any immoral behavior, violations of neighborliness, or neglect of responsibility. There were a few bright spots in the lives of Charles's poor. The impoverished males and females who stayed in Charles knew that the justices of the peace would extend them financial assistance as long as they worked. The parish's poor residents also were aware that the local magistrates ruled in favor of bound laborers who could prove their case against their master. In addition, the members of the county bench looked out for the needs of poor orphans and protected their estates from careless guardians. Charles's impoverished men and women played an important part in their parish when they appeared before the justices of the peace because the participation of individuals from all social levels helped to add security and stability to the lives of those who lived in the lower end of York County.

CHAPTER 7

THE WOMEN OF CHARLES PARISH

Entries in the York County records indicate that the women who lived in Charles Parish during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries travelled to the York County court to help friends, transfer property, settle estates, and protect the interests of their children and god children. On some trips, women provided evidence in court cases as Elizabeth Broster did in July of 1690 when she testified before the justices of the peace on behalf of her neighbor, James Holloway, who had taken his landlady, Mary Butts, to court. Broster told the local magistrates that while she was at the house of Mary Butts she "looked out the window & saw Butts going to strike him w/the loblolly stick & alsoe did see Holloway lift up his hoe att her saying Landlady if you will not be quiett, by God I will knocke you downe." Elizabeth Broster's testimony helped Holloway win his case. Almost twenty years later, in 1709, Elizabeth Ayres decided to move to North Carolina and to sell the fifty acres of land in the western neighborhood that she inherited from her father. Elizabeth Ayres, a single woman, asked two of her female neighbors to witness the deed of sale to the Reverend James Sclater.¹

Judith Robinson was one of several women who appeared before York's magistrates in order to protect the legacies that their children received from their fathers. In February 1736/7, Robinson obtained a letter of administration on the estate of her deceased husband, the third John Robinson, and entered into a bond to serve as guardian to her son, the fourth Starkey Robinson. John Robinson's widow settled her

¹York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (8) 478, 24 July 1690

husband's estate and acted as her son's guardian until he reached the age of twenty-one in 1756. A few women, such as Elizabeth Holloway, helped their friends' children and orphans by giving them gifts, usually a single heifer. Early in the year 1698/9, David Holloway informed the members of the county court that "your subscribers wife gave unto her Goddaughter named Eliz Bell a cow markt w/cropp & slitt in the left ear & hole in the rt w/her female increase to her & her heires forever before I marryed her Your subscriber desires it may be recorded."²

These four brief sketches reveal that the world of the women who lived in the lower end of York County in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries encompassed more than their dwelling houses and the surrounding land; it extended past their homes to include their neighborhoods and parish. Women interacted with their friends and neighbors as well as with their families and relatives. Charles's females participated in activities such as visiting neighbors and insuring the welfare of children that connected them with men. The female residents of the parish also had ties to members of their own sex that were separate from those they had to men.³ In order to gain an understanding of the range of women's experiences and to assess the part that women played in the Charles Parish, the information about Elizabeth Broster, Elizabeth Ayres, Judith Robinson, Elizabeth Holloway, and other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century females must be studied in the context of the parish and the activities of all of the inhabitants of the lower end of York County.

I have used gender to organize an examination of white women's

²Ibid., (11) 141, 24 January 1698/9. For the importance of giving children cattle see Lois Green Carr, Russell R. Menard, and Lorena S. Walsh, Robert Cole's World: Agriculture & Society in Early Maryland, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1991), pp. 222, 223-224.

³Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England 1650-1750, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 13, 33, 34, 55, 57-61.

activities in the lower end of York County because it requires an examination of the lives of females in conjunction with the experiences of their male contemporaries and the study of the social relationships among members of both sexes. In a 1986 article, Joan W. Scott explained that women's historians utilize the term "gender" as a means of "referring to the social organization of the relationship between the sexes." Three years later, Linda K. Kerber supported the usefulness of gender as a category of analysis when she pointed out that "women's history is not only about women; it is also about the social relations of the sexes and the social construction of the gendered subject."⁴

There were two main influences on the gender roles of white women who lived in Charles Parish during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. The first men and women who made their homes in the lower end of York County brought with them ideas about the proper conduct for males and females and the relationships between the sexes that they had known on the other side of the Atlantic. In English society, proper behavior was based on the differences between the sexes. Men had power and authority over their wives, both in and out of the home. While behavior did not always conform to the prescribed ideal, most of the males and females who lived in early modern England did not question the parts that they were to play in society.⁵

⁴Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," The American Historical Review, 91(1986), p. 1053 (see also pp. 1067, 1069, 1073); and Linda K. Kerber in Linda K. Kerber, Nancy F. Cott, Robert Gross, Lynn Hunt, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, and Christine M. Stansell, "Beyond Roles, Beyond Spheres: Thinking about Gender in the Early Republic," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., XLVI(1989):585.

See chapter 8 for a discussion of the free black women who lived in Charles Parish. Joan Rezner Gundersen examines the relationships between enslaved black woman and white women in "The Double Bonds of Race and Sex: Black and White Women in a Colonial Virginia Parish," The Journal of Southern History, LII(1986):351-372.

⁵S[usan]. D. Amussen, "Gender, Family and the Social Order, 1560-1725," in Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson, eds., Order and Disorder in Early Modern England, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 206-207, 210. See Hilda Smith, Reason's Disciples: Seventeenth-Century English Feminists, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982)

The second influence upon gender roles came from the colony's laws and statutes. Virginia's legal system prevented women in Charles Parish and in all areas of the Old Dominion from playing an active part in government because they were not allowed to hold offices or to serve as jurors. However, females did play a role in the legal activities of their community because they participated in the day to day matters that the justices ruled upon and in the settlement of estates. The level of a woman's participation was tied to her marital status. An unmarried female or a widow could appear in court on her own because she enjoyed the same legal rights as a man did. The colony's laws restricted the activities of a married woman. A husband represented his wife in court because a woman lost her separate legal identity when she wed. However, a wife had to consent to a sale of any property because she had a right to one-third of her husband's estate during her widowhood. Married females also appeared in court to witness documents and to provide evidence in civil suits.⁶

In spite of the legal restrictions on women's activities, the York County records indicate that Charles's females participated in day to day matters and in the probate of estates. The fact that women appeared

for a discussion of women who did question these roles.

⁶Virginia's legal system was a combination of the English laws and traditions that the first settlers brought with them and the modifications which colonists made in the laws in response to realities of life in the New World. Historians have found that married women were able to participate in the legal system of colonial Virginia, especially in the area of property rights, because of revisions to the legal structure. Women in the Chesapeake had more favorable property arrangements than their counterparts in England did. See Joan R. Gundersen and Gwen Victor Gampel, "Married Women's Legal Status in Eighteenth-Century New York and Virginia," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., XXXIX(1982):114-134; Marylynn Salmon, Women and the Law of Property in Early America, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986), pp. 5, 11, 18-19, 31; Linda L. Sturtz, "Law and Women in the Seventeenth-Century Courts of York County, Virginia," (M. A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1987), pp. 64-66, 88; and Lois Green Carr, "Inheritance in the Colonial Chesapeake," in Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert, eds., Women in the Age of the American Revolution, (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia for the United States Capitol Historical Society, 1989), p. 158.

before the justices of the peace, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, meant that they helped to set standards of appropriate and moral behavior for their community.⁷ Members of both sexes called upon married and unmarried women to provide evidence in civil court cases and to witness documents. (Tables 6.1 and 6.2) Local officials presented single and married females for criminal offenses, such as bearing an illegitimate child, fornication, slander, and libel. (Table 6.3)

The appearances of Charles Parish women in the York County court records can be divided into five categories: women, social crimes, and the parish community; labor and economic activities of Charles Parish women; women and the public use of household authority; relationships between husbands and wives; and activities that distinguished women from men.⁸ The appearances of women before members of the county court indicate that Charles's females played a public role in their community and knew how to use the York County court to protect their interests and those of their families. The justices of the peace did not prevent the women who lived in the lower end of York County from taking an active role in court as petitioners and witnesses. The local magistrates heard the women's cases because the involvement of females in the public life of the parish community helped to support families and to maintain the social order in the lower end of York County.

Women, Social Crimes, and the Parish Community

Marriage, child rearing, and peaceful relationships among neighbors helped to give the Charles Parish community a sense of

⁷Sturtz, "Law and Women," p. 19.

⁸The crimes against the parish community include fornication, adultery, bastardy, infanticide, selling liquor without a license, blocking roads, and refusing to allow processioners to walk the property lines that divided plantations. I use the term "public use of household authority" to refer to the public actions women took to provide for the support of their children and godchildren.

security. In York County, the justices of the peace prosecuted women who disrupted their community by committing social crimes, but females also acted in an official capacity in maintaining the social order when asked by the court to look into violations of behavioral norms and provide testimony in court. A seventeenth-century inquiry into the circumstances surrounding an infant's death involving a woman charged with infanticide and her friends and neighbors who were called upon to question the accused and the mother of the infant put females on both sides of the investigation into a social crime.

Early in April 1658, Christopher Calthorpe Senior learned that the infant of a servant woman died soon after its birth. The mother was an indentured servant of his neighbor, Ralph Hunt Senior. As one of the justices of the peace from Charles, Calthorpe investigated the matter. He asked John Ensworth, the constable for the lower precinct of the parish, to send several women to talk to the female servant, Eleanor Barker, about the circumstances surrounding the death of the infant. The investigation of this serious crime against the parish community turned up enough evidence for Calthorpe to summon his neighbor, Eleanor Hunt, "to appeare att this Court and cleare hirselve of the supposition of the Death of an Infant born of hir husbands woman servant & in his house...." at the next meeting of the justices of the peace in June.⁹

Calthorpe's information came from two groups of depositions given

⁹York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (3) f. 21, 24 April 1658. In Virginia, a person found guilty of infanticide was hung. See William Waller Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, From the First Session of the Legislature, in 1619, 13 vols., (Richmond, New York, and Philadelphia, 1819-1823; reprint, Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia for the Jamestown Foundation of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1969), 1:209; 3:516-517. Ulrich found that "by the seventeenth century, both in Old England and in New, infanticide had become not only a capital crime but a crime of the weakest and most desperate of women. In New England, women convicted of infanticide were almost always servants, women on the fringes of society...Infanticide was a difficult crime to prove, since newborn infants were notoriously fragile...In the context of contemporary attitudes toward childbearing, infanticide was not just a cover-up for sexual misbehavior, it signaled a rejection of the entire social and human order. To fail to call the midwives place a woman outside the community...." See Ulrich, Good Wives, p. 196.

by married women. On April 6, 1658, Elizabeth Dunn, Elizabeth Taylor, and Mary Sables testified that they had been asked to go to Ralph Hunt's house to investigate the matter. (Map 17) The three women told Calthorpe that Eleanor Hunt lifted the dead infant out of a cradle and showed it to them. The female deponents also reported that Eleanor Barker was in a weak condition and that they did not speak to the mother. The initial report did not satisfy Calthorpe, and he had Ensworth send Elizabeth Dunn and Elizabeth Taylor back to the Hunt's house as the two women commented in their April 7th deposition: "they were warned again for their appeal[illeg] house of Ralph Hunt by the Constable to meet with the other women to enquire more [illeg] concerning how the Infant should come to that miscarriage...."¹⁰

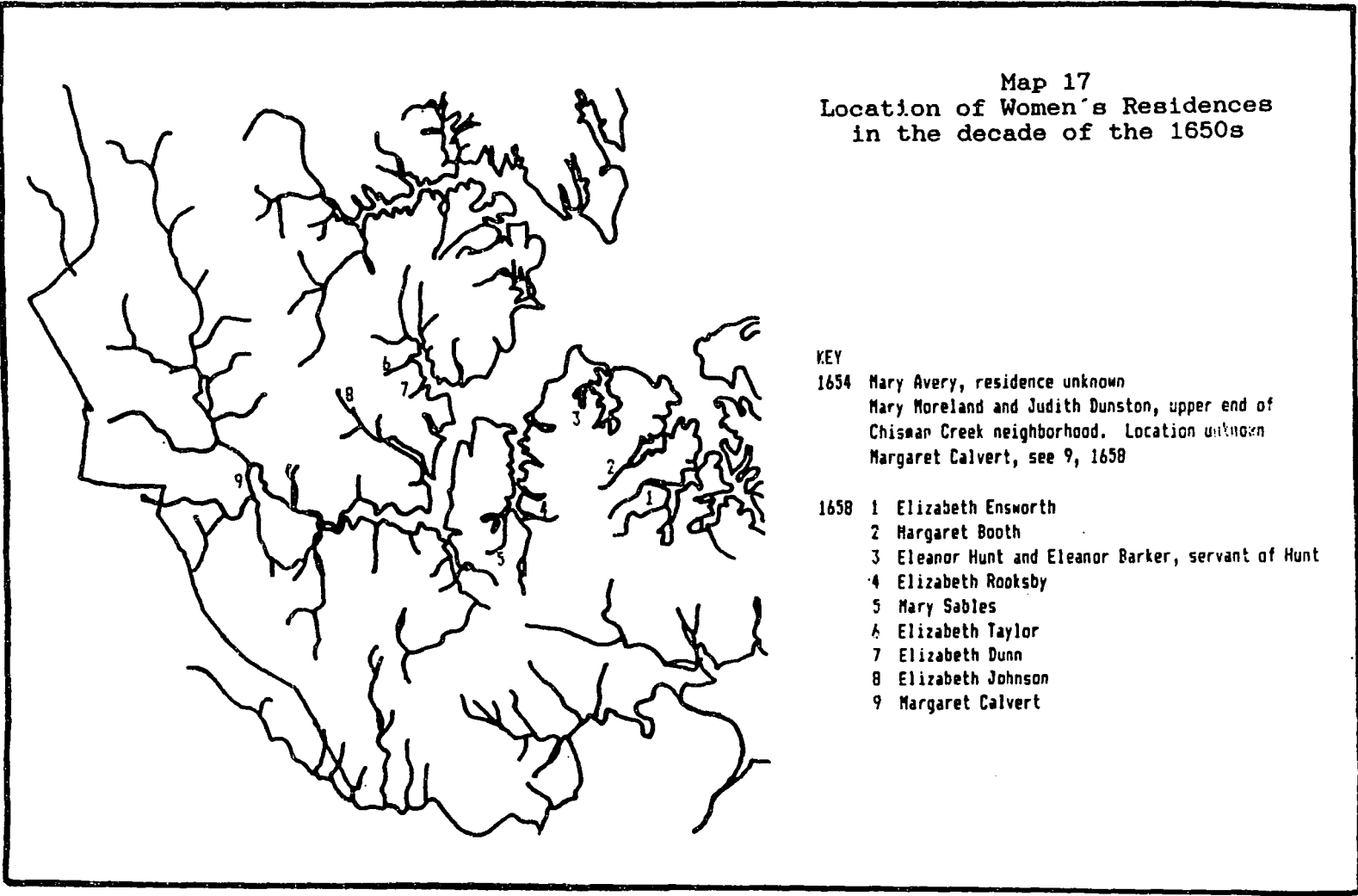
On the second trip to Hunt's house, Elizabeth Rooksby, Elizabeth Johnson, Margaret Booth, and Elizabeth Ensworth joined Elizabeth Dunn and Elizabeth Taylor. The six women reported that they spoke to Eleanor Barker who at first denied that any harm had been done to her or to her child. However, after the females examined Barker's body, they asked

how shee thought the child should come in that case shee said shee knew not unless itt were by blowes reced from hir mrs for shee had a quick delivery [illeg] & hir mrs had beaten hir much wth a tobacco stick that day before she was delivered [illeg] the loynes & that uppon the Fryday before she was delivered hir mrs had greivously whipped & kicked hir....

Information in the second set of depositions gave Calthorpe sufficient evidence to charge Eleanor Hunt with infanticide and to order the female servant to attend the next court session to be questioned by the members of the county bench. On June 24, 1658, the justices examined Eleanor Barker in court and she testified that

being washing & [illeg] fell down and swooned & before hir mrs came in shee was neare delivery who coming as this Examt did helped hir & tooke the child from hir and soe soone as shee came sent 2 servants for some of the neighboring women several wayes Further this Examt said that shee this Examt received

¹⁰York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (3) f. 28, 7 April 1658.



from hir mrs 46 stripes on hir backe which after [illeg] the Fryday before shee was delivered & about 3 weekes before hir delivery was whipped by hir sd msts with a peach rodd but was not beaten the day of hir delivery.

In spite of the evidence that Eleanor Hunt had whipped and kicked Eleanor Barker, it was not enough to find her guilty of the charge of infanticide. York's magistrates decided that "uppon examinacon find noe cause of binding hir over to James City to Answear before the Hoble Govr & Councell and therefore dismisse hir...." Ralph Hunt entered into a bond of 5000 pounds of tobacco as a guarantee of "his wifes good behaviour & keeping the peace towards all persons especially towards the said Margaret [sic Eleanor] Barker...."¹¹

It is likely that, with the exception of Eleanor Barker, the people involved in the investigation of the infant's death were pleased with the decision of the justices of the peace. Both Christopher Calthorpe Senior and John Ensworth were neighbors of the Hunts and looked into the matter because the law and their official duties required them to maintain behavioral standards and the parish's social order, not because they wanted to help convict a neighbor of infanticide. The elder Calthorpe and Ensworth chose Eleanor Hunt's friends and neighbors to investigate the matter because they were aware that women knew about the events in each other's lives and that childbirth brought females together. Elizabeth Dunn, Elizabeth Taylor, Mary Sables, Elizabeth Rooksby, Elizabeth Johnson, Margaret Booth, and Elizabeth Ensworth had a difficult task to carry out because Eleanor Hunt was one of their friends from the same social level and they had the responsibility of trying to find out if she had killed an infant. A guilty verdict could have disrupted the ties that joined the residents of the area around Calthorpe's Neck to one another.

Eleanor Barker's testimony might have helped Eleanor Hunt more

¹¹Ibid., f. 21, 24 April 1658; ibid, f. 27-29, 6 April, 7 April, and 24 June 1658.

than the depositions given by her friends did. The servant woman changed her testimony before the justices of the peace when she told them that she fell on the day she gave birth to the child and neglected to mention how the whippings that she received from her mistress had left her black and blue. It would have been hard for Eleanor Barker to have told the local magistrates that Eleanor Hunt had killed or contributed to the death of her infant because she would have accused her master's wife, a social superior, of murder. Eleanor Barker probably was afraid of what her future would be in the Hunt household if the justices decided to send Eleanor Hunt to Jamestown for a murder trial and she was found guilty.

Charles's churchwardens did not present Eleanor Barker for fornication or bearing an illegitimate child, both sins and crimes that she had committed, because the child had died.¹² However, the officers of the church did not miss other chances to present individuals who did not live up to behavioral standards and committed crimes that threatened the parish's social stability. In 1659, the churchwardens charged Elizabeth Knight and Nicholas Taylor with fornication. The testimony of a woman provided evidence that helped to convict Taylor of the crime.

¹²During the 1630s, 1640s, and the 1650s, Virginians looked upon a female who committed adultery or fornication, or who gave birth to an illegitimate child as a person who was guilty of a sin and a crime. Between May and July 1648, the churchwardens and minister of Charles found four couples guilty of fornication and ordered that the husbands and wives "shall do pennance in the Parish Church of New Pawquoson during the time of divine servis the next saboath day...." By the early 1660s, Virginia's justices of the peace viewed a woman convicted of bastardy as being guilty of a "sexual offense most costly to parishes and counties." The members of county courts tried to discover the name of the father of an illegitimate child so that he, and not the local parish, would provide financial support for the child. The court was concerned about sin because Virginia did not have an ecclesiastical court. See Kathleen M. Brown, "Gender and the Genesis of a Race and Class System in Virginia, 1630-1750," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1990), pp. 339-348 (quote p. 345) and York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (2) 387, 25 July 1648; *ibid.*, (4) 313, 24 February 1670/1; *ibid.*, p. 342, 24 April 1671 (trying to find the father of an illegitimate child); William H. Seiler, "The Anglican Parish in Virginia," in James Morton Smith, ed., Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1959), pp. 119-142.

Mary Hazelgrove, aged nineteen, stated that "living in the house of Mr Charles Dunne in the New Poquoson that one Nicholas Taylor living near unto them did often times resort unto the house & was very familiar wth a mayd servant of the said Mr Dunne named Elizab Knight playing & gesting with hir in hir Master & Mistresses absence & many times staying there untill the family was abedd & sometimes staying all night where upon this depont seing their great familiarity did acquaint Mrs Dunne with it...."¹³ The young woman did not approve of the behavior that she witnessed and informed her landlady and the servant's mistress about what happened in her house during her absence. Though not a servant, Mary Hazelgrove was in a dependent position in the Dunn household and it is possible that she was afraid that Taylor would attempt to gain "great familiarity" with her.

In addition to being a social crime, the birth of an illegitimate child often became a financial burden on Charles's residents because the parish provided monetary support for the infant if the father could not be found. The financial costs of illegitimate children was a concern to Anthony Franklin Senior, one of the parish's churchwardens who charged a servant named Rebecca Noble and Thomas Hayrick with adultery and fornication in June of 1661. The elder Franklin believed that it was likely that Noble's illegitimate child would become "much burthensome to the Pish unlesse some speedy course be taken by this worppl Court for the preventing of such inconveniences As also the sd Heyricke hath contrary to the Lawes in that case provided made an agreemt with the said Noble to bury the said misdemeanrs in oblivion that for it should not be determined by Law, which such and the like pvocking is sufficyent to ruine a Countrey...." Franklin intended to use Hayrick and Noble as

¹³It is unknown if Elizabeth Knight became pregnant or bore an illegitimate child. She did not have her time of service extended for the crime of fornication because she died before the justices of the peace decided the case. Taylor received a fine of 200 pounds of tobacco and paid the costs of the court case. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (3) ff. 66 and 68, 24 October 1659.

an example for the rest of the residents of Charles because they committed fornication and then tried to conceal their crime. Hayrick requested that he be given until the next meeting of the court to clear himself of the charges. In August of the same year, Hayrick told the justices that

the said Rebekah hath much abused the said Thomas Heyrick in laying of hir Child to him hee being ready to take his Oath that hee never had any Carnall Copulacion with hir further that the said Rebekah by hir owne Confession layd this Child to another when shee was in the Bay as the said Hayrick is able to prove And further that shee kept company with a Negro man of Coll Mathewes & would have had him had it not been for Collonell Carey and that shee was to have Maryed a Negro of Coll Reads further that by the Common fame that goes of hir shee is a woman of a very evill life & conversacon which the said Heyrick would humbly entreat the worpll board to take into your [grave?] Consideracon.

The justices of the peace decided that Hayrick's evidence was sufficient to free him from the charges of fornication and fathering a bastard child. In this case, Noble's reputation counted against her. The inhabitants of Charles viewed Rebecca as "a woman of a very evill life...." The officials ordered that "the said Noble for hir offence be taken into the Sherr custody & forthwith receive 10 stripes on hir bared backe And that the Constable see that the next Lords day she do penance in the said poquoson pish Church by standing in a white sheet & asking open forgiveness on hir knees of God almighty for hir said offence before the whole Congregation and also that shee forthwith aske forgiveness of the Court."¹⁴

The prosecution of individuals charged with adultery also provides evidence of the value that Charles Parish's and York County's officials placed upon marriage. Early in the last decade of the seventeenth century, one of the parish's male residents gained "great familiarity" with the wife of one of his servants. In February 1692/3, a servant named Cornelius Cornute turned to the county court in order to protect

¹⁴Ibid., (3) ff. 125, 129, 26 August 1661. See Brown, "Gender and the Genesis of a Race and Class System," pp. 339-348.

his wife, Ann, against his former master, Stephen Pond. Cornute told the justices of the peace that Pond "kept & detained his wife from him & made it his frequent custom to lye w/her openly boasting thereof to sd Cornute & others together w/diverse other rude behaviors & unjust actions...." Four depositions, including two from Cornute's and Pond's female neighbors, helped to persuade the justices to rule in favor of Cornute. Elizabeth Harding testified that she saw Pond sleeping with Ann Cornute as did Sarah Keys.¹⁵

The status of Cornute and his spouse make this case and the decision of the justices interesting. Cornelius and Ann Cornute were husband and wife before Cornute entered a four year indenture with Stephen Pond in December of 1691. A short time later, Pond assigned Cornute's indenture to a man named John Gardiner. Cornute was still a servant when he charged his former master with sleeping with his wife. Ann's status is unknown, but it is likely that she also was a servant of Stephen Pond and later of John Gardiner.¹⁶ Since Ann Cornute was probably indentured to Pond during the time that he boasted that he slept with her, the only thing that separated her from other servant women who were forced to lie with their masters was that she had a husband. Her marriage proved to be the critical factor in the case. The fact that the justices allowed Cornute to appear in court and that the members of the petit jury ruled in his favor is an indication that a marriage bond was more important to the preservation of the social order than was a master's power over a servant.

Between 1630 and 1720, seventeen of the twenty-two women presented

¹⁵York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 202, 13 February 1692/3.

¹⁶The wives of Charles's two other known married male servants also had indentures with their husband's masters. William and Mary Woodman were the servants of Armiger Wade Junior in 1675/6. In December of 1685, James Lucas indentured himself and his wife Eleanor to George Hogg for three years. The colony's laws stated that servants could marry if they had the permission of their master or masters. Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 1:252-253, 2:144, 3:444.

for fornication, adultery, and/or bearing an illegitimate child were servants. One woman, Ann Chapman, was a widow and the other four were single females from the bottom of the parish's social order. During the second quarter of the eighteenth century, none of the women who were found guilty of bearing a child out of wedlock were servants.¹⁷ All but the widow Elizabeth Patrick were young and unmarried women. This group of females came from all layers of the social scale, from Sarah Woodfield who asked her brother-in-law, Justinian Love Senior, to pay her fine because she could not afford to do so to Eleanor Hayward, the daughter of William Hayward Senior who had the money to pay the churchwardens. The eleven women remained unmarried for the rest of their lives. It would have been difficult for poor women such as Ann Smithy and Isabella Coleson to have found a husband because they would have had small dowers. The fact that Ann Smithy and Isabella Coleson each had an illegitimate child further reduced the chances that either woman would marry.

The inability of the women who bore an illegitimate child after the turn of the eighteenth century to find a spouse differs from the fortunes of two of their seventeenth-century counterparts. First, a woman named Katherine Pond was the mother of three free black children by 1672 when she married Stephen Pond. Second, in August 1686, Ann Chapman bore the first of her two illegitimate children. The father of the child, Francis Callowhill Senior, appeared in court to pay Ann's fine of 500 pounds of tobacco for fornication and bastardy as well as his own fine of 500 pounds of tobacco. The parish's churchwardens failed to present Ann after the birth of an illegitimate daughter in September of 1688, thus indicating an acceptance of the relationship that she had with Callowhill. Francis and Ann Callowhill were husband and wife by the time their third child was born in December of the

¹⁷See Tables 6.2 and 6.6 in Appendix 6 for yearly totals of servants who lived in Charles Parish.

following year. In the seventeenth century, Katherine Pond, Ann Callowhill, and other women who bore illegitimate children were able to find spouses because of the imbalance in the sex ratio.¹⁸ The marriage prospects for a woman who gave birth to children out of wedlock disappeared after 1700 because of the greater number of females in the Chesapeake and the increased importance that prospective husbands placed on a woman's reputation. In an October 1729 defamation case, the plaintiff, an unmarried woman, argued that "no greater misfortune can befall a young Woman whose well being depends upon her having a good Husband than to be reputed a Whore...."¹⁹ Sarah Woodfield, Eleanor Hayward, Ann Smithy, and Isabella Coleson did not have to worry about the impact that a rumor would have on their reputations. Their illegitimate children were proof of their immoral behavior.

Women who were guilty of adultery or fornication, or gave birth to an illegitimate child, committed crimes against their marriages and the community. Charles's local-level officials also found that the conduct of some females hurt their neighbors' business and trade. In the first decade of the eighteenth century, Thomas and Sarah Sclater faced two charges of "retailing drink contrary to law." In 1705, John Cox, a man who kept an ordinary in the central section of the parish, made the complaint and four years later, the grand jury summoned the husband and wife to appear in court again.²⁰ It is possible that the Sclaters sold

¹⁸In Middlesex County, Mabel, the daughter of William and Elizabeth Hackeny, had two illegitimate children by Francis Dodson, a neighbor who had a wife and a legitimate child. Mabel was pregnant with her second child when her father married her to Nicholas Paine in 1687. See Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia 1650-1750, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984), pp. 121, 126-127, 262-263 n. 35.

¹⁹Mutlow v. Ballard, October 1729 quoted in Clara Ann Bowler, "Carted Whores and White Shrouded Apologies: Slander in the County Courts of Seventeenth-Century Virginia," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 85(1977):426.

²⁰York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (12) 353, 24 September 1705; *ibid.*, (13) 187, 25 January 1708/9.

food and drink for less than the price set by law which enabled them to cut into Cox's business. The fact that the grand jury included Sarah Sclater's name in both presentments suggests that she helped her husband operate their ordinary. If she had not played an important part in the day to day activities, it is unlikely that she would have received a summons to appear in court. It is also possible that Sarah was the guilty party, but had to be sued in her husband's name.

The men and women who lived in the lower end of York County depended on the parish's system of roads to attend church on Sundays, to do business, and to visit friends. Anyone who blocked a small path or a highway caused problems for his or her neighbors. In 1716, the grand jury presented Mary Taylor "for not keeping the road turned round her fence in good repair Ordered that her gates upon the old road leading through her pasture be kept open untill the aforesd road be made good & passable." Mary Taylor charged the surveyor of the highways, Robert Kerby Senior, with trespassing upon her land because she did not want the old road to run through her corn field and reduce the size of her harvest. Two of her four witnesses, Sarah Burkhead and Elizabeth Cockerill, were women who lived a short distance away from her plantation in the central section of the parish. The fact that Mary Taylor called on women from the lower half of the social ladder to appear as witnesses provides evidence of gender-based networks that transcended social layers.²¹

In early 1719/20, another widow named Elizabeth Tabb refused to allow men who lived in her neighborhood to procession or to walk the lines that divided her property on Chisman's Creek and the New Poquoson

²¹When the jury ruled in favor of the elder Robert Kerby, Mary Taylor continued the case only to have another jury agree with the first verdict. Ibid., (14) 471, 16 January 1715/6 and p. 511, 22 May 1716.

River from that of Thomas Curtis and the orphans of John Doswell Junior.²² If Elizabeth Tabb feared that processioning would change the boundaries and reduce the size of her plantation, she was right. When the processioners and the members of a land survey jury examined the disputed property lines in the spring of 1720, Elizabeth Tabb lost a small amount of the plantation that she inherited from her first husband, Henry Hayward Senior. Both Mary Taylor and Elizabeth Tabb protected their property by violating neighborly relations.

Sarah Sclater, Mary Taylor, and Elizabeth Tabb differed from the other women whom grand juries and Charles's churchwardens presented between 1630 and 1740 because their actions hindered the economic activities of their neighbors. The rest of the women summoned to appear before the county court committed crimes against the parish community by having illicit sexual relations and bearing illegitimate children. Charles's officials saw fornication and adultery as threats to marriage and the development of family ties. Bastardy presented the problem of a child who was likely to need the financial support from the parish. Local-level leaders enforced colonial laws that treated sexual offenses as crimes in an attempt to control the actions of women.²³ It is important to note that Charles's leaders had the assistance of female witnesses as they worked to enforce the statutes and to punish the men and women who violated behavioral standards and harmed neighborly relations by committing social crimes.

Labor and Economic Activities of Charles Parish Women

²²Ibid., (15) 31, 17 September 1716. The Assembly instituted the practice of processioning in March 1661/2 in order preserve friendly relations among people who had adjoining property. See Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 2:101-102.

²³See chapter 5 for a discussion of Mary Chisman who was charged with attending Quaker meetings with some of her husband's slaves and chapter 8 for a discussion of the women who bore illegitimate mulatto children. Also see Brown, "Gender and the Genesis of a Race and Class System," chapter 5.

Much of the daily tasks that women did in their homes and around plantations did not come under the purview of county courts.²⁴ However, several petitions and depositions in the York County records do contain evidence of the labor that independent women performed.²⁵ The parish's women, whether single women, wives, or widows, did what they needed to do in order to protect and support themselves. Like their male counterparts, Charles's females had varying degrees of success in their economic endeavors, depending upon their standing in the parish community and their abilities.

At least one woman in Charles supported herself by working as a hired worker in the eighteenth-century. In 1714, Rebecca Groom received a payment of L3.11.10 for the wages owed to her by the estate of Henry Hayward Senior. It is probable that the elder Hayward hired Groom to help his second wife, Elizabeth, care for their six children born between 1700 and 1710/11, and the five minor children from Hayward's first marriage. It is evident that Rebecca Groom was a trusted member of the Hayward household because she was one of the witnesses to Hayward's last testament. The will that Rebecca Groom wrote a month

²⁴For recent work on the household and domestic activities of women in the colonial Chesapeake see Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., XXIV(1977):542-571; idem, "Economic Diversification and Labor Organization in the Chesapeake, 1650-1820," in Stephen Innes, ed., Work and Labor in Early America, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1988), pp. 144-188; Lorena S. Walsh, "Urban Amenities and Rural Sufficiency: Living Standards and Consumer Behavior in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1643-1777," Journal of Economic History, XLIII(1983):109-117; Allan Kulikoff, "The Colonial Chesapeake: Seedbed of Antebellum Southern Culture?" The Journal of Southern History, 45(1979):513-540; idem, Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1986); Jack Larkin, The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 1790-1840, (New York: Harper & Row, 1988); Suzanne Lebsock, "A Share of Honour": Virginia Women 1600-1945, (Richmond: W. M. Brown & Son for The Virginia Women's Cultural History Project, 1984).

²⁵See Chapter 6 for a discussion of indentured female servants who lived in Charles Parish.

before she died in June of 1745 reveals that she maintained a close relationship with the Hayward family, possibly by helping to raise the grandchildren of Henry Hayward Senior. She named Elizabeth Hayward as her executor, asked the fifth Francis Hayward and Martha Tabb to witness her will, and left her personal possessions to Elizabeth Hayward and four of the elder Henry Hayward's granddaughters. The inventory of Rebecca Groom's estate indicates that Groom had been able to save L18 and to acquire items including a bed, earthen ware dishes, and eating utensils to make her life more comfortable. She stored her clothing in a chest of drawers and possibly kept her Bible and prayer book on top of the chest.

Hired workers were not the only members of their sex to work for pay in the lower end of York County. Unmarried women, wives, and widows undertook a variety of activities in order to add to the incomes of their families and to assist their neighbors. These tasks included endeavors associated with the female sex and undertakings usually identified with their male counterparts. In November 1679, the estate of John Phipps paid Thomas Wray Junior a small sum because his wife nursed Phipps's infant son, Thomas. Phipps's wife, Elizabeth, had died in February of the same year. In June of 1697, Francis Callowhill Senior noted that he paid a midwife one hundred pounds of tobacco to deliver the daughter born to his servant woman, Mary Hughson, in February of the same year. It is likely that the unidentified midwife lived near the Callowhills in the area around Calthorpe's Neck and delivered other babies in the neighborhood.

Women also managed plantations and businesses in addition to their traditional responsibilities. After the death of Thomas Cox Senior in February 1692/3, his widow, Jane Cox, took over the operation of the family's plantation as did other women who were left in the same position. She decided to rent out the property that her husband patented in the central neighborhood in 1688 to Thomas Hazelton and to

lease from John Hayward Senior a tract in the same section of the parish. Because the elder Cox was the first owner of his land, it is likely that he had not finished clearing enough ground to grow the tobacco, corn, and wheat that his family needed. Cox's widow thought that it would be easier to tend crops on land that had been cleared as was the Hayward parcel. As it turned out, her decision was not wise. Jane Cox was not able to make ends meet as a tenant on the tract that she rented from John Hayward Senior and she asked Hazelton to leave her property so that she could move her children back to her plantation. At first Hazelton agreed to move off the land; however, after reconsidering, he refused to do so. Jane Cox sued him for damages amounting to 5000 pounds of tobacco. In November of 1694, the elder John Hayward testified that

Jane Cox did in August last desire your deponent for to go along with her to Thomas Hazleton for to take notice that she did give him order for to provide himself of another plantation & when your deponent & Jane Cox did come at Hazletons she tould him that she was come to give him notice that he must provide himself of an other plantation for sd Jane Cox I must come to my owne plantation myself for I am not able to stay where I am because I am not able to pay my Rent & to keep the plantation in repair accord. to my lease & upon these words the sd Hazleton seemed for to be very willing & made no words to the contrary & upon that Jane Cox desired your deponent for to provide himself with another tenant upon these words your deponent hath provided himself with an other tenant....²⁶

The justices felt that Jane Cox did not prove her case in spite of the deposition of John Hayward Senior. Next, Jane Cox turned to an attorney, Hugh Owen, who obtained an injunction against Hazelton. However, York's magistrates decided that the proceedings were illegal and dismissed her suit in March of 1695. It is likely that Jane Cox and Thomas Hazelton shared the seventy-nine acre plantation until the end of Hazelton's lease because there is no evidence that either person leased a different tract of land. Jane Cox did maintain possession of the plantation and Thomas Cox Junior tended fields on his father's property

²⁶Ibid., (10) 105, 24 January 1694/5.

after he reached his majority in 1711.

One woman, Elizabeth Hayward, daughter of Henry Hayward Senior and his second wife, Elizabeth, became the owner of a plantation when she purchased two hundred acres of land in the western neighborhood from John Wills in March 1721/2. Elizabeth Hayward remained a single woman throughout her life, and because of her status she was able to serve as the executor of her mother's will in 1731 and of the last testament written by her step-brother, Edward Tabb Junior, ten years later. In addition, her mother placed her in charge of "what other provision is in or aboute my house for the fomoly [sic] use..."²⁷ The fact that Elizabeth Tabb and her step-son chose Elizabeth Hayward, not her brother the fifth Francis Hayward, a justice of the peace, to probate their estates is an indication of Elizabeth Hayward's abilities. This female planter depended on slaves that she inherited from her father, mother, and brother to tend her fields near the line between Charles and Warwick County. Elizabeth Hayward maintained control of her plantation until her death in 1772. Appraisers valued her estate at L940, an indication of her ability as a plantation manager. Three nieces and a nephew fought for possession of their deceased aunt's land. Perhaps the fact that the three females represented themselves in the chancery suit pleased this woman who had lived an independent life.

Three of Charles's females involved themselves in endeavors that required them to enter into economic agreements with other parish residents. First, Lydia Chisman Harwood and her brother-in-law, Thomas Chisman Senior, ran Chisman's mill during the year after the death of her first husband, the younger Edmund Chisman in 1676. Next, the 1721 settlement of Jane Cully's estate provided evidence that she was a teacher. Several residents of the area around Chisman's Creek including Thomas Chisman Junior, the third Robert Shield, Henry Barradell Senior, and the first Edmund Curtis owed Jane Cully small sums of money "for

²⁷York County Orders and Wills (17) 249-250, 20 December 1731.

Schooling" their children.²⁸ Finally, Mary Ward followed in her husband Plany Ward's footsteps as an ordinary keeper in Charles's central section when she petitioned for her first license in May 1734, three months after her husband's death. Mary Ward operated the ordinary and collected almost L348 of the L440 that residents of Charles Parish owed to her husband's estate during the seven months following his death.²⁹ In 1734/5, Mary Ward purchased ten acres of land in the parish's middle neighborhood and became the owner of the ground on which the ordinary stood, something that her husband Plany had not been able to do. It is likely that Mary Ward continued to work as an ordinary proprietor until she sold her tract of land to her neighbor, the third Edward Tabb, in January 1744/5.

The parish's working women came from up and down the social scale: indentured servants to widows of middling planters and to the daughter of one of Charles's leading residents. Women managed plantations, nursed neighbors' children, and operated mills or taverns in addition to their household chores. Some women were more prosperous than others. Jane Cox did not have the managerial abilities or the productive land that Elizabeth Hayward did. Mary Ward proved herself to be as able an ordinary keeper as her husband had been. There is not as much information about the females who worked as indentured servants or paid workers. It is likely that Rebecca Groom fared better than the majority of women who worked in someone else's household did. The fact that Charles's females were capable of providing for themselves and their families meant that they did not need assistance from the parish vestrymen, thereby reducing the tax burden on their neighbors.

²⁸York County Orders and Wills (16) 129, 19 March 1721/2.

²⁹The fact that Mary Ward collected the majority of the debts that individuals owed to her deceased husband suggests that Plany Ward kept running accounts for his neighbors and regular customers. The debtors reciprocated the neighborliness that the tavern keeper extended to them when they paid their accounts to his widow.

Women and the Public Use of Household Authority

At times, the parish's women took public action in order to provide support for their children, grandchildren, and godchildren. There were several ways in which the females who lived in the lower end of York County could make sure that members of their families had access to land to plant, to laborers to help tend fields, and to personal possessions that might make life a bit more comfortable. The options available to the female part of the parish's population were related to their marital status and legal identity.

The female residents of Charles used the power they gained as the executor of their husbands' estates to insure that they and their children would be comfortable. Women knew that by law their husbands were to leave them a third of their real estates.³⁰ If a legacy did not equal her legal portion, a widow could petition the justices of the peace in order to gain her due. In 1692, Margaret Booth presented "an inv of what part of her sd decd husbands estate shee at present knowes of whoe in open ct relinquished all her right to her sd decd husbands will & petitioned for her thirds of sd testators estate accord to law...." The members of the county bench ordered "that shee have 1 third part of sd testators estate both now knowne & alsoe what hereafter may appear or be knowne...." Margaret Booth was the widow of William Booth, one of the local magistrates and the owner of 340 acres of land in the Calthorpe's Neck neighborhood. In spite of the fact that Booth left a large portion of his estate to his grandchildren, his legacy to his widow, less than a third, would have been large enough to support her during her widowhood. The same is true for Anthony Robinson's third wife and widow, Ann. However, like Margaret Booth, she wanted to receive what was hers by law. In December of 1727, Ann Robinson petitioned "that her said deced Husband hath made a Will in prejudice to

³⁰Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 2:212, 303; 3:371-374; 5:447.

the Rights that she hath by the law of Virginia to his Estates and praying that so much of the said Will as Concerns her Interest may be declared void according to the Act of Assembly in that Case made and provided...."³¹ The justices of the peace ruled in favor of Ann Robinson and granted her petition.

Not all of the widows were as fortunate as Margaret Booth and Ann Robinson. Small planters were not always able to leave an estate that was large enough to support their wives and children. As a result, the widows of poor men turned to the court and to their neighbors for help in making ends meet. In February 1673/4, the justices decided to allow Susanna Crandall "to gather in & dispose of what debts she shall find belonging to her husbands estate for her owne & childrens sustentances." Three years later, Mary Floyd appeared before York's justices of the peace because the death of her husband, Thomas Floyd, left her "in a very poore & lowe condicon with a sucking child at her breast...." The local magistrates "ordered that she have three Barrells of Indyan Corne if there be soe much, her bedd & provisions for the maintenance of her selfe and Infant...."³²

Martha Provo had a difficult life after the death of her husband, the first James Provo, a man almost thirty years her senior. Provo was not among the successful members of the parish. In June of 1692 he petitioned the York County Court to be discharged from the payment of public and county levies because he was "very aged & poore haveing sustained losses & charge of children to maintain...."³³ The elder Provo died in December of the following year, and it is likely that he left Martha a very small estate with which to support herself and their

³¹York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 140, 24 June 1692; York County Orders and Wills (16) 495, 18 December 1727.

³²Ibid., (5) 62, 24 February 1673/4; *ibid.*, (6) 22, 10 December 1677/8 [sic].

³³York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 142, 24 June 1692.

two surviving children, Mark and Ann who died in November of 1697. By 1698, Martha had been forced to bind out her son Mark to John Miller of Charles Parish. In August of that year Miller petitioned the county court to recover the losses he had incurred when Mark Provo and an English servant named Allobett Sargeant stole his canoe and ran away to Gloucester County where Thomas Perrin found them.

Martha Provo also worked as a servant, an unusual circumstance for a woman who had been married and widowed.³⁴ In July 1701, Richard Dixon and Henry Hayward Junior, the churchwardens of Charles Parish, complained that Thomas Nichols refused "to entertain his servant woman Martha Pervoo widd of James Pervoo but in her poor & weak condition haveing illegally imposed the sd servant upon Charles Psh aforesd & denying to receive her again but that she may become a charge to the sd Psh...."³⁵ While it is not known if Martha remained in the service of Nichols, it is clear that she was among the poor of Charles Parish, a widow who was in ill health and unable to support herself. It is possible that the parish officials provided support for Martha until her death two years later in June of 1703.

Several women who inherited real estate and personal possessions from their husbands took steps to make sure their children would gain possession of their legacies when they reached adulthood. Margery Jolly Griggs convinced her third husband, William Hay, to enter into a marriage agreement soon after they wed in 1655. Margery had two young children from her second marriage to John Griggs Senior and she wanted to insure that John Junior and Margery received good care from their step-father and that he did not waste their inheritances or the five hundred acres of land in the parish's central section that she purchased from Thomas Lucas in 1653. The elder Hay promised "to bring up the sd

³⁴All other female servants in Charles Parish between 1630 and 1740 were single women.

³⁵York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (11) 479, 24 July 1701.

children in good Education and Learning and to finde and allowe them sufficient meate drinck & appell washing & lodgeing and all other necessaries....without any Charge to the Childrens Estate." Hay's wealth enabled him to cover the expenses of rearing Margery and John Griggs Junior. The majority of Charles's step-fathers and guardians charged the costs of maintenance to the orphans's estates. Hay raised his step-children after Margery died, looked after their cattle, tended their fields, and remembered them in his 1669 will.³⁶

In March 1670/1, Mary, the widow of Michael Bartlett Senior, used a deed of gift instead of a marriage agreement to insure that her children received the cattle and personal possessions that had belonged to their father. She also had Robert Everitt, her second husband, "firmly oblige myself to keep to schole Michaell Bartlett son of Mary Bartlett widd till he obtain to write & read English...."³⁷ Two of Mary Bartlett Everitt's neighbors in the area around Calthorpe's Neck also granted deeds of gift as a way of distributing some of their possessions before their marriages. Elizabeth Ensworth gave Edith Tompkins, the

³⁶Ibid., (1) 168-169, 2[5] September 1655. Margery Jolly Griggs Hay died by 1661, the year Hay remarried. Parents in the colonial Chesapeake were concerned that a step-parent would mistreat a child or would control an inheritance. See Lorena S. Walsh, "'Till Death Us Do Part': Marriage and Family in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," in Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, eds., The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society & Politics, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1979), pp. 126-152 and Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, "'Now-Wives and Sons-in-Law': Parental Death in a Seventeenth-Century Virginia County," in *ibid.*, pp. 153-182.

³⁷York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (4) 328, 24 March 1670/1. For a discussion of women using deeds of gift as wills see Suzanne Lebsack, The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784-1860, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984), pp. 130-132. See also York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (2) 162, 25 July 1646 (Mary Terry to sons Thomas, John, James, and Edward); *ibid.*, (3) f. 74, 24 February 1659/60 (Elizabeth Ensworth to Edith Tompkins); *ibid.*, (5) 80, 24 July 1674 (Eleanor Wragg to goddaughter Mary Dunning); *ibid.*, (7) 231, 7 October 1686 (Katherine Faison to Isreal Morris); *ibid.*, p. 329, 4 May 1687 (Alice Freeman to Thomas Avery); *ibid.*, (11) 141, 24 January 1698/9 (Elizabeth Holloway to goddaughter Elizabeth Bell); and York County Deeds and Bonds (3) 381, 19 February 1721/2 (Sarah Burnham Pescod Nixon to Thomas, Robert, Rachel, and George Pescod, children from her second marriage to Robert Pescod).

second daughter of her neighbors Humphrey and Hannah Tompkins, a heifer with its increase in the late 1650s. Eleanor Wragg bestowed a cow and a heifer on her goddaughter, Mary Dunning, in 1674.

Hannah Bennett Turner Tompkins Arnold probably used a marriage agreement in addition to a 1674 deed of gift to make sure that her children would gain possession of her real and personal property. Hannah, the daughter of Samuel and Joan Bennett, was born in Elizabeth City County in 1630. Her parents had arrived in the colony on the ship Providence in 1622, and two years later they were servants in the household of William Tyler of Elizabeth City County. After the husband and wife completed their terms of servitude, Samuel Bennett was not content to remain in an area where much of the choice land had already been patented. Bennett moved up the peninsula and acquired 450 acres of land along the New Poquoson River shortly before his death. Hannah, the only one of the three Bennett children to survive childhood, inherited the tract and made it her home for the rest of her life.³⁸

When Hannah married Abraham Turner on December 11, 1644, John Hunt Senior, John Ensworth, the elder Armiger Wade, Anthony Rooksby, the first Augustine Warner, and Francis Willis were at the wedding.³⁹ The attendance of men who served as county- and colony-level officials indicates that Hannah Arnold was in the upper-middling level of the Calthorpe's Neck neighborhood. Turner worked to secure Hannah's title to the land on the southern bank of the New Poquoson River because her step-father, Thomas Chapman, attempted to claim part of the tract for her mother. It was important that Turner gain possession of the whole plantation because he did not have any land of his own. Turner reached

³⁸For information on archaeological work done on the land that Samuel Bennett patented see Nicholas M. Lucchetti, "Archaeology at Bennett Farm: The Life Style of a Seventeenth-Century Middling Planter in York County, Virginia," (M. A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1990).

³⁹York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (3) 159, 10 March 1661/2.

an agreement with Chapman in June of 1646. He died between October 1646 and January 1646/7.

Hannah settled Turner's estate with the help of Humphrey Tompkins Senior, her second husband.⁴⁰ The elder Tompkins served his neighborhood as an estate appraiser, guardian, and surveyor of highways. It is probable that Tompkins received the charge to maintain roads in the parish's lower precinct because of the status he gained from marrying a woman who possessed a 450 acre tract of land. Tompkins never acquired any property in his own name and he gained his appointment as surveyor of the highways in 1662, years after he and Hannah welcomed the first of their children. The elder Tompkins decided to have his wife, not one of his neighbors, settle his estate after his death in September 1673. Edmund Watts and Walter Chapman testified that Tompkins's wish was "that what Estate hee was possest of hee had it with his wife & I have noe intent to give any thing from her my Children being all her owne & therefore I give all that I have to my wife & let her dispose of it as she pleaseth amongst her children & I make my wife sole Execrx."⁴¹

Hannah decided to "dispose of some part of my estate to the natural use of...." her five surviving children Samuel, William, Humphrey Junior, John, and Ann in a deed of gift dated April 14, 1674. She gave each of her children some of their father's personal possessions. These items--featherbeds, bolsters, sheets, rugs, chests, an iron pot, pewter dishes, and a brass mortar and pestle--indicate that the Tompkins family had been able to purchase some amenities. Hannah also granted a portion of her father's plantation to her eldest son, Samuel. The fact that she

⁴⁰Abraham Turner left his estate to his wife and child, and appointed his child as his executor in his nuncupative will. It is likely that Turner's child died a short time after his or her father because there is no evidence that Hannah's second husband, Humphrey Tompkins Senior, acted as the child's guardian or that the child claimed any part of his father's estate.

⁴¹York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (5) 58, 24 November 1673. The eldest of Humphrey and Hannah Tompkins's sons, Samuel, was fourteen years old when his father died.

gave land as a gift indicates that she had control over the property. It is likely that Hannah retained possession of the tract because she entered into a marriage agreement with Tompkins. Finally, Hannah noted that she had "purchased to myself by way of Escheat Two Hundred of Acres of Land Scituate lying and being on Turners Creek in the North River in the County of Gloucester now if it shall happen at anytime hereafter that I shall marry with any man I give the said two hundred Acres of Land to such Husband with whom I shall intermarry for the term of his natural life provided that such husband shall not in any Waies hinder any of my children upon whom I do hereby settle the same to plant and carry their stocks thereon...."⁴² Hannah was forty-four years old in 1674 when she decided to give the possessions to her children. If she remarried again she might not outlive a third husband and be able to bequeath her real and personal possessions to her sons and daughter. Therefore, she used the deed of gift as a will to provide for her five surviving children and to make sure that a step-father could not interfere with their possessions.⁴³

Hannah's third husband, William Arnold, was one of the witnesses to the deed of gift to her children. In the early 1660s, "Arnold the Dutchman & his mate" lived on a tract on Calthorpe's Neck and owed rent to Christopher Calthorpe Senior.⁴⁴ Hannah probably had known Arnold since the 1660s and wed for a third time for companionship. Like the elder Humphrey Tompkins, Arnold did not possess property in his name and received his appointment as surveyor of the highways after his marriage to Hannah. When Arnold died in February 1683 he left a gold ring to his step-son Samuel, a silver cup to his step-son William, and the rest of

⁴²Ibid., pp. 65-66, [24 May 1674].

⁴³A female born in Charles Parish who lived to the age of twenty could expect to live another twenty-three years. A forty year old women could anticipate on living for almost thirteen additional years. See Chapter 2.

⁴⁴York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (3) f. 180, 13 October 1662.

his estate to Hannah. Arnold made no mention of the plantation in his will, a sign that he and Hannah entered an agreement about the property before their marriage. Hannah Bennett Turner Tompkins Arnold lived on the plantation she inherited from her father until her death in June 1693 at the age of sixty-three. Under the terms of her 1674 deed of gift, the land on southern bank of the New Poquoson River went to her eldest son, Samuel, who made his home on the family land until his death in 1702.⁴⁵ Descendants of Hannah Arnold retained possession of the family plantation throughout the eighteenth century.

Widows who did not remarry used wills to transfer real and personal property to their children, family members, friends, and neighbors. Some of Charles's women may have written wills because their husbands had not made specific bequests in their last testaments or had died intestate. In 1687, Elizabeth MacIntosh was the sole legatee and executor of her husband, Enos MacIntosh Senior.⁴⁶ Elizabeth MacIntosh carefully divided the real and personal estate of the elder Enos MacIntosh among their six surviving children in her 1692 will. One of

⁴⁵Edmund S. Morgan commented that "in Virginia the death rate produced such a rapid turnover of husbands and wives that widowhood became a principal means for the concentration of wealth...while the high morality lasted, with women apparently resisting it more successfully than men, Virginia was on the way to becoming an economic matriarchy, or rather a widowarchy. The man who needed capital could get it most easily by marrying a widow." In the case of the marriages that joined Hannah Bennett first to Abraham Turner, then to Humphrey Tompkins Senior, and finally to William Arnold, Hannah and her children benefitted from the fact that Hannah accumulated the personal possessions of her three husbands in addition to retaining ownership of the land that she inherited from her father. See Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1975), pp. 119 n., 120, 148, 164-170, 304 (quote from p. 166).

⁴⁶The fact that the elder Enos MacIntosh's three sons, Daniel, Enos Junior, and Samuel, were all minors when he wrote his will in 1687 played a part in his decision to name his wife Elizabeth as his executor. There is evidence that Enos MacIntosh Senior trusted Elizabeth's judgment. When the elder MacIntosh granted a deed of gift to his three daughters in 1671, he noted that "do also freely give my sd wife Elizabeth in case of mortality of my sd children as aforesd) full power to dispose of them [cattle] as she shall thinke fitt...." York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (4) 380, 11 January 1671/2.

Elizabeth MacIntosh's neighbors, Amy Moore, wrote her last testament in June of 1700, a month after she petitioned for a commission of administration on the estate of her deceased husband, John Moore Senior. Her decision to leave a written record of legacies for her seven children and to appoint her cousin, Peter Starkey Junior, as the overseer of her under-age sons and daughters turned out to be an important one because she died in December 1700.

Women who were lucky enough to live long lives bequeathed remembrances to their heirs in addition to cattle and laborers. In 1723/3, twice-widowed Ann Chapman Callowhill, a neighbor of Amy Moore, willed livestock, jewelry, clothing, money to buy mourning rings, and slaves to her sons and daughters, their children, and her godchildren. Twelve years later, the will of Elizabeth Nutting, another resident of the area around Calthorpe's Neck, contained a detailed list of personal possessions that she collected over the course of her life and passed on to her children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren. Elizabeth Nutting turned to her daughter, Katherine Armistead, to execute her estate. Katherine Armistead had gained experience in probating estates when she served as the executor for her first husband, William Sheldon, in 1727 and for her sister, Elizabeth Doswell, in 1728. Katherine Armistead inventoried her mother's possessions and served as the executrix even though she was a married woman. Robert Armistead appeared as a co-plaintiff with his wife in order to collect the debts owed to his deceased mother-in-law's estate.

Women's gender role gave them the duty and responsibility of caring for their children. Charles's women had public ways of providing for their own support and that of their sons and daughters. The women knew that they could petition the local magistrates for assistance if their husbands did not leave them a large enough estate as Mary Floyd and Susanna Crandall did. Charles's women relied upon three legal measures to transfer real and personal property onto their sons and

daughters, grandchildren, godchildren, and children of friends. First, single women who were about to marry or widows who planned to remarry used deeds of gifts to convey their possessions. Second, a small number of women, including Margery Jolly Griggs Hay, had their new husbands enter into marriage agreements to make sure that their children received their legacies from their fathers. Third, unmarried women and widows relied upon wills to transfer real and personal property to their legatees. The public actions that women took to provide support for their families and godchildren were especially important in Charles due to the parish's high mortality rate. Women appearing before the court demonstrated that they, like their husbands, were aware of the need to make provisions to insure the welfare of their children against a step-parent or a guardian who might try to take advantage of their step-children or wards.

Relationships Between Husbands and Wives

Entries in the York County Court records provide insight into the relationships between married men and women. Some of the parish's husbands trusted their wives to represent them in court when they were away from the parish. Other couples did not have happy relationships. These men and women had to resolve their difficulties because a troubled marriage was disruptive to their community. The estranged spouses found a variety of solutions to their marital problems that included formal separation agreements, the decision that a wife could work to support herself apart from her husband, and an apparent reconciliation.

The powers of attorney that husbands granted to their wives were a public indication of the trust that the couple shared because the grantor (husband) gave the grantee (wife) the authority to make decisions that affected the family's prosperity and landholding. When Christopher Calthorpe Senior left Charles for Carolina in early 1661/2, he appointed his wife Ann, not one of his friends, as his attorney. In

spite of his trust in her, Ann Calthorpe may have felt that it would be difficult for her to settle her husband's estate in Charles Parish and in England and look after their four young children, all under the age of fifteen, at the same time. In April of the same year, she appointed her husband's friend, the elder Armiger Wade, as her attorney "to peticon to the worpll the Comrs of the Court of Yorke for a probate of the noncupative Will of my deceased husband Coll Xopher Calthorpe or if the same be found insufficyent or invallid to peticon for Administration of my said husbands Estate and I doe hereby rattify Confirme & allow whatsoever my said Attorney shall lawfully doe in the premises...."⁴⁷

White men in the lower reaches of the social order also turned to their wives for assistance. In November 1679, Joseph Disarme, a small planter who lived in the Chisman's Creek area, "gave his wife full power to plead and implead in a case Mr Joseph Davis merchant or his attorns & likewise agt Edward Johnson & Lewis Roberts." Elizabeth Disarme was experienced in the courtroom: she settled the estates of her first two husbands and oversaw the property of her son, John Murray. The fact that Disarme gave his wife the authority to represent him in three cases suggests that he planned on being away from home for an extended period of time.⁴⁸

The Reverend James Sclater turned to his wife Mary as his attorney on two occasions, in 1693/4 and in 1703, even though a male relative, Richard Sclater Senior, also lived in the parish. The elder James Sclater gave his wife wide-ranging powers to exercise in his behalf, an indication of the trust he had for his wife and of the length of time that he intended to be away from Charles. In January 1693/4, the minister authorized Mary Sclater to act

for me & in my name & for my use to levy & receive of & from

⁴⁷Ibid., (3) f. 164, 24 April 1662.

⁴⁸Ibid., (6) 157, [18 November 1679].

all person or persons whatsoever all debts dues & demands whatsoever that are or shall be justly owing unto me & after receipt thereof acquittances & discharges to give for the same & in case any person or persons shall neglect or refuse to pay any just debt due unto me....then it shall & may be lawfull for my sd. attor. for me & in my name to sue for & by due process of law to bring the same to Judgmt & Execution thereon (if occasion shall require) to levy or by any other lawfull means whatsoever for the recovering & receiveing any of my defts aforesd & I do further authorize my sd Attor. for me & my name (if shee shall see fitt) to authorise nominate & appoynt 1 or more attorneys under her hereby ratifying & confirming whatsoever my sd good & authentick to all intents & purpose whatsoever as if I myself were personally present & had actually don the same....⁴⁹

The trust that Charles's rector had in his wife's abilities was apparent in his 1721 will. He appointed his wife and sons, James Junior and John, to execute his last will and testament. Mary Sclater and her son James received probate of the minister's estate in August 1724. Widow Sclater presented the inventory of her husband's possessions to the justices of the peace by herself in September of the same year, however, an indication that she handled the execution of her deceased husband's will by herself.

The trust between the Calthorpes, the Disarmes, and the Sclaters did not characterize all of the marriages that joined men and women in Charles Parish. Some females received harsh treatment from their husbands and others did not get along with their spouses. Although a married female did not have a separate legal identity in colonial Virginia, a "feme covert" could turn to the local magistrates for assistance if her husband treated her cruelly. In January 1691/2, Mary Savory petitioned the members of York's bench

for releife agt her husband Henry Savory for his cruilty & the hardship she undergoes through his inhumane useage of her in soe much that her life as well as her bodily health is dayly indangered by him desireing that some certaine necessaries out of their estate may be allotted her towards her releife & future maintenance & that some course may be provided agt him for her future peace & quiett....

⁴⁹Ibid., (10) 132, 25 March 1695. See also ibid., (12) 164, 24 December 1703 for the second power of attorney from Sclater to his wife.

The justices of the peace ordered the sheriff to "take Henry Savory into custody untill he give bond w/good security for his future good behavior And that Mary his wife have her bed, a pott, a frying pan & some spoones, 2 trayes, a gridiron & 2 chests & that he pay all costs of suite."⁵⁰ If Mary Savory lived apart from Henry Savory, it was only for a short period of time because the couple's two daughters, Lydia and Mary, were born in 1698 and 1702, respectively.

When the marriage of Nicholas and Mary Martin became troubled in 1693, he warned "all maner of persons whatsoever from haveing any dealings in the least w/my wife Mary Martin any farther than her owne labour goes for if they doe they shall not receive any satisfaction from yr loveing friend & neighbor."⁵¹ It is interesting that Martin stated that he was willing for his wife to use any money she earned from her own labor to support herself. Martin believed that his wife was capable of living on her own and the justices upheld his wish that she would be permitted to keep the money she worked for instead of turning it over to her husband.

Ann Eaton was more fortunate than Mary Martin because she had dower rights to property owned by her first husband, David Lewis Junior, to fall back upon when she wanted a separation from her second husband, the elder John Eaton. Ann Eaton told the justices of the peace "that her husband John Eaton will not suffer her to live peaceably or quietly with him nor allow her a separate maintenance...." The court "haveing fully heard the whole matter are of opinion that she ought to be allowed a maintenace from her sd husband and accordingly ordered that she be allowed the rent of her plantacion in Cha. Parish to be yearly paid her by her sd husband." Ann and John Eaton did not repair their relationship and the elder Eaton did not leave his wife anything in his

⁵⁰Ibid., (9) 91, 25 January 1691/2.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 262, 25 September 1693.

1717 will. Ann petitioned the local magistrates for her dower in his property and received one-third of the value of her husband's land in lieu of her dower.⁵²

Another estranged couple, Jones and Ann Irwin, had a written agreement recorded by the county clerk when they separated in March 1726/7 after less than two years of marriage. Ann Irwin petitioned for the separation and an agreement that would be sufficient to support her and her four minor children from her first marriage to Thomas Chisman Junior. The petition contained hints about their incompatibility and problems. Jones Irwin told his wife that he would give her the rent from two plantations, pork, beef, tallow, corn, wool, wheat, cider, and milk each year

with those provisoes that you shan't run more in debt this year than your Tobo. is able to pay Nor hereafter for Ever shal never lay out or run more indebt than fourty Shillings till your Tobo. is received to pay the Same in the next place you shall from this time quit all Commands and Authority you have over me or any of the Servants and shall do no more in any Case to me than ask if I'le Serve you in such a thing as is your desire and if I am not willing to Comply then you shall no way disturb with ill language but be Content with my Answer you shall not bring anyone into the house that does me damage either by breaking or destroying anything that belongs to the family or if you do I shal have liberty to Correct them according to my discretion without being a breach in this Agreement if any of my Servants be guilty of any such Offence against you than I Promise to Correct them for it Provided you put Locks on your doors and keep them Locked when you are not present, When there is any Wood at the Door you shall have liberty to make use of it, I will find you a house and Servant to wait on you a Sundays to Church and will if I can mend your Chaise this time....⁵³

Ann Irwin stayed in Charles Parish and lived in the half of the dwelling

⁵²Ibid., (13) 108, 24 January 1707/8. It is possible that Eaton's reputation factored into the justices' decision to give his wife, Ann, a separate maintenance. In 1692, Eaton charged Elizabeth Burt with defamation. Burt claimed that Eaton "by force & violence...at night ravisht her." According to Burt's uncle, Charles Hansford, Eaton "replied by God she will undoe me then I doe confesse I put my hand up her coates as high as her knees but I know not whether she be man or woman" when he heard that Burt accused him of rape. The jury ruled in favor of Richard and Elizabeth Burt, the defendants. Ibid., (9) 173-175, 26 September 1692.

⁵³York County Orders and Wills (16) 446, 20 March 1726/7.

house she received when she and her husband separated. Jones Irwin moved to Yorktown in the 1730s and had four children by his mistress, Elizabeth Morris, who lived in Yorkhampton Parish. The parish clerk noted that Irwin died in Warwick County in October of 1751 and Ann Irwin lived in the lower end of York County until her death in the first half of 1754.

Evidence from the York County Court records indicates that some of Charles's women had close relationships with their husbands and that others had unhappy marriages. Whether a woman appeared before the members of the county bench to act in behalf of her husband as his attorney or to petition the local magistrates for a separate maintenance from her spouse, revealed that some of the parish's married women knew, at least, how the colony's legal system worked when they appeared in court. Mary Sclater was an able representative for her husband, the parish's minister. Ann Eaton and Ann Irwin assured themselves of support from their estranged husbands. Mary Martin proved that she was capable of supporting herself apart from her husband as if she was a single woman. Neither the local officials or inhabitants of the parish questioned the propriety of Mary Martin, Ann Eaton, Ann Irwin, or other women who lived apart from their husbands. Separated spouses posed less of a threat to Charles's social order than did couples who could not live under the same roof without fighting or threatening each other with physical abuse.

Activities That Distinguished Women From Men

In addition to the activities that joined the female and male residents of the lower end of York County together, there were situations that linked the parish's women to each other. Depositions in the court records indicate that childbirth was an event which brought women from all areas of Charles together. In June of 1675, Mary Avery stated that

although she knoweth not the exact day of her birth yet this she can testify that she being at Mrs Heywards house in May or a little before in the yeare 1654 Mrs Heyward newly brought to bed And this deponent being with child of her sonne William and Mary Morley being there present being with child of her daughter Joan Morley the question was putt which of the two should be first delivered Mary Morley replied that her reckoning was out in May being in the year 1654 This deponent goeing longer untill the twelveth day of July 1654 on which day her sonne William was borne the sd Mother of the said Joan Morley she is sure was brought to bed before her of her daughter Joane & further saith not

Judith Dunston recalled that Mary Morley gave birth to her daughter Joan in April or May of 1654.⁵⁴ The statements from the two women provided evidence that Joan Morley was seventeen years old, and, according to the 1657 indenture that bound her to James Williams, she had finished her time of service. Richard Trotter, the "now husband" of Williams's widow, delivered the former servant the three head of cattle that she was to receive at the end of her term of service.

In addition to establishing Joan Morley's age, the statements given by Mary Avery and Judith Dunston contain information about associations among the females who lived in the lower end of York County. The 1654 gathering included women from the western section of the parish and the area around Chisman's Creek, and from different layers of the parish social hierarchy. (Map 17) Margaret Hayward, the wife of John Hayward Senior, was from the upper level of Charles's social order and Mary Morley was probably the wife of a small planter. In 1654, Judith Dunston was the wife of David Carroll, a planter who owned some land in the upper end of the Chisman's Creek neighborhood. It is likely that Mary Avery's husband, John Avery Senior, also was a small planter.

The 1658 investigation into the death of Eleanor Barker's infant also provides evidence that the friendships which joined Charles's female residents extended past neighborhood boundaries. Elizabeth Dunn, Elizabeth Taylor, and Elizabeth Johnson lived near Chisman's Creek and

⁵⁴Ibid., (5) 119, 24 June 1675.

Mary Sables, Elizabeth Rooksby, Margaret Booth, Elizabeth Ensworth, and Eleanor Hunt made their homes near Calthorpe's Neck. (Map 17) The friendship ties that joined this group of eight females also connected women who were not social equals. Taylor, Johnson, and Sables were from the lower to lower-middling ranks and the other five women were the wives of middling to upper-middling planters.⁵⁵ The fact that John Ensworth did not ask Ann Calthorpe and Margaret Chisman to look into the charge against Eleanor Hunt suggests that Ann Calthorpe and Margaret Chisman, like their husbands, limited their associations to men and women who were their social equals. Women from the rest of the parish's community probably turned to each because of the small number of women in Charles, especially during the first thirty years of settlement in the lower end of York County.

Death also pulled women together. When a widow named Jane Merry died in October 1699, her daughter Susanna Carter served as the administrator of the estate. Jane Merry left behind a nuncupative will that her neighbors, Mary Cattilla and her mother, Katherine Pond, had persuaded her to make in order "to settle her busines & to dispose of what Shee had telling her itt would be a great Satisfaccon to her selfe & ease her friends of a great deal of trouble..."⁵⁶ The schoolteacher Jane Cully asked three of her female neighbors, Mary Stacy, Mary Watts Llewelin Moore, and Sarah Pescod Burnham Nixon, to witness the will

⁵⁵The men who lived in Charles Parish tended to have friendship ties to males who lived in their neighborhood and who were their social equals. Several of the husbands of the women who investigated the death of Eleanor Barker's infant interacted with each other, but not always on a social level. Anthony Rooksby, John Ensworth, William Booth, and George Johnson served on a jury to settle a land dispute in 1658. The justices of the peace found Nicholas Taylor guilty of fornication with Charles Dunn's servant woman, Elizabeth Knight. Taylor owed money to Booth in 1679/80. Richard Sables, a small planter, asked Dunn to serve as his attorney in 1667 and appointed him as the executor of his will in 1678/9.

⁵⁶York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (11) 269-270, 14 December 1699. See Chapter 8 for a discussion of Katherine Pond's mulatto children.

that she wrote shortly before her death in February 1720/1. Fifteen years later, a single woman named Agatha Broster died before she made a written record of her bequests. Two of her neighbors, Ann Smithy and Mary Davis, testified before the justices of the peace about Agatha Broster's wishes. The two single females stated that a neighbor named Judith Hunley and Broster's goddaughter, Mary James, were the only legatees. In 1745, Rebecca Groom appointed Elizabeth Hayward as her executor and bequeathed all of her personal possessions to female members of the Hayward family. Female friends were especially important to single women who did not have family members in the lower end of York County and to widows.

The Role of Women in Charles Parish

Between 1630 and 1740, the women of Charles Parish participated in a wide range of public activities that helped to uphold behavioral standards in the lower end of York County, to take care of their families, and to maintain social stability in their community. The females who received presentments for social crimes did not provide positive examples of the moral behavior, but their actions helped the justices of the peace publicly to define right from wrong for the rest of the parish's residents. Women who appeared before the members of the county bench to petition for their share of a husband's estate and to provide for their children, and females who granted deeds of gift and wrote wills used their authority as wives and mothers in a public manner. Charles's women showed that they were able to support their children and keep their families off the list of residents who needed financial assistance from the parish.

Gender roles restricted legal activities of married women but they could turn to local officials for help if they received cruel treatment from their husbands. Other dependent females, indentured servants, also had the right to petition the members of York's bench if their masters

did not treat them according to the terms of their indentures. The demographic characteristics of Charles also shaped the experiences of the women who lived in the parish. During the period under study, females made up a minority of the community's population. Because of the small number of women in Charles, the female residents formed friendship ties that extended past their neighborhood and, at times, past their social position in the parish. The relationships that men formed with each other tended to be based more closely on residential location and economic standing.

The justices of the peace and Charles's local-level officials depended on the women who lived in the lower end of York County to participate in public life because their actions helped to keep families together and to maintain social order in the parish community. On occasions the local magistrates allowed the parish's females to exceed their legal authority. Married women carried out the probate of estates and one wife wrote a will that her husband executed in accordance with her wishes. It is likely that the members of the county bench permitted Charles's females to expand the range of their public actions as a way to add some stability to the community and to counteract the impact of the parish's demographic conditions on relationships among the parish's residents. These activities were not a threat to the gender roles in Charles because the parish's women did not make it a habit to step outside of the part that society gave them to play in their community. Though few in number, the appearances that the parish's women made before York's justices of the peace indicate that females played an important role in their community.

CHAPTER 8

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A FREE BLACK NEIGHBORHOOD IN CHARLES PARISH

The October 1790 inventory of the estate of Edward Berry valued his personal possessions at 202 pounds, 6 shillings, and 9 pence. The appraisers noted that the furnishings in the dwelling house included ten chairs, a chest, three tables, and a desk. The presence of amenities such as bedsteads, bolsters, sheets, rugs, a half dozen pewter dishes, and "a Parcel [of] old Queen's China Plates" indicated that Berry had been able to purchase a few non-essential objects. Items related to cloth production that he had inherited from his father, the elder James Berry--a loom, two cotton wheels, and a flax wheel and a brake--and agricultural implements such as saws, plows, axes, hoes, and a hatchet provide information about how Berry and his wife supported six children. His female slaves, a woman and two girls, probably aided his wife with domestic production and spinning and may have worked in the fields. The fourth slave, a boy, might have tended the livestock--sheep, pigs, cattle, horses, and oxen--or helped Berry plant the one hundred and forty-five acres that he owned in the lower precinct of Charles. A tract of this size placed Berry among the middling to small planters of late eighteenth-century York County. His labor force of a female slave and three children also was that of a small landholder. Berry owned a greater number of horses and cattle than most men in York County did, and it is likely that he and his family raised livestock for sale in the local area.¹

¹York County Wills and Inventories (23) 450-451, 21 December 1795. In 1789 and 1791, the average tracts of land in York County were 313.4 acres and 326.6 acres, respectively. In both years the median number of acres held was 200 and the mode was fifty. In 1790, the typical

What distinguished Berry from the majority of the propertied individuals in the lower end of York County was the fact that he and his family were free blacks.² His wealth also distinguished him from fellow free blacks. In this chapter, I will examine the social world of Berry and other free blacks in the Charles Parish area between the last third of the seventeenth century and the first third of the nineteenth century. The free men and women of color in this parish had opportunities to improve their position in the local area, a situation which differed from that of the free black population on the Eastern Shore of Virginia during the eighteenth century.³ I will discuss the origins and the size of Charles's free black population, the associations of these men and women with their white neighbors, the possible interactions between free blacks and slaves, the development of

resident of York County paid taxes on one white tithe, three black tithes, one black between the ages of twelve and sixteen, and two horses. In 1786, York County inhabitants usually owned ten head of cattle. York County Land Tax Lists and York County Personal Property Tax Lists, originals at the Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia.

²In this chapter, the term "free black" refers to both free blacks and free mulattoes. In October 1705, the General Assembly decreed that "the child of an Indian and the child, grand child, or great grand child, of a negro shall be deemed, accounted, held and taken to be a mulatto." Beginning in 1787, "every person of whose grandfathers or grandmothers any one is, or shall have been a negro, although all his other progenitors, except that descending from the negro, shall have been white persons, shall be deemed a mulatto; and so every person who shall have one-fourth part or more of negro blood, shall, in like manner, be deemed a mulatto." See William Waller Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, From the First Session of the Legislature, in 1619, 13 vols., (Richmond, New York, and Philadelphia, 1819-1823; reprint, Charlottesville, Virginia: The University Press of Virginia for the Jamestown Foundation of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1969), 3:252, 12:184.

³For discussion of the declining position of the free black population in this section of Virginia, see J. Douglas Deal, "Race and Class in Colonial Virginia: Indians, Englishmen, and Africans on the Eastern Shore during the Seventeenth Century," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1981) and idem., "A Constricted World: Free Blacks on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1680-1750," in Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo, eds., Colonial Chesapeake Society, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1988), pp. 275-305.

a free black neighborhood, and the role of this group in the larger parish community.

It should be noted that their freedom was not the same freedom enjoyed by white Virginians because the free blacks were not allowed to hold political offices or to sit as jury members. In 1705, the General Assembly decided that no blacks, mulattos, or Indians "shall, from and after the publication of this act, bear any office, ecclesiastical, civill or military, or be in any place of public trust or power...." Eighteen years later, in May 1723, a statute declared "that no free negro, mullatto, or indian whatsoever, shall hereafter have any vote at the election of burgesses, or any other election whatsoever."⁴ The passage of this law suggests that at least one free black attempted to vote and the colonial legislators decided to make sure that this would not happen again.

There were additional restrictions on the activities of this segment of Virginia's population. An October 1670 statute prohibited free blacks from hiring white servants. They were not "debarred from buying any of their owne nation." A 1705 statute prohibited the testimony of blacks, mulattoes, and Indians in the General Court. However, there was no direct statement concerning testimony by these groups at the several county courts in the colony. This changed in 1732 with the passage of a law which stated that blacks could serve as witnesses only in the trials of slaves who were being charged with a capital offense. After May of 1723, free blacks could not carry arms while serving in the militia. They were to serve as drummers or trumpeters, and in case of an invasion, they were "to attend and march with the militia, and to do duty of pioneers, or such other servile labour as they shall be directed to perform." The General Assembly also decided that "all free negros, mullattos, or indians (except tributary indians to this government) male and female, above the age of sixteen

⁴Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 3:251, 4:133-134.

years, and all wives of such negros, mullattos, or indians (except before excepted) shall be deemed and accounted tithables...." This ruling distanced white women from free black females until 1769. In that year, the colonial legislators noted that counting free black, mulatto, and Indian women as tithes was "very burthensome....and is moreover derogatory of the rights of free-born subjects....That from and after the ninth day of June next, all free negro, mulatto, and Indian women, and all wives, other than slaves, of free negroes, mulattoes, and Indians, shall be, and are hereby exempted from being listed as tithables."⁵

In spite of these restrictions, a minimum of 241 free black men and women with thirty-four different surnames lived in Charles Parish between 1670 and 1830.⁶ The parish's eighteenth-century free black population originated in one of two ways: manumission or free birth. Some individuals were emancipated by their masters, as was the case with Andrew James and Tom, the only two Charles Parish slaves who received their freedom from their masters during the fourth quarter of the

⁵Ibid., 2:280-281 (employment of servants and use of slaves); 3:298, 4:326-327 (testimony in court); 4:119 (militia service); 4:133, 6:41, 8:393 (free black women as tithables). The passage of these laws suggests that the Assembly took actions to stop free blacks from exercising rights that they had enjoyed. For a discussion of additional restrictions place on Virginia's free black population in the early nineteenth century see Peter J. Albert, "The Protean Institution: The Geography, Economy, and Ideology of Slavery in Post-Revolutionary Virginia," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1976), pp. 245, 254-259.

⁶A combination of sources helped me to identify the 241 free black men and women: the York County court records, the birth and death registers for Charles Parish, the York County Personal Property Tax Lists, and the register of free blacks in York County from 1798 to 1831. Grand jury presentments of women who gave birth to mulatto children and of husbands who failed to pay tithes on their wives and/or their daughters provided direct evidence of the race of the involved parties. They also revealed connections between free black parents and children which would otherwise have remained hidden. The use of a diminutive form of a name, such as Molly, Betty, or Sally, in conjunction with other evidence of race, provided clues to the identity of some of the parish's free blacks. See the Charles Parish Birth Register, 1648-1789; the Charles Parish Death Register, 1665-1787; Register of Free Negroes and Mulattoes, 1798-1831.

seventeenth century.⁷ An additional group of blacks received their freedom from their owners in the late eighteenth-and early nineteenth-centuries. Between 1782 and 1806, four parish residents--the sixth Thomas Chisman, William Mallory, Callowhill Mennis Senior, and the fourth John Robinson--emancipated a total of eight slaves.⁸ Frank, a thirty-five year old resident of lower Charles Parish, failed to pay his levies in 1785, the year after he received his freedom from Thomas Chisman. Jupiter Chisman's name appeared on the York County Free Black Register in 1820, twenty-three years after Chisman emancipated him on his twenty-first birthday. It is possible that Jesse Chisman, an apprentice carpenter who worked for Thomas Dawson of Yorkhampton Parish, was the son of Proserpine, another former Chisman slave.⁹

⁷See Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 3:87, 4:132 for restrictions placed upon emancipation in 1691 and 1723. Another slave tried to establish herself as a free individual. In February 1694, a woman named Sarah petitioned the York County court for her freedom, "alleging herself to be the daughter of an English woman named Mary Cooke & that she hath served her master to her age now of 21 yrs." Two months later Sarah was unable to prove that she was twenty-one years old, and it is unknown whether or not she secured her freedom. York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (9) 297, 26 February, 1693/4; *ibid.*, p. 352, 24 May 1694.

⁸Between 1723 and 1782, only slaves who had performed "meritorious services" could be manumitted by their masters. None of Charles Parish's slaves became free during this time period. In 1782, a change in the laws allowed masters to free any or all of their slaves. However, after May 1, 1806 any emancipated slave who remained in the state for more than a year after receiving his or her freedom would become a slave again. See Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 4:132, 11:39; Samuel Shepherd, ed., The Statutes at Large of Virginia From October Session 1792, to December Session 1806, Inclusive, in Three Volumes, (New Series,) Being A Continuation of Hening, 3 vols., (Richmond, 1835-1836; reprint, New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1970), 3:252-253.

⁹Residents of Elizabeth City County manumitted thirty-four slaves between 1782 and 1810. Only a small number of slaves were able to purchase their own freedom after being hired out. Sarah S. Hughes, "Slaves for Hire: The Allocation of Black Labor in Elizabeth City County, Virginia, 1782 to 1810," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., XXXV(1978):285.

After the Revolution, there was a trend towards a larger free black population in Maryland and towards a larger slave population in Virginia. In 1810, six counties in Maryland had more than 2,000 free blacks each and most Virginia counties had less than 300 free blacks. Richard S. Dunn, "Black Society in the Chesapeake 1776-1810," in Ira

Between the 1660s and the 1780s, however, the most common origin of Charles Parish's free black families was free birth. Ninety-five per cent (230) of Charles's 241 free blacks were born free. Only eleven of the parish's free blacks spent time as a slave. This is in contrast to the free black populations in the Piedmont and the Southside in the years after the Revolution. In those areas, the free blacks were mainly freed slaves, not men and women who had enjoyed their freedom since birth.¹⁰ Members of Charles Parish's free black population were either the children of free black parents or the children of a black individual and a white woman. Several laws passed during the second half of the seventeenth century influenced the formation of free black families.¹¹ In December 1662, the colonial legislators passed an act entitled "Negro womens children to serve according to the condition of the mother" as part of the first group of laws designed to regulate relations between the white and black residents of Virginia. This bill stated that "whereas some doubts have arrisen whether children got by any Englishman upon a negro woman should be slave or ffree, Be it therefore enacted and

Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, eds., Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution, (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia for the United States Capitol Historical Society, 1983), pp. 63, 75.

¹⁰Comment by Reginald Butler on "In the Community But Not of the Community: Free Blacks in Eighteenth-Century Charles Parish, York County, Virginia" at the Southern Historical Association annual meeting 1 November 1990, New Orleans, Louisiana.

¹¹Historians have noted that legislation passed during the 1660s brought about the legal existence of slavery. There has been debate on whether racism led to slavery or vice versa. Oscar and Mary F. Handlin took the position that racism emerged after slavery was legislated into existence. Carl Degler took the opposing view when he wrote that Virginians created their slave system in the context of racism and discrimination. Winthrop D. Jordan believed that racism and slavery emerged at about the same time in Virginia and reinforced each other. See Oscar and Mary F. Handlin, "Origins of the Southern Labor System," William and Mary Quarterly, 2nd ser., VII(1950):199-222; Carl Degler, "Slavery and the Genesis of American Race Prejudice," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 2(1959):49-66; Winthrop D. Jordan, "Modern Tensions and the Origins of American Slavery," Journal of Southern History, XXVIII(1962):18-30; Alden T. Vaughan, "Blacks in Virginia: A Note on the First Decade," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., XXIX(1972):469-478.

declared by this present grand assembly, that all children borne in this country shalbe held bond or free only according to the condition of the mother, And that if any christian shall committ ffornication with a negro man or woman, hee or shee soe offending shall pay double the ffines imposed by the former act." Under this law, a slave man could father free children.¹² Five years later, the colony's leaders declared that a slave who had been baptized could not be freed solely on the grounds that he or she was a Christian.¹³ Another law, passed in 1691, stated that any white female who bore the child of a black man would be fined fifteen pounds. If she could not pay this sum of money, she would be sold for five years and her child would be bound out for thirty-one years of service. If she could pay the fine, she would be able to keep her child.¹⁴ In the same session, legislators decided that "for the time to come, whatsoever English or other white man or woman being free shall intermarry with a negroe, mulatto, or Indian man or woman bond or free shall within three months after such marriage be banished and removed from this dominion forever, and that the justices of each respective countie within this dominion make it their perticular care, that this act be put in effectuall execution." Later in 1705 the assembly decided not to banish a white man or woman who married an individual of another race. Instead, the colonial legislators ruled that those guilty of this crime were to be "committed to prison, and there remain, during the space of six months, without bail or mainprize; and shall forfeit and pay ten pounds current money of Virginia, to the

¹²Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 2:170.

¹³Ibid., 2:260.

¹⁴In May 1723, the assembly decided that a child born to a mulatto who had been bound to serve until the age of thirty or thirty-one was also to serve his or her master until the same age. The mother and child might not have served the same master. Ibid., 3:87, 453-454; 4:133. Deal called this "quasi slavery" for free blacks on the Eastern Shore of Virginia. Deal, "A Constricted World," p. 278.

use of the parish, as aforesaid."¹⁵

The colonial leaders hoped that these laws would discourage white males and females from entering relationships, either temporary or permanent, with a free black or a slave. The legislation did not succeed in eliminating interracial unions. From the York County Court records it is possible to identify the origins of several of Charles's free black families. The members of the free black Cattilla family, for example, were descendants of Katherine Pond, also known as Katherine Jewell, a white woman who bore three mulatto children, Mary, William, and Matthew Cattilla, before 1672. It is not known if Katherine was the wife of Stephen Pond, a white man, when she gave birth to her mulatto sons and daughter. Perhaps Cattilla was the name of the slave who was the father of these three free black children. Edward Berry, whose estate was surveyed at the beginning of this chapter, could trace his roots back to Mary Cattilla. In 1693, this woman gave birth to a mulatto son named James whose father was John Berry, a former indentured servant. Sarah Whiting, a free black woman, and John Combs, a white man, were the first generation of one of the three free black families with the surname of Combs. Their first child, Katherine, was born in 1704. Although Elizabeth Connors, "a white Christian Woman,"¹⁶ was unable to pay her fine for bearing a mulatto child in 1710 and was to be bound out by the Charles Parish churchwardens for a five-year period, her child did not have a future of lifetime slavery. The same was not true for the illegitimate mulatto child Francis Lee was charged with fathering in 1716. Lee's child was a slave because the mother was a slave. While it is possible to identify the first generation of other free black families, it is not known whether their parents were free blacks, free mulattoes, or, in the case of the father, a slave. It is

¹⁵Ibid, 3:87, 454.

¹⁶York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (14) 41, 24 November 1710.

likely that by the middle of the eighteenth century the growth in the free black population was a product of children born to free black or free mulatto parents.

Charles's 241 free black residents constituted a small part of the black population in the parish from 1733 to 1770, ranging from one percent to a little over three percent. This group was only a tiny portion of the total population of Charles, varying from between one-half of a percent to just over two percent. (Tables 8.1 and 8.2)¹⁷ However, the free black population increased in size and in respect to the total number of parish residents as the Charles Parish Birth Register indicates.¹⁸ (Tables 8.3 and 8.4) The twenty-seven births in the 1770s and the twenty-five children born in the next decade indicate that the parish's free black population experienced a greater growth

¹⁷It is possible to arrive at rough figures by comparing yearly totals of the free black residents with estimates of the black population as a whole and of all the inhabitants of Charles. Yearly totals of the free black residents of Charles Parish are based on the 221 biographies which I compiled as part of this study. The estimates of the total black population and the total population of Charles Parish are based on figures found in Table 2. "Estimate of White, Black, and Total York County Population," in Kevin P. Kelly, "The People of York County in the Eighteenth Century," in Peter V. Bergstrom, Cathleene B. Hellier, Kevin P. Kelly, Michael J. Puglisi, Julie Richter, Linda H. Rowe, and Lorena S. Walsh, "Urbanization in the Tidewater South: Town and Country in York County, Virginia 1630-1830. Part II. The Growth and Development of Williamsburg and Yorktown," NEH grant RO-20869-85, 1989. The tables for Chapter 8 can be found in Appendix 8, Section 1.

¹⁸Yearly totals of births are based on the Charles Parish Birth Register, 1648-1789. It appears that the clerk continued to note most of the births in the parish register until the disestablishment of the Anglican church. See also Chapter 2 for a discussion of the demographic characteristics of Charles Parish.

The Personal Property Tax Lists indicate that there were eighteen free blacks in Elizabeth City County in 1790, and this total grew to eighty-five by 1810. Hughes, "Slaves for Hire," p. 262.

Peter J. Albert noted that 12,866 free blacks accounted for 1.7% of Virginia's population in 1790. Twenty years later, 3.2% or 31,547 of the Old Dominion's residents were free persons of color. Free blacks made up more than five percent of the population in seven counties in 1790, nine counties in 1800, and nineteen counties in 1810. Most of the free men, women, and children of color lived on the Eastern Shore, the peninsula, or the southeastern coastal plain, the poorer regions of the state that had static or declining white populations. Albert, "The Protean Institution," pp. 75, 77.

during these twenty years than it had at any earlier time. The increase in the number of free black births recorded by the parish clerk between 1770 and 1789 also suggests that the registration of births during this period might have been more important to free blacks than to whites because it was a way to prove one's status as a free person.

In spite of the fact that the free blacks remained a small portion of the parish inhabitants during the eighteenth century, it was possible for some of them to create their own neighborhood. The following discussion of a free black neighborhood in Charles is based on several families who are well-documented in the local records and in the parish birth and death registers.¹⁹ Three generations of the Hopsons, an equal number of the Combses, four generations of a second Combs family, and five generations of Cattillas made their homes in the Charles Parish area from the late seventeenth- through the early nineteenth centuries. In addition, the information about the Berry and Francis families covers two generations. (Figures 8.1 to 8.5) Long-term residence in Charles and the adjoining counties of Elizabeth City and Warwick enabled these free black men and women to establish their families and ties to others who lived within ten to twelve miles of their homes. The persistence of the family groups makes it possible to look at the types of associations that these individuals formed with those around them and how they changed over time.

At the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the parish's free blacks were small in number, few opportunities existed for interaction with other free blacks. As

¹⁹It is possible that these few families were not representative of the free black population of Charles, just as members of the gentry class were not the typical residents of Virginia. It is likely that the illegitimate mulatto child of Elizabeth Connors did not fare as well as the Hopsons, Combses, Cattillas, Berrys, and Francis did. This child began his life as an indentured servant and did not have strong family connections for financial and emotional support. Deal noted that free black landowners and slave owners were atypical. Most free blacks on the Eastern Shore experienced "poverty, servitude, bastard convictions, and brushes with de facto enslavement." Deal, "A Constricted World," p. 291.

Figure 8.1 Hopson and Berry Families

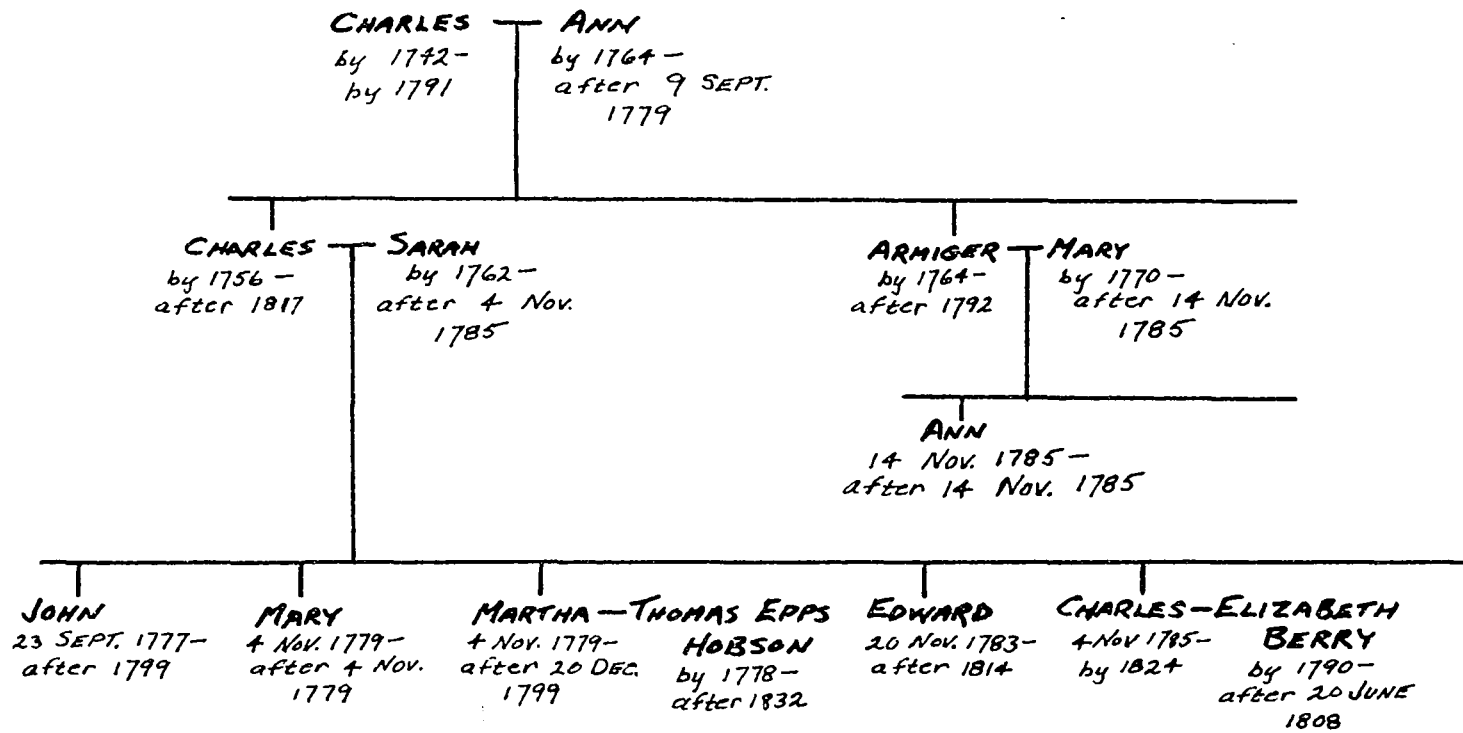


Figure 8.2 Combs and Whiting Families

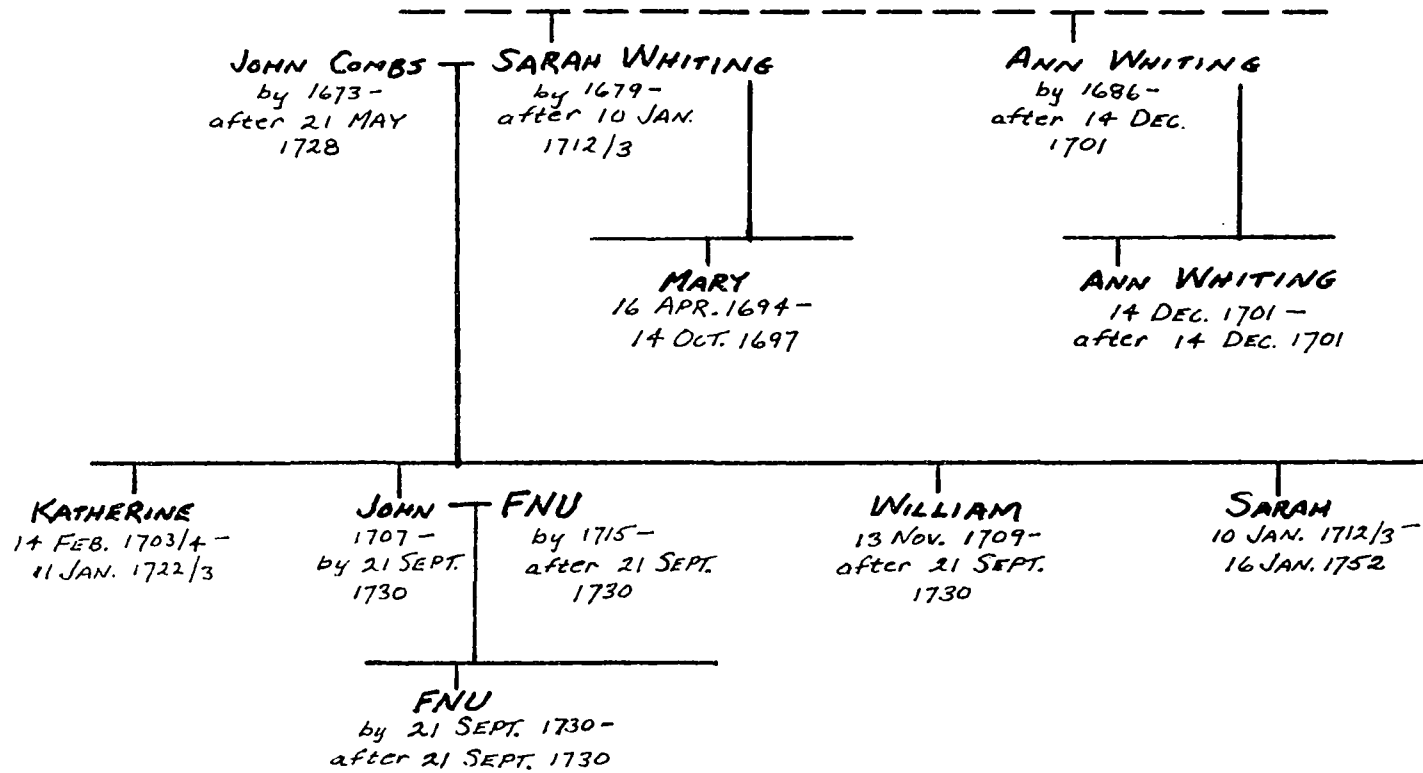


Figure 8.3 Combs, Wilson, and Hughson Families

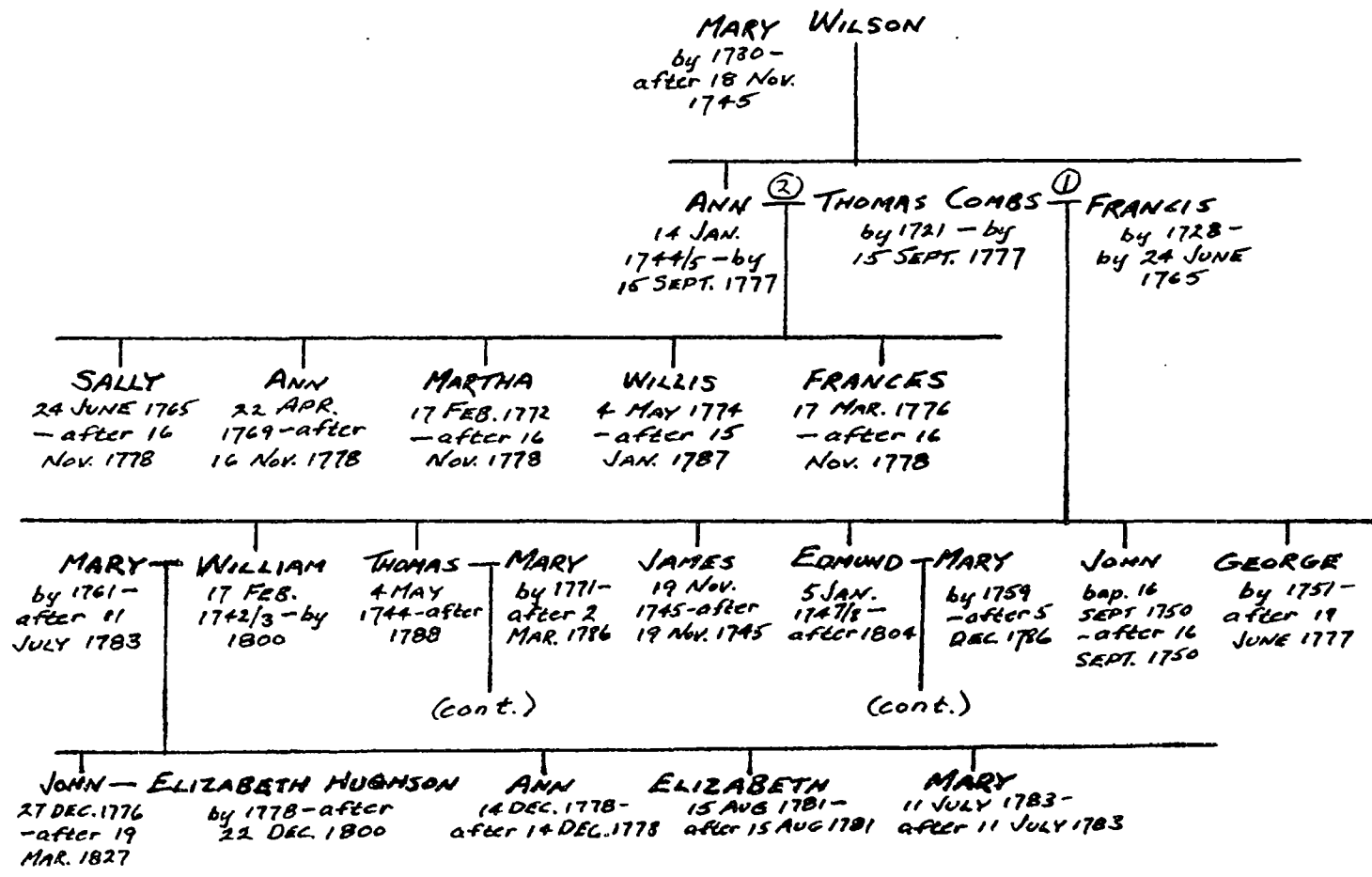


Figure 8.3 Continued Combs, Wilson, and Hughson Families

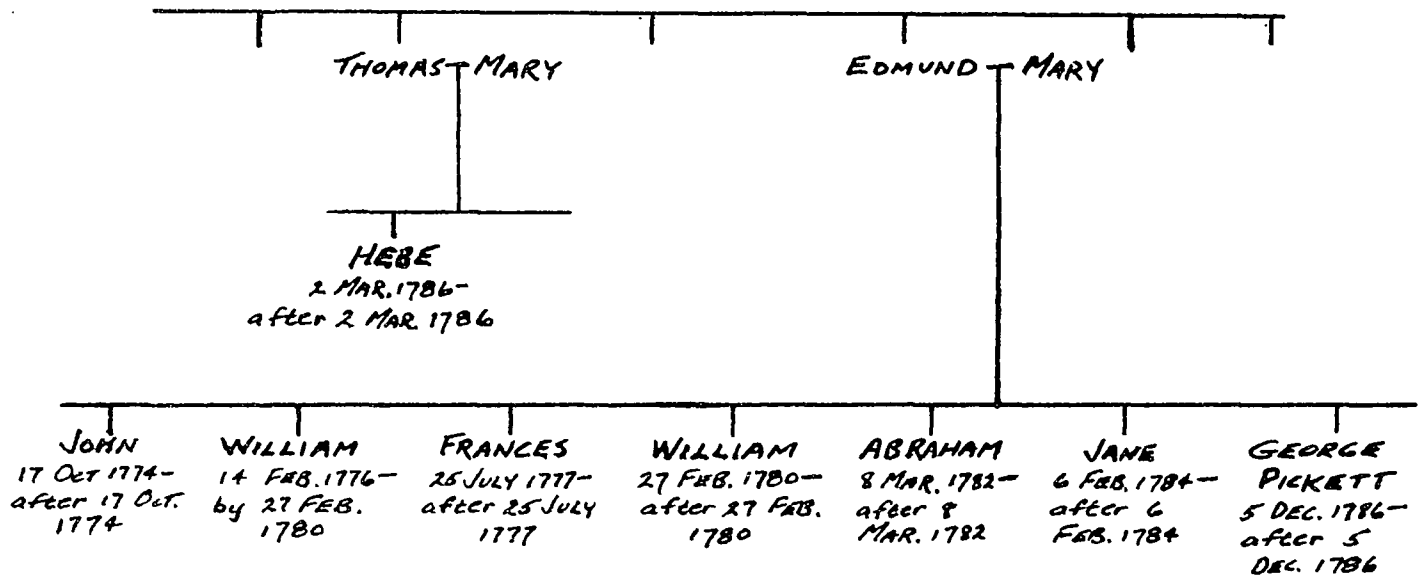


Figure 8.4 Cattilla, Berry, and Hopson Families

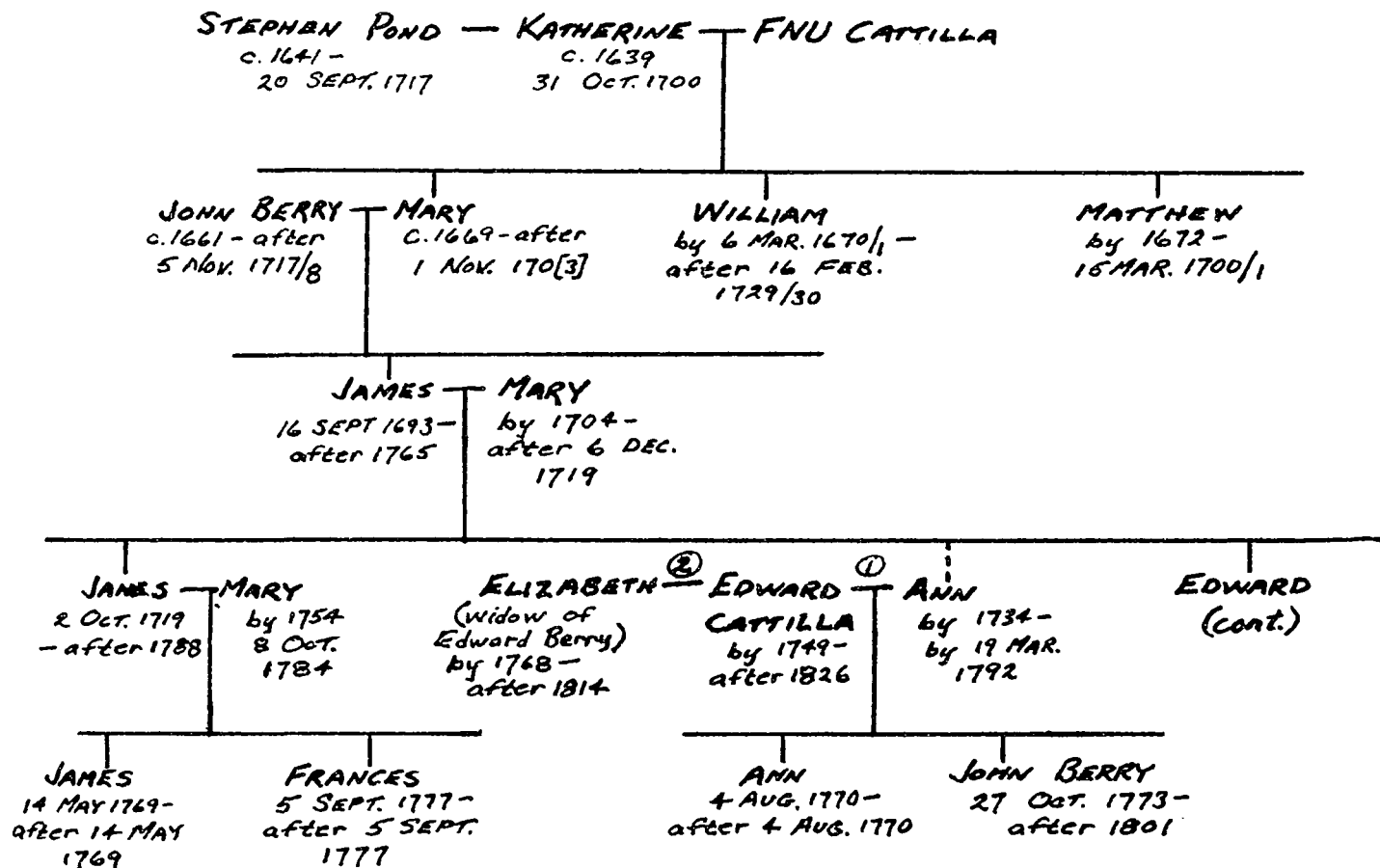


Figure 8.4 Continued Cattilla, Berry, and Hopson Families

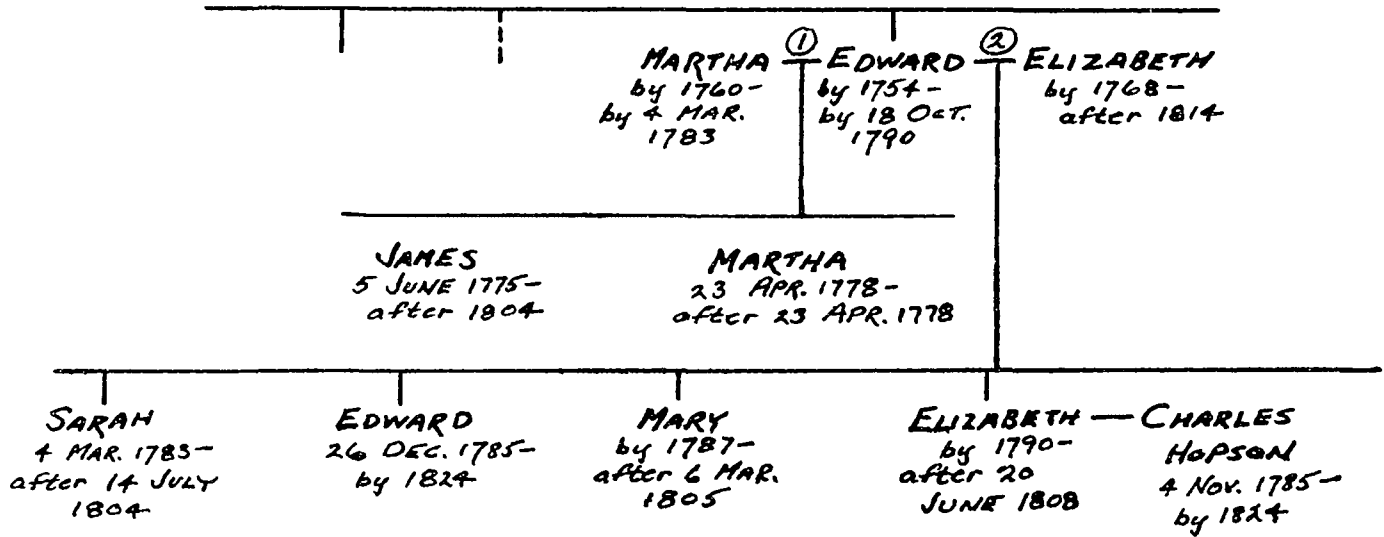


Figure 8.5 Cattilla, Berry, and Francis Families

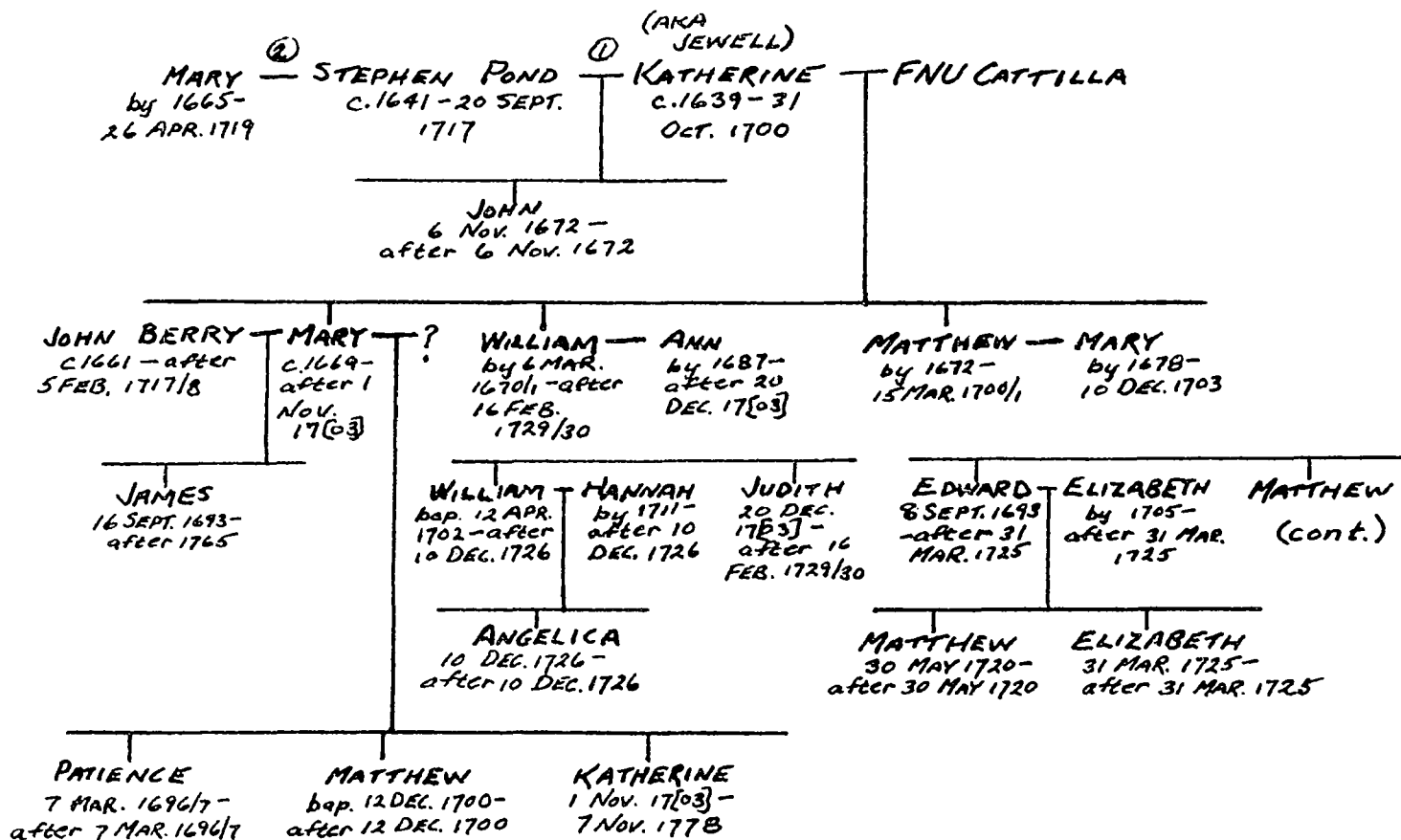
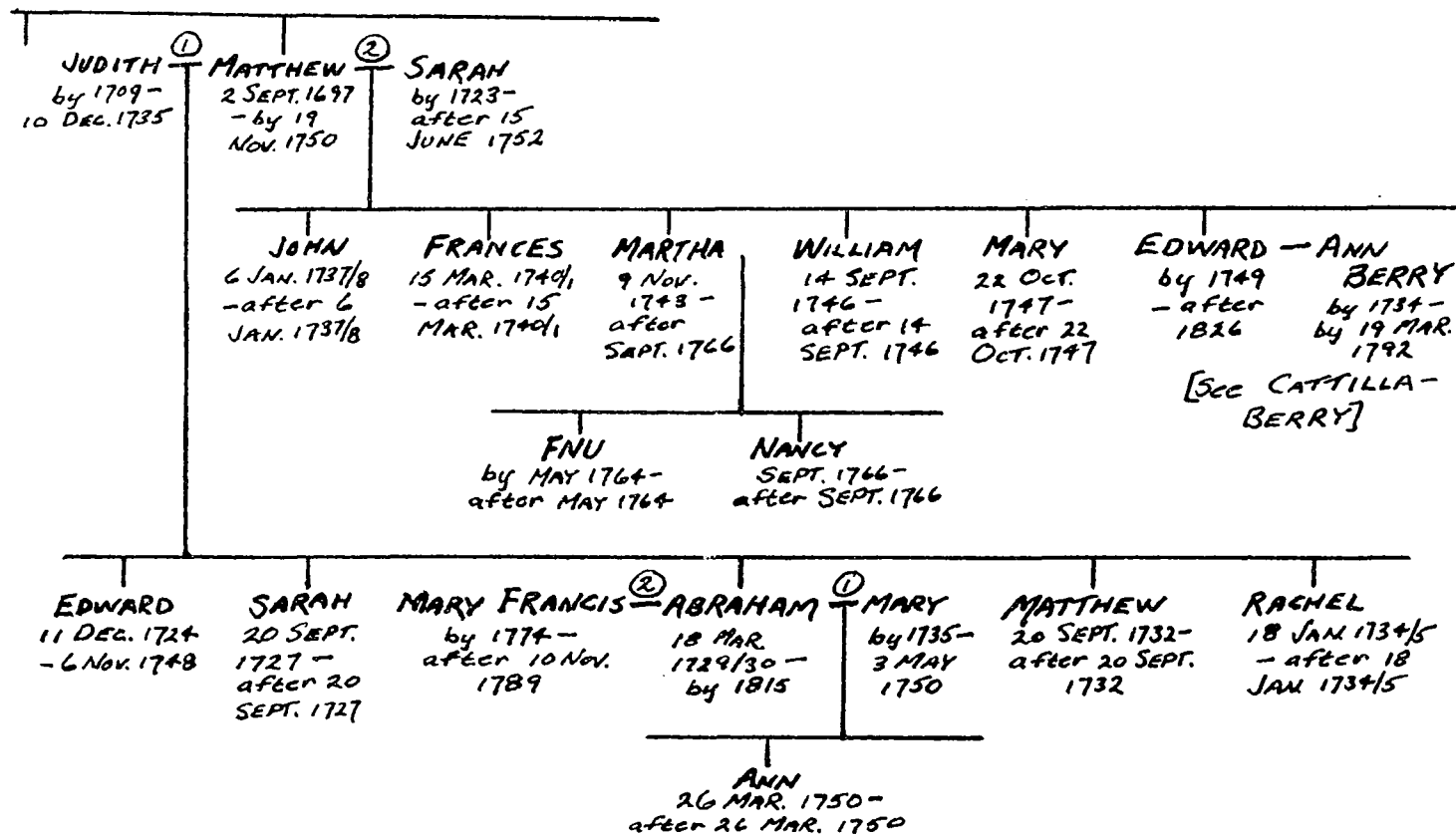


Figure 8.5 Continued Cattilla, Berry, and Francis Families



the General Assembly gradually increased the restrictions on the activities of free people of color during these years, many of Charles's free blacks may have tried to separate themselves from slaves in order to protect their status as free individuals.²⁰ However, there was some contact between this group and slaves. When Judith Cattilla appeared in court in December 1729 to answer the charge of bearing an illegitimate mulatto child, the father of her infant was not present nor named. This suggests that the father of Judith's child was a slave and could not make an appearance before the justices of the peace. The York County records do not shed light on other types of meetings between the free and enslaved blacks.

The majority of the recorded actions of free blacks between the 1670s and the first quarter of the eighteenth century involved interactions with whites. In 1678, Andrew James petitioned the administrator of his former master's estate in order to secure the freedom that he had been promised. John Griggs Junior had been the master of Andrew since 1655 when he received this slave as part of the marriage agreement between his mother, Margery Jolly Griggs Hay, and her third husband, William Hay Senior. In February 1678/9, the court ruled that "whereas Mr John Griggs did by his deed....dated 23 Dec 1673 covenant with Andrew James his Negro that when Griggs death should come sd Negro should be a freeman (at his owne dispose & not subject to claime by Griggs heirs) & sd Griggs being deceased & sd Negro by vertue of sd deed peticoning for his freedome it is courts opinion that hee is thereby free & therefore ord that hee be & is hereby discharged from all manner & service any waies due to the decedts estate de futuro." In fact, Andrew had already enjoyed a taste of freedom. In October 1677 he had secured a promise from his master that enabled him "to worke for himselfe paying his sd master....2000 lbs sweet sented tobo & caske."

²⁰Deal found that some of the Eastern Shore's free blacks seemed to keep contact with white men and women at a minimum. Ibid., p. 287.

In addition, Griggs was not "to hinder sd Andrew from working at his trade of Carpenter" except to plant and tend 3000 corn hills.²¹ Andrew apparently made the most of his opportunity to do work for others who lived nearby. However, he might not have been prompt in doing his work or paying his bills because Thomas Nutting, Samuel Snignall, John Travillion, and William Wise Senior received an attachment against the estate of James to cover the debts he had accumulated and apparently did not pay before he left the Charles Parish and York County area in 1679.

In 1699, Richard Trotter stated in his will that his slave Tom was to be a free man six days after the death of Trotter's wife Ann. The executors of Richard Trotter's estate gave Tom his freedom, but not the fifteen pound legacy which he had also been promised by his master. In May 1701, Tom petitioned the executors of Trotter's estate for his fifteen pound legacy and received a favorable judgment from the local justices of the peace two months later. Matthew Cattilla Senior was a debtor to the estates of two white residents of Charles Parish, Samuel MacIntosh in 1698 and John Moore Senior three years later, possibly for goods that he had purchased from them. In December 1699, Mary Cattilla, a free black, and her white mother, Katherine Pond, gave depositions in support of the nuncupative will that they had persuaded Jane Merry, a white woman, to make because "itt would be a great Satisfaccon to her selfe & ease her friends of a great deal of trouble."²² These activities indicate that Charles's free blacks had formed economic associations and friendship ties with whites in the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries. In addition, they used their status as free individuals to appear in court to protect and pursue their

²¹York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (6) 67, 24 February 1678/9; *ibid.*, p. 117, 25 August 1679.

²²*Ibid.*, (12) 269-270, 14 December 1699. See Joan Rezner Gundersen, "The Double Bonds of Race and Sex: Black and White Women in a Colonial Virginia Parish," *Journal of Southern History*, LII(198):351-372.

interests.

Interracial connections with their immediate family members began to play an important role in the public activities of the free blacks in the late seventeenth and the first part of the eighteenth centuries. In 1695, Matthew Cattilla Senior, a free black, served as a witness for his white half-brother John Pond in a civil suit. Stephen Pond, the white husband of Katherine Pond, sued his free black step-son William Cattilla Senior for a debt in February 1701/2. The elder William Cattilla received a summons to appear in court in his later years as a security for his daughter Judith's payment of her fine for giving birth to an illegitimate child in 1729. When the churchwardens of Charles Parish presented Sarah Combs for bearing an illegitimate mulatto in February 1703/4, York's magistrates ordered her husband and the child's father John, a white man, to pay the fine.

During much of the seventeenth century, free black residents of Charles Parish and other Virginians turned to friends for assistance in matters such as witnessing deeds and wills, and serving as executors and securities on bonds. By the early eighteenth century, however, when demographic conditions had improved, family members began to replace friends in the social networks of many Virginians. The nuclear family--parents and their children--and ties to aunts, uncles, and cousins replaced the seventeenth-century network of quasi-relatives which included step-parents, step-siblings, god parents, and guardians.²³

²³Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia, 1650-1750, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984), pp. 50, 59, 100, 102, 103, 120; idem, A Place in Time: Explicatus, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984), pp. 107-116; Lorena S. Walsh, "Charles County, Maryland, 1658-1705: A Study of Chesapeake Social and Political Structure," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1977), pp. 244-305; idem, "Community Networks," in Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo, eds., Colonial Chesapeake Society, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1988), p. 225; Allan Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1986), p. 241; idem., "'Till Death Us Do Part': Marriage and Family in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," in Thad W. Tate and David L.

Like the white population, free blacks could not expect to have family members to turn to throughout one's lifetime as a result of the area's high mortality rates. Consequently, friends became an important part of daily life. If free blacks did not have free black friends who lived nearby, they could have been at a real disadvantage if they needed someone to serve as a witness to a deed or as a security for a bond.

The relationships that Charles's free black residents formed with other inhabitants of the parish do not fit the model of the way in which associations developed among white Virginians during the eighteenth century. Instead of focusing the majority of their activities towards family members, the parish's free black inhabitants split their affairs between kin and neighbors. Free men and women of color tended to have a greater degree of social interaction with other free blacks and to exchange goods and services with their white neighbors. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the growing number of family and friendship bonds served as the basis of the free black neighborhood in the Charles Parish area, and the economic associations tied the free blacks into the larger parish community around them.

What reliance there was upon members of one's immediate family by free black men and women can be seen in probate activities. Sarah Francis and Elizabeth Berry both served as the administrators of their husbands' estates in 1765 and 1792, respectively. Thomas Combs named his wife Ann and his eldest son William as his co-executors when he wrote his will in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Relatives also served as securities for bonds, as was the case in December 1800 when John Combs married Elizabeth Hughson. Her brothers Charles and John Hughson were the securities for the marriage bond. As the century progressed, friendship and kinship ties became interwoven as formal

Ammerman, eds., The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society & Politics, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1979), pp. 126-152; Rutman and Rutman, "'New-Wives and Sons-in-Law': Parental Death in a Seventeenth-Century Virginia County," in *ibid.*, pp. 153-182.

relationships, such as marriage, often followed informal connections. There are several examples of this among Charles's free blacks. In 1789, Abraham Cattilla married his second wife, Mary Francis. Charles Hopson took his former ward, Edward Berry's daughter Elizabeth, as his wife in 1808. Edward Cattilla had connections to several free black families. In 1765, the Elizabeth City Parish vestry paid Edward Cattilla "for board Old James Berry from about 15th June to date...."²⁴ It is likely that James Berry was the father of Cattilla's first wife, Ann Berry. Edward and Ann were husband and wife by 1770. Cattilla's second marriage was to Edward Berry's widow, Elizabeth, in 1792. (Figures 8.1 to 8.5)

By the second half of the eighteenth century, the increased size of the free black population enabled its members to rely upon a growing number of friends as witnesses, securities, executors, and guardians of their children.²⁵ In addition to this reliance on friends, the free black neighborhood differed from the other five sections of Charles because the relationships that defined the neighborhood were not confined to a specific area within the parish.²⁶ The free blacks in Charles had kinship and friendship ties to free black men and women who lived in the lower end of York County and in the neighboring counties of Warwick and Elizabeth City.

Proximity was not the defining characteristic of the free black

²⁴Marion Ruth von Doenhoff, "The Vestry Book of Elizabeth City Parish 1751-1784," (M. A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1957), p. 163 (5 December 1765).

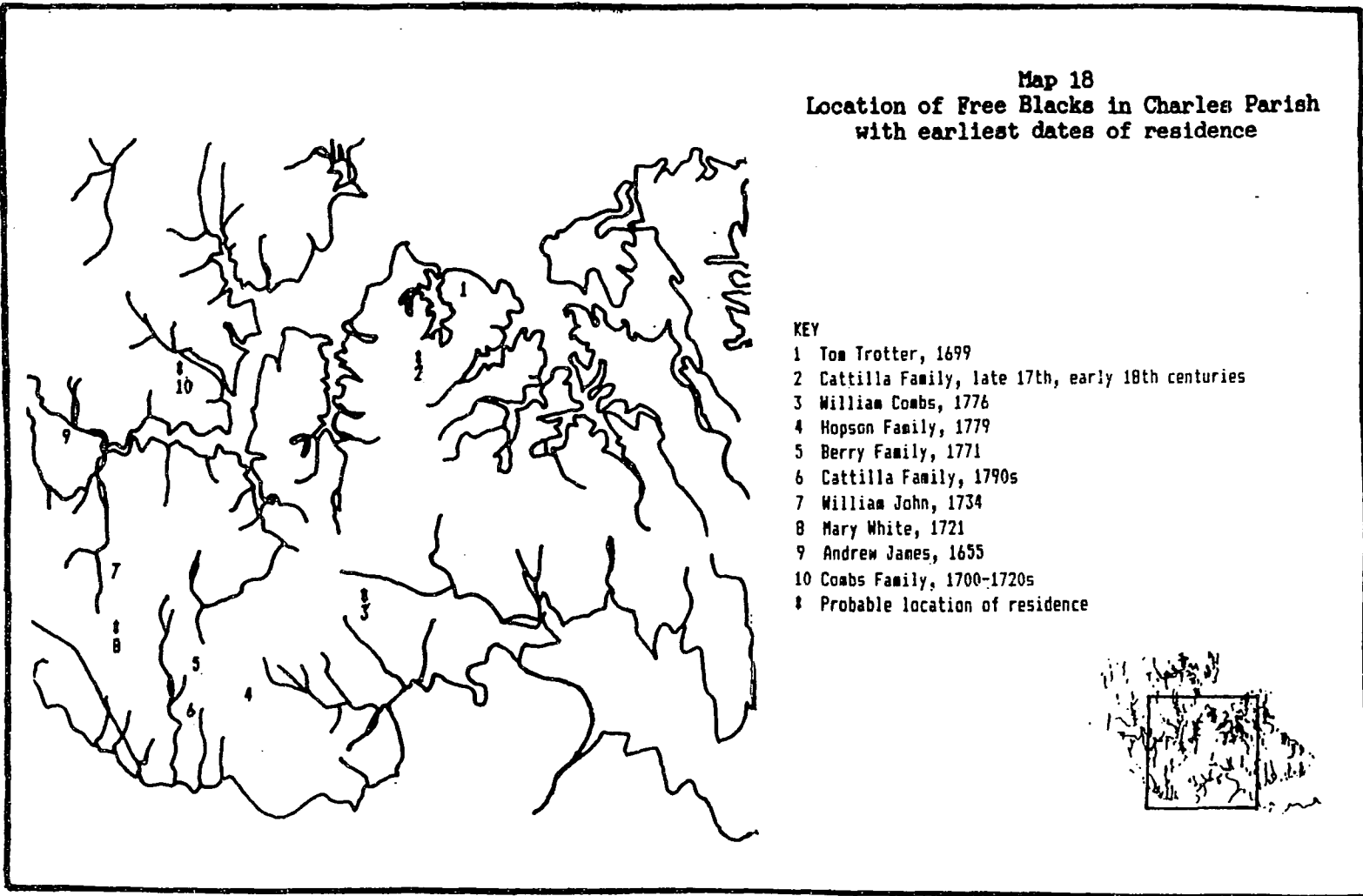
²⁵Allan Kulikoff pointed out that the density of the slave population was one of the influences on the development of Afro-American society in the Chesapeake. The size of the working units, the pattern of African immigration, and the percentage of whites in the local population also played a part in the formation of a slave community. Allan Kulikoff, "The Origins of Afro-American Society in Tidewater Maryland and Virginia, 1700 to 1790," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., XXXV(1978):227-228.

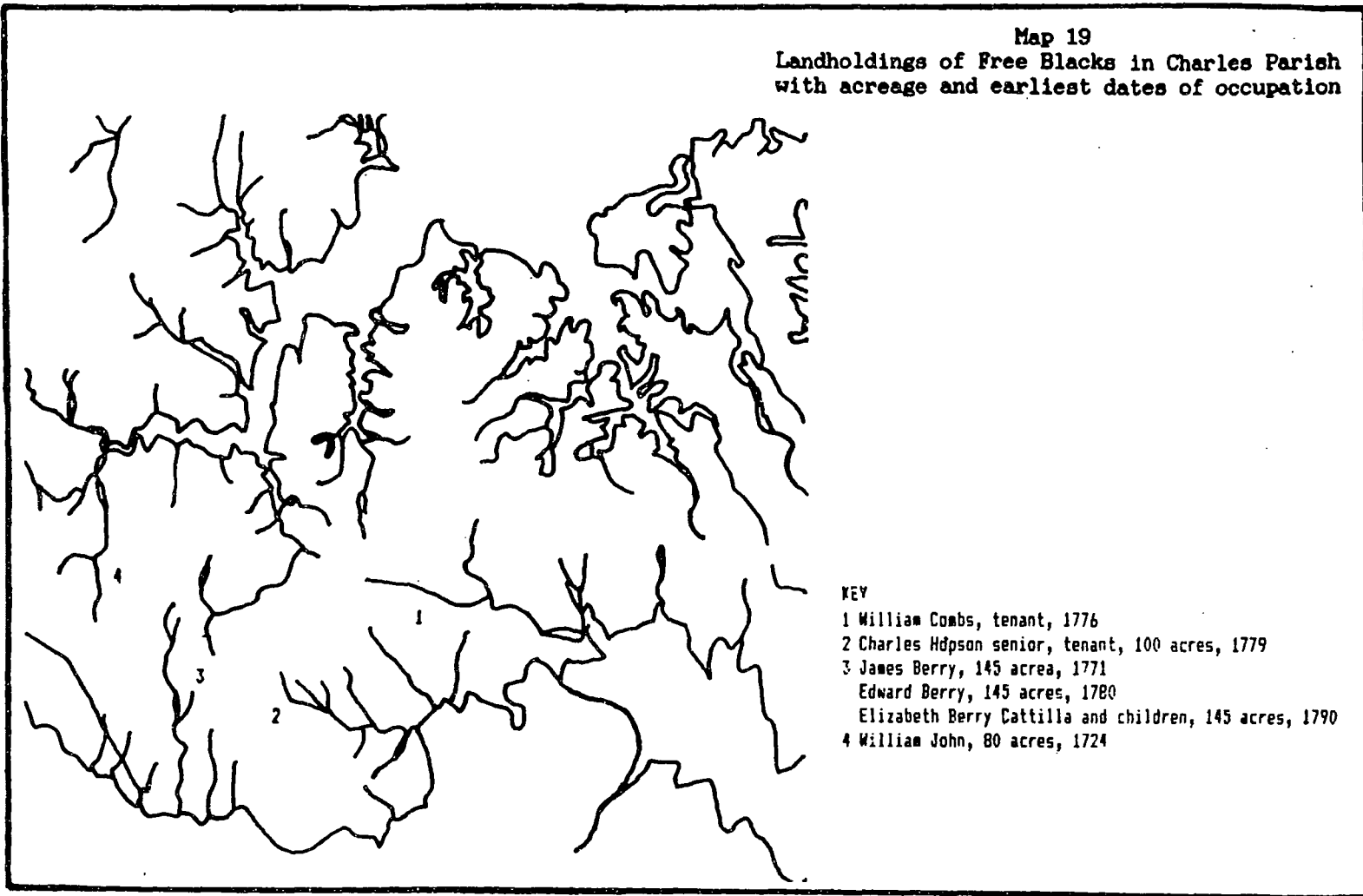
²⁶In the Calthorpe's Neck, Chisman's Creek, Western, Central, and Eastern sections of Charles, proximity played an important part in the development of white family and friendship ties. See Chapter 4.

neighborhood because the free men and women of color had not always lived near each other. Late in the seventeenth century and early in the eighteenth century, Charles's free blacks were scattered throughout the parish. It is possible that the Cattilla family lived in the lower precinct of the parish where Stephen Pond, the white husband of Katherine Pond and the step-father of William, Matthew, and Mary Cattilla, owned 200 acres of land. It is known that John and Sarah Combs lived in Charles's upper precinct because he was one of several men who were presented for refusing to help clear the roads in this section of the parish in October 1702. As a tenant of William Ferguson, William John and his family lived near the border between Charles Parish and Warwick County in the 1720s. (Map 18)

However, as the century progressed, a greater proportion of Charles's free black population lived in the lower precinct of the parish. In August 1771, James Berry, a free black planter who lived in Elizabeth City County, purchased land referred to as the Finches Dam tract in the deed he received from Martha Armistead, the widow of Edward Armistead. (Map 19) The property was at the lower end of Charles Parish and it adjoined the Old Poquoson River and Finches Dam which had separated the parish from Elizabeth City County since the late 1650s. James Berry transferred ownership of the tract of land to his son, Edward Berry, by early 1780. In March of that year Callowhill Mennis petitioned the York County Court for permission to clear a road from his plantation through Edward Berry's land to the main county road.

Other free blacks also acquired land in the lower precinct of Charles Parish during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. In September 1779, the sixth John Hay gave Charles Hopson Senior a lifetime lease to the one hundred acres of land which he lived upon. The property adjoined the eastern side of the Berry tract. William Combs paid rent to the estate of the fifth Anthony Robinson's orphans in 1776, 1777, and 1779 for land which was close to where James and Edward Berry





and Charles Hopson Senior's tracts were located. Hopson lived on his rented property until the end of his life and Berry left his one hundred and forty-five acres as part of his bequest to his family. In the early nineteenth century, Berry's heirs sold off some of his acreage to other free blacks. By the decade of the 1810s, members of the Cattilla, Berry, and Hopson families made their homes on this one hundred and forty-five acre tract.

Free black men and women in these same families owned several tracts of land in Elizabeth City and Warwick counties in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. The location of the property provides information about the area covered by the free black neighborhood. In July 1791, Abraham Cattilla and his wife Mary sold the sixteen acres of land in Elizabeth City County that Mary had inherited from her great-grandmother Hannah Francis.²⁷ The tract had been in the Francis family since March 1740 when Hannah Francis acquired it from Margaret Wythe, the mother of George Wythe. The location of the property, "on the south side of the Road leading towards the free school on Back River,"²⁸ placed it near the land owned by the Berrys.

Other members of the Francis family lived on and acquired land in Warwick County in the early nineteenth century. In 1802, William Garrow, a tax commissioner for Warwick County, recorded a "List of Free Negroes and Mulattoes" who lived in his district. In his ledger for this year, he included the names of males, their occupations, names of females who lived with the men, and where these individuals lived. Garrow made note of four free black households located along the Warwick River on Mulberry Island: Abraham Francis, a shoemaker, and Nancy Francis; John and Polly Francis; James Cattilla, a farmer, and Sally

²⁷Any free individual, regardless of sex and/or race, could inherit real or personal property from a decedent in colonial Virginia. Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 1:302-303, 479; 2:90-92; 4:12-25; 5:454-467.

²⁸Elizabeth City County Deeds and Wills (34) 118, 25 April 1793.

Francis; and a waterman, Paul Banks, and Betsy and Nancy Francis. Garrow also recorded the members of several free black households that lived on land held by the estate of a white man, John Kerby. This tract was also on Mulberry Island. Thomas Francis, a shoemaker, and Priscilla Francis, made their home on Kerby's property along with William and Mary Francis, and Thomas and Betsy Francis. It is possible that the head of the fourth household on Kerby's land, a farmer named John Clark, was the same John Clark whom the Charles Parish churchwardens bound out to Merritt Moore in 1760, or a descendent of this individual. Two free black women, Mary and Elizabeth Clark, lived with Clark.²⁹ In 1805, Abraham Francis purchased fifty acres of land which had its eastern boundary on the Warwick River. Thomas Francis became the owner of thirty acres of land which also adjoined the Warwick River in 1818. The free blacks who lived along or near the Warwick River were between ten and twelve miles away from their counterparts in Charles Parish.

The distance encompassed by Charles's free black neighborhood was larger than the neighborhoods of most poor and middling white planters. The free men and women of color had to look farther away from their homes to find friends and potential marriage partners. However, the ten to twelve miles that separated the families did not prevent them from staying in touch with each other, providing needed assistance as witnesses, securities, and guardians, and seeing their sons and daughters marry. The fact that their family connections crossed the boundaries of three counties indicates that local administrative lines did not have a bearing on the family ties or the neighborhood formed by this group of people and that they needed to stay in contact with their family members.³⁰

²⁹Warwick County Personal Property Tax Lists, 1782-1861.

³⁰An examination of the Personal Property Tax Lists for York, Warwick, and Elizabeth City counties provides evidence of the family connections which crossed county lines. The surnames of several of Charles's free black families can be found on the personal property tax

While the free blacks had their own neighborhood after 1750, they were also part of the larger Charles Parish community. The lives of free men and women, both black and white, were intertwined economically, socially, and religiously. Evidence from probate documents reveals that Charles's free blacks had economic ties to several of their white neighbors by the middle of the eighteenth century. Estate settlements suggest that these blacks and the whites who lived near them both turned to neighbors for goods and services which they could not produce or provide for themselves and that all were part of the network of local exchange in the Charles Parish area.³¹

The settlement of the estate of the fifth Anthony Robinson and the accounts that detail how his executors used his estate to support his children provide an opportunity to look at the operation of a plantation in Charles.³² Both records document the economic ties among free black and white residents of the lower precinct of the parish and other areas of York County. In 1777, the elder Abraham Francis hired Robinson's slave Gaby, who also was a shoemaker. Perhaps this free black cobbler

lists for Elizabeth City County: Hughson, Berry, Cattilla, Picket, Sandefur, Spruce, Hopson, and Francis. The Warwick County tax rolls included members of the Cattilla, Francis, Picket, and Hopson families.

³¹During the second half of the eighteenth century, economic diversification created local exchange networks because even many great plantation owners lacked all the tools and implements which were necessary to be self-sufficient or enough slaves to produce the goods which were used in the operation of a plantation. Lois Green Carr, "Diversification in the Colonial Chesapeake: Somerset County, Maryland, in Comparative Perspective," in Carr, Morgan, and Russo, eds., Colonial Chesapeake Society, pp. 342, 350, 372-373; Jean B. Russo, "Self-Sufficiency and Local Exchange: Free Craftsmen in the Rural Chesapeake Economy," *ibid.*, pp. 431-432.

³²Both of the documents relating to Anthony Robinson's estate were recorded by the county clerk in 1780. These probate records contain details about the items that the free blacks bought from and sold to the Robinson family. The names of free black men and women appear in the accounts of other residents of the lower portion of Charles Parish as estate creditors and debtors. However, the settlements of the estates of George Jarvis Senior in 1753, the elder Robert Presson in 1759, and John Kerby Junior in 1778 do not contain specific references to the goods and services that these three men and their neighbors, both white and black, exchanged.

had orders for more shoes than he could make on his own. The following year Francis made three pairs of shoes for members of Robinson's household, possibly from the hides that he curried. William Francis, also a shoemaker, received payment from Robinson's estate for making eight pairs of shoes in 1770 and for currying leather in 1779. Both Abraham and William Francis purchased unspecified items from Robinson's estate in 1779. Sarah, the widow of John Francis, purchased half of a bushel of salt from Anthony Robinson in 1776. A few months later, Mary Francis bought two pounds of soap from the same estate.

Charles Hopson Senior bought goods, including salt in 1776 and cider two years later, from the Robinson plantation. After harvesting his crop in 1779, the elder Hopson sold five barrels of corn and some fodder to Robinson's estate. Hopson's friend James Berry Senior also did business with Robinson's heirs. Perhaps Berry used some thread that he had made with the spinning wheel he bought from John Cox's estate to weave twenty-nine yards of cloth for Robinson in 1778. The elder Berry paid the estate of this prominent planter for the hire of his slave Frank on two occasions, first in 1778 and again the following year. This free black purchased a chest at a sale of Robinson's personal possessions and livestock.

The estate accounts indicate that the relationship between the executors of Robinson's estate and James Berry Senior and the older Charles Hopson included a degree of patronage. Late in 1779, these two free blacks received compensation from Robinson's estate for a "share of Negro hire."³³ It is possible that the guardians of Robinson's orphans hired these two free blacks to find a slave to work on the plantation or that Berry and Hopson owned a slave man whom they hired to the Robinson estate or that the two men were themselves hired by the estate. Either way, the entry in the estate account is an indication of the standing of Hopson and Berry in their neighborhood and of their abilities to choose

³³York County Wills and Inventories (22) 482-487, 18 March 1780.

a good laborer. This support extended to the marketing of crops that the two men grew. The elder Berry was a creditor for 299 pounds of tobacco in December of 1779. Hopson received payment for a total of 107 pounds of tobacco in the account for the first month of 1780.³⁴ It is likely that Robinson's executors bought the 406 pounds of the weed from Hopson and Berry, and then sold it with the tobacco harvested from Robinson's fields when they transacted business with English merchants.

Accounts kept by the guardians of the sixth John Hay, the orphan of the fourth James Hay, also detail the participation of free blacks in the local exchange network. In December 1769, Thomas Combs received payment for "work done on the account of Building the House." His son Edmund also helped in the construction of a dwelling house for the Hay family because he was paid for "getting of Boards and other work done towards the House Building."³⁵ Four years later, the elder Combs earned twenty shillings for building a corn crib and one shilling, six pence for making a paddock for Hay's horses. Another one of Thomas's sons, William, was an estate creditor for a suit of clothes that he made for John Hay in 1774.

Free blacks continued to be a part of the local exchange network throughout the eighteenth century. Edward Cattilla was one of a group of residents from York, Warwick, and Elizabeth City counties who petitioned the House of Delegates in November 1796. This group of petitioners stated that the closing of the public landing near Row's Warehouse in the center of Charles Parish was harmful to their livelihoods and the fortunes of their neighborhood. These men wanted to have another landing established close to the existing wharf so that they could continue to transport grain and lumber to market.³⁶

³⁴Neither Hopson's 107 pounds or Berry's 299 pounds of tobacco was a full crop. Perhaps each man raised just enough tobacco to cover taxes.

³⁵York County Guardian Accounts (1736-1780) 431-432, 20 August 1770.

³⁶York County Petitions (1777-1858) 19 November 1796.

Cattilla's signature on this document indicates that he and the other free blacks in the Charles Parish area participated in economic activities with their immediate neighbors and with residents in the larger neighborhood of lower York, Warwick, and Elizabeth City counties.

The exchange of goods and services helped to tie individuals from different levels of the parish community together, and it might have provided the residents with a sense of stability and cohesion.³⁷ Charles's free blacks were a part of the economic network of the area of the parish in which they lived. Larger planters such as the fifth Anthony Robinson and the sixth John Hay acted as patrons and provided necessary supplies and services to the smaller planters, both black and white, in their neighborhood. In addition, by the middle of the eighteenth century, the prominent political leaders in Charles were also the men to whom parish residents turned to when they needed assistance in daily matters. However, the distance between the top layer of Charles's social order and the bottom group of free white individuals was large, and was even greater for the free blacks. There is evidence that it became more difficult for free blacks in other parts of the Tidewater region, on the Eastern Shore, and in the Southside to be a part of the white social world as a result of the laws that had been passed to restrict their activities.³⁸

The neighborhood and parish community defined behavior and actions deemed appropriate, enforced discipline, provided a sense of order, and

³⁷John T. Schlotterbeck found that the "social economy" which he defined as "dense networks of exchange of goods and services within the community" served to link "all segments of the social structure" in Orange and Greene counties after the Revolution. See Schlotterbeck, "Plantation and Farm: Social and Economic Change in Orange and Greene Counties, Virginia, 1716 to 1860," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1980), pp. 53, 211, 212.

³⁸See Michael L. Nicholls, "Passing Through This Troublesome World: Free Blacks in the Early Southside," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 92(1984):50-70; Deal, "A Constricted World," pp. 275-305; Kathleen M. Brown, "Gender and the Genesis of a Race and Class System in Virginia, 1630 to 1750," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1990), pp. 394-453.

served as a source of social activities. As parish residents, the free blacks were expected to adhere to established moral and social standards. Presentments by the grand jury for illegitimate children born of Mary, Judith, and Martha Cattilla, Ann Combs, and Mary Wilson indicate the legal predicament of many free blacks. (Table 8.5)

Although the presentments show that some white women also bore illegitimate children, a greater proportion of the free black females gave birth to an illegitimate child in part because the circumstances behind the illegitimate births to free women of color differed from those of their white contemporaries. During the colonial period, most white women who wanted to marry could do so.³⁹ With the number of potential partners limited by the small size of the free black population, some free black women probably could find only a slave partner or became involved with a white man who might not acknowledge the relationship in public. According to a law passed in 1691, "whatsoever English or other white man or woman bond or free shall within three months after such marriage be banished and removed from this dominion forever..."⁴⁰ There is no evidence that York's justices of the peace forced any couples with one free person of color and a free black partner to leave the county. The local magistrates accepted both free black unions as legal and the children born of them as legitimate. The same was not true for Charles's free black women who appeared in court to answer the charge of giving birth to a child outside of wedlock. All of these women were single. Their illegitimate children could have been the result of a casual liaison or of a more stable union that the local leaders did not recognize, especially if the union was with a slave man.

Another difference between white females and free black women was

³⁹See Table 2.7 in Chapter 2 for the sex ratio between white men and women in Charles Parish from 1630 to 1740.

⁴⁰Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 3:87.

that members of the latter group who were sixteen years or older had to be listed as tithes each year between 1723 and 1769.⁴¹ Several free black men and women appeared in the York County court to answer the charge of failing to pay taxes on free black females. In December 1740, the justices of the peace decided to excuse William John from "the fine imposed by Law in such Cases but ord. that he pay the Levy as it now is for his wife & that he take care to list her for the future." Matthew Cattilla received the same judgment.⁴² Four years later, Cattilla and Thomas Combs Senior neglected to list their spouses. Sarah Cattilla, the widow of Matthew, did not pay the levies for herself or Ann Berry, her future daughter-in-law, in 1750. The grand jurors charged the elder Combs with failing to report Martha Cattilla as a tithable in 1763 and Ann Wilson three years later. It is possible that these men and women did not list female members of their households as tithes in order to save some money. However, there is a chance that the free blacks consciously forgot to put a woman's names on tithable rolls. These omissions may have been a way in which Charles's free blacks could protest the distinctions that Virginia's legal system created between the white and free black populations.

It appears that the York County justices of the peace held whites and free blacks to similar standards of public behavior. In May of 1783, the grand jury charged Charles Hopson Junior with "having Barbacues and selling Liquor." Described by Benjamin Latrobe as drinking parties,⁴³ it is not known whether Hopson hosted his barbecues, alone or together with three white residents of Charles Parish, John

⁴¹Ibid., 4:133, 8:393.

⁴²York County Orders, Wills, and Inventories (18) 667, 15 December 1740.

⁴³York County Order Book 4 (1774-1784) 324-325, 19 May 1783; Benjamin Henry Latrobe, The Journal of Latrobe, (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905), pp. 30-33.

Hay, John Gemmill, and Henry Bohannon, who also faced the same charge from the grand jury. It is possible that none of the four men had a license to sell liquor. Or, perhaps, York County's justices of the peace objected to racially mixed gatherings. There was a connection between the Hopson and Hay families: Charles Hopson Senior leased one hundred acres from Hay in 1779. In addition, the four men presented for having drinking parties were all neighbors in the lower area of the parish. Hopson's barbecues do indicate that even though free blacks would not have had the same amount of leisure time that the gentry had, they did take time to socialize at gatherings similar to those of their white neighbors, and perhaps, with them.

The parish church played an important role in the lives eighteenth-century Virginians because it served as a meeting place in addition to a place of worship.⁴⁴ It is known that both free blacks and whites attended the Charles Parish church, and, after the Revolution, some free blacks gave more than nominal support to the Episcopal church. The signatures of Abraham and Edward Cattilla, and Edward Berry were among the forty-four members of Charles's Protestant Episcopal Church who petitioned the General Assembly in support of a 1784 law which declared the Episcopal Church a corporate body.⁴⁵ An examination of the other forty-one men and women who signed this petition provides information about individuals with whom the Cattillas and Berry associated. (Appendix 8, Section 2) The upper and lower precincts of Charles equally supported the now disestablished church. In most instances, these people and their families had made their homes in the parish for several generations. In addition to being long-time residents, three-quarters of this group of forty-four individuals were

⁴⁴On the place of the church in the social world of the Virginia planter, see Rhys Isaac, The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1982).

⁴⁵York County Petitions (1777-1858) c. 1784.

landowners, ranging from Edmund Curtis who held part of a fifty acre tract to Edward C. Hayward, the owner of 1889 acres. The fact that the names of three free blacks appeared on the petition indicates that they attended church services with their white neighbors. Also, those who had a greater social and economic standing in Charles recognized smaller planters, both black and white, as members of the religious community and as individuals who could lend the necessary support to the church.

The Early National Period was not the first time that religions other than that of the established church had attracted the attention of Charles Parish residents. Thomas Story, an itinerant Quaker preacher, held a meeting in Charles in 1690. He noted in his journal that the meeting was "at the House of Thomas Nichols, at a Place called Pocoson; where there had never been a Meeting before: It was large, though the People, till my Companion began to speak, did not generally come in; but then crowded much, and a good Meeting we had." Story and his companion spent the night in Charles Parish, where they "were entertained, in much Friendship and tender Respect, by Thomas Nichols and his wife....a Mulletto by Extraction."⁴⁶

These two examples indicate that during the colonial period, the religious sphere, as well as economic activities, helped to hold the whole parish community together while the hierarchical structure of Charles's society worked to separate the parish into different social levels. Free blacks and whites attended a religious meeting at the end of the seventeenth century when the colonial legislators were working to

⁴⁶[Thomas Story], Extracts from a JOURNAL of the LIFE of THOMAS STORY Containing an Account of his REMARKABLE CONVINCEMENT Of and Embracing the PRINCIPLES OF TRUTH As held by the People called QUAKERS: And also, of his TRAVELS and LABORS in the SERVICE OF THE GOSPEL with many other OCCURENCES and OBSERVATIONS, (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Printed by Isaac Thompson and Company, at the New Printing Office on the Side, MDCCSLVII), typescript at the Virginia Historical Society, pp. 30-31. Story's reference to "Thomas Nichols and his wife....a Mulletto by Extraction" makes it difficult to determine which spouse was a mulatto. However, a 1670 statute that prohibited free blacks from hiring white servants clears up the confusion. Thomas Nichols had a white servant named Martha Provo in the first decade of the eighteenth century.

restrict interactions between the two groups. Almost one hundred years later, religion brought free blacks and whites together to support the embattled established church against the challenge of the Methodists and the Baptists during the 1780s. The York County records do not contain evidence of any involvement on the part of Charles's free black men and women in evangelical religions during the last years of the eighteenth century.⁴⁷ Changes took place in Charles during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Parishioners abandoned the Protestant Episcopal Church sometime around 1800, and the building burned to the ground in the 1810s decade. In March 1817, Elizabeth Carmines granted land to George Topping, Abraham Tennis, John Dennis, Smith Bunting, and the Reverend Cyrus James. This tract was to be used for a place of worship for members of the Methodist Church.⁴⁸ James was the minister who married Patty Cattilla and James Francis in January, 1825, and Elizabeth Berry and James Hopson a year later. The Baptist Church also counted several of Charles's free blacks among its members. On March 17, 1828, Peter Ainslie married John Cattilla Junior and Elizabeth Berry "according to the rites and ceremonies of the Baptist Church."⁴⁹ By the decade of the 1820s, members of the Cattilla and the Berry families

⁴⁷The journals and letters of two Methodist preachers, Joseph Pilmore and Francis Asbury, do not contain any references to free black Methodists in the York County area, before or after the Revolution. See Elmer T. Clark, J. Manning Potts, and Jacob S. Payton, eds., The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury, 3 vols., (London: Epworth Press, 1958) and Frederick E. Maser and Howard T. Maag eds., The Journal of Joseph Pilmore Methodist Itinerant For the Years August 1, 1769 to January 2, 1774, (Philadelphia: Printed by Message Printing Company for the Historical Society of the Philadelphia Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church, 1969).

⁴⁸It is possible that some of the individuals who had worshipped at the Protestant Episcopal Church in Charles Parish became members of the Methodist Church since the Methodists were originally an evangelical wing within the Anglican Church. See York County Guardian Accounts (1780-1823) ix, and The History of Tabernacle Methodist Church, Poquoson, Virginia, (Poquoson: Tabernacle Methodist Church, 1967), pp. 16, 19.

⁴⁹The History of Tabernacle Methodist Church, pp. 13-14; York County Guardian Accounts (1823-1846) ii, 17 January 1825; *ibid.*, p. i, 6 January 1826; *ibid.*, p. iii, 17 March 1828.

belonged to both the Methodist and the Baptist churches. Several churches, instead of just one, provided religious services and instruction to men and women who lived in Charles Parish. After the turn of the nineteenth century, individual religious choice united congregations even as it separated Baptists, Methodists, and Protestant Episcopal churches. The ties among parishioners might have been stronger than they were before the disestablishment of the Anglican Church because one could choose the men and women with whom one wanted to pray.

Unlike the meetings that took place at church on Sunday mornings, there is evidence that encounters in the York County court reflected tension between the free black and the white residents of Charles. In May of 1765, three white men, Robert Pebworth, David Sanders, and the younger George Jarvis, were examined on suspicion of the murder of John Francis, a free black. There was a connection between Francis and the Jarvis family: Francis had been a creditor to the estate of Jarvis's father, George Jarvis Senior, in 1753. The murder victim and the three suspects were from the bottom of the economic ladder in Charles. The three men pleaded not guilty and had eight witnesses who appeared in their behalf. The presiding justices of the peace decided that "the said Robert Pebworth, David Sanders, and George Jarvis are not Guilty of the Murder aforesaid and ought not to be further tried for the same and nothing further appearing or being alledged against them It is ordered that they be discharged out of Custody."⁵⁰ The investigation of Francis's murder strained relations between the races because the case was not solved, and the guilty party (or parties) did not receive any

⁵⁰York County Judgments and Orders (4) 372, 6 May 1765. The witnesses--Edward Wilson, William Presson Junior, James Lebe, William James, William Wilson, Robert Wood, William Armistead, and Daniel Moore Senior--were from all levels of the parish's social order. The common bond among this group of eight men was that they all lived near the line between Charles Parish and Elizabeth City County. Members of Presson's family did business with several of Charles's free blacks. It is unknown if any of the other witnesses had any connection to free persons of color.

punishment. York's magistrates appointed prominent local leaders to appraise Francis's estate in order to calm any potential problems. In July 1765, the justices of the peace named Gerrard Roberts Junior, the fifth Thomas Roberts, the third John Patrick, and the third William Patrick as appraisers. A month later, a second group, the elder Daniel Moore, Augustine Moore, the third Edward Tabb, and Daniel Sweny received this charge.⁵¹ The appointment of prominent men to appraise the estate of a poor man, white or black, was unusual. Estate appraisers usually were neighbors and social equals of the decedent.

Even though the free blacks were at the bottom of the social scale in Charles, there were layers within this section of the hierarchy.⁵² Edward Berry, who held more acreage than one-third of the planters in York County during the 1780s, was the wealthiest of those in the free black neighborhood. The York County Land Tax Lists show that Berry paid taxes on one hundred acres of land in the lower precinct of the county between 1782 and his death in 1790. When the division of estate took place in October 1803, his widow Elizabeth's second husband, Edward Cattilla, received forty acres and the dwelling house. His five children James, Edward, Sarah, Mary, and Elizabeth shared the remaining one hundred and five acres.⁵³ How can this discrepancy in acreage be accounted for? It is likely that Berry used one hundred acres to support his family and rented out the other forty-five acres as a way to

⁵¹See Chapter 5. York County Judgments and Orders (4) 439, 15 July 1765; *ibid.*, p. 450, 19 August 1765. It is possible that the first group of men appointed to appraise Francis's estate declined to carry out their charge and the justices of the peace named a second set of appraisers. The stature of the latter group was higher than the first because it included three men from the county bench--the Moores and Tabb--while the former set contained men who served as local-level officials.

⁵²Deal believed that the "nascent class divisions....dissolved rapidly with the dispersal of the estates of the few property-holding free blacks on the Eastern Shore by mid-century." Deal, "A Constricted World," p. 290.

⁵³York County Order Book 8 (1803-1814) 140-141, 20 May 1806.

increase his income. Rental income helped to support three of his children--Edward, Elizabeth, and Sarah--while they were minors.⁵⁴ His family valued this property and they retained possession of a large portion of the land through the first half of the nineteenth century. When portions of the Finches Dam tract were sold in the 1810s, individuals who had married into the Berry family became the new owners.⁵⁵

There is evidence that three free blacks leased land in Charles Parish during the eighteenth century. William John leased seventy-six acres from William Ferguson in September 1724. Probate documents indicate that William Combs paid rent to the estate of Anthony Robinson in 1776, 1777, and 1779. Charles Hopson Senior was John Hay's tenant from September 1779 until his death. Hopson's tract bordered the land owned by the Berry family, and the property that Combs planted was a short distance from where these two free blacks made their homes. Because rental agreements did not have to be recorded, there is a chance that others in this group also leased land. (Map 19)

While there is no evidence that the Francis family owned land in Charles Parish, they did have land in both Elizabeth City and Warwick counties. Hannah Francis owned sixteen acres along the Old Poquoson

⁵⁴York County Guardian Accounts (1780-1823) 92-93, 18 September 1797; *ibid.*, p. 111, 15 September 1800; *ibid.*, p. 126, 18 October 1802; *ibid.*, p. 131, 19 September 1803.

⁵⁵York County Land Tax Lists, 1782-1861; York County Land Causes, (1795-1854) 22-23 (23 and 24 November 1795), 54 (22 March 1799), 112 (22 January 1812), 212-215 (21 April 1828), 240-241 (21 May 1832), 273-274 (18 April 1836), 293-294 (18 December 1839), 317-319 (18 March 1844), 347-348 (28 February 1848).

Because of the small size of the tracts that Berry's orphans received in the settlement of their father's estate, the children, their spouses, and kin would have produced larger crops if they planted their tracts as one plantation. Cooperative farming would have given the members of the Berry, Cattilla, and Hopson families a greater degree of economic security. For a discussion of the communal farming by slaves in South Carolina, see Charles Joyner, Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), pp. 52, 58-59, 92, 95, 129-130, 237.

River by 1740, and this property stayed in the family until her great-granddaughter, Mary Cattilla, and her husband Abraham sold it in 1791. Abraham and Thomas Francis both purchased land along the Warwick River during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Their descendants retained possession of the property after the deaths of the purchasers.⁵⁶

Land was one of the measures of wealth in Virginia from the beginning of the colonial period. Slave holding was another. Probate records of both free blacks and whites indicate that a few of Charles's free blacks were able to afford to buy or to hire slaves. Edward Berry was the only one of Charles's free blacks who is known for certain to have owned slaves. It is possible that James Berry had a slave in addition to hiring one named Frank from Anthony Robinson's estate on two occasions. Abraham Francis hired Gaby from Robinson's executors in 1777.⁵⁷ It is likely that in the free black neighborhood, as in the five residential neighborhoods in Charles, the ownership of land and of slaves was an indication of one's power and position in the parish's social hierarchy.

As was the practice of landless whites, Charles's free blacks might have hired themselves out to planters in the area if they did not have property of their own to farm. In 1785, John Hopson worked as an overseer for Edward Harwood, and his uncle Armiger served in the same capacity on John Sclater's plantation. In addition to tending fields, several free black men and women owned cattle. Edward Cattilla paid taxes on ten cattle in 1785 and on the same number in 1815. Edward

⁵⁶von Doenhoff, "The Vestry Book of Elizabeth City Parish 1751-1784," pp. 2 (6 August 1751), 37 (9 October 1755), 83 (2 August 1759), 136 (19 July 1763), 177 (8 October 1767), 221 (18 September 1771), 261 (24 June 1779), 281 (11 August 1784); Elizabeth City County Land Tax Lists, 1782-1822; Warwick County Land Tax Lists, 1782-1861.

⁵⁷There is evidence that one member of the free black population in Elizabeth City County hired a slave between 1784 and 1786. See Hughes, "Slaves for Hire," p. 264.

Berry owned twenty cattle in 1784, and a year later he paid the assessment on fourteen steers and cows. Berry probably sold four or five head of cattle in 1784 and kept some beef for his family's use. It is possible that Charles Hopson Junior penned his seven cattle on his father's property in 1785. The Elizabeth City County Personal Property Tax Lists indicate that James Berry had between eleven and eighteen head of cattle in the 1780s. Elizabeth Hughson and Elizabeth Sandefur also paid taxes on cattle in this decade.⁵⁸ Cattle proved to be a good investment for the small planter for two reasons. First, poorer agricultural land, like that in much of the central section of Charles Parish, often proved to be good pasture land. In addition, the smaller planter took less of a risk in raising livestock that his family could eat than he did in cultivating a larger amount of commercial crops or experimenting with different grains or vegetables.⁵⁹

Charles's free blacks had other ways of making a living. It is possible that Charles Hopson Senior traded the goods and chattels that he had stored at the mill house of John and Henry Hayward in 1763.⁶⁰ During the Revolutionary War, Edward Cattilla received payment for

⁵⁸York County Personal Property Tax Lists, 1782-1832; Elizabeth City County Personal Property Tax Lists, 1782-1844. A small number of free black women appeared as heads of household on the personal property tax lists for York (8), Elizabeth City (8), and Warwick (4) counties between 1782 and 1830. Both Elizabeth Hughson and Elizabeth Sandefur were widows by 1787 and paid taxes on the cattle that they had inherited from their husbands. A few of the free black women were single, including Charles's Mary Hughson.

⁵⁹See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the soil quality in Charles Parish and Lois Green Carr, Russell R. Menard, and Lorena S. Walsh, Robert Cole's World: Agriculture and Society in Early Maryland, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1991), pp. 46-50, 78, 86-87 on the importance of investing in cattle.

⁶⁰It is unknown if the "chattels" which Charles Hobson Senior stored at the Hayward's mill were moveable goods, slaves, or a combination of the two. The legal definition of chattel is "an article of personal property; any species of property not amounting to a freehold or fee in land." Henry Campbell Black, Black's Law Dictionary. Definitions of the Terms and Phrases of American and English Jurisprudence, Ancient and Modern, With Guide to Pronunciation, 4th ed., (St. Paul, Minnesota: West Publishing Co., 1951), p. 299.

furnishing the Virginia Militia with fodder. Those individuals who were craftsmen used their skills to help support themselves and their families.⁶¹ Abraham and William Francis made shoes for James Hay's orphaned son, John. Thomas Combs helped to build a house for the younger Hay, perhaps from the boards which his son Edmund was paid to move. Another of Thomas's sons, William, made a suit of clothes for the orphan.

Efforts to provide for one's family were not always successful. Black and white parents tried to provide for their black children in order to protect their freedom. John Combs, a white man, bound out two of his mulatto children so that they would learn skills which they could use to support themselves. He showed his concern for his children in May 1720 when he petitioned the York County Court "setting forth that he having bound 2 of his children to Edmd Sweny and that Edmd Sweny hath not given the sd children learning accord to the express words of their indenture...."⁶² Members of the York County court made sure that free black children did not become a burden upon their parish. Francis Hayward informed the county court in 1730 that the son and granddaughter of John Combs "have not due care taken of them as law directs."⁶³ In January 1761, the justices of the peace ordered the churchwardens of Charles Parish to bind out the children of Thomas Combs because he was not able to provide for them and he did not educate them. After his death in 1777, the under-age children of Thomas and his second wife Ann were to be bound out. One of his sons, Willis, was sent to serve

⁶¹After the middle of the eighteenth century, planters on the Eastern Shore tended to turn to slave craftsmen, instead of white and free black artisans. As a result, the free blacks became tenant farmers or hired laborers. Deal, "A Constricted World," p. 291.

⁶²York County Orders and Wills (15) 584, 16 May 1720. There is no evidence of Edmund Sweny's appearance in court to answer this charge.

⁶³York County Orders and Wills (17) 110, 21 September 1730. There is no information about what had happened to Combs's son or granddaughter or who was to care for them.

Abraham Francis in 1787 because the estate which he had received from his father was too small to support him. In 1764, the parish churchwardens bound out Mary Howell's daughter and her son John to Starkey Robinson. The estate which William Spruce left his widow, Betty, in 1774 was not sufficient to provide for his children Mary, Sally, and John.

Entries in the vestry book of Elizabeth City Parish in Elizabeth City County from 1751 to 1784 indicate that free blacks received charity.⁶⁴ The churchwardens made agreements with area residents to provide care for others. In 1754, Thomas Jenings received 400 pounds of tobacco for "keeping Martha Savoy per agreement Church Warden." On occasions, a free black was able to help other free blacks. Mary Combs kept Mary Savoy at her house for five weeks in 1753. Twelve years later, in 1765, Edward Cattilla of Charles Parish boarded old James Berry who probably was his father-in-law. Because Cattilla's account with the Elizabeth City Parish vestry was not settled until 1768, it is possible that he took Berry into his house another time.⁶⁵

Two of the surviving lists of insolvents in Charles that the parish's overseers of the poor took at the end of the eighteenth century included some free black names.⁶⁶ In 1789, Thomas and Edmund Combs,

⁶⁴The vestry book contained the minutes from the vestry meetings and records of the business transacted by the vestrymen in behalf of the parish. For entries from the Bruton Parish vestry book see John C. McCabe, "Sketches of Bruton Parish, Williamsburg, Virginia," American Ecclesiastical History, (1856):587-616; William Archer Rutherford Goodwin, Historical Sketch of Bruton Church Williamsburg, Virginia, (Petersburg, Virginia: The Franklin Press Company, 1903), pp. 41-44; and idem. and Mary Frances Goodwin, ed., The Record of Bruton Parish Church, (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1941), pp. 121-144.

⁶⁵von Doenhoff, "The Vestry Book of Elizabeth City Parish 1751-1784," pp. 23 (11 October 1753), 34 (20 November 1754), 163 (5 December 1765).

⁶⁶After the disestablishment of the Anglican Church, Virginia's legislators created the office of overseer of the poor in October 1785. The duties of this position included providing "for the necessary relief and support of such poor, lame, impotent, blind, and other inhabitants of their said county as are not able to maintain themselves." The overseers of the poor took over some of the churchwardens'

Armiger Hopson, William Francis, and William Hughson appeared on the list. Eight years later, William Combs, William Hughson, and James and William Cattilla were having a hard time making ends meet. On the lists for 1789 and 1797, free blacks represented twelve percent and ten percent of the insolvent residents of Charles, respectively, at a time when they probably made up less than five percent of the parish's black and total populations. (Table 8.2) It was harder for the free blacks to support themselves and their families than it was for the small white planter. It is possible that the free men of color had not been able to find enough work to support themselves and their families for a short time. If the problem had been of a long duration, it is likely that the overseers of the poor in the lower district of York County would have bound out their children as the Charles Parish churchwardens had done in earlier years.

The fact that only a small number of the free black children were bound out over the course of the eighteenth century suggests that the greater part of this group were able to support their families. As a result, their parents did not have to wonder if a master would try to extend an indenture into lifetime servitude as did some black parents who lived on the Eastern Shore, in the Southside, and in other Tidewater counties.⁶⁷ While most of Charles's free blacks did not have possessions similar to Berry's to leave to their children, they did succeed in maintaining the freedom of their families.

This examination of the free blacks who lived in Charles Parish and the surrounding area during the eighteenth century has shown that in

responsibilities (support of illegitimate children, poor, and vagrants) and also the powers of the vestry. Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 12:27-30. See "Insolvents in the lower District for 1789" and "A List of In[solvents & Remov]als in the lower District of York Cty 1797," York County Loose Papers, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia.

⁶⁷See Nicholls, "Passing Through This Troublesome World;" Deal, "A Constricted World;" and Brown, "Gender and the Genesis of a Race and Class System."

spite of the fact that this group made up a small portion of the black and total populations of the area, they were able to create their own neighborhood by the end of the eighteenth century. It took this long for the number of free black residents to be large enough to support a separate neighborhood based upon family and friendship ties within Charles Parish and the surrounding area. In addition, the economic, social, and religious activities in which they were involved indicate that they were part of the larger parish community and that their lives involved more than planting their fields.

It appears that the free status of these black families was recognized by the parish residents. Only William Cattilla Senior had to petition the York County court for his freedom. In April 1695, he stated that he was free because "he was the son of a free woman & was baptized into the Christian faith haveing honestly & truly served his mistres [Margaret Booth] aforesd to his full age of 24 years."⁶⁸ The local magistrates ruled in favor of Cattilla in May of the same year. The fact that churchwardens did not make it a practice to bind out the illegitimate children of free black mothers is another indication that local officials recognized free black families. Free blacks worked hard to support family members, including those who might have been children of slaves.

Many questions remain unanswered. How was it possible for the free black families of the Charles Parish area to create a neighborhood based upon kinship ties and to exchange goods and services with white neighbors when Virginia's society was becoming increasingly stratified on racial grounds in the eighteenth century? What made it possible for the free blacks to be a part of the larger parish community? Why did the whites in Charles recognize the free black families when there were colonial statutes that they could have used to break up these families? Local officials in Elizabeth City County ruled that Ann Wall, a white

⁶⁸York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (10) 137, 6 April 1695.

woman who bore two mulatto children was to "serve Mr. Peter Hobson....(of Norfolk County) the term of five years from ye date hereof and her said two mulatto bastards to serve ye said Hobson in like manner until they attain each of them unto ye age of thirty years as ye law directs....and it is further ordered that in case ye said Ann Wall after she is free from her said master doe at any time presume to come into this county she shall be banished to ye Island of Barbadoes."⁶⁹ The Elizabeth City County justices of the peace imposed the original punishment in the 1691 statute about white women bearing mulatto children on Ann Wall. In contrast, York's local magistrates did not put either Sarah Combs, a mulatto, or her white husband, John Combs, in jail. Evidence from the county records indicates that there was some confusion about their marital status. The county clerk referred to Sarah as the wife of John Combs when she received payment for serving as a witness in 1705. But the grand jury presented Combs for living in fornication in 1707 and again in the following year.⁷⁰ Combs appeared in court once to confess to the charge. In spite of the two presentments, this union appears to have been tolerated by those who

⁶⁹Elizabeth City County (1684-1699) 83, quoted in James Hugo Johnston, Race Relations in Virginia & Miscegenation in the South 1776-1860, (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1970), pp. 175-176.

⁷⁰In 1705, there was some confusion as to whether or not a mulatto was to be treated the same as a negro in regard to the 1691 law that prohibited the marriage of a white and a negro. In September of 1705, Stevens Thompson, the Attorney General, noted that "I am of opinion & do conceive that ye sd Act being Penal is Coercive or restrictive no further then the very letter thereof, and being wholly unacquainted with the Appellations given to ye issue of such mixtures, cannot resolve whether the issue begotten on a White woman by a Mulatto man can properly be called a Mulatto, that name as I conceive being only appropriated to the Child of a Negro man begotten upon a white woman, or by a white man upon a negro woman, and as I am told the issue of a Mulatto by or upon a white Person has another name viz that of, Mustee; wch if so, I conceive it wholly out of the Letter (tho it may be conjectured to be within ye intent) of the sd act, The which (as abovesd. being Penal) is, as I conceive not to be construed beyond ye letter thereof." H. R. McIlwaine, et al., eds., Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, 6 vols., (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1927-1966), 3:28, 16 August 1705; *ibid*, p. 31, 4 September 1705 (quote).

lived near them.

Officials realized that free blacks did not fit neatly into the categories of free white or of enslaved black. In 1699, a colonial legislator noted that he saw a difference between slaves imported from Africa and blacks who had been born in Virginia: "the negroes born in this country are generally baptized and brought up in the Christian religion, but for negroes imported hither, the gross bestiality and rudeness of their manners, the variety and strangeness of their languages, and the weakness and shallowness of their minds, render it in a manner impossible to make any progress in their conversion."⁷¹ It is likely that other Virginians also saw the free black who had been born in the colony in a more favorable light than the slave who had been imported from across the Atlantic or from the Caribbean islands.

The first free black families who established themselves in the Charles Parish area became residents of the lower section of York County during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. It was also during this time that Charles's population became more stable and the majority of its inhabitants were natives of the colony for the first time. When the Cattilla, Francis, Berry, and Hopson families set up homes in the parish they were not trying to become part of a long-standing, rigid community. Both the first free black and white families who would make Charles their home for several generations arrived at a time when the social order was still fluid and it was possible to acquire land.⁷² This fact might have made the local officials more willing to accept the existence of free black families.

⁷¹Minutes of the Council, 2 Jun 1699, Board of Trade of Virginia, vol. liii quoted in Philip A. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century: An Inquiry into the Religious, Moral, Educational, Legal, Military, and Political Condition of the People. Based on Original and Contemporaneous Sources, 2 vols, (New York: G. P. Putnam & Sons, 1910), 1:9.

⁷²Race relations were relatively fluid on the Eastern Shore during the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries. Deal, "A Constricted World," p. 304.

Virginia's legislators passed laws in the 1690s and the 1720s, however, which were designed to prevent the growth of the free black population and to regulate their activities. In the face of this legislation, the free blacks needed something more than their presence in the community for other parish residents to acknowledge their freedom. There is another factor which could have helped to preserve the status of Charles's free blacks. This is the fact that most of the members of this group were able to support themselves. During the eighteenth century, this close-knit group of free blacks in Charles Parish and Warwick and Elizabeth City counties was able to acquire property which in turn enabled them to support their families and maintain their freedom.⁷³ In addition, the skills which several of the men had--shoemaking, tailoring, and building, for example--made it possible for them to become a part of the local network of exchange. Shoemakers, tailors, and carpenters could carry their tools and move around in search of work. If the free black families had not been able to support themselves, it is possible that they would have been particularly open to legal prosecutions for bearing illegitimate children and failing to attend church. This vulnerability was tied to the fact that their freedom did not allow them to hold office or to serve on juries, activities that would enable them to build up connections to county officials who might intervene on their behalf. It is important to note that free persons of color had access to the county courts and the right to petition.

Perhaps the concentration of the free blacks near the dividing

⁷³See T. H. Breen and Stephen Innes, "Myne Owne Ground": Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640-1676, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980) and Deal's critique of their emphasis on the acquisition of land as the key to independence. Deal noted that the position of free blacks became precarious "when Virginians were importing African slaves in ever-increasing numbers and experiencing both expected and novel forms of social unrest. Deal, "A Constricted World," pp. 276, 281, 303. See Johnston, Race Relations in Virginia, p. 55 for discussion of the fact that free black men would offer the fact that they held property as evidence that their children would not be a financial burden if they became free.

line between Charles Parish and Elizabeth City County resulted from the willingness of the white planters in this section of the parish to do business with them. The executors of the fifth Anthony Robinson's estate and the Hay family were two of an unknown number of families who were willing to employ free blacks. It is evident that they were part of the network of local exchange by the 1750s, a time when Eastern Shore blacks faced "an increasingly marginal existence" as a result of the statutes which limited the opportunities open to this group.⁷⁴ In spite of the legal restrictions and the greater association between race and slavery which were in place in Virginia by the middle of the eighteenth century, Charles's free blacks were able to create a place for themselves in the parish which was separate from that of the slaves and to enjoy ties to family and to friends.⁷⁵ In fact, the position of the free blacks, especially Edward Berry, resembled that of the small white planter in the late eighteenth century. Both the free blacks and the small white planters were at the lower end of the economic scale, and while it was possible to provide for their families, they would never attain the wealth or prestige of their more successful, prominent neighbors. Even though the free blacks and the small white planters played an important part in the local economy, the larger planters of the Charles Parish did not accept a person in either group as a social equal or as a friend. There was one important difference between free blacks and small white planters: the right to participate in political

⁷⁴Deal, "A Constricted World," pp. 276-277, 303 (quote), 305.

⁷⁵Russell R. Menard found that "occupational mobility, cultural assimilation, and most important, a growing opportunity for social contact, intimate personal relationships, and a stable family life made slavery a less isolating and dehumanizing experience than it had been in the seventeenth century...as the law of slavery hardened, as white racism deepened, and as the identification of blacks with bondage became firmly ingrained, demographic processes seldom studied by historians of Africans in the Chesapeake region made slavery more tolerable and slaves better able to cope with their oppression." Menard, "The Maryland Slave Population, 1658 to 1730: A Demographic Profile of Blacks in Four Counties," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., XXXII(1975):53-54.

activities.⁷⁶ The exclusion from officeholding and choosing officials prevented free blacks from being full members of the parish community in which they lived, and made them more vulnerable to legal prosecutions. Although the free blacks were part of the economic, social, and religious life in the Charles Parish community, they were not of the community with respect to political affairs. This difference would have made their family ties and the ability to support themselves all the more important to free blacks than similar connections and goals were to small white planters.

⁷⁶In October 1785, Virginia's legislators noted that all white freeholders could vote in elections. The category of a freeholder included men who leased either twenty-five acres of land with a twelve foot square house or fifty acres of unimproved land. Even though the franchise requirements did limit the involvement of some of Charles's small planters in elections, there was always a chance that they could participate in the political process. Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 12:120. For a discussion of the ability of small planters to vote in Virginia after the Revolutionary War, see Robert E. Brown and B. Katherine Brown Virginia, 1705-1786: Democracy or Aristocracy?, (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1964).

CONCLUSION

Between 1630 and 1740, Charles Parish evolved from a new settlement on Virginia's frontier to a community of native-born men, women, and children who had numerous ties to family members, friends, and neighbors. The parish's demographic characteristics hindered the development of a stable community. The high mortality rates in the lower end of York County resulted in short life expectancies for the children born to parish residents: males who reached the age of twenty could expect to see their forty-fifth birthday and their female counterparts could anticipate living to their early forties. Movement in and out of Charles also disrupted the formation of relationships among the parish's inhabitants. There were two periods when out-migration was especially high. First, a number of men left Charles during the 1640s, 1650s, and early 1660s because they had not been able to acquire property in the parish or because they hoped to patent large parcels of fertile land in other areas of the Tidewater. Second, beginning in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the opportunity to obtain land in the Piedmont or the Southside pulled landless younger sons away from Charles. Several of their contemporaries moved to York County's two urban centers, Yorktown and Williamsburg.

Many of the men and women who decided to make their permanent homes in Charles found that their land was not very productive because of its poor soil quality. Residents learned how to adapt to the limitations of their plantations: the men who owned the swampy, marshy land along the Chesapeake Bay realized its potential as a grazing area for cattle and other livestock; several of the residents of the parish's

middle section became craftsmen and ordinary keepers; and the families who possessed property along the inland courses of the New Poquoson River built water grist mills. The parish's planters had smaller tobacco crops and profits than their counterparts in the upper end of York County did. As a result, Charles's residents lagged behind planters in Bruton and Yorkhampton parishes in the acquisition of material goods and slaves.

Why did men and women chose to stay in Charles, an unhealthy area that had unproductive land? The answer lies in the relationships that the parish's residents had with family members, friends and neighbors. The males and females in the lower end of York County chose to associate with individuals who lived near their homes even though there were no geographic barriers that restricted travel in the parish. The decision to concentrate activities in a small area led to the formation of neighborhoods within the parish community. The five neighborhoods in Charles--Calthorpe's Neck, Central, Eastern, Chisman's Creek, and Western--developed at different rates as a result of the differences in the backgrounds of the initial settlers, the length of time that they made their homes in the lower end of York County, and their abilities to use their land. By the end of the seventeenth century, the parish had five distinct sections that reflected each district's characteristics. During the first four decades of the eighteenth century, the lines that separated the neighborhoods blurred as residents became connected to contemporaries in all areas of the parish.

Personal ties served as an informal means of providing Charles with a sense of order and security. Local-, county-, and colony-level governmental institutions provided a formal way of structuring life in the parish. First, Charles's leaders worked to establish stability in the lower end of York County during the initial period of settlement. After they accomplished this goal, they turned their attention to the job of maintaining the social order. During the seventeenth century,

the prominent residents who served in county- and colony-level positions were removed from the daily activities of their neighborhood and parish. The middling planters who held the local-level positions of constable and surveyor of the highway were the power brokers in their district. Neighbors called on local-level officials to witness deeds and to stand as securities on bonds. After the second quarter of the eighteenth century, males from Charles's leading families began to serve in local-level positions and became the powerful figures in their neighborhoods and parish because they did not receive appointments to positions in the colonial government.

The local-level officials, whether they were men from middling or wealthy families, differed from other parish residents because of their position at the top of Charles's social order. The males and females, old and young, who were at the bottom of the social hierarchy had few hopes of improving their position in the parish. Out-migration provided Charles's poor individuals with their best opportunity to increase their wealth. The encounters between the unsuccessful and prosperous inhabitants at the meetings of the county court reflected the tenuous, dependent position of former group and the power of the latter group. On one hand, Charles's impoverished residents relied upon the justices of the peace for financial assistance and to oversee orphaned children. Bound laborers petitioned the local magistrates if they believed that their master violated the terms of their indenture. The members of the county bench gave needy persons poor relief if they were not idle, cared for orphans, and ruled in favor of servants who proved their cases. On the other hand, the justices of the peace viewed the men, women, and children at the bottom of the parish's social order as the individuals who were most likely to behave immorally and to disrupt the social order. The majority of the females presented by the parish churchwardens and grand jurors for committing fornication or bearing an illegitimate child were servants. Poor men accounted for the greater

proportion of the males presented for failing to help clear roads, to pay their tithes, or to attend church.

Gender roles separated Charles's female residents from the parish's leaders. Although Virginia's legal system restricted women from taking an active role in government as an official or as a jury member, justices of the peace and Charles's local-level officials depended upon the females who lived in the lower end of York County to participate in public life. The world of the parish's women encompassed more than their dwelling houses and the surrounding land; it extended past their homes to include their neighborhoods and parish. Women interacted with their friends and neighbors as well as with their families and relatives. Charles's females participated in activities such as visiting neighbors and insuring the welfare of children that connected them with men. The women also had ties to members of their own sex that were separate from those they had to men.

There were also racial differences among the free residents of the lower end of York County. Charles's local leaders accepted the presence of a group of free blacks. The parish's free people of color were able to support themselves and to create a place for themselves in the lower end of York County which was separate from that of the slaves and to enjoy ties to family and to friends because they were able to support themselves. There was one important difference between free blacks and small white planters: the right to participate in political activities. The exclusion from officeholding and choosing officials prevented free blacks from being full members of the parish community in which they lived, and made them more vulnerable to legal prosecutions. As a result, it is likely that ties to family friends, and neighbors and the ability to support themselves were more important to free blacks than similar connections and goals were to small white planters.

The parish's high mortality rates and the mobility of residents made ties to friends and neighbors important to all the men and women

who lived in Charles. During the initial thirty years of settlement in the lower end of York County, the individuals who had ties to family and friends were more likely to make Charles their permanent home than were those persons who arrived in the parish on their own. In the eighteenth century, connections to neighbors continued to add a degree of security to the lives of the parish's residents. The shift in local power from the middling planters to the wealthy men that took place in the second quarter of the eighteenth century enlarged the prestige and the importance of local-level activities and the parish's neighborhoods.

After 1740, the ties that connected Charles's five districts continued to grow and began to extend to the adjoining counties of Elizabeth City and Warwick. The parish's men and women had family, friendship, and economic connections to contemporaries throughout Charles and in the adjoining counties of Warwick and Elizabeth City. The bonds joined the parish and two counties into one neighborhood. A November 1796 petition from the residents of the lower end of the Peninsula pointed out the connections that bound them together. The residents of Charles, Elizabeth City, and Warwick counties petitioned the House of Delegates because they could no longer use the "public landing at the said [Roes] Warehouse which was found to be of great Utility to the good people of this Neighbourhood...." Adam Craig, the owner of the property upon which the landing stood, "has thought fit to stop up the road leading to the said Warehouse landing, and has thereby deprived your Petitioners of the Benefit of the said landing...." and caused economic hardship for his neighbors. The petitioners included a second reason why the road should be opened and declared a public highway: "Charles parish Church stands within a half mile of the said Warehouse landing, and as this part of the Country is much intersected with Rivers and Creeks, the Inhabitants of the said parish will find a great convenience in coming to their Church by water to the said landing...." Even after the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in

1784, the Charles Parish church continued to play an important role in the lives of the residents of the lower end of York County.¹

During the Post-Revolutionary period, the residents of Charles continued to turn to their neighbors because connections to friends and neighbors added a sense of security to the lives of Charles's men and women. The parish, like other areas in the Tidewater region, experienced a high level of out-migration in the 1780s and the 1790s. Younger sons and landless men left Charles for the state's newer valley counties, Kentucky, the Carolinas and Georgia because they believed that the economic opportunity in these areas was greater than that in the lower end of York County.² The fathers, mothers, and siblings who stayed in Charles turned to their friends and neighbors for assistance, just as their counterparts in the mid-seventeenth century and in second quarter of the eighteenth century had done. The lives of the parish's Post-Revolutionary residents were more secure because they had a greater number of people whom they considered to be their neighbors because of the growth in family, friendship, and economic ties that joined Charles's inhabitants to each other and to their contemporaries in Elizabeth City and Warwick counties.

¹York County Petitions (1777-1858) 19 November 1796. One hundred and twenty-one men, including members of the Hayward, Presson, Robinson, Roberts, Drewry, Holloway, Parsons, Kerby, Moore, Patrick, Hunt, and Burnham families signed the petition. Some of Charles's residents belonged to Methodist and Baptist churches by the early nineteenth century. See The History of the Tabernacle Methodist Church, (Poquoson, Virginia: Tabernacle Methodist Church, 1967), pp. 13-14, 16, 19; and York County Guardian Accounts (1823-1846), pp. i, ii, iii.

²Peter J. Albert found that only thirty-seven percent of the names on the 1785 York County Land Tax List appeared on the 1795 List. An equal proportion of the individuals on the 1795 List were on the roll taken in 1805. Just thirteen percent of the 1785 landholders held property in 1805. Peter J. Albert, "The Protean Institution: The Geography, Economy, and Ideology of Slavery in Post-Revolutionary Virginia," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1976), chapter 2.

APPENDIX 1, SECTION 1

METHODOLOGY

The organization of my study of Charles Parish reflects the methodologies used by Chesapeake historians. I formulated a set of assumptions, based on my reading of the secondary literature on colonial Virginia and Maryland and the York County records.¹ I used these assumptions as guidelines to help me organize my data and formulate questions.

1. "community" has several definitions
2. relationships among people, not geographic boundaries, defined a community and the neighborhoods within a community
3. associations with neighbors and friends were the product of conscious decisions
4. not all associations were of equal importance to those involved
5. not all associations involved social equals
6. both consensus and dissention characterized communities
7. an examination of the external connections of the residents of Charles Parish will help to place this community in a larger context
8. family relationships were important
9. the location of an individual's residence had an influence on his/her associations
10. social change did not take place at the same pace in the parish's neighborhoods

¹See especially Darrett B. Rutman, "The Social Web: A Prospectus for the Study of the Early American Community," in William L. O'Neill, ed., Insights and Parallels: Problems and Issues of American History, (Minneapolis, 1973), pp. 57-123; idem., "Community Study," Historical Methods, 13(1980):29-41; Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia 1650-1750, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984); idem., A Place in Time: Explicatus, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984).

I decided to use the prosopographic method in my study of colonial Charles Parish. Lawrence Stone described prosopography as "the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives. The method employed is to establish a universe to be studied, and then to ask a set of uniform questions--about birth and death, marriage and family, social origins and inherited economic position, place of residence, education, amount and source of personal wealth, occupation, religion, experience of office, and so on. The various types of information about the individuals in the universe are then juxtaposed and combined, and are examined for significant variables." Prosopography can be used "to make sense of political action, to help explain ideological or cultural change, to identify social reality, and to describe and analyze with precision the structure of society and the degree and the nature of the movements within it. Invented as a tool of political history, it is now being increasingly employed by the social historians."²

I could have used aggregate analysis to study the men and women of Charles Parish. With it, the historian works with totals of events, such as births, deaths, and marriages. This method is well-suited to projects which deal with one main category of records as the work done by members of the St. Mary's City Commission on wealth distribution shows.³ The aggregate approach to analysis illuminates general trends. In his explanation of how to use aggregate analysis to study Anglican

²Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography," in Felix Gilbert and Stephen R. Graubard, eds., Historical Studies Today, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1972), pp. 107-140; quotations from pp. 107, 108.

³See for example, Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "Inventories and the Analysis of Wealth and Consumption Patterns in St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1658-1777," Historical Methods, XIII(1980):81-104; idem., "The Standard of Living in the Colonial Chesapeake," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., XLV(1988):135-159; Lorena S. Walsh, "Urban Amenities and Rural Sufficiency: Living Standards and Consumer Behavior in the Colonial Chesapeake," Journal of Economic History, XLIII(1983):109-117.

birth, death, and marriage registers, D. E. C. Eversley noted that

the crude birth, death and marriage rates should produce at any rate a general outline of movements for the group of parishes under investigation. As has already been pointed out, such measures cannot go very far in explaining the network of interaction between population and economy. They mainly serve to pinpoint with greater precision the years and places of change--the crises of subsistence, the epidemics and other sudden catastrophes; and in arriving at them we shall probably have discovered the period of immigration and emigration; the impact of Nonconformity, and other long-term basic structural changes in the local community.⁴

Aggregate analysis points out changes in the area under study, but it does not explain the changes or the causes of the developments. In addition, the final product of the analysis does not allow a historian to examine and explain the actions of individuals. While the prosopographic approach is more time-consuming than the aggregate analysis, it is better suited to a project which includes several types of records and is designed to explore the associations, both personal and business, among the residents of Charles Parish.⁵

My examination of the development of the Charles Parish community and its neighborhoods covers the years from 1630 until the end of the 1730s. In 1630, the Crown allowed colonists to move into the area that became York County. Settlers, both those new to Virginia and those who had lived in the Elizabeth City, Warwick, and James City settlements before moving up the peninsula to Charles, patented 14,015 acres by the end of the 1630s.⁶ There are two reasons for a cut-off date of 1740.

⁴D. E. C. Eversley, "Exploitation of Anglican Parish Registers by Aggregative Analysis," in E. A. Wrigley, ed., An Introduction to English Historical Demography From the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century, (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966), pp. 86-87. See also Alan MacFarlane in collaboration with Sarah Harrison and Charles Jardine, Reconstructing Historical Communities, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

⁵MacFarlane, Reconstructing Historical Communities.

⁶Annie Lash Jester comp. and ed. with Martha Woodroof Hiden, Adventurers of Purse and Person VIRGINIA 1607-1625, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), p. 127; Richard L. Morton, Colonial Virginia, 2 vols., (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Virginia Historical Society, 1960), pp. 122-125; Peter V. Bergstrom, "A

First, the inhabitants of Charles petitioned the Burgesses in 1742 to have their parish enlarged. Even though the Burgesses rejected the request,⁷ it is important to know that it had been made. The fact that the residents wanted to make this change suggests that the original boundaries of the parish community no longer met their needs. Also, after the decade of the 1730s the county clerk recorded fewer details in the record books, thus making it difficult to identify individuals and to find the connections among the parish residents.

I constructed biographies for the men, women, and children whom I identified as residents of the parish.⁸ My main sources were the York County records and the Charles Parish birth and death registers.⁹ I collected the biographical information for each individual in the study group on biographical forms and in computer files. The data base of

Stop Along the Way," (paper presented at the Philadelphia Center for Early American Studies, October, 1986), Table 2.11 "York County Land Grants by Parish, 1632-1699."

⁷H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses, 13 vols., (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1910), 7(1742-1749):47.

⁸I compiled a list of parish residents by reading through the York County records (focusing on the court orders, deeds, and wills) and the Charles Parish birth and death registers. Next, I examined the information in the York County Project Master Biographical File for each name on my list of potential subjects for inclusion in my study group. In this study, the term "resident" refers to free individuals, both black and white, who lived in Charles Parish. I extended the cut-off date for free black males and females beyond 1740 for two reasons. First, I needed information from later documents, especially the York County Personal Property Tax Lists and the York County Land Tax Lists to identify some of the free blacks. Second, I felt it was important to include as many members of this portion of the parish's population in my study so that I would have a sufficient amount of data to analyze.

A copy of the linking and coding manual for the biographical profiles can be found in Appendix 1, Section 2.

⁹I used abstracts of the York County Records and the Charles Parish Birth and Death Registers that are a part of the York County Project Master Biographical File at the Department of Historical Research. The York County Project received two grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities to carry out a prosopographical study of the residents of colonial and early national York County in order to learn about urbanization in the Tidewater section of Virginia. In the course of my study of Charles Parish I updated biographical information on the men, women, and children who lived in the lower end of York County in the Master Biographical File.

Charles Parish residents consists of sixteen separate files:

- Basic Biographical Information
 - Family--Parents and Grandparents
 - Family--Spouses
 - Family--Children
- Rural Residence
- Urban Residence
- Charles Parish Property Holding
- Non-Charles Parish Rural Property Holding
- Urban Property Holding
- Miscellaneous Associations
- Estate-Related Associations
- Guardians and Trustees
- Labor
- Occupation
- Jury Service
- Officeholding

I gathered basic biographical information and rural residential information for every free individual, male and female, white and black, in the study group. I only used the other fourteen files when I found details about an individual that fit into a particular file. The data in each category is in a separate computer file, and I can link the various computer files together by using the identification number that I assigned to each subject.

Another important part of my examination of Charles Parish involved locating where individuals and their families lived. I used the York County deeds, the York County patents, the 1704 rent roll and the 1704 tract map to establish the location of the various tracts in the parish and to make my own maps of the landholders in each decade from 1630 to 1740.¹⁰ The ability to determine where landholders,

¹⁰Colonial Virginians paid quitrents on their acreage to the Crown each year, and the 1704 rent roll list for York County survives. Members of the Department of Historical Research at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation used the 1704 rent roll, the York County deeds, and patents for property in York County to establish the location of each of the tracts named on the 1704 rent roll and to create what is known as "The 1704 Tract Map." See Warren M. Billings, John E. Selby, and Thad W. Tate, Colonial Virginia--A History, (White Plains, New York: KTO Press, 1986), pp. 104,

tenants, and their wives and children had their homes made it possible for me to identify which associations joined family members, friends, and neighbors to each other.

The use of county court records to study neighborhoods and the various associations among residents of a particular area is responsible, in part, for the view that not all residents participated in activities to the same degree. It is known that women and those from the lower levels of the social order did not appear in court records as often as the more prominent white male planters did. There is also a bias towards those individuals who were present in a court over a long period of time because they had more opportunities and needs to attend the monthly meetings of the county court.

Gaps in the York County Court records--from December 1648 to September 1657, January 1662/3 to January 1664/5, July 1676 to March 1677, and December 1754 to December 1758--affected population and officeholding figures in this study.¹¹ The number of males and females who lived in Charles during the first three decades of settlement did not fluctuate as dramatically as the numbers in Table 2.7 make it appear. However, the increases and decreases in these figures would have been larger if I had not been able to use the Charles Parish Birth and Death Registers to identify some of the parish's new residents.¹² It is possible that the imbalance in the sex ratio was not as great as my population figures indicate.

134, 162; "A Rent Roll for the Year 1704," British Public Record Office, London, Colonial Office Papers; C.O. 5/1314:395-435 and J. Mark Ferguson, "Redrawing the Map That Never Was: The 1704 Tract Map," (unpublished report, Department of Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1984).

¹¹The extant court order books begin in July 1633 and the deeds in November of the following year. The county clerk recorded the first will of a Charles Parish decedent in May of 1637. The early court orders contain lists of the justices of the peace but they do not mention the business that the local magistrates conducted.

¹²Table 2.7 can be found in Appendix 2, Section 1.

The missing records affected what I have been able to learn about residents from all levels of the social order. The fact that the greatest gap in the York County records occurs during the time that Charles was first settled makes it impossible to determine if it was possible for a former indentured servant to become a landholder in the lower end of York County or if he had to move on in order to acquire property in his own name. It is likely that officeholders and jurors made up more than between one-tenth and one-quarter of the adult men who lived in Charles Parish, especially during the seventeenth century.¹³

The details and information in the extant York County Court records outweigh the problems that result from the gaps. At least one type of document--court order, deed, will, inventory--survives for each year of my study. In addition, Charles Parish is one of the four areas in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake to have complete enough birth and death registers to allow one to examine life expectancy and population growth.¹⁴ An awareness of the benefits and the problems associated with these two sources enabled me to use both record sets as fully as possible in my examination of Charles Parish between 1630 and 1740.

¹³See Table 5.4 in Appendix 5. The Rutmans found that officeholders and jurors made up almost thirty percent of the adult males in Middlesex County. They included estate appraisers and appraisers of work or labor as officeholders and I did not. See Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, p. 144.

¹⁴The other places are Charles and Somerset counties in Maryland and Christ Church Parish, Middlesex County, Virginia. Russell R. Menard and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Demography of Somerset County, Maryland: A Progress Report," (Chicago: The Newberry Papers in Family and Community History, 1981), p. 3.

APPENDIX 1, SECTION 2
LINKING AND CODING MANUAL

Basic Biographical Information

NAME	_____
IDENT	_____
SEX	___
RACE	___
LITRAT	___
MOIN	___
YRIN	_____
INRES	_____
MOOUT	___
YROUT	_____
OUTRES	_____
YRBIR	_____
MOBIR	___
POBIR	_____
BASTRD	-
YRBAP	_____
MOBAP	___
POBAP	_____
YRDTH	_____
MODTH	___
PODTH	_____

Key to Codes

NAME	Subject's name
IDENT	Subject's identification number
SEX	Subject's sex--male, female, unknown
RACE	Subject's race--white, black, mulatto
LITRAT	Subject's degree of literacy--educated, signed name, made mark
MOIN	First month subject known to have been active in York County
YRIN	First year subject known to have been active in York County
INRES	Subject's residence when first active in York County
MOOUT	Last month subject known to have been active in York County
YROUT	Last year subject known to have been active in York County
OUTRES	Subject's residence when last active in York County
YRBIR	Year of subject's birth--exact year or calculated year

MOBIR	Month of subject's birth--exact month or unknown
POBIR	Location of subject's birth--known location or unknown
BASTRD	Legitimacy of subject's birth--legitimate, illegitimate, or unknown
YRBAP	Year of subject's baptism--exact year or unknown
MOBAP	Month of subject's baptism--exact month or unknown
POBAP	Place of subject's baptism--known location or unknown
YRDTH	Year of subject's death--exact year, calculated year, or unknown
MODTH	Month of subject's death--exact month or unknown
PODTH	Place of subject's death--known location or unknown

Family--Parents and Grandparents

NAME	_____
IDENT	_____
MOTHER	_____
MOMID	_____
FATHER	_____
DADID	_____
MGRANDMOM	_____
MGMIDENT	_____
PGRANDMOM	_____
PGMIDENT	_____
MGRANDDAD	_____
MGDIDENT	_____
PGRANDDAD	_____
PGDIDENT	_____

Key to Codes

NAME	Subject's name
IDENT	Subject's identification number
MOTHER	Subject's mother
MOMID	Identification number of subject's mother
FATHER	Subject's father
DADID	Identification number of subject's father
MGRANDMOM	Subject's maternal grandmother
MGMIDENT	Identification number of subject's maternal grandmother
PGRANDMOM	Subject's paternal grandmother
PGMIDENT	Identification number of subject's paternal grandmother
MGRANDDAD	Subject's maternal grandfather
MGDIDENT	Identification number of subject's maternal grandfather
PGRANDDAD	Subject's paternal grandfather
PGDIDENT	Identification number of subject's paternal grandfather

Family--Spouses

NAME _____
 IDENT _____

 SPOUSE _____
 SPOUSEID _____

 FSTMONTH _____
 FSTYEAR _____
 LSTMONTH _____
 LSTYEAR _____
 NUMCHILD _____

Key to Codes

NAME Subject's name
 IDENT Subject's identification number

 SPOUSE Spouse's name
 SPOUSEID Spouse's identification number

 FSTMONTH First month of marriage
 FSTYEAR First year of marriage
 LSTMONTH Last month of marriage
 LSTYEAR Last year of marriage
 NUMCHILD Number of children

The above information was coded for each of a subject's marriages.

Family--Children

NAME _____
 IDENT _____

 SPOUSE _____
 SPOUSEID _____

 CHILD _____
 CHILDDID _____

Key to Codes

NAME Subject's name
 IDENT Subject's identification number

 SPOUSE Spouse's name
 SPOUSEID Spouse's identification number

 CHILD Child's name
 CHILDDID Child's identification number

The above information was coded for each of a subject's children.

Rural Residence

NAME _____
 IDENT _____

RES _____
 LANDMARK _____

FSTMONTH _____
 FSTYEAR _____
 FIRSTEVID _____

LSTMONTH _____
 LSTYEAR _____
 LASTEVID _____

Key to Codes

NAME Subject's name
 IDENT Subject's identification number

RES Subject's residence
 LANDMARK Landmark identifying subject's residence--upper or lower precinct of Charles Parish, a parish in another county in Virginia, the county in another colony or in England

FSTMONTH First month of residence in a particular location
 FSTYEAR First year of residence in a particular location
 FIRSTEVID Type of evidence used to determine subject's residence--direct statement, landholding, associations with known residents, weak evidence

LSTMONTH Last month of residence in a particular location
 LSTYEAR Last year of residence in a particular location
 LASTEVID Type of evidence used to determine subject's residence--direct statement, landholding, associations with known residents, weak evidence

The above information was coded for each of a subject's rural residences.

Urban Residence

NAME _____
 IDENT _____

RES _____
 LANDMARK _____

FSTMONTH _____
 FSTYEAR _____
 FIRSTEVID _____

LSTMONTH _____
 LSTYEAR _____

LASTEVID _____

Key to Codes

NAME	Subject's name
IDENT	Subject's identification number
RES	Subject's residence
LANDMARK	Landmark identifying subject's residence--subdivision of Williamsburg or Yorktown
FSTMONTH	First month of residence in a particular location
FSTYEAR	First year of residence in a particular location
FIRSTEVID	Type of evidence used to determine subject's residence--direct statement, lotholding, associations with known residents, weak evidence
LSTMONTH	Last month of residence in a particular location
LSTYEAR	Last year of residence in a particular location
LASTEVID	Type of evidence used to determine subject's residence--direct statement, lotholding, associations with known residents, weak evidence

The above information was coded for each of a subject's urban residences.

Charles Parish Propertyholding

NAME	_____
IDENT	_____
MONTH	___
YEAR	_____
ROLE	_____
AMOUNT	_____
LOCATION	_____
TOTALACRES	_____

Key to Codes

NAME	Subject's name
IDENT	Subject's identification number
MONTH	Month subject acquired Charles Parish property
YEAR	Year subject acquired Charles Parish property
ROLE	How subject acquired Charles Parish property
AMOUNT	Number of acres acquired by subject
LOCATION	Location of property in Charles Parish

TOTALACRES Total number of acres in Charles Parish held by subject

The above information was coded for each of a subject's Charles Parish property acquisitions.

Non Charles Parish Rural Propertyholding

NAME _____
 IDENT _____
 MONTH ____
 YEAR ____
 ROLE _____
 AMOUNT _____
 LOCATION _____
 TOTALACRES _____

Key to Codes

NAME Subject's name
 IDENT Subject's identification number
 MONTH Month subject acquired rural property outside of Charles Parish
 YEAR Year subject acquired rural property outside of Charles Parish
 ROLE How subject acquired rural property outside of Charles Parish
 AMOUNT Number of acres acquired by subject
 LOCATION Location of rural property outside of Charles Parish
 TOTALACRES Total number of acres outside of Charles Parish held by subject

The above information was coded for each of a subject's non-Charles Parish rural property acquisitions.

Urban Property-Holding

NAME _____
 IDENT _____
 MONTH ____
 YEAR ____

ROLE _____
 AMOUNT _____
 LOCATION _____
 TOTALLOTS _____

Key to Codes

NAME Subject's name
 IDENT Subject's identification number
 MONTH Month subject acquired urban property
 YEAR Year subject acquired urban property
 ROLE How subject acquired urban property
 AMOUNT Number of lots acquired by subject
 LOCATION Location of urban property
 TOTALLOTS Total number of lots held by subject

The above information was coded for each of a subject's urban property acquisitions.

Miscellaneous Associations

NAME _____
 IDENT _____
 SUBROLE _____
 OTHERPARTY _____
 OPIDENT _____
 OPROLE _____
 RELATIONSP _____
 MONTH _____
 YEAR _____

Key to Codes

NAME Subject's name
 IDENT Subject's identification number
 SUBROLE Subject's role in association
 OTHERPARTY Name of other party in association
 OPIDENT Identification number of other party
 OPROLE Other party's role in association
 RELATIONSP Relationship between subject and other party
 MONTH Month of association
 YEAR Year of association

The above information was coded for each of a subject's miscellaneous associations.

Estate-Related Associations

NAME _____
 IDENT _____
 TYPE _____
 MONTH _____
 YEAR _____
 DECEDENT _____
 DECDIDENT _____
 DECDRES _____
 RELATIONSP _____

Key to Codes

NAME Subject's name
 IDENT Subject's identification number
 TYPE Subject's role in association
 MONTH Month of association
 YEAR Year of association
 DECEDENT Decedent's name
 DECDIDENT Decedent's identification number
 DECDRES Decedent's residence
 RELATIONSP Relationship between subject and decedent

The above information was coded for each of a subject's estate-related associations.

Indentured Servants, Servants, Hired Laborers

NAME _____
 IDENT _____
 MASTER _____
 MSTRIDENT _____
 FSTMONTH _____
 FSTYEAR _____
 LSTMONTH _____
 LSTYEAR _____
 REASONEND _____

Key to Codes

NAME	Subject's name
IDENT	Subject's identification number
MASTER	Master's name
MSTRIDENT	Master's identification number
FSTMONTH	First month of service
FSTYEAR	First year of service
LSTMONTH	Last month of service
LSTYEAR	Last year of service
REASONEND	Reason for the end of the master-servant association

The above information was coded for each of a subject's masters.

Guardians and Trustees

NAME	_____
IDENT	_____
WARD	_____
WARDID	_____
RELATIONSP	_____
HOWNAMED	_____
FSTMONTH	__
FSTYEAR	____
LSTMONTH	__
LSTYEAR	____
REASONEND	_____

Key to Codes

NAME	Subject's name
IDENT	Subject's identification number
WARD	Ward's name
WARDID	Ward's identification number
RELATIONSP	Relationship between guardian/trustee and ward
HOWNAMED	How the guardian/trustee was named
FSTMONTH	First month of guardianship
FSTYEAR	First year of guardianship
LSTMONTH	Last month of guardianship
LSTYEAR	Last year of guardianship
REASONEND	Reason for the end of the guardian/trustee-ward relationship

The above information was coded for each of a subject's wards.

Occupations

NAME _____
 IDENT _____
 OCCUPATION _____
 FSTMONTH ____
 FSTYEAR ____
 LSTMONTH ____
 LSTYEAR ____

Key to Codes

NAME Subject's name
 IDENT Subject's identification number
 OCCUPATION Subject's occupation
 FSTMONTH First month subject practiced occupation
 FSTYEAR First year subject practiced occupation
 LSTMONTH Last month subject practiced occupation
 LSTYEAR Last year subject practiced occupation

The above information was coded for each of a subject's occupations.

Jury Service

NAME _____
 IDENT _____
 TYPEJURY _____
 NOSESSIONS ____
 FOREMAN ____

Key to Codes

NAME Subject's name
 IDENT Subject's identification number
 TYPEJURY Type of jury--petit, inquest, grand inquest, grand, or
 land survey
 YEAR Year of jury service
 NOSESSIONS Number of sessions in which subject served as a juror

FOREMAN Number of times subject served as a jury foreman

The above information was coded for each year of a subject's jury service.

Officeholding

NAME _____
 IDENT _____
 OFFICE _____
 FSTMONTH ___
 FSTYEAR ___
 LSTMONTH ___
 LSTYEAR ___

Key to Codes

NAME Subject's name
 IDENT Subject's identification number
 OFFICE Office held by subject
 FSTMONTH First month of officeholding
 FSTYEAR First year of officeholding
 LSTMONTH Last month of officeholding
 LSTYEAR Last year of officeholding

The above information was coded for each of a subject's offices

Notes

"Active in York County" is defined as appearing in York County Court. One who was active in York County did not have to be a resident of York County.

"First Month" and "First Year" refers to the first date that there was evidence of a subject's residence (rural and/or urban), marriage, occupation, service as a guardian/trustee, service as a servant, property-holding (rural and/or urban), or officeholding. It is possible that a subject lived in a particular location, took a spouse, practiced an occupation, acted as a guardian/trustee, worked for another, held property, or served as a local official at an earlier date than that recorded in the extant York County records.

"Last Month" and "Last Year" refers to the last date that there was

evidence of a subject's residence (rural and/or urban), marriage, occupation, service as a guardian/trustee, service as a servant, property-holding (rural and/or urban), or officeholding. It is possible that a subject lived in a particular location, was married to his or her spouse, practiced an occupation, acted as a guardian/trustee, worked for another, held property, or served as a local official at a later date than that recorded in the extant York County records.

APPENDIX 2, SECTION 1
TABLES FOR CHAPTER 2

Table 2.1

Life Expectancy of Males Born in the Colonial Chesapeake

Age	Born in Middlesex County, Va., By 1730	Born in Surry County, Va., 1650-1680	Born in Charles County, Md., 1652-1699	Immigrants to Charles County, in 17th Century	Immigrants to Lower Eastern Shore, Born 1610-1660 ¹	Born in Somerset County, Md., 1650-1711	Born in Southern Maryland, 1690-1729
20	25.0	31.79	26.0	22.7	23.9	30.5	35.3
25	22.6	26.79	22.7	21.4	21.3	26.4	----
30	20.2	23.71	20.4	17.4	17.3	22.3	28.8
35	18.0	20.88	18.0	15.0	16.1	19.2	----
40	15.8	17.87	15.6	13.2	14.3	16.7	22.8
45	13.8	14.29	14.5	11.8	13.6	14.8	----
50	11.8	13.09	12.0	10.3	10.0	13.4	17.2
55	10.0	10.43	10.6	8.8	8.8	10.7	----
60	8.1	8.92	9.3	10.0	8.3	8.6	12.2
65	6.5	7.07	9.4	8.7	6.7	6.2	----
70	5.2	4.15	7.0	5.5	5.0	8.2	7.7
75	4.1	4.68	3.5	2.8	----	7.4	----
80	3.7	3.33	----	----	----	5.6	----
85	----	2.50	----	----	----	----	----

Sources: Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Explicatus, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984), p. 52; Kevin P. Kelly, Economic and Social Development of Seventeenth-Century Surry County, Virginia, (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1989), pp. 206-207; Lorena S. Walsh and Russell R. Menard, "Death in the Chesapeake: Two Life Tables for Men in Early Colonial Maryland," Maryland Historical Magazine, LXIX(1974):213-214; Russell R. Menard and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Demography of Somerset County, Maryland: A Progress Report," (Chicago: The Newberry Papers in Family and Community History, 1981), pp. 30-31; Allan Kulikff, "Tobacco and Slaves: Population, Economy, and Society in Eighteenth-Century Prince George's County, Maryland," (Ph. D. dissertation, Brandeis University, 1976), pp. 439-440.

1. Arrived in the Lower Eastern Shore of Maryland between 1630 and 1680; age=22 years.

Table 2.2
Life Expectancy of Males Born in Colonial New England

Age	Born in 17th Century Salem, Mass.	Born in 17th Century Plymouth, Mass.	Born in Andover, Mass., 1640-1669	Born in Ipswich, Mass., and Married Before 1700
20	36.1	48.2	44.3	45.0
30	29.2	40.0	40.8	----
40	24.1	31.2	32.7	30.0
50	19.1	23.7	23.5	23.1
60	14.5	16.3	16.4	16.1
70	10.0	9.9	10.3	9.5

Sources: Maris A. Vinovskis, "Mortality Rates and Trends in Massachusetts Before 1860," Journal of Economic History, XXXII(1972):198-199; Philip J. Greven, Jr., Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1970), pp. 192, 195; John Demos, A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 192; Susan L. Norton, "Population Growth in Colonial American: A Study of Ipswich, Massachusetts," Population Studies, XXV(1971):440-441.

Table 2.3

York County Population During the Seventeenth Century	
1634	510 men, women, and children
1644	609 tithables
1662	1140 tithables 2300 residents, approximately 1900 white men, women, and children
1668	1900 residents, just over 1600 white men, women, and children
mid 1670s	average of 940 tithables a year
1680 to 1698	approximately 2500 residents
1682	2150 white men, women, and children
1697	1718 white men, women, and children
1698	1093 tithables 463 adult free white men 24 adult unfree white males 606 adult black men and women 390 adult white women 536 white male children 510 white female children 328 slave children
1699	1909 men, women, and children (excluding Bruton Parish)
1701	2075 white men, women, and children

Source: Kevin P. Kelly, "A Demographic Description of Seventeenth-Century York County, Virginia."

Table 2.4
York County Tithables, 1648 - 1763

YEAR	TITHABLES	YEAR	TITHABLES
1648	[561/562]	1686	995
1657	1009	1687	928
1658	993	1688	995
1659	898		
1660	949	1690	1003
1661	1055	1691	1020
1662	1140	1692	1039
1665	1024	1693	1040
1666	917	1694	1037
1667	938	1695	1010
1668	886	1696	992
		1697	970
1670	930	1698	1093
1671	954	1699	1113
1672	944		
1673	961	1700	1180
1674	957	1701	1208
1675	962	1702	1244
1677	934	1703	1279
1678	938	1705	1762
1679	885	1706	1415
1680	1037	1708	1448
1681	1086		
1682	1041	1710	1370
1683	1034	1711	1389
1684	1003	1712	1406
1685	994		

Table 2.4, continued

YEAR	TITHABLES	YEAR	TITHABLES
1713	1398	1738	1823
1714	1404	1739	1813
1715	1445		
1716	1435	1740	1838
1717	1461	1741	1834
1718	1397	1741	1864
1719	1389	1742	1864
		1743	1876
1720	1401	1744	1953
1721	1439	1745	1952
1723	1503	1746	1994
1724	1618	1747	2054
1725	1625	1748	1980
1726	1778	1749	2024
1727	1622		
1728	1690	1750	2051
1729	1760	1751	2110
1730	1790	1752	2121
		1753	2097
1731	1715	1754	2150
1732	1741	1759	2352
1733	1700		
1734	1773	1760	2421
1735	1773	1761	2446
1736	1753	1762	2528
1737	1754	1763	2607

Source: York County Court Records.

Table 2.5

Annual Growth of Tithables During the Seventeenth Century

County	Year and Number of Tithables	Rate of Growth
Accomack	1663 (409) - 1700 (1041)	r=.025
Henrico	1674 (374) - 1700 (863)	r=.032
Lancaster	1653 (384) - 1664 (968)	r=.084
	1658 (534) - 1664 (968)	r=.099
	1670 (459) - 1700 (926)	r=.023
Middlesex	1672 (509) - 1700 (814)	r=.016
Norfolk	1642 (324) - 1652 (482)	r=.039
	1642 (324) - 1690 (1097)	r=.014
Northampton	1644 (346) - 1662 (707)	r=.032
	1666 (424) - 1700 (693)	r=.014
Northumberland	1652 (390) - 1663 (877)	r=.073
	1656 (317) - 1663 (877)	r=.145
	1673 (504) - 1700 (1163)	r=.029
Surry	1674 (383) - 1700 (745)	r=.025
York	1634 (371) - 1644 (609)	r=.049
	1668 (886) - 1697 (970)	r=.003

Source: Kevin P. Kelly, "A Demographic Description of Seventeenth-Century York County, Virginia," "Table 1. Annual Growth of Tithables: Selected Virginia Counties."

Table 2.6
 Estimate of White, Black, and Total York County Population

Year	Tith-ables	York Cnty. Militia Total	Est. of of White Males 16+	Est. Of Black Adults	Black % of Total Tithables	Est. Non-Tithable Whites	Est. Non-Tithable Blacks	Est. Total Pop-ulation	% Black
1701	1201	390	495	713	59.4%	1243	285	2736	36.5
1703	1279	519	581	698	54.6%	1461	279	3019	32.4
1708	1448	530	605	843	58.2%	1520	337	3305	35.7
1726	1778	551	630	1148	64.6%	1674	649	4101	43.8
1750	2051	---	553	1498	73.0%	1537	1102	4690	55.4
1755	2150	---	562	1567	72.9%	1576	1473	5178	58.7
1776	2000	409	409	1591	79.6%	1194	1273	4467	64.3

Source: Kevin P. Kelly, "The People of York County in the Eighteenth Century," "Table 2. Estimate of White, Black, and Total York County Population."

Table 2.7
Charles Parish Population, 1630-1740

Year	Charles Parish Pop.	3 Year Running Average	Men	3 Year Running Average	% of Charles Parish Pop.	Women	3 Year Running Average	% of Charles Parish Pop.	Sex = Unk.
1630	1	----	1	----	100.00	0	----	----	0
1631	1	3.00	1	2.33	.67	0	.67	.33	0
1632	7	5.00	5	4.00	.80	2	1.00	.20	0
1633	7	7.00	6	5.67	.86	1	1.33	.14	0
1634	7	8.67	6	7.33	.89	1	1.33	.11	0
1635	12	18.33	10	15.67	.84	2	2.67	.16	0
1636	36	29.00	31	24.33	.83	5	4.67	.17	0
1637	39	40.33	32	34.33	.85	7	6.00	.15	0
1638	46	44.00	40	37.67	.86	6	6.33	.14	0
1639	47	47.00	41	41.00	.87	6	6.00	.13	0
1640	48	44.67	42	38.67	.87	6	6.00	.13	0
1641	39	42.33	33	36.67	.86	6	5.67	.14	0
1642	40	39.00	35	33.67	.87	5	5.33	.13	0
1643	38	41.67	33	36.67	.88	5	5.33	.12	0
1644	47	50.33	41	44.00	.88	6	6.33	.12	0
1645	66	72.67	58	63.33	.88	8	9.33	.12	0
1646	105	90.33	91	78.67	.87	14	11.67	.13	0
1647	100	107.33	87	90.67	.86	13	16.67	.16	0
1648	117	93.33	94	77.00	.83	23	16.33	.17	0
1649	63	83.00	50	66.33	.80	13	16.67	.20	0
1650	69	68.67	55	54.67	.80	14	14.00	.20	0
1651	74	83.00	59	59.67	.81	15	16.00	.19	0
1652	84	83.00	65	64.00	.77	19	19.00	.23	0
1653	91	95.67	68	70.00	.73	23	25.67	.27	0
1654	112	110.67	77	78.00	.71	35	32.67	.29	0
1655	129	120.00	89	83.00	.69	40	37.00	.31	0
1656	119	127.67	83	87.67	.69	36	40.00	.31	0
1657	135	140.67	91	96.00	.68	44	44.67	.32	0
1658	168	155.33	114	107.00	.69	54	48.33	.31	0
1659	163	167.67	116	116.67	.70	47	51.00	.30	0
1660	172	175.33	120	121.00	.69	52	54.00	.31	0
1661	191	189.67	127	129.00	.68	63	60.33	.32	1

Table 2.7, continued

Year	Charles Parish Pop.	3 Year Running Average	Men	3 Year Running Average	% of Charles Parish Pop.	Women	3 Year Running Average	% of Charles Parish Pop.	Sex = Unk.
1662	206	192.33	140	128.00	.67	66	64.00	.33	0
1663	180	193.33	117	127.67	.66	63	65.67	.34	0
1664	194	202.33	126	128.67	.63	68	73.66	.37	0
1665	233	221.67	143	140.00	.63	90	81.67	.37	0
1666	238	248.33	151	155.67	.62	87	92.67	.38	0
1667	274	265.00	173	167.33	.63	101	97.67	.37	0
1668	283	289.33	178	181.67	.63	105	107.67	.37	0
1669	311	307.33	194	194.33	.63	117	113.00	.37	0
1670	328	329.67	211	209.33	.64	117	120.33	.36	0
1671	350	338.67	223	218.33	.65	127	120.33	.35	0
1672	338	351.33	221	228.00	.66	117	120.67	.34	0
1673	366	359.33	240	234.67	.65	124	123.67	.34	2
1674	374	385.00	243	251.33	.65	130	132.67	.34	1
1675	415	404.00	271	259.00	.64	144	144.67	.36	0
1676	423	419.33	263	265.67	.63	160	153.67	.37	0
1677	420	422.67	263	262.67	.62	157	160.00	.38	0
1678	425	430.33	262	266.00	.62	163	164.00	.38	0
1679	446	429.67	273	265.67	.62	172	163.67	.38	1
1680	418	429.33	262	264.67	.62	156	164.33	.38	0
1681	424	424.33	259	261.67	.62	165	162.33	.38	0
1682	431	430.00	264	262.67	.61	166	167.00	.39	1
1683	435	439.67	265	267.67	.61	170	171.67	.39	0
1684	453	449.33	274	273.67	.61	179	175.67	.39	0
1685	460	459.00	282	280.00	.61	178	179.00	.39	0
1686	464	472.00	284	288.00	.61	180	184.00	.39	0
1687	492	477.67	298	292.33	.61	194	185.33	.39	0
1688	477	479.33	295	294.00	.62	182	185.33	.38	0
1689	469	481.33	289	293.33	.61	180	188.00	.39	0
1690	498	502.00	296	303.00	.60	202	199.00	.40	0
1691	539	529.00	324	314.00	.59	215	215.00	.41	0
1692	550	553.33	322	328.67	.59	228	224.67	.41	0
1693	571	560.00	340	333.33	.59	231	226.67	.41	0
1694	559	562.33	338	338.00	.60	221	224.33	.40	0

Table 2.7, continued

Year	Charles Parish Pop.	3 Year Running Average	Men	3 Year Running Average	% of Charles Parish Pop.	Women	3 Year Running Average	% of Charles Parish Pop.	Sex = Unk.
1695	557	555.00	336	337.33	.60	221	219.67	.40	0
1696	555	555.33	338	335.33	.60	217	220.00	.40	0
1697	554	558.00	332	336.67	.60	222	221.33	.40	0
1698	565	554.33	340	335.00	.60	225	219.33	.40	0
1699	544	554.33	333	338.33	.61	211	215.67	.39	0
1700	554	543.00	342	332.33	.61	211	210.00	.39	1
1701	531	529.00	322	324.33	.61	208	204.00	.39	1
1702	502	507.00	309	310.67	.61	193	195.67	.39	0
1703	488	495.00	301	305.33	.62	186	189.33	.38	1
1704	495	499.00	306	306.67	.62	189	192.00	.38	0
1705	514	503.67	313	311.33	.62	201	192.33	.38	0
1706	502	512.00	315	318.00	.62	187	194.00	.38	0
1707	520	514.33	326	321.67	.62	194	192.67	.38	0
1708	521	523.00	324	327.00	.63	197	196.00	.37	0
1709	528	529.00	331	330.33	.63	197	198.33	.37	0
1710	538	535.67	336	334.67	.62	201	200.67	.37	1
1711	541	542.67	337	338.67	.62	204	203.67	.38	0
1712	549	550.00	343	343.00	.62	206	207.00	.38	0
1713	560	559.33	349	345.67	.62	211	213.67	.38	0
1714	569	561.00	345	345.67	.62	224	215.33	.38	0
1715	554	563.00	343	346.33	.62	211	216.33	.38	0
1716	566	568.33	351	347.67	.61	214	220.33	.39	1
1717	585	579.00	349	354.33	.61	236	224.33	.39	0
1718	586	563.67	363	347.33	.62	223	216.33	.38	0
1719	520	547.00	330	341.67	.63	190	205.33	.37	0
1720	535	514.00	332	321.33	.62	203	192.67	.38	0
1721	487	503.67	302	310.00	.62	185	193.67	.38	0
1722	489	488.33	296	300.33	.62	193	188.00	.38	0
1723	489	483.00	303	296.67	.61	186	186.33	.39	0
1724	471	477.33	291	295.33	.62	180	182.00	.38	0
1725	472	472.33	292	289.00	.61	180	183.33	.39	0
1726	474	472.67	284	287.00	.61	190	185.67	.39	0
1727	472	466.67	285	282.67	.61	187	184.00	.39	0
1728	454	462.33	279	281.00	.61	175	181.00	.39	0

Table 2.7, continued

Year	Charles Parish Pop.	3 Year Running Average	Men	3 Year Running Average	% of Charles Parish Pop.	Women	3 Year Running Average	% of Charles Parish Pop.	Sex = Unk.
1729	461	458.00	279	280.33	.61	181	177.33	.39	1
1730	459	467.00	283	286.00	.61	176	180.67	.39	0
1731	481	475.67	296	292.00	.61	185	183.67	.39	0
1732	487	481.67	297	295.67	.61	190	186.00	.39	0
1733	477	482.67	294	296.33	.61	183	186.33	.39	0
1734	484	480.33	298	293.33	.61	186	187.00	.39	0
1735	480	468.33	288	284.00	.61	192	184.33	.39	0
1736	441	450.67	266	271.67	.60	175	179.00	.40	0
1737	431	431.33	261	260.67	.60	170	170.67	.40	0
1738	422	425.33	255	255.00	.60	167	170.33	.40	0
1739	423	420.67	249	252.00	.60	174	168.67	.40	0
1740	417	-----	252	-----	.60	165	-----	.40	0

Source: Biographical Files

Table 2.8
Charles Parish Population Changes by Year

Year	Charles Parish Population	Number First In Charles Parish	Recorded Births	Number Last In Charles Parish	Recorded Deaths
1630	1	1	0	0	0
1631	1	0	0	0	0
1632	7	7	0	3	0
1633	7	4	0	2	0
1634	7	2	0	0	0
1635	12	5	0	2	0
1636	36	25	0	10	0
1637	39	12	0	7	0
1638	46	15	0	9	0
1639	47	13	0	9	0
1640	48	11	0	8	0
1641	39	0	0	4	0
1642	40	4	0	4	0
1643	38	4	0	1	0
1644	47	9	0	1	0
1645	66	21	0	10	0
1646	105	50	0	28	0
1647	100	24	0	22	0
1648	117	28	1	54	0
1649	63	1	1	0	0
1650	69	4	1	0	0
1651	74	4	0	5	0
1652	84	12	3	7	0
1653	91	15	3	3	0
1654	112	25	2	8	0
1655	129	26	1	18	0
1656	119	16	2	11	0
1657	135	28	4	9	0
1658	168	46	1	23	0
1659	163	22	3	12	0
1660	172	21	4	12	0
1661	191	28	1	16	0
1662	206	33	8	30	0
1663	180	7	3	4	0
1664	194	18	6	9	0
1665	233	48	9	28	12
1666	238	37	11	17	7
1667	274	48	14	29	11
1668	283	42	13	34	21
1669	311	68	27	39	7
1670	328	50	12	31	16
1671	350	60	22	54	15
1672	338	40	18	26	5
1673	366	54	17	24	8
1674	374	33	19	26	4
1675	415	61	19	50	19
1676	423	58	24	45	13
1677	420	43	23	42	20
1678	425	53	12	61	40

Table 2.8, continued

Year	Charles Parish Population	Number First In Charles Parish	Recorded Births	Number Last In Charles Parish	Recorded Deaths
1679	446	78	28	68	30
1680	418	42	15	38	7
1681	424	40	17	38	5
1682	431	41	23	33	2
1683	435	37	19	26	4
1684	453	45	24	27	9
1685	460	36	15	32	15
1686	464	45	18	25	6
1687	492	55	18	68	49
1688	477	57	24	47	27
1689	469	44	24	38	15
1690	498	71	41	36	10
1691	539	77	36	48	11
1692	550	57	34	38	14
1693	571	64	38	52	37
1694	559	46	23	45	27
1695	557	40	23	45	21
1696	555	46	29	51	26
1697	554	51	32	52	21
1698	565	58	33	59	23
1699	544	40	23	44	25
1700	554	62	31	67	39
1701	531	48	28	76	38
1702	502	46	27	59	39
1703	488	46	29	48	22
1704	495	51	33	49	12
1705	514	62	35	57	20
1706	502	47	27	36	11
1707	520	53	35	39	10
1708	521	42	26	41	9
1709	528	51	40	39	10
1710	538	48	33	44	15
1711	541	47	22	32	15
1712	549	30	28	24	10
1713	560	35	29	33	15
1714	569	39	25	28	13
1715	554	13	6	13	0
1716	566	25	9	27	4
1717	585	47	37	54	28
1718	586	47	22	108	91
1719	520	45	28	47	21
1720	535	62	38	85	55
1721	487	41	24	40	16
1722	489	49	31	36	12
1723	489	33	28	46	12
1724	471	38	24	45	19
1725	472	36	29	35	11
1726	474	38	23	34	17
1727	472	32	31	53	31
1728	454	36	22	28	10
1729	461	40	30	26	12

Table 2.8, continued

Year	Charles Parish Population	Number First In Charles Parish	Recorded Births	Number Last In Charles Parish	Recorded Deaths
1730	459	23	19	21	7
1731	481	39	34	27	15
1732	487	33	26	47	26
1733	477	34	25	39	12
1734	484	45	31	45	19
1735	480	41	26	63	34
1736	441	28	20	49	36
1737	431	40	33	45	23
1738	422	32	27	31	41
1739	423	30	24	40	22
1740	417	36	35	41	12

Sources: Charles Parish Birth and Death Registers, Biographical Files.

Table 2.9

Age at Death of Males Who Were Born in
Charles Parish and Who Died in Charles Parish

Age	1640s	1650s	1660s	1670s	1680s	1690s	1700s	1710s	1720s	1730s
1	0	0	2	10	5	15	15	7	15	17
2	0	0	1	1	3	5	3	5	3	0
3	0	0	0	1	1	5	1	0	1	2
4	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	0	1	3
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
8	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	3
9	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
10	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
11	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	1
12	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	3	0	0
13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1
14	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0
15	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	1	0
16	0	0	1	1	4	1	1	0	0	0
17	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	2
18	0	0	0	1	0	2	2	2	1	0
19	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
20	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	1	0
21	0	0	0	1	2	1	1	0	1	0
22	0	1	1	0	1	2	1	4	2	1
23	0	0	0	3	0	0	2	3	2	0
24	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	3	2	1
25	0	0	1	1	1	3	2	0	2	0
26	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0
27	0	0	1	1	2	1	0	1	1	1
28	0	2	2	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
29	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	2
30	0	0	1	1	3	1	2	0	0	0
31	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0
32	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
33	0	0	1	0	3	0	2	0	1	0
34	0	0	1	0	1	0	6	1	0	2
35	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
36	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	0	0	2
37	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0
38	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	2
39	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
40	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
41	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	1	1
42	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
43	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
44	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1
45	0	0	1	2	3	3	0	0	2	1
46	1	0	0	3	2	0	1	0	0	2
47	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
48	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
49	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
50	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
51	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	2

Table 2.9, continued

Age	1640s	1650s	1660s	1670s	1680s	1690s	1700s	1710s	1720s	1730s
52	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	0
53	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
54	0	0	3	1	0	1	1	2	3	0
55	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0
56	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	0	1
57	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
58	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
59	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
60	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
61	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
62	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	0
63	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
64	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
65	0	0	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
66	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	1	0	0
67	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
68	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
70	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
71	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
72	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
73	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
74	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
75	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
76	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
77	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
78	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
81	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
82	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
83	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
85	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1	11	28	52	61	74	73	57	52	61

Sources: Charles Parish Birth and Death Registers, Biographical Files.

Table 2.10

Age at Disappearance of Males Who Were Born in
Charles Parish and Who Left York County Before Their Death

Age	1640s	1650s	1660s	1670s	1680s	1690s	1700s	1710s	1720s	1730s
1	0	0	10	34	26	44	45	27	38	39
2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
6	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
7	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0
9	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
10	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1
13	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	1
14	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
16	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0
17	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	1
18	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
19	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
20	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
21	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	2	0
22	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	2	1
23	0	0	1	2	0	0	2	2	2	2
24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1
25	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
26	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	1
27	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	2	0
28	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
29	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0
30	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	1
31	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	2	1	0
32	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
33	0	1	0	0	2	3	1	1	0	0
34	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	2
35	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
36	0	0	0	0	1	5	1	1	0	0
37	0	0	0	1	1	1	2	0	0	0
38	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	1	0
39	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
40	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	1
41	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	0
42	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1
43	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
44	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
45	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
46	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
47	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
48	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
49	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
51	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
52	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0

Table 2.10, continued

Age	1640s	1650s	1660s	1670s	1680s	1690s	1700s	1710s	1720s	1730s
53	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
54	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
55	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
56	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
57	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
58	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
59	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
60	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
61	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
62	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
63	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
64	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
65	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
66	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
67	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
68	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
71	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
72	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
73	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
74	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
75	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
76	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
77	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
78	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
81	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
82	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
83	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
85	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	1	16	45	43	81	75	57	69	60

Sources: Charles Parish Birth Register, Biographical Files.

Table 2.11
 Males Born in Charles Parish:
 Decade of Birth by Age at Death For Males
 Who Did Not Reach Adulthood

	Died Bet- ween Birth & 1 year	Died Bet- ween 2 & 5 years	Died Bet- ween Birth & 5 years	Died Bet- ween 6 & 10 years	Died Bet- ween 11 & and 15 yrs	Died Bet- ween 16 & 19 years	Died By Age 19
1655- 1669	2	1	3	3	0	1	7
1670s	10	2	12	1	2	2	17
1680s	5	6	11	2	3	6	22
1690s	15	12	27	5	3	3	38
1700s	15	6	21	3	2	6	32
1710s	7	6	13	2	7	2	24
1720s	15	5	20	1	3	1	
1730s	17	5	22	5	2	4	33
Total	86	43	129	22	22	25	198

Sources: Charles Parish Birth and Death Registers, Biographical Files.

Table 2.12
 Males Born in Charles Parish:
 Decade of Birth by Age at Death

	Mean Age at Death, All Males Born in Charles	Mean Age at Death, All Males Born in Charles Who Reached Adulthood	Range	Mean Age at Disappearance, All Males Born in Charles	Mean Age at Disappearance, All Males Born in Charles Who Reached Adulthood	Range
1640s	46.0	46.0	46	----	----	-----
1650s	41.9	41.9	28 - 83	33.0	33.0	33
1660s	34.5	43.8	0 - 74	11.9	32.4	0 - 42
1670s	30.1	42.4	0 - 75	5.5	30.5	0 - 45
1680s	25.5	35.3	0 - 66	11.0	35.8	0 - 45
1690s	22.5	41.3	0 - 77	13.3	34.3	0 - 49
1700s	24.9	39.7	0 - 82	13.1	35.7	0 - 74
1710s	25.5	40.7	0 - 74	17.5	35.0	0 - 61
1720s	21.8	39.0	0 - 84	13.8	44.9	0 - 76
1730s	22.8	43.6	0 - 74	10.3	35.1	0 - 54

Sources: Charles Parish Birth and Death Registers, Biographical Files.

Table 2.13
Life Expectancy of Males Born in Charles Parish
Between 1648 and 1740

Age	Males Born Between 1648 and 1740	Males Born Between 1648 and 1699	Males Born Between 1700 and 1740
20	26.2	25.5	27.1
25	24.1	22.5	25.8
30	21.7	20.4	23.0
35	18.7	17.3	20.2
40	14.9	14.0	16.0
45	11.6	10.5	13.0
50	10.1	8.8	10.7
55	9.2	8.0	9.2
60	8.3	7.4	9.2
65	7.7	5.8	8.7
70	7.5	6.2	7.9
75	5.1	4.6	5.0
80	3.6	3.1	4.2

Sources: Charles Parish Birth and Death Registers, Biographical Files.

Table 2.14

Life Expectancy of Females Born in Charles Parish Between 1648 and 1740,
in the Colonial Chesapeake, and in Colonial New England

Age	Born in Charles Parish By 1740	Born in Middlesex County, Va. By 1730	Born in Somerset County, Md., 1665-1695	Born in Salem Mass., Before 1700	Born in Salem Mass., After 1700	Born in Andover Mass., 1670-1699	Born in Andover Mass., 1730-1759
20	23.1	20.6	27.9	21.4	37.0	42.1	43.1
25	20.7	19.2	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
30	17.9	17.9	25.8	20.0	32.6	35.9	36.5
35	16.0	16.8	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
40	12.9	15.8	20.4	20.9	26.3	29.0	30.9
45	13.4	14.7	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
50	12.1	13.4	14.2	14.4	21.1	22.4	25.0
55	9.1	11.1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
60	8.0	8.8	9.3	16.2	16.4	15.9	18.8
65	5.2	7.1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
70	3.3	5.5	3.7	10.0	10.0	11.9	12.0
75	2.7	4.3	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
80	-----	3.7	-----	-----	-----	9.5	8.3

Sources: Charles Parish Birth and Death Registers; Biographical Files; Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Explicatus, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984), p. 52; Russell R. Menard and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Demography of Somerset County, Maryland: A Progress Report," (Chicago: The Newberry Papers in Family and Community History, 1981), p. 32; Maris A. Vinovskis, "Mortality Rates and Trends in Massachusetts Before 1860," Journal of Economic History, XXXII(1972):198-199.

Table 2.15
 Males Born in Charles Parish:
 Decade of Birth by Adult Experiences

Decade of Birth	Male Children Born in Charles	Males Who Reached Adulthood	Males Known to Have Married	Adult Males Who Died in Charles Parish	Adult Males Who Left Charles Parish	Married Males Who Died in Charles Parish	Married Males Who Left Charles Parish
1640s	1	1	1	1	0	1	0
1650s	12	12	10	11	1	9	1
1660s	52	26	18	21	5	16	2
1670s	106	41	27	35	6	25	2
1680s	111	49	33	39	10	25	8
1690s	158	64	50	36	28	30	20
1700s	168	65	40	41	24	21	19
1710s	120	60	44	33	27	24	20
1720s	141	46	31	26	20	21	20
1730s	134	43	31	28	15	24	7
Totals	1003	407	286	271	136	197	89

Sources: Charles Parish Birth and Death Registers, Biographical Files.

Table 2.16
 Males Born in Charles Parish:
 Decade of Birth by
 Age at Birth of First Child

	Under 21 Years	21 - 24 Years	25 - 28 Years	29 years Years & Older	Totals
1640s	0	0	0	1	1
1650s	0	4	3	3	10
1660s	2	5	3	4	14
1670s	3	8	9	5	25
1680s	0	6	16	7	29
1690s	2	9	23	12	46
1700s	0	17	7	8	32
1710s	1	19	9	12	41
1720s	2	8	11	6	27
1730s	2	8	2	13	25
Totals	12	84	83	71	250

Sources: Charles Parish Birth and Death Register, Biographical Files

Table 2.17

Males Born in Charles Parish:
Decade of Birth by Size of Family
(Per Father in All Known Marriages)

	No Children	1 - 3 Children	4 - 6 Children	7 - 9 Children	10 or More Children	Total Number of Families	Mean Number of Children	Median Number of Children
1640s	0	0	1	0	0	1	4.00	4
1650s	1	3	3	2	2	11	5.55	5
1660s	3	5	4	3	3	18	4.94	4
1670s	2	9	7	5	4	27	5.26	5
1680s	3	13	13	3	1	33	3.67	4
1690s	3	25	11	7	4	50	3.86	3
1700s	2	16	12	4	6	40	5.15	4
1710s	1	24	13	4	2	44	3.73	3
1720s	6	14	5	3	3	31	3.65	2
1730s	4	19	2	4	2	31	3.10	2
Totals	25	128	71	35	27	286	4.06	3

Table 2.17, continued
 Males Who Were Born in Charles Parish and
 Who Died in Charles Parish:
 Decade of Birth by Size of Family
 (Per Father in All Known Marriages)

	No Children	1 - 3 Children	4 - 6 Children	7 - 9 Children	10 or More Children	Total Number of Families	Mean Number of Children	Median Number of Children
1640s	0	0	1	0	0	1	4.00	4
1650s	1	2	3	2	2	10	5.80	5
1660s	3	3	4	3	3	16	5.38	4
1670s	2	7	7	5	4	25	5.56	5
1680s	1	9	11	3	1	25	4.24	4
1690s	2	12	7	5	4	30	4.67	4
1700s	1	4	7	3	6	21	6.14	6
1710s	1	11	9	1	2	24	3.88	3
1720s	3	11	2	3	2	21	3.57	3
1730s	2	14	2	4	2	24	3.67	2
Totals	16	73	53	29	26	197	4.56	4

Sources: Charles Parish Birth and Death Registers, Biographical Files.

Table 2.18
 Males Born in Charles Parish:
 Decade of Birth by Size of Family
 (Per Each Known Marriage)

	No Children	1 - 3 Children	4 - 6 Children	7 - 9 Children	10 or More Children	Total Number of Families	Mean Number of Children	Median Number of Children
1640s	0	0	1	0	0	1	4.00	4
1650s	2	4	5	1	2	14	4.36	4
1660s	5	8	8	3	1	25	3.56	3
1670s	5	20	11	4	1	41	3.34	3
1680s	6	17	11	4	1	39	3.26	3
1690s	7	29	14	5	3	58	3.19	2
1700s	6	17	13	4	5	45	3.93	3
1710s	4	30	12	4	2	52	3.15	2
1720s	8	18	6	1	3	36	2.78	2
1730s	5	22	3	3	2	35	2.46	2
Totals	48	165	84	29	20	346	3.29	2

Table 2 8, continued
 Males Who Were Born in Charles Parish and
 Who Died in Charles Parish:
 Decade of Birth by Size of Family
 (Per Each Known Marriage)

	No Children	1 - 3 Children	4 - 6 Children	7 - 9 Children	10 or More Children	Total Number of Families	Mean Number of Children	Median Number of Children
1640s	0	0	1	0	0	1	4.00	4
1650s	2	3	5	1	2	13	4.46	5
1660s	5	6	7	3	1	22	3.73	3
1670s	5	18	11	4	1	39	3.44	3
1680s	4	13	9	4	1	31	3.61	3
1690s	4	15	10	3	3	35	3.77	3
1700s	5	3	8	3	5	24	5.08	5
1710s	3	15	8	1	2	29	3.21	2
1720s	5	14	3	1	2	25	2.72	2
1730s	3	17	3	3	2	28	3.14	2
Totals	36	104	65	23	19	247	3.62	3

Sources: Charles Parish Birth and Death Registers, Biographical Files.

APPENDIX 2, SECTION 2

CONSTRUCTION OF THE LIFE EXPECTANCY TABLES
FOR MEN AND WOMEN BORN IN CHARLES PARISH, 1648-1740

The work of the Chesapeake historians has shown that the high mortality rates in the region played an important role in the social, economic, and political development of Virginia and Maryland. I decided to construct life expectancy tables for selected male and female residents of Charles Parish in order to place Charles in the context of the region as a whole, and to determine the impact of demographic conditions on the lifespans of men and women who were natives of this parish.¹ I calculated the life expectancy for four groups of individuals who were children of residents of Charles: men born by 1699, men born between 1700 and 1740, men born by 1740, and women born by 1740.² I computed three life tables for the males of Charles in

¹The calculation of a mean age at death and a mean age at disappearance from the Charles Parish area yields information about the typical life span of males and females who were natives of Charles Parish. However, men and women had different life expectancies at different stages in the life cycle. An average life span does not take this into account. The construction of life tables adds details concerning life expectancy at five-year spans.

²For information on how to construct life expectancy tables see George W. Barclay, Techniques of Population Analysis, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958; eighth printing, 1970), pp. 93-122; Lorena S. Walsh and Russell R. Menard, "Death in the Chesapeake: Two Life Tables for Men in Early Colonial Maryland," Maryland Historical Magazine, LXIX(1974):211-227; Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, "'Now-Wives and Sons-in-Law': Parental Death in a Seventeenth-Century Virginia County," in Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, eds., The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society and Politics, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1979), Appendix 2. The Middlesex Life Table, pp. 177-182; idem., A Place in Time: Explicatus, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 1984), pp. 37-59; Kevin P. Kelly, Economic and Social Development of Seventeenth-Century Surry County, Virginia, (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1989), Appendix 1 Surry County Life Tables, pp. 201-212.

order to test the assumption that an eighteenth-century resident of the Chesapeake could expect to live longer than his seventeenth-century counterpart because there had been a decline in the mortality rate. Charles Parish is one of the few places in the Chesapeake region where the parish records and county court records provide enough information about women's lives to make it possible to study how long females could count on living. The two other locales are Somerset County, Maryland and Middlesex County, Virginia. Unfortunately, it was not possible to determine the life expectancies of the immigrants to Charles from across the Atlantic Ocean. Only a small number of the parish's non-natives have a known date of birth.³

I limited the life tables to males and females whose birth in Charles Parish was recorded by the parish minister or clerk by 1740 and who lived to age twenty.⁴ A total of 411 male natives of this parish, 196 born in the seventeenth century and 215 who grew up after the turn of the eighteenth century, and 183 of the female residents whose date of birth was between 1648 and 1740 met the criterion for inclusion in this study of life expectancy. I did not include children born to known residents of Charles if the parish minister or clerk did not enter their births in the birth register because the addition of "calculated birth dates" would add a degree of imprecision to the data. For example, if the first reference to John Smith of Charles Parish in the York County records was when he appeared in the York County court as a plaintiff in a civil suit in 1714, his "calculated birth date" would be 1693 because

³Walsh and Menard calculated a life table for males who immigrated to Charles County, Maryland and to the lower Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia during the seventeenth century. See Walsh and Menard, "Death in the Chesapeake," pp. 214-216; Russell R. Menard and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Demography of Somerset County, Maryland: A Progress Report," (Chicago: The Newberry Papers in Family and Community History, 1981), pp. 11-12, 29.

⁴Daniel Blake Smith stated that "since the mean age at which men first appeared in the [York County] records was 20.4, age 20 was designated the age when the unknown were first placed at risk [of dying]." Daniel Blake Smith, "Mortality and Family in the Colonial Chesapeake," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, VIII(1978):416.

Virginia's laws required a man to be at least twenty-one years old before he could act on his own behalf in court. It is likely that calculated birth dates underestimate the actual ages of men and women. The use of these dates in a life table would bias the calculations towards a lower life expectancy. My sample--men and women born in Charles who reached twenty years of age--is not a completely random sample because it excludes immigrants from across the Atlantic Ocean and from other areas of Virginia. The sample is, however, a random group of males and females born in Charles because the birth of all children was to be recorded by the parish clerk. Both the birth and the death registers include the names of men and women from all levels of the social order in Charles.⁵

The first step in the process of constructing a life table is to calculate the life expectancy for those individuals born in Charles Parish who have a known birth date and a known death date. This yields what Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman called an "empirical table" because it is based only on the known life experiences of each subject who fits the criteria for inclusion in the sample.⁶ (Column 2 of Tables A2.1 to A2.4) I had two sources for death dates. The first was the Charles Parish death register that contained the exact date of an individual's passing. The second set of documents were the county court records that

⁵William Waller Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, From the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619, 13 vols., (Richmond, New York, and Philadelphia, 1819-1823); reprint, Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia for the Jamestown Foundation of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1969), 1:155, 158, 180, 241, 433, 542; 3:153; 4:42-45.

I placed a lower age restriction on who would be included in the tables because it is difficult to calculate the number of years that a new-born could anticipate on living due to the fact that Charles's several parish ministers and clerks failed to record a number of infant deaths. Smith commented on the fragmentary nature of the Charles Parish death register. He noted that the register probably lacks fifty percent of all infant deaths. Ibid., pp. 406-407. The Rutmans explained the use of model life tables to estimate life expectancy between birth and age fifteen in A Place in Time: Explicatus, pp. 47-52.

⁶Rutman and Rutman, "Parental Death," p. 177.

Table A2.1

Life Expectancy of Men Born in Charles Parish By 1699

Age	Empirical	High Mortality	Low Mortality	Mean Mortality	Walsh & Menard
20	23.4	20.9	27.0	23.9	25.5
25	20.9	18.3	24.2	21.2	22.5
30	19.8	16.9	22.3	19.6	20.4
35	17.0	15.0	19.5	17.2	17.3
40	14.6	13.5	16.3	14.9	14.0
45	12.2	11.2	13.0	12.1	10.5
50	11.1	11.2	10.0	10.6	8.8
55	10.0	10.2	7.9	9.0	8.0
60	7.4	7.4	6.7	7.0	7.4
65	5.8	5.8	4.6	5.2	5.8
70	6.2	6.2	6.2	6.2	6.2
75	4.6	4.6	4.6	4.6	4.6
80	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1

Table A2.2

Life Expectancy of Men Born in Charles Parish
Between 1700 and 1740

Age	Empirical	High Mortality	Low Mortality	Mean Mortality	Walsh & Menard
20	21.8	19.8	29.6	24.7	27.1
25	21.9	19.5	28.7	24.1	25.8
30	20.6	18.2	26.1	22.2	23.0
35	19.7	17.4	23.7	20.6	20.2
40	16.5	15.2	19.7	17.5	16.0
45	14.2	14.7	16.1	15.4	13.0
50	12.2	12.4	12.3	12.3	10.7
55	11.8	12.4	10.0	11.2	9.2
60	9.2	10.8	8.2	9.5	9.2
65	7.4	10.4	8.7	9.6	8.7
70	4.6	8.7	7.0	7.8	7.9
75	.08	5.7	4.7	5.2	5.0
80	.04	5.9	3.9	4.9	4.2

Table A2.3

Life Expectancy of Men Born in Charles Parish
Between 1648 and 1740

Age	Empirical	High Mortality	Low Mortality	Mean Mortality	Walsh & Menard
20	22.7	19.8	28.4	24.1	26.2
25	21.4	18.3	26.5	22.4	24.1
30	20.1	16.9	24.4	20.6	21.7
35	18.5	15.3	21.7	18.5	18.7
40	15.8	13.3	18.2	15.7	14.9
45	13.6	11.5	14.7	13.1	11.6
50	12.3	11.8	11.4	11.6	10.1
55	11.7	11.3	9.3	10.3	9.2
60	9.2	9.1	7.6	8.3	8.3
65	8.1	8.2	7.9	8.0	7.7
70	7.7	7.5	6.8	7.2	7.5
75	4.9	4.9	4.8	4.8	5.1
80	3.7	3.9	3.8	3.8	3.6

Table A2.4

Life Expectancy of Women Born in Charles Parish
Between 1648 and 1740

Age	Empirical	High Mortality	Low Mortality	Mean Mortality	Walsh & Menard	Rutmans
20	18.4	16.4	27.5	22.0	23.8	23.1
25	17.2	16.0	25.5	20.7	21.7	20.7
30	15.9	14.7	22.9	18.8	18.3	17.9
35	17.7	14.9	21.5	18.2	16.0	16.0
40	14.6	13.0	17.2	15.1	12.7	12.9
45	14.6	12.5	13.7	13.1	13.0	13.4
50	14.9	12.5	13.2	12.8	11.6	12.1
55	10.7	9.3	9.9	9.6	8.9	9.1
60	9.8	9.0	8.6	8.8	8.0	8.0
65	6.3	5.9	5.9	5.9	5.2	5.2
70	4.1	4.1	3.6	3.9	3.3	3.3
75	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.7

yielded a "by death date." Probate documents often provided the first evidence of an individual's passing. I decided to use a "by death date" as an exact date of death in the construction of the life tables for the male and female natives of Charles Parish if the first reference to an individual's death in the York County court records was within ten years of his or her final appearance in the records. I made this decision because a decedent's heirs usually began the probate process within a few months of a man's or a woman's death. If a poor man left little or no property to support his widow and orphaned children, his wife might petition the justices of the peace for maintenance shortly after she became a widow.

The parish register and York County records provided death dates for almost seventy percent of the 411 males. These dates were not evenly distributed between the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. There is evidence that 146 (just under three-quarters) of the 196 men born in Charles before 1700 also died in the parish. This figure declined to 134, slightly more than three-fifths of the 215 males born between 1700 and 1740. The disappearance of a sixty- or seventy-year old man, no matter when he was born, from the York County records is a strong indication that either the minister or the clerk did not record his death. The county clerk would not have noted his death if his descendants had not gone through the probate process, because his estate was either too small or was recognized as being free from debts.⁷ The departure of a man between twenty and forty-five years of age from the Charles Parish area, especially one born during the eighteenth century, suggests that he left his place of birth and moved to a western county where he hoped to acquire some land.

Contemporary documents indicate that fifty-four percent of the 183 women died in Charles. Females are harder to follow in the York County court records, especially after the York County clerks began to note

⁷Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 4:22.

fewer details in the court records after the first quarter of the eighteenth century. It is likely that a number of the young women named Ann, Elizabeth, Mary, and Sarah got married instead of "disappearing" from the Charles Parish area. In addition, it is probable that a portion of the married women died in childbirth or soon after the birth of their last son or daughter, and the clerk or minister failed to note their passing in the death register.

The empirical table provides information on the life spans of a portion, but not all, of the males and females who were natives of the Charles Parish. It is necessary to include the "unknowns" in the calculations in order to get as complete a picture as possible of how long a man or a woman born in Charles could expect to live. Fifty men born in the seventeenth century, another eighty-one males from the eighteenth century, and eighty-four females fell into the "unknown" category. There are several methods for dealing with those individuals who did not have an exact death date in a contemporary record or a "by death date" from probate documents. The first is to assume that a subject died the day after he or she was last known to be alive. For example, if John Smith last appeared in the York County records at the age of twenty-five, he would be included in the calculations for this column of the life table through his twenty-fifth year. (Column 3 of Tables A2.1 to A2.4) This figure conveys an image of high mortality and low life expectancy.

To balance this grim picture of early death, it is necessary to determine the potential life span under low mortality conditions. There are two steps in this calculation. First, one supposes that a man or a woman enjoyed ten years of life after the last date that York County's clerk noted his or her involvement in a court-related activity or the parish clerk included his or her name in the Charles Parish birth register as a parent. The second assumption is that he or she lived as long as an individual of his or her age (known years lived plus ten

additional years) could expect to live according to the figures in the empirical table. For example, if a man born in Charles Parish before 1700 was twenty-five years old when he dropped out of observation, one would assume that he lived until his thirty-fifth birthday and, then, that the man was alive for an additional seventeen years. This individual would appear in the calculations for the low mortality figure as a man who died at the age of fifty-two. (Column 4 of Tables A2.1 to A2.4)

The high mortality and the low mortality totals cover the range of possibilities, and it is probable that the actual life expectancies of the men and women of Charles Parish fell between these two extremes. As Lorena S. Walsh and Russell R. Menard noted, the next step in "the usual practice" of calculating life tables is to take the mean of the high and low figures in order to reach what is called the "best estimate" of longevity.⁸ (Column 5 of Tables A2.1 to A2.4) These two scholars devised another method for approximating the life spans of men who disappeared from local records in seventeenth-century Maryland. Walsh and Menard assumed that a man with an unknown death date lived as long as an individual of his known age could expect to live according to the empirical table. In this process, if a man born in Charles Parish before 1700 disappeared at age twenty-five, one would assume that he enjoyed the full life span that a man who reached his age could expect to live. In this case, one would suppose that this twenty-five year old man lived an additional twenty-one years. He would appear in the calculations for Walsh and Menard's "preferred estimate" of mortality as a man who died at the age of forty-six. (Column 6 of Tables A2.1 to A2.4)

Which method provides a historian with the best estimate of the life expectancy of all the individuals in a sample, the customary process of taking the mean of the high and low mortality figures or the

⁸Walsh and Menard, "Death in the Chesapeake," p. 213.

system that Walsh and Menard formulated? In their study of Middlesex County, Virginia, the Rutmans noted that

whatever scheme is devised ought to take into account what is known about the population in general and, specifically, of those disappearing from the records. It must accept the possibility that disappearance from the records might have been a function of the unrecorded death of the subject. (Walsh and Menard's method does not allow the possibility at all.)...At the same time, it must take into account the possibility that the disappearance was simply a function of emigration from the county; the man (or woman) simply moved on to live a full live elsewhere....

The Rutmans also believed that the method devised by Walsh and Menard did not take into account the fact that there were differences in how individuals experienced life. Men and women at the upper end of the social order had better food, clothing, and housing that helped them to endure the conditions in the colonial Chesapeake. In addition, historians have more information about those who were at the upper end of the social and political hierarchy. The wealthy were more likely to appear in the county court records and to have their deaths mentioned in contemporary documents than the poor were. The Rutmans stated that taking the mean of the high and low mortality estimates provides a better picture of life expectancy than the Walsh and Menard "preferred estimate" does because it "effectively limits the possibility of those of lesser condition (a potential bias among the unknowns) achieving a greater longevity than those of better condition (a potential bias among those whose death we know)."⁹ Splitting the difference between the two estimates places greater weight on the assumption that young people were at higher risk of dying than were older individuals.

The method developed by Walsh and Menard rests on the assumption that everyone in the locale under study experienced life in the same way. In the opinion of Walsh and Menard, the diseases, fevers, and epidemics that shortened lives in the Chesapeake region affected all the

⁹Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time: Explicatus, pp. 42-43, 44, 45.

residents in an area, regardless of their social standing. Men and women at the upper end of the social scale did not have a special immunity to the disease environment that guaranteed them longer lives than those enjoyed by males and females in the bottom level of society.

The "usual method" of averaging the low and the high mortality figures skews the "best estimate" on the side of longer life expectancies. The procedure used to compute the high mortality estimate requires the addition of ten years plus the expected number of years from the empirical table to the known life span. Taking the mean of the low and the high mortality estimates reduces the impact of the ten years, but it does not eliminate it. For male subjects forty years of age and younger, the extra ten years plus the expected life span for the "new age" probably does not add a great degree of bias to the life expectancy figures because the men who saw their fortieth birthday had a chance of living to the age of fifty-five or sixty. However, by the time the ten extra years plus the expected life span for the "new age" are given to a man of forty-five or more years, the figures at the upper end of the life tables become distorted.

Perhaps the "usual method" of arriving at the best estimate is better suited to studies of areas that had a low mortality rate and a range of topographical features. The method designed by Walsh and Menard fits the realities of life for men who lived in areas such as Charles where the geography was fairly uniform throughout the parish. In the lower end of York County the elevation of the land ranged from sea level in the eastern neighborhood, especially in "The Islands," "Cow Island," and "Boar Quarter," and along the necks of land jutting out into the New Poquoson and the Old Poquoson rivers, to less than one hundred feet above sea level alongside the inland ridges of land in the western and Chisman's Creek neighborhoods. Parents from all five sections of the parish buried either an infant or a young child. The uniformity of the parish's geography meant that there were few, if any,

differences in life expectancy because of the location of one's residence.¹⁰

There were differences in the experiences of men and women who lived in colonial Virginia and Maryland. As the Rutmans noted, both the low mortality and the Walsh and Menard's preferred estimates fail to acknowledge the impact of pregnancy and child birth on women who lived in the Chesapeake region. The Rutmans found that a number of the mothers-to-be and the new mothers in Middlesex County were in a weakened condition because they were more susceptible to malarial fevers during their pregnancies. Fifty-six of the 128 females born in Middlesex by 1710 who did not have a known death date last appeared in contemporary documents as the mother of a new-born child. While it is impossible to determine how many of these fifty-six women died within a few hours, days, or weeks of giving birth, the Rutmans pointed out that "the probability of immediate death is something greater for these 56 than for the remaining 72 and considerably greater than for the 76 male unknowns who did not hazard childbirth." These two historians devised a "Virginia Preferred" estimate to take the dangers associated with giving birth into account in calculating life expectancy. In this method, one assumes that half of the women whose last reference is the birth of their son or daughter died the day after they are last known to have been alive. Next, one supposes that the other portion of females who disappeared after childbirth and the remaining women without known death dates lived the number of years that a woman who reached her age could

¹⁰Ronald E. Grim, "The Absence of Towns in Seventeenth-Century Virginia: The Emergence of Service Centers in York County," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1977), pp. 45-47. It is possible that all areas of York County experienced high death rates. Kevin P. Kelly found that mortality levels in seventeenth-century Bruton Parish were comparable to those in Charles during the same time period. Bruton was in the upper end of York and Charles was in the lower portion of the county. Kevin P. Kelly, "A Demographic Description of Seventeenth-Century York County, Virginia," (paper presented at the Institute of Early American History and Culture Colloquium, October 1983), pp. 20-24.

expect to live.¹¹ For example, if two twenty-five year old females born in Charles Parish dropped out of observation after the birth of a child, the first female would be counted in the computation of the "Virginia Preferred" estimate as a woman who died at age twenty-five. The second female would appear in the calculations as a woman who reached her forty-second year of life. Women who attained the age of twenty-five and who did not disappear from the records within a year of giving birth to a son or a daughter would be included in the "Virginia Preferred" estimate as females who lived to be forty-two years old. (Column 7 of Table A2.4)

* * * *

This is not the first time that a historian has calculated the life expectancy of residents of Charles Parish. Daniel Blake Smith constructed a life table for men born in the parish before 1700. Smith's calculations included 240 men who began life in Charles between the years 1665 and 1699. He found evidence of the death dates for just 118 (49.2%) of this group of parish residents in contemporary documents. The other 122 males fell into the "unknown" category. Smith used the method outlined by Walsh and Menard to calculate the "preferred estimate" for the life expectancy of Charles Parish males born during the seventeenth century.¹²

¹¹Rutman and Rutman, "Parental Death," p. 179. The "Virginia Preferred" estimate is an adaptation of the "Maryland Preferred" estimate. Walsh and Menard developed their method of constructing life tables in order to compute the life expectancies of men, both natives and immigrants, who lived in Maryland during the seventeenth century. They used their system to calculate the expected life spans of women who lived in Somerset County, on the eastern shore of Maryland.

Of the eighty-four Charles Parish women who disappeared from the York County records, seventeen women dropped out of view soon after becoming mothers. Fourteen of this group (close to thirty percent of the married women) were wives and three single women bore an illegitimate child.

¹²Smith, "Mortality and Family," p. 414-415.

According to the life tables constructed by Smith, men who began and ended their lives in this parish could expect to live close to twenty years after they celebrated their twentieth birthday. When he added the "unknowns" to the computations, the "preferred estimate" of a man's anticipated life span rose slightly to just under forty-one years. (Columns 2 and 5 of Table A2.5) Smith's calculations conveyed a grim picture of life in Charles Parish. This historian noted that "life expectancies were low in other parts of the early Chesapeake, but clearly not as low as in Charles Parish. Life tables constructed by the Rutmans for Middlesex County, Virginia, and by Walsh and Menard for Charles County, Maryland, show that in these areas the expectation of life for men was several years beyond that for Charles Parish men....Apparently, living in Charles Parish meant that most men would die from five to eight years earlier than their contemporaries elsewhere in the Chesapeake." Smith's figures were lower than the estimates that Walsh and Menard arrived at for immigrants to Maryland during the seventeenth century. Males who moved to Maryland could expect to live 22.7 years past their twenty-second birthdays while twenty year old natives of Charles could anticipate 20.8 additional years of life.¹³

It is possible that men born in Charles lived fewer years than their contemporaries in Charles County, Maryland and Middlesex County, Virginia did because of the disease environment in the parish. However, it is not very likely that the men born in Charles had shorter lives than the males whose birthplace was across the Atlantic Ocean and who had to endure a "seasoning period" upon their arrival in the Chesapeake. Menard and Walsh questioned the accuracy of Smith's calculations and said that "it may be that the 'preferred estimate' in Smith's tables understates longevity." They believed that there

¹³Ibid., pp. 416-417; Walsh and Menard, "Death in the Chesapeake," pp. 214-216.

Table A2.5

Smith's Life Expectancy for Men Born in Charles Parish
Between 1665 and 1699

Age	Empirical	High Mortality	Low Mortality	Walsh & Menard
20	19.9	16.7	23.2	20.8
25	17.9	14.5	20.7	18.2
30	16.3	13.3	17.6	16.4
35	14.3	11.6	15.8	14.4
40	11.7	10.9	13.7	11.8
45	10.9	10.5	12.2	11.3
50	9.5	9.2	11.5	9.5
55	8.3	8.0	10.6	8.5
60	6.8	6.6	7.3	6.9
65	5.1	4.7	6.0	5.2
70	4.0	3.8	4.9	4.0

Source: Daniel Blake Smith, "Mortality and Family in the Colonial Chesapeake," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, VIII(1978):415, Table 3 'Life Expectancy for Males Born in Charles Parish, Virginia, 1665-1699.'

are apparent miscalculations which seems to distort the low mortality measure. Smith reports an expectations of life at age 20 in the 'low mortality' column of 23.2 years, a figure which, given his assumptions, could have been derived only if all 122 unknowns disappeared from the records at age 20. Were that the case, the 'high mortality' figure would be 9.8 years at age 20, not the 16.7 years reported in his table.

Menard and Walsh concluded that "in short, properly interpreted, Smith's York County life tables probably describe a mortality experience similar to that reported" for Charles and Somerset counties in Maryland and for Middlesex County, Virginia.¹⁴

In addition to possible errors in the calculation of life expectancy estimates for males born in Charles Parish, I believe that Smith's criteria for inclusion in the life tables affected the reliability of his figures. Smith limited his sample to men born in Charles between 1665 and 1699.¹⁵ There were twenty-nine boys born to parish residents during the years 1648 to 1664. Twenty-six of the twenty-nine male children (89.7%) reached the age of twenty, and all but two of these twenty-six (7.7%) died in Charles. Smith should have included this group of males in his calculations in order to gain as complete a picture as possible of the impact of the disease environment on the life spans of men born in Charles Parish.

Smith's conclusion that the 118 men who are known to have begun and finished their lives in Charles could expect to die a few months before their fortieth birthday needs to be taken with a degree of caution. His empirical table rested on the life experiences of just under half of the men in his sample. The high percentage of unknowns, 122 males out of 240, had an impact on the reliability of Smith's high, low, and "preferred" mortality estimates. This historian noted that "the unusually low figures produced in the high mortality estimate

¹⁴Menard and Walsh, "The Demography of Somerset County," p. 15, note 29.

¹⁵The beginning date of 1665 corresponds to the first year that the parish clerk made entries in the death register.

is a reflection of the difficulty in tracing the careers of Charles Parish men in a county that contained several parishes."¹⁶

The life table that I constructed for men born in this parish before the turn of the eighteenth century is more reliable than the one worked out by Smith. I included the twenty-six men born between 1648 and 1664 in my calculations. In addition, my familiarity with the York County records and the names of the residents of Charles made it possible for me to make a number of connections between men born in the parish and later references from the death register or the county court records. The tendency of the York County clerks, especially during the seventeenth century, to spell names phonetically and in a variety of ways did make it difficult, but not impossible, to assign references from contemporary documents to individuals. Almost three-quarters of the 196 seventeenth-century males in my sample have either an exact death date or a "by death date" within ten years of their last appearance in court or as a new parent.

The picture of life expectancy for natives of Charles that I provide spans a wider time period than Smith's life table did. I also constructed a life table for the adult females who were natives of the parish. Smith failed to point out that the Charles Parish birth and death registers contain references to free blacks who lived in the parish and to men and women who made their homes in Yorkhampton Parish and in the adjoining counties of Elizabeth City and Warwick. While Smith speculated that the mortality levels in this parish did not improve after the end of the eighteenth century, the life table that I constructed for males born in Charles between 1700 and 1740 indicates that there was a small improvement in longevity for males born after the turn of the eighteenth century.

Smith also examined the impact of early death on the age of men at marriage, the size of families, and the autonomy of young men. The

¹⁶Ibid., p. 416.

shortcomings in Smith's life table--the apparent miscalculation of mortality estimates, the exclusion of men born before 1665, and the high number of men with unknown death dates--influenced his assessment of the quality of life in seventeenth-century Charles Parish.

The high mortality rates in Charles did not have as extreme an affect on the life spans and families of parish residents as Smith's portrayal indicates. Although men and women born in Charles Parish had shorter life expectancies than their counterparts in sections of Maryland, these individuals could expect to live almost as long as their contemporaries in Middlesex County did. Slightly more than seventy percent of the males who reached the age of twenty married and became the father of four or five children. Ties to family, friends, and neighbors added continuity to the lives of those who lived in Charles between 1630 and 1740.¹⁷

In Smith's opinion, "the controlling demographic fact in colonial Charles Parish was the early death of parents rather than of children."¹⁸ The shorter life expectancies of the men and women in this parish did affect the demographic growth of the lower section of York County. In spite of the high mortality rates, natural increase played a part in Charles's population increase by the last third of the seventeenth century. However, migration had a greater impact on the fortunes of Charles during the period under study. During the seventeenth century, movement in and out of the parish made it possible for residents of Charles to enjoy stability before their contemporaries in the upper end of York County did. After the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the out-migration from Charles indicated that the

¹⁷See Chapters 4 and 5. For a discussion of the role that York County's justices of the peace played in protecting orphans and their estates see Sarah Jane Weatherwax, "The Importance of Family in the Community of New Poquoson Parish, York County, Virginia, in the Late Seventeenth Century, (M. A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1984).

¹⁸Smith, "Mortality and Family," p. 421.

parish's resources no longer could support close to 600 men, women, and children.

APPENDIX 3
TABLES FOR CHAPTER 3¹

¹Unless noted otherwise, the sources for the tables are the York County Records and the Biographical Files compiled for this study.

Table 3.1a

Mean and Median Estate Values by Area of Residence in Charles Parish

Section	Seventeenth Century		Eighteenth Century		All Estates	
	Mean	Median	Mean	Median	Mean	Median
Calthorpe's Neck	L 42.30	L 33	L 152.55	L 95	L 119.08	L 58
Central	13.38	15	160.41	125	121.20	25
Chisman's Creek	53.00	12	136.05	87	116.89	76
Eastern	5.33	--	194.77	268	172.04	209
Western	40.25	47	134.31	36	98.48	41
Unknown	----	--	22.00	--	14.67	--
Total	37.68	23	151.05	95	121.58	67

Notes: Seventeenth Century

Calthorpe's Neck--15 appraisals, 2 inventories
 Central--7 appraisals, 1 inventory
 Chisman's Creek--10 appraisals, 5 inventories
 Eastern--2 appraisals, 1 inventory
 Western--5 appraisals, 3 inventories
 Unknown--1 inventory

Eighteenth Century

Calthorpe's Neck--35 appraisals, 4 inventories
 Central--17 appraisals, 5 inventories
 Chisman's Creek--42 appraisals, 8 inventories
 Eastern--15 appraisals, 7 inventories
 Western--11 appraisals, 2 inventories
 Unknown--2 appraisals

Table 3.1b

Total Estate Values of Charles Parish Decedents

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV
	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given
Calthorpe's Neck	10	5	0	2	12	10	13	4	22	15	13	6
Central	7	0	0	1	6	6	5	5	13	6	5	6
Chisman's Creek	7	2	1	5	13	22	7	8	20	24	8	13
Eastern	2	0	0	1	0	7	8	7	2	7	8	8
Western	3	2	0	3	7	2	2	2	10	4	2	5
Unknown	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	1
Total	29	9	1	13	40	47	35	26	69	56	36	39

Table 3.2a

Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Boats

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV
	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given
Calthorpe's Neck	3	0	0	0	2	1	5	1	5	1	5	1
Central	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0
Chisman's Creek	2	1	0	0	1	3	1	0	3	4	1	0
Eastern	1	0	0	1	0	2	6	3	1	2	6	4
Western	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	6	2	0	1	3	6	15	4	9	8	15	5

Table 3.2b

Number Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Fishing Equipment

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV
	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given
Calthorpe's Neck	2	1	0	1	1	2	1	1	3	3	1	2
Central	1	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	2	0	3	0
Chisman's Creek	0	0	1	0	1	5	3	2	1	5	4	2
Eastern	1	0	0	1	0	2	3	2	1	2	3	3
Western	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	4	1	1	3	3	9	10	5	7	10	11	8

Table 3.3a

Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Horses

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV
	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given
Calthorpe's Neck	6	3	0	0	9	10	10	3	15	13	10	3
Central	3	0	0	1	5	5	5	4	8	5	5	5
Chisman's Creek	1	0	0	4	8	20	5	5	9	20	5	9
Eastern	1	0	0	1	0	7	8	5	1	7	8	6
Western	2	2	0	2	5	2	2	2	7	4	2	4
Unknown	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Total	13	5	0	8	28	44	30	19	41	49	30	27

Table 3.3b

Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Saddles and Bridles

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV
	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given
Calthorpe's Neck	5	3	0	0	8	6	9	3	13	9	9	3
Central	3	0	0	0	13	3	1	2	16	3	1	2
Chisman's Creek	1	0	1	1	4	10	3	5	5	10	4	6
Eastern	0	0	0	1	0	4	8	6	0	4	8	7
Western	2	2	0	4	3	1	2	2	5	3	2	6
Unknown	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Total	11	5	1	7	29	24	23	18	40	29	24	25

Table 3.3c

Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Carts and Carriages

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV
	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given
Calthorpe's Neck	3	1	0	0	3	6	7	2	6	7	7	2
Central	1	0	0	0	0	4	2	2	1	4	2	2
Chisman's Creek	0	0	0	1	3	9	4	5	3	9	4	6
Eastern	0	0	0	1	0	3	7	3	0	3	7	4
Western	0	2	0	0	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	1
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0
Total	4	3	0	2	8	23	23	13	12	26	23	15

Table 3.4

Agricultural and Economic Differences Within York County, 1690-1709

Category	Charles Parish	Bruton Parish	Hampton Parish	York Parish
Mean Total Estate Value in Pounds	55	110	275	110
Median Total Estate Value in Pounds	22	70	91	59
Percent of Decedents Who Owned Slaves	18	48	40	33
Land to Tithe Ratio	65:1	47:1	36:1	44:1
Mean Landholding in Acres	339	288	268	306
Mean Yearly Price Per Acre in Pounds	.39	.64	.53	.42

Source: Kevin P. Kelly, "Never The Twain Shall Meet: Intra-County Economic Differences in York, 1690-1709,"
 Table I. "Regional Characteristics of York County, 1690-1709."

Table 3.5

Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Equipment for Cider Production

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	TEV = L 50 or Less	TEV = L 51-225	TEV = L 226 +	TEV Not Given	TEV = L 50 or Less	TEV = L 51-225	TEV = L 226 +	TEV Not Given	TEV = L 50 or Less	TEV = L 51-225	TEV = L 226 +	TEV Not Given
Calthorpe's Neck	5	1	0	0	7	7	10	2	12	8	10	2
Central	2	0	0	1	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	5
Chisman's Creek	1	0	0	1	1	11	6	4	2	11	6	5
Eastern	0	0	0	0	0	3	5	2	0	3	5	2
Western	1	1	0	2	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	3
Unknown	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	9	2	0	5	10	26	26	13	19	28	26	18

Table 3.6a

Mean and Median Landholding in Charles Parish in 1704

Section	Total Number of Acres	Total Number of Tracts	Mean Tract Size	Median Tract Size	Total Number of Landholders	Mean Landholding	Median Landholding
Calthorpe's Neck	4920	19	258.9	220	18	273.3	220
Central	2202	20	110.1	100	16	137.6	100
Chismans's Creek	4166	18	231.4	200	14	297.6	200
Eastern	2329	10	232.9	200	9	258.8	200
The Islands, Cow Island, Boar Quarter	3345	2	1672.5	---	2	1672.5	---
Western	4170	19	219.5	150	12	347.5	150
Charles Parish	21,132	88	240.1	200	62*	340.8	200

Sources: 1704 Rent Roll, York County Deeds.

Note: Several residents of Charles Parish owned land in more than one section of the parish in 1704.

Table 3.6b

Price Per Acre in Pounds for Land in Charles Parish

Year	Calthorpe's Neck	Central	Chisman's Creek	Eastern	Western
1638	----	.06	----	----	----
1651	----	.18	----	----	----
1667	.09	----	----	----	----
1668	----	.21	----	----	----
1672	----	.12	----	----	----
1673	----	----	.13	----	----
1674	----	.17	----	----	----
1675	----	.38	----	----	----

Table 3.6b (continued)

Price Per Acre in Pounds for Land in Charles Parish

Year	Calthorpe's Neck	Central	Chisman's Creek	Eastern	Western
1676	---	---	.18	---	---
1677	---	.19	---	---	---
1678	---	.12, .29	---	---	---
1679	---	1.00	.22	---	---
1680	---	.15	---	---	---
1685	---	.15, .48, .98	---	.07, .25	.15, .17, .25
1686	.41	---	---	---	---
1687	---	.13	---	---	---
1689	---	.18, .50	---	---	---
1690	---	---	---	---	.05, .08
1691	.25	---	.32	---	.11
1692	---	.14, .63	---	---	.18
1694	---	---	.24, .57	.03	---
1695	---	---	---	---	.10
1696	.32	.11, .19	---	---	.54
1697	.40	---	---	---	---
1698	---	.46	---	---	.17
1699	.60	---	---	---	.65
1700	---	---	1.07	---	---
1701	.61	---	.55	---	.20
1702	---	.15, .70	.27	---	---
1703	---	.35	---	---	---
1704	1.00	.18	---	---	.43
1705	---	---	---	---	.33
1706	---	---	---	---	.28
1707	---	---	---	.06	---
1708	---	---	.24	---	---
1709	---	.47	.45	---	.12
1710	1.00	---	1.25	---	.12
1711	---	---	---	---	.47

Table 3.6b (continued)

Price Per Acre in Pounds for Land in Charles Parish

Year	Calthorpe's Neck	Central	Chisman's Creek	Eastern	Western
1712	---	---	.33	.18	---
1713	---	.16	.60	---	---
1714	.56	---	---	.24, .66	.20
1715	---	.28	---	---	---
1716	---	---	.73	.15	---
1717	.55	---	---	.03, .18	---
1718	---	.76, 1.16	---	.25	.20
1719	.71, .75	---	---	---	---
1720	.93	---	.72	---	---
1721	---	---	1.00	---	.36
1722	---	1.00	---	---	.35
1723	---	---	.75	---	---
1724	---	.08, .26, .40	.20	---	.54
1726	---	---	---	.13	---
1728	---	.20	---	---	---
1729	.41, .56, .74, .94, 1.09	---	---	---	---
1730	1.52	.46, .50, .54 .56, .70	---	---	---
1731	---	---	.25	---	---
1734	---	.30	---	---	---
1735	.90	.20	---	.06	---
1736	.90, 1.10	.20	---	---	---
1737	---	1.00	---	---	---
1738	---	---	.50	---	---
1739	1.40	.22	.27, .87	---	---
1740	---	.31, .50	---	---	---

Note: Eastern Section includes The Islands, Cow Island, and Boar Quarter.

Table 3.7a

Ownership of Cattle by Charles Parish Decedents

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV
	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given
Calthorpe's Neck	8	4	0	1	9	11	11	4	20	14	9	5
Central	5	0	0	1	5	5	5	4	10	5	5	5
Chisman's Creek	3	2	0	4	8	24	5	8	12	23	6	12
Eastern	0	0	0	1	0	7	7	8	0	6	7	9
Western	3	1	0	4	3	2	1	2	5	3	1	6
Unknown	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Total	19	7	0	12	26	49	29	26	48	51	28	38

Table 3.7b

Number of Cattle in Estates Worth L 50 or Less

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	Between	Between	Between		Between	Between	Between		Between	Between	Between	
	1 and 10	11 and 20	21 and 30	31 or Over	1 and 10	11 and 20	21 and 30	31 or Over	1 and 10	11 and 20	21 and 30	31 or Over
Calthorpe's Neck	4	2	2	0	3	6	0	0	7	8	3	0
Central	4	1	0	0	5	0	0	0	9	1	0	0
Chisman's Creek	3	0	0	0	6	2	0	0	9	2	1	0
Eastern	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Western	2	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	3	2	0	1
Unknown	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Total	13	3	2	1	16	10	0	0	29	13	4	1

Table 3.7c

Number of Cattle in Estates Worth L 51 to 225

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over
Calthorpe's Neck	1	2	0	1	3	5	2	1	4	7	2	2
Central	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	1	4	0	0
Chisman's Creek	0	2	0	0	6	10	7	1	6	12	7	1
Eastern	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	2	1	4	0	2
Western	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	0
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1	5	0	1	11	24	10	4	12	29	10	5

Table 3.7d

Number of Cattle in Estates Worth L 226 or More

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over
Calthorpe's Neck	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	8	0	1	2	8
Central	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	1	4
Chisman's Creek	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	5
Eastern	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	0	0	2	5
Western	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	23	0	1	5	23

Table 3.7e

Number of Cattle in Estates of Unknown Value

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over
Calthorpe's Neck	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	2	1	1	1	2
Central	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
Chisman's Creek	1	1	2	0	2	3	0	3	3	4	2	3
Eastern	0	0	0	1	1	4	0	3	1	4	0	4
Western	1	1	2	0	1	0	1	0	2	1	3	0
Unknown	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Total	4	2	5	1	6	9	2	9	10	11	7	10

Table 3.7f

Number of Cattle in All Estates

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over
Calthorpe's Neck	5	4	3	1	7	13	4	11	12	17	7	12
Central	5	1	0	0	7	5	2	5	12	6	2	5
Chisman's Creek	4	3	2	0	14	15	7	9	18	18	9	9
Eastern	0	0	0	1	2	8	2	10	2	8	2	11
Western	2	3	2	1	2	3	2	1	4	6	4	2
Unknown	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Total	17	11	7	3	33	44	17	36	50	55	24	39

Table 3.8

Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Dairy Equipment

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV
	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given
Calthorpe's Neck	1	1	0	1	0	1	6	1	1	2	6	2
Central	2	0	0	0	1	0	3	4	3	0	3	4
Chisman's Creek	0	1	0	0	0	7	2	3	0	8	2	3
Eastern	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	2	0	1	2	3
Western	2	1	0	4	0	1	0	2	2	2	0	6
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	5	3	0	6	1	10	13	12	6	13	13	18

Table 3.9a

Ownership of Pigs by Charles Parish Decedents

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV
	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given
Calthorpe's Neck	3	1	0	1	7	10	11	4	10	11	11	5
Central	1	0	0	1	2	4	5	4	3	4	5	5
Chisman's Creek	3	3	0	1	8	23	5	8	11	26	5	9
Eastern	0	0	0	1	0	5	5	8	0	5	5	9
Western	1	1	0	2	2	2	1	2	3	3	1	4
Unknown	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Total	8	5	0	7	20	44	27	26	28	49	27	33

Table 3.9b

Number of Pigs in Estates Worth Less Than L 50

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over
Calthorpe's Neck	2	1	0	0	3	1	3	0	5	2	3	0
Central	3	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	5	0	1	0
Chisman's Creek	2	1	0	0	4	6	0	0	6	7	0	0
Eastern	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Western	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0
Unknown	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Total	7	2	2	0	11	8	3	0	18	10	5	0

Table 3.9c

Number of Pigs in Estates Worth L 51 to 225

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over
Calthorpe's Neck	0	1	0	0	1	2	3	4	1	3	3	4
Central	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	1	1	3	1	1
Chisman's Creek	2	0	0	0	3	7	8	5	5	7	8	5
Eastern	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1
Western	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	1	0	1	7	14	14	11	9	15	14	12

Table 3.9d

Number of Pigs in Estates Worth L 226 or More

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over
Calthorpe's Neck	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	8	0	0	3	8
Central	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	0	1	1	3
Chisman's Creek	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1	0	0	5
Eastern	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	1	0	0	4
Western	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1	0	0	0	1	1	4	21	2	1	4	21

Table 3.9e

Number of Pigs in Estates of Unknown Value

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over
Calthorpe's Neck	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	3	0	0	2
Central	0	1	0	0	2	1	1	0	2	2	1	0
Chisman's Creek	0	0	0	1	3	0	4	1	3	0	4	2
Eastern	0	0	1	0	3	1	2	2	3	1	3	2
Western	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	1	0
Unknown	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Total	3	1	2	1	11	3	7	5	14	4	9	6

Table 3.9f

Number of Pigs in All Estates

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over
Calthorpe's Neck	3	2	0	0	6	3	9	14	9	5	9	14
Central	3	1	1	0	5	5	3	4	8	6	4	4
Chisman's Creek	5	1	0	1	10	11	12	11	15	12	12	12
Eastern	0	0	1	0	6	2	3	7	6	2	4	7
Western	1	0	2	1	3	2	1	1	4	2	3	2
Unknown	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Total	13	4	4	2	31	23	28	37	44	27	32	39

Table 3.10a

Ownership of Sheep by Charles Parish Decedents

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	TEV = L 50 or Less	TEV = L 51-225	TEV = L 226 +	TEV Not Given	TEV = L 50 or Less	TEV = L 51-225	TEV = L 226 +	TEV Not Given	TEV = L 50 or Less	TEV = L 51-225	TEV = L 226 +	TEV Not Given
Calthorpe's Neck	4	1	0	0	7	6	11	4	11	7	11	4
Central	0	0	0	0	2	3	5	4	2	3	5	4
Chisman's Creek	1	0	0	0	5	17	5	7	6	17	5	7
Eastern	0	0	0	0	0	5	6	6	0	5	6	6
Western	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	5	1	0	0	15	33	28	22	20	34	28	22

Table 3.10b

Number of Sheep in Estates Worth L 50 or Less

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over
Calthorpe's Neck	3	1	0	0	5	2	0	0	8	3	0	0
Central	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Chisman's Creek	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	6	0	0	0
Eastern	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Western	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	4	1	0	0	13	2	0	0	17	3	0	0

Table 3.10c

Number of Sheep in Estates Worth L 51 to 225

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over
Calthorpe's Neck	1	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	4	3	0	0
Central	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	2	0	0
Chisman's Creek	0	0	0	0	7	10	2	0	7	10	2	0
Eastern	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	2	3	0	0
Western	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1	0	0	0	14	18	3	0	15	18	3	0

Table 3.10d

Number of Sheep in Estates Worth L 226 or More

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over
Calthorpe's Neck	0	0	0	0	1	3	5	2	1	3	5	2
Central	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
Chisman's Creek	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	0	1	3	1
Eastern	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	1
Western	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	5	7	10	6	5	7	10	6

Table 3.10e

Number of Sheep in Estates of Unknown Value

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over
Calthorpe's Neck	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	4	0	0	0
Central	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	2	2	0	0
Chisman's Creek	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	2	0	3	2	2
Eastern	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	1	3	1	1	1
Western	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	9	6	4	3	9	6	4	3

Table 3.10f
Number of Sheep in All Estates

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over	Between 1 and 10	Between 11 and 20	Between 21 and 30	31 or Over
Calthorpe's Neck	4	1	0	0	13	8	5	2	17	9	5	2
Central	0	0	0	0	7	5	1	1	7	5	1	1
Chisman's Creek	1	0	0	0	12	14	7	3	13	14	7	3
Eastern	0	0	0	0	7	6	2	2	7	6	2	2
Western	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	1	2	0	2	1
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	5	1	0	0	41	33	17	9	46	34	17	9

Table 3.11
Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Equipment for Textile Production

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	TEV = L 50 or Less	TEV = L 51-225	TEV = L 226 +	TEV Not Given	TEV = L 50 or Less	TEV = L 51-225	TEV = L 226 +	TEV Not Given	TEV = L 50 or Less	TEV = L 51-225	TEV = L 226 +	TEV Not Given
Calthorpe's Neck	0	0	0	0	6	9	6	2	6	9	6	2
Central	0	0	0	0	3	1	2	2	3	1	2	2
Chisman's Creek	0	0	0	0	1	7	3	4	1	7	3	4
Eastern	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	5	0	0	7	5
Western	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	1	2	2	0	1
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	12	19	18	14	12	19	18	14

Table 3.12

Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Had Indentured Servants

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV
	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given
Calthorpe's Neck	0	4	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	4	1	1
Central	2	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	2	2	1	0
Chisman's Creek	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Eastern	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Western	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	0
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	6	1	1	0	2	3	0	2	8	4	1

Table 3.13a

Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Slaves

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV
	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given
Calthorpe's Neck	1	0	0	0	0	9	11	3	1	9	11	3
Central	0	0	0	0	0	5	5	4	0	5	5	4
Chisman's Creek	0	0	0	1	0	17	5	5	0	17	5	6
Eastern	0	0	0	0	0	2	7	7	0	2	7	7
Western	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1	1	0	1	1	34	29	20	2	35	29	21

Table 3.13b
Mean and Median Slaveholding in Charles Parish

Section	18th Century		17th and 18th Centuries	
	Mean Slaveholding	Median Slaveholding	Mean Slaveholding	Median Slaveholding
Calthorpe's Neck	4.8	4	4.9	4
Central	5.6	2	5.6	2
Chisman's Creek	6.3	4	6.4	4
Eastern	7.4	7	7.4	7
Western	3.4	2	3.4	2
Total	5.7	4	5.9	4

Table 3.14a
Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Beds

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	TEV = L 50 or Less	TEV = L 51-225	TEV = L 226 +	TEV Not Given	TEV = L 50 or Less	TEV = L 51-225	TEV = L 226 +	TEV Not Given	TEV = L 50 or Less	TEV = L 51-225	TEV = L 226 +	TEV Not Given
Calthorpe's Neck	9	4	0	1	11	13	11	4	20	17	11	5
Central	5	0	0	1	4	4	4	4	9	4	4	5
Chisman's Creek	5	1	1	2	10	17	5	8	15	18	6	10
Eastern	2	0	0	0	0	5	8	7	2	5	8	7
Western	3	2	0	4	4	1	1	2	7	3	1	6
Unknown	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Total	24	7	1	8	31	40	29	25	55	47	29	33

Table 3.14b

Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Feather Beds

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV
	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given
Calthorpe's Neck	7	3	0	0	5	4	7	3	12	7	7	3
Central	5	0	0	1	2	3	1	4	7	3	1	5
Chisman's Creek	2	1	1	1	4	8	2	3	6	9	3	4
Eastern	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	2	0	2	3
Western	3	2	0	4	2	0	1	1	5	2	1	5
Unknown	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
Total	19	6	1	6	14	15	14	14	33	21	15	20

Table 3.14c

Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Bedsteads

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV
	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given
Calthorpe's Neck	1	2	0	0	4	11	8	2	5	13	8	2
Central	2	0	0	1	0	3	3	2	2	3	3	3
Chisman's Creek	1	0	0	1	5	10	5	3	6	10	5	4
Eastern	0	0	0	0	0	2	6	4	0	2	6	4
Western	3	0	0	3	2	1	1	0	5	1	1	3
Unknown	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Total	7	2	0	5	13	27	23	11	20	29	23	16

Table 3.15

Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Silver Items

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV
	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given
Calthorpe's Neck	1	1	0	0	1	1	3	1	2	2	3	1
Central	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1	0	0	5	1
Chisman's Creek	0	1	0	0	0	2	2	2	0	3	2	2
Eastern	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	1	0	2	3	1
Western	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1	2	0	0	1	5	14	5	2	7	14	5

Table 3.16

Number of Charles Parish Decedents Who Owned Books

Section	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century				Total			
	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV	TEV =	TEV =	TEV =	TEV
	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given	L 50 or Less	L 51-225	L 226 +	Not Given
Calthorpe's Neck	3	2	0	1	3	9	9	1	6	11	9	2
Central	2	0	0	0	2	4	6	1	4	4	6	1
Chisman's Creek	1	1	1	2	4	7	4	4	5	8	5	6
Eastern	1	0	0	0	0	4	8	4	1	4	8	4
Western	1	1	0	2	1	2	1	2	2	3	1	4
Unknown	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Total	8	4	1	5	11	26	28	12	19	30	29	17

APPENDIX 4

GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED IN TABLES FOR CHAPTER 4
AND TABLES FOR CHAPTER 4¹

Miscellaneous Associations

Part 1. Terms that convey information about the relationship between the subject and the individual with whom he or she associated.

Family--members of the subject's immediate family
Relative--the subject's distant family members and kin
Friend--the subject's friend as noted in a contemporary document
Neighbor--an individual who lived on a plantation that adjoined the subject's tract or on a plantation that was within a mile or two of the subject
Same Precinct--an individual who lived in the same precinct as the subject, but I could not determine the neighborhood that he or she lived in
Other Precinct--an individual who lived in the other precinct from the subject
Landlord--the subject's landlord
Tenant--the subject's tenant
Master & Wife--the subject's master or master's wife
Servant--the subject's servant
Godparent/Godchild--the subject's godparent or godchild
Guardian/Ward--the subject's guardian or ward
Charles Parish--the subject associated with an individual who lived in Charles Parish, but I could not determine the neighborhood or precinct that he or she lived in
York Parish--the subject associated with an individual who lived in York Parish
Hampton Parish--ditto Hampton Parish
Yorkhampton Parish--ditto Yorkhampton Parish (York and Hampton parishes became Yorkhampton Parish in 1707)
Yorktown--ditto Yorktown
Marston Parish--ditto Marston Parish
Bruton Parish--ditto Bruton Parish (Marston and Middletown parishes became Bruton Parish in 1674)
Williamsburg--ditto Williamsburg
York County--the subject associated with an individual who lived in York County, but I could not determine the parish that he or she lived in
Elizabeth City County--the subject associated with an individual who lived in Elizabeth City County
Warwick County--ditto Warwick County
James City County--ditto James City County

¹The source for the tables is the Biographical Files compiled for this study.

Gloucester County--ditto Gloucester County
 Unknown--the subject associated with an individual, but I could not determine where he or she lived

Part 2. Terms that convey information about the subject's role in the association.

Party in Civil Suit--the subject appeared in the York County Court as a plaintiff or a defendant
 Witness, Evidence--the subject provided testimony in a case tried in the York County Court
 Security, Civil Suit--the subject stood as a security in a civil suit
 Grantor/Grantee, Deed of Gift--the subject gave or received a deed of gift
 Grantor/Grantee, Power of Attorney--the subject gave or received a power of attorney
 Assignor/Assignee--the subject gave or received a title to real or personal property
 Obligor/Obligee--the subject gave or received the duty to fulfill an obligation
 Witness--the subject witnessed a deed, will, or bond
 Security, Bond--the subject stood as a security on a bond
 Security, Guardian Bond--the subject stood as a security on a guardianship bond
 Security, Ordinary Bond--the subject stood as a security on a bond for an ordinary bond
 Grantor, Guardian Bond--the subject entered into a guardianship bond
 Grantor, Ordinary Bond--the subject entered into a bond that entitled him or her to keep an ordinary

Estate-Related Associations

Part 1. Terms that convey information about the relationship between the subject and the decedent.

Family--members of the subject's immediate family
 Relative--the subject's distant family members and kin
 Wife's Previous Husband--the previous husband of the subject's wife
 Friend--the subject's friend as noted in a contemporary document
 Countryman--the subject's countryman as noted in a contemporary document
 Neighbor--an individual who lived on a plantation that adjoined the subject's tract or on a plantation that was within a mile or two of the subject
 Godparent--the subject's godparent
 Ward--the subject's ward
 Master/Employer--the subject's master or employer
 Servant--the subject's servant
 Landlord--the subject's landlord
 Tenant--the subject's tenant
 Same Precinct--an individual who lived in the same precinct as the subject, but I could not determine the neighborhood that he or she lived in
 Other Precinct--an individual who lived in the other precinct from the subject
 Charles Parish--the subject associated with an individual who lived in Charles Parish, but I could not determine the neighborhood or precinct that he or she lived in

Charles Parish-York Parish Area--the subject associated with an individual who lived in the Charles Parish-York Parish area
 York Parish--the subject associated with an individual who lived in York Parish
 Hampton Parish--ditto Hampton Parish
 Yorkhampton Parish--ditto Yorkhampton Parish (York and Hampton parishes became Yorkhampton Parish in 1707)
 Yorktown--ditto Yorktown
 Marston Parish--ditto Marston Parish
 Bruton Parish--ditto Bruton Parish (Marston and Middletown parishes became Bruton Parish in 1674)
 York County--the subject associated with an individual who lived in York County, but I could not determine the parish that he or she lived in
 Elizabeth City County--the subject associated with an individual who lived in Elizabeth City County
 Warwick County--ditto Warwick County
 James City County--ditto James City County
 Gloucester County--ditto Gloucester County

Part 2. Terms that convey information about the role that the subject played in the settlement of the decedent's estate.

Executor/Administrator--the subject served as the decedent's executor or administrator
 Legatee--the subject was one of the decedent's legatees
 Witness--the subject witnessed the decedent's will
 Overseer/Trustee--the subject served as the overseer or trustee of the decedent's will
 Security--the subject stood as a security on a bond for administration
 Appraiser--the subject appraised the decedent's personal estate
 Presented Account--the subject presented an account of the decedent's estate
 Estate Divider--the subject divided the decedent's estate among his or her heirs
 Auditor--the subject audited the account of the decedent's estate
 Assign Dower--the subject assigned the widow her dower in her deceased husband's estate
 Possessed Estate--the subject possessed the decedent's estate until the decedent's orphans were of age
 Creditor--the subject was owed money by the decedent's estate
 Debtor--the subject owed money to the decedent's estate
 Purchaser--the subject purchased an item or several items at the sale of the decedent's personal possessions

Table 4.1a
 Miscellaneous Associations:
 Charles Parish, 1630-1659

	Party in Civil Suit	Witness Evidence	Security Civil Suit	Grantor/ Grantee Deed of Gift	Grantor/ Grantee Power of Attorney	Assignor/ Assignee	Obligor/ Obligee	Witness	Total
Family	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	1	6
Friend	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
Neighbor	5	5	4	4	4	2	0	32	58
Same Precinct	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	8	10
Other Precinct	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Landlord	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Godparent/Godchild	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
Charles Parish	0	2	0	1	1	3	0	4	11
York Parish	1	1	0	0	2	1	1	5	11
Hampton Parish	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
Marston Parish	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	3
Elizabeth City County	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	5
Warwick County	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Unknown	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	4
Total	6	9	4	14	11	10	1	63	118

**Table 4.1b
Miscellaneous Associations:
Charles Parish, 1660-1699**

	Party in Civil Suit	Witness Evidence	Security Civil Suit	Grantor/ Grantee Deed of Gift	Grantor/ Grantee Power of Attorney	Assignor/ Assignee	Obligor/ Obligee	Witness	Security Bond	Total
Family	4	3	2	30	11	0	0	8	0	58
Relative	4	2	0	4	11	3	0	11	0	35
Friend	2	1	0	2	36	0	0	2	0	43
Neighbor	93	92	20	7	53	27	1	162	10	465
Same Precinct	12	10	3	0	14	14	0	28	0	81
Other Precinct	16	17	1	5	12	1	0	30	0	82
Landlord	0	1	0	0	3	1	0	3	0	8
Tenant	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Master & Wife	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Servant	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	4
Godparent/Godchild	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	6
Guardian/Ward	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	4
Charles Parish	9	5	3	0	2	6	0	4	0	29
York Parish	22	20	5	0	25	13	0	26	2	113
Hampton Parish	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	5	0	8
Yorktown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
Marston/Bruton Parish	1	2	0	0	4	2	0	3	1	13
Elizabeth City County	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	3
Warwick County	0	0	0	0	6	2	0	0	3	11
James City County	1	2	0	0	28	1	0	1	0	33
Gloucester County	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	3
Unknown	5	1	0	7	7	2	0	5	0	27
Total	170	157	37	61	222	73	1	294	17	1032

Table 4.1c
Miscellaneous Associations:
Charles Parish, 1700-1740

	Party in Civil Suit	Witness Evidence	Security Civil Suit	Grantor/ Grantee Deed of Gift	Grantor/ Grantee Power of Attorney	Assignor/ Assignee	Witness	Security Guardian Bond	Security Ordinary Bond	Grantor Guardian Bond	Grantor Ordinary Bond	Total
Family	5	0	7	30	3	2	6	2	0	1	0	56
Relative	7	5	0	0	0	1	8	2	2	3	0	28
Friend	0	1	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Neighbor	58	65	10	1	7	10	146	22	27	24	25	395
Same Precinct	15	13	3	0	0	0	17	5	6	5	6	70
Other Precinct	8	11	4	0	2	0	39	4	2	5	3	78
Landlord	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Tenant	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Charles Parish	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Yorkhempston Parish	14	20	6	1	6	5	41	4	1	0	2	100
Yorktown	5	2	2	0	0	2	5	1	26	1	1	45
Bruton Parish	0	1	2	0	0	2	8	0	0	0	0	13
Williamsburg	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	3
York County	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	4
Elizabeth City County	0	4	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	9
Warwick County	0	4	0	0	0	3	10	1	0	0	0	18
James City County	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Gloucester County	4	2	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	9
Unknown	10	5	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	19
Total	127	136	36	32	28	34	284	41	67	39	37	861

Table 4.2a
Estate-Related Associations:
Charles Parish, 1630-1659

	Executor/ Administrator	Legatee	Witness	Overseer/ Trustee	Security	Appraiser	Presented Account	Creditor	Debtor	Purchaser	Total
Family	10	52	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	63
Relative	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Wife's Previous Husband	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Friend	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Countryman	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Neighbor	6	10	11	10	0	11	0	5	6	4	63
Godparent	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Master	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	5
Landlord	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Same Precinct	1	2	0	3	1	4	0	1	5	3	20
Other Precinct	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	4
Charles Parish	0	9	8	1	0	6	0	1	3	1	29
Charles Parish- York Parish Area	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	14	14	0	31
York Parish	2	1	2	0	0	1	0	3	5	5	19
Hampton Parish	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Marston Parish	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
York County	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	22	86	22	17	1	23	2	27	36	13	249

Table 4.2b
Estate-Related Associations:
Charles Parish, 1660-1699

	Executor/ Administrator	Legatee	Witness	Overseer/ Trustee	Security	Appraiser	Estate Divider	Auditor	Possessed Estate	Creditor	Debtor	Purchaser	Total
Family	93	256	3	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	355
Relative	10	41	12	4	5	6	0	0	1	1	1	0	81
Wife's Previous Husband	13	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	16
Friend	5	16	9	6	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	39
Countryman	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Neighbor	8	17	122	19	46	0	36	3	0	40	45	1	337
Godparent	0	4	4	0	18	98	0	0	0	1	0	0	125
Master	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Landlord	1	2	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	6	0	14
Tenant	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	5
Same Precinct	3	3	10	0	5	16	6	0	1	7	34	1	86
Other Precinct	0	0	9	0	11	25	0	1	0	5	30	1	82
Charles Parish	2	9	28	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	22	0	70
Charles Parish- York Parish Area	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	3	13	0	19
York Parish	7	10	13	4	18	12	7	5	0	3	27	8	114
Hampton Parish	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	4	11
Marston/Bruton Parish	0	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	8
James City County	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Gloucester County	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3
Total	146	366	221	34	110	159	51	10	6	73	180	17	1373

Table 4.2c
Estate-Related Associations:
Charles Parish, 1700-1740

	Executor/ Administrator	Legatee	Witness	Overseer/ Trustee	Security	Appraiser	Estate Divider	Assign Dower	Auditor	Possessed Estate	Creditor	Debtor	Purchaser	Total
Family	142	432	9	1	7	6	0	0	1	1	4	0	3	606
Relative	23	38	21	6	35	22	1	0	1	0	7	2	2	158
Wife's Previous Husband	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	7
Friend	5	5	6	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	24
Neighbor	16	9	151	4	86	286	7	0	18	0	64	47	4	692
Godparent	0	10	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Ward	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Master/Employer	0	5	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	12
Servant	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Landlord	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	4
Tenant	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4
Same Precinct	0	1	17	0	23	47	1	1	7	3	12	10	1	123
Other Precinct	0	0	12	0	17	32	1	0	4	1	15	12	2	96
Charles Parish	0	3	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	0	21
Yorkhampton Parish	4	18	24	0	17	18	0	0	1	0	10	4	0	96
Yorktown	0	0	3	0	4	3	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	14
Bruton Parish	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
Elizabeth City County	1	2	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Warwick County	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
James City County	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	196	526	262	16	193	415	10	1	33	8	121	66	16	1882

Table 4.3a
Miscellaneous Associations:
Calthorpe's Neck Neighborhood, 1630-1659

	Party in Civil Suit	Witness Evidence	Grantor/Grantee Deed of Gift	Grantor/Grantee Power of Attorney	Assignor/Assignee	Witness	Total
Friend	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Neighbor	2	4	4	0	1	8	19
Same Precinct	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Other Precinct	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Godparent	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Charles Parish	0	1	1	0	0	2	4
York Parish	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
Hampton Parish	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Marston Parish	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
Elizabeth City County	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
Unknown	0	0	1	0	1	1	3
Total	2	5	8	2	2	20	39

Table 4.3b
Miscellaneous Associations:
Calthorpe's Neck Neighborhood, 1660-1700

	Party in Civil Suit	Witness Evidence	Security Civil Suit	Grantor/ Grantee Deed of Gift	Grantor/ Grantee Power of Attorney	Assignor/ Assignee	Obligor/ Obligee	Witness	Security Bond	Total
Family	2	0	2	13	4	0	0	1	0	22
Relative	0	1	0	3	1	1	0	8	0	14
Friend	0	0	0	1	15	0	0	1	0	17
Neighbor	36	37	8	0	24	13	1	60	4	183
Same Precinct	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Other Precinct	6	11	0	1	7	0	0	11	0	36
Landlord	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Tenant	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Master & Wife	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Servant	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Godparent/Godchild	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	4
Guardian/Werd	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Charles Parish	4	0	2	0	0	2	0	2	0	10
York Parish	9	1	0	0	8	2	0	2	0	22
Hampton Parish	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	3
Marston/Bruton Parish	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	5
Elizabeth City County	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Warwick County	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	4
James City County	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	8
Gloucester County	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Unknown	1	0	0	6	2	0	0	0	0	9
Total	60	53	12	28	80	20	1	89	4	347

Table 4.3c
Miscellaneous Associations:
Calthorpe's Neck Neighborhood, 1700-1740

	Party in Civil Suit	Witness Evidence	Security Civil Suit	Grantor/ Grantee Deed of Gift	Grantor/ Grantee Power of Attorney	Assignor/ Aesignee	Witness	Security Guardian Bond	Security Ordinary License	Grantor Guardian Bond	Grantor Ordinary License	Total
Family	3	0	1	2	1	0	3	1	0	1	0	12
Relative	3	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	8
Friend	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Neighbor	15	13	2	0	1	3	55	11	13	11	2	128
Same Precinct	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Other Precinct	0	0	1	0	1	0	28	1	0	3	0	34
Charles Parish	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Yorkhampton Parish	1	1	0	0	1	0	16	0	0	0	0	19
Yorktown	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	7
Bruton Parish	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	4
York County	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Elizabeth City County	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Warwick County	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
James City County	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Gloucester County	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Unknown	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total	27	20	4	2	8	6	112	13	18	16	2	228

Table 4.4a
Estate-Related Associations:
Calthorpe's Neck Neighborhood, 1630-1659

	Executor/ Administrator	Legatee	Witness	Overseer/ Trustee	Appraiser	Presented Account	Creditor	Debtor	Total
Family	2	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
Wife's Previous Husband	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Friend	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Neighbor	2	1	5	4	5	0	0	0	17
Godparent	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Same Precinct	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Charles Parish	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
Charles Parish- York Parish Area	0	0	0	0	0	2	8	8	18
York Parish	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total	7	14	6	5	6	2	8	9	57

Table 4.4b
Estate-Related Associations:
Calthorpe's Neck Neighborhood, 1660-1699

	Executor/ Administrator	Legatee	Witness	Overseer/ Trustee	Security	Appraiser	Estate Divider	Auditor	Possessed Estate	Creditor	Debtor	Purchaser	Total
Family	37	106	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	145
Relative	8	16	2	1	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	31
Wife's Previous Husband	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Friend	0	11	7	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23
Neighbor	3	10	44	8	18	61	20	2	0	3	20	0	109
Godparent	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4
Master	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Landlord	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	9
Tenant	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
Same Precinct	0	1	0	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	6
Other Precinct	0	0	6	0	7	5	0	0	0	0	3	0	21
Charles Parish	0	3	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	21
Charles Parish- York Parish Area	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	0	6
York Parish	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	8	0	15
Hampton Parish	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
Maraton/Bruton Parish	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	57	155	78	13	30	73	23	3	1	8	47	1	489

Table 4.4c
Estate-Related Associations:
Calthorpe's Neck Neighborhood, 1700-1740

	Executor/ Administrator	Legatee	Witness	Overseer/ Trustee	Security	Appraiser	Estate Divider	Auditor	Possessed Estate	Creditor	Debtor	Purchaser	Total
Family	38	116	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	2	0	1	162
Relative	5	9	7	2	14	5	0	0	0	2	1	1	46
Wife's Previous Husband	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
Friend	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Neighbor	4	1	44	0	31	84	1	7	0	23	5	1	210
Godparent	0	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Ward	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Master/Employer	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Landlord	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Same Precinct	0	0	6	0	5	21	0	2	0	2	0	0	36
Other Precinct	0	0	4	0	5	3	0	1	1	13	0	1	28
Charles Parish	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
York/Yorkhampton Parish	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Yorktown	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Elizabeth City County	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	49	138	72	2	59	116	1	11	1	42	6	4	601

Table 4.5a
Miscellaneous Associations:
Central Neighborhood, 1630-1659

	Witness Evidence	Security Civil Suit	Grantor/Grantee Deed of Gift	Grantor/Grantee Power of Attorney	Assignor/ Assignee	Obligor/Obligee	Witness	Total
Family	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Neighbor	1	3	0	4	0	0	19	27
Same Precinct	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	5
Landlord	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Godparent/Godchild	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Charles Parish	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
York Parish	1	0	0	1	1	1	3	7
Hampton Parish	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Merston Parish	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Elizabeth City County	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	2	3	1	7	4	1	30	48

Table 4.5b
Miscellaneous Associations:
Central Neighborhood, 1660-1699

	Party in Civil Suit	Witness Evidence	Security Civil Suit	Grantor/ Grantee Deed of Gift	Grantor/ Grantee Power of Attorney	Assignor/ Assignee	Witness	Security Bond	Total
Family	0	1	0	11	2	0	5	0	19
Relative	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	3
Friend	0	0	0	1	8	0	1	0	10
Neighbor	10	7	4	4	21	5	48	0	99
Same Precinct	6	3	1	0	7	1	5	0	23
Other Precinct	0	1	0	3	0	0	3	0	7
Landlord	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	4
Servant	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Charles Parish	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	3
York Parish	1	4	2	0	2	2	5	0	16
Hampton Parish	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
Marston/Bruton Parish	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	4
Elizabeth City County	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Warwick County	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	3
James City County	1	0	0	0	9	1	0	0	11
Unknown	1	0	0	0	3	0	2	0	6
Total	20	16	9	19	59	11	76	3	213

Table 4.5c
Miscellaneous Associations:
Central Neighborhood, 1700-1740

	Party in Civil Suit	Witness Evidence	Security Civil Suit	Grantor/ Grantee Power of Attorney	Assignor/ Assignee	Witness	Security Guardian Bond	Security Ordinary License	Grantor Guardian Bond	Grantor Ordinary License	Total
Family	0	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	6
Relative	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Friend	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Neighbor	18	26	1	4	0	41	6	12	6	23	137
Same Precinct	3	3	3	0	0	5	0	0	4	6	24
Other Precinct	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4
Tenant	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Charles Parish	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Yorkhampton Parish	3	4	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	2	14
Yorktown	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	6
Bruton Parish	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
York County	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Warwick County	0	2	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	5
Gloucester County	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Unknown	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	5
Total	31	38	7	8	1	59	7	13	10	35	209

Table 4.6a
Estate-Related Associations:
Central Neighborhood, 1630-1659

	Executor/ Administrator	Legatee	Witness	Overseer/ Trustee	Security	Appraiser	Creditor	Debtor	Total
Family	2	16	0	1	0	0	0	0	19
Relative	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Friend	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Neighbor	3	6	5	4	0	1	3	0	22
Master	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
Same Precinct	0	2	0	1	1	0	1	0	5
Charles Parish	0	5	0	1	0	0	1	2	9
Charles Parish- York Parish Area	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	6
York Parish	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	4
Hampton Parish	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
York County	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	5	34	6	7	1	1	11	7	72

Table 4.6b
Estate-Related Associations:
Central Neighborhood, 1660-1700

	Executor/ Administrator	Legatee	Witness	Overseer/ Trustee	Security	Appraiser	Possessed Estate	Creditor	Debtor	Purchaser	Total
Family	18	47	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	65
Relative	1	4	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	9
Wife's Previous Husband	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Friend	4	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Countryman	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Neighbor	1	0	25	2	2	11	0	20	7	1	69
Godparent	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Master	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Landlord	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Same Precinct	2	2	4	0	2	3	1	2	1	1	18
Other Precinct	0	0	0	0	1	7	0	0	2	1	11
Charles Parish	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	12
Charles Parish- York Parish Area	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
York Parish	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	2	2	7
Hampton Parish	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Merston/Bruton Parish	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
Total	29	63	38	4	8	22	2	28	14	5	213

Table 4.6c
Estate-Related Associations:
Central Neighborhood, 1700-1740

	Executor/ Administrator	Legatee	Witness	Overseer/ Trustee	Security	Appraiser	Estate Divider	Assign Dower	Auditor	Possessed Estate	Creditor	Debtor	Purchaser	Total
Family	26	69	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	103
Relative	3	3	5	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	19
Wife's Previous Husband	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Friend	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
Neighbor	2	2	31	0	14	41	2	2	3	0	18	30	2	147
Godparent	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Same Precinct	0	0	2	0	7	11	1	1	0	0	8	6	1	37
Other Precinct	0	0	2	0	3	13	0	0	0	0	2	5	1	28
Charles Parish	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	8
York/Yorkhampton Parish	0	2	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	7
Yorktown	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3
Buxton Parish	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Elizabeth City County	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Total	33	81	49	2	33	65	3	3	3	2	34	46	7	361

Table 4.7a
Miscellaneous Associations:
Eastern Neighborhood, 1630-1659

	Grantor/Grantee Deed of Gift	Grantor/Grantee Power of Attorney	Witness	Total
Family	2	0	0	2
Neighbor	0	0	2	2
Charles Parish	0	0	1	1
York Parish	0	0	1	1
Warwick County	0	1	0	1
Total	2	1	4	7

Table 4.7b
Miscellaneous Associations:
Eastern Neighborhood, 1660-1699

	Party in Civil Suit	Witness Evidence	Grantor/Grantee Power of Attorney	Assignor/Assignee	Witness	Total
Relative	1	0	0	0	0	1
Friend	1	0	4	0	0	5
Neighbor	2	3	3	0	10	18
Same Precinct	0	1	0	0	4	5
Other Precinct	1	0	0	0	2	3
Charles Parish	1	0	0	0	0	1
York Parish	1	0	4	1	0	6
Total	7	4	11	1	16	39

Table 4.7c
Miscellaneous Associations:
Eastern Neighborhood, 1700-1740

	Party in Civil Suit	Witness Evidence	Security Civil Suit	Assignor/ Assignee	Witness	Security Guardian Bond	Security Ordinary License	Grantor Guardian Bond	Total
Family	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
Relative	1	1	0	0	2	1	0	1	6
Neighbor	1	4	1	2	12	0	0	2	22
Same Precinct	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
Other Precinct	7	2	0	0	4	0	2	0	15
Yorkhampton Parish	0	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	6
Yorktown	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	5
Bruton Parish	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
Elizabeth City County	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
Warwick County	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	4
Total	9	12	1	6	25	3	8	3	67

Table 4.8a
Estate-Related Associations:
Eastern Neighborhood, 1630-1659

	Executor/ Administrator	Legatee	Overseer/Trustee	Appraiser	Total
Family	1	5	0	0	6
Neighbor	0	0	0	1	1
Godparent	0	1	0	0	1
Master	0	1	0	0	1
Other Precinct	0	0	1	1	2
Charles Parish	0	0	0	1	1
Marston Parish	1	0	0	0	1
Total	2	7	1	3	13

Table 4.8b
Estate-Related Associations:
Eastern Neighborhood, 1660-1699

	Executor/ Administrator	Legatee	Witness	Overseer/ Trustee	Security	Appraiser	Estate Divider	Auditor	Creditor	Debtor	Total
Family	4	21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25
Relative	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Friend	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Neighbor	3	1	8	6	6	7	1	1	1	0	34
Same Precinct	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
Other Precinct	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	4
Charles Parish	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
York Parish	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
Marston/Bruton Parish	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
Total	7	25	13	6	7	9	1	2	3	2	75

Table 4.8c
Estate-Related Associations:
Eastern Neighborhood, 1700-1740

	Executor/ Administrator	Legatee	Witness	Overseer/ Trustee	Security	Appraiser	Estate Divider	Debtor	Total
Family	29	90	0	0	2	4	0	0	125
Relative	5	22	2	2	5	9	1	0	46
Friend	0	2	4	3	1	0	0	0	10
Neighbor	1	0	22	0	8	49	4	0	84
Godparent	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Master/Employer	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
Same Precinct	0	0	1	0	1	5	0	0	7
Other Precinct	0	0	3	0	1	2	1	0	7
Charles Parish	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
York/Yorkhampton Parish	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	5
Yorktown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	35	122	37	5	18	69	6	1	293

Table 4.9a
Miscellaneous Associations:
Chisman's Creek Neighborhood, 1630-1659

	Party in Civil Suit	Witness Evidence	Security Civil Suit	Grantor/Grantee Deed of Gift	Assignor/Assignee	Witness	Total
Family	0	0	0	3	0	0	3
Friend	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Neighbor	3	0	1	0	1	3	8
Same Precinct	0	1	0	0	0	3	4
Charles Parish	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
York Parish	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	4	2	1	3	1	7	18

Table 4.9b
Miscellaneous Associations:
Chisman's Creek Neighborhood, 1660-1699

	Party in Civil Suit	Witness Evidence	Security Civil Suit	Grantor/ Grantee Deed of Gift	Grantor/ Grantee Power of Attorney	Assignor/ Assignee	Witness	Security Bond	Total
Family	1	1	0	6	5	0	2	0	15
Relative	1	0	0	1	6	0	1	0	9
Friend	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	6
Neighbor	20	22	4	3	4	5	22	5	85
Same Precinct	2	6	2	0	6	4	9	0	29
Other Precinct	4	1	1	1	3	0	6	0	16
Godparent/child	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Guardian/Ward	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Charles Parish	2	4	0	0	1	3	2	0	12
York Parish	0	8	3	0	11	6	14	1	43
Hampton Parish	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Yorktown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Marston/Bruton Parish	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Elizabeth City County	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Warwick County	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	3
James City County	0	2	0	0	4	0	1	0	7
Gloucester County	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Unknown	2	1	0	1	1	2	2	0	9
Total	32	46	11	14	51	22	61	7	244

Table 4.9c
Miscellaneous Associations:
Chisman's Creek Neighborhood, 1700-1740

	Party in Civil Suit	Witness Evidence	Security Civil Suit	Grantor/ Grantee Deed of Gift	Assignor/ Assignee	Witness	Security Guardian Bond	Security Ordinary License	Grantor Guardian Bond	Total
Family	2	0	4	26	2	0	0	0	1	35
Relative	2	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	7
Neighbor	14	11	4	1	3	25	4	0	5	67
Same Precinct	9	6	0	0	0	10	3	5	0	33
Other Precinct	1	8	3	0	0	5	3	0	2	22
Charles Parish	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Yorkhampton Parish	8	9	4	1	1	16	2	1	0	42
Yorktown	2	0	1	0	2	1	1	15	1	23
Bruton Parish	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	4
Williamsburg	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
Yorl: County	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Elizabeth City County	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	4
Warwick County	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	4
James City County	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Gloucester County	0	1	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	6
Unknown	2	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Total	40	43	19	28	12	69	15	24	10	260

Table 4.10a
Estate-Related Associations:
Chisman's Creek Neighborhood, 1630-1659

	Executor/ Administrator	Legatee	Witness	Overseer/ Trustee	Appraiser	Creditor	Debtor	Purchaser	Total
Family	5	21	0	0	0	0	0	0	26
Wife's Previous Husband	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Countryman	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Neighbor	1	3	1	2	4	2	6	4	23
Master	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Landlord	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Same Precinct	1	0	0	2	3	0	5	3	14
Other Precinct	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Charles Parish	0	3	6	0	5	0	0	1	15
Charles Parish- York Parish Area	0	1	0	0	0	3	3	0	7
York Parish	1	0	1	0	1	2	2	4	11
Merston Parish	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	8	30	9	4	13	8	19	12	103

Table 4.10b
Estate-Related Associations:
Chisman's Creek Neighborhood, 1660-1699

	Executor/ Administrator	Legatee	Witness	Overseer/ Trustee	Security	Appraiser	Estate Divider	Auditor	Possesse d Estate	Creditor	Dabtor	Purchaser	Total
Family	22	42	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	65
Relative	1	4	4	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	11
Wife's Previous Husband	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Friend	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Neighbor	1	3	30	2	15	13	5	0	0	2	14	0	65
Godparent	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mester	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Landlord	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Tenant	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Same Precinct	1	0	3	0	0	4	0	0	0	1	18	0	27
Other Precinct	0	0	1	0	2	8	0	1	0	4	17	0	33
Charles Parish	1	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	14
Charles Parish- York Parish Area	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	5	0	8
York Parish	4	10	3	4	11	9	5	3	0	1	13	2	65
Hampton Parish	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	5
Marston/Bruton Parish	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
James City County	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Gloucester County	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Total	34	63	50	8	32	34	11	5	1	9	73	5	325

Table 4.10c
Estate-Related Associations:
Chisman's Creek Neighborhood, 1700-1740

	Executor/ Administrator	Legatee	Witness	Overseer/ Trustee	Security	Appraiser	Auditor	Possessed Estate	Creditor	Debtor	Purchaser	Total
Family	38	122	6	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	169
Relative	6	3	7	1	12	6	1	0	3	0	0	39
Wife's Previous Husband	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	5
Friend	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Neighbor	9	5	41	4	25	97	8	0	21	1	1	212
Godparent	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Master/Employer	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	8
Servant	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Lendlord	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Tenant	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
Same Precinct	0	1	8	0	7	5	5	3	1	0	0	30
Other Precinct	0	0	2	0	7	11	3	0	0	1	0	24
Charles Parish	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
York/Yorkhampton Parish	4	8	15	0	15	16	1	0	6	3	0	68
Yorktown	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	4
Bruton Parish	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Elizabeth City County	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Warwick County	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
James City County	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	62	146	86	7	68	138	19	5	38	7	5	581

Table 4.11a
Miscellaneous Associations:
Western Neighborhood, 1630-1659

	Grantor/Grantee Power of Attorney	Assignor/Assignee	Witness	Total
Friend	0	0	1	1
Charles Parish	0	2	1	3
Elizabeth City County	1	0	0	1
Unknown	0	1	0	1
Total	1	3	2	6

**Table 4.11b
Miscellaneous Associations:
Western Neighborhood, 1660-1699**

	Party in Civil Suit	Witness Evidence	Security Civil Suit	Grantor/Grantee Power of Attorney	Assignor/Assignee	Witness	Security Bond	Total
Family	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Relative	1	1	0	3	2	1	0	8
Friend	1	1	0	3	0	0	0	5
Neighbor	25	23	4	1	4	22	1	80
Same Precinct	4	0	0	1	3	9	0	17
Other Precinct	5	4	0	2	1	8	0	20
Landlord	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	3
Tenant	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Servant	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
Guardian/Ward	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Charles Parish	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
York Parish	11	7	0	0	2	5	1	26
Hampton Parish	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Yorktown	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Marston/Bruton Parish	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
Warwick County	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
James City County	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	7
Unknown	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	3
Total	51	38	5	21	14	52	3	184

Table 4.11c
Miscellaneous Associations:
Western Neighborhood, 1700-1740

	Party in Civil Suit	Witness Evidence	Security Civil Suit	Grantor/ Grantee Deed of Gift	Grantor/ Grantee Power of Attorney	Assignor/ Assignee	Witness	Security Guardian Bond	Security Ordinary License	Total
Family	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Relative	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	5
Friend	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Neighbor	10	11	2	0	2	2	13	1	2	43
Same Precinct	3	4	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	11
Other Precinct	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	3
Landlord	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Yorkhampton Parish	2	4	2	0	5	2	3	1	0	19
Yorktown	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	4
Bruton Parish	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
York County	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Warwick County	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	3
Gloucester County	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
Unknown	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	5
Total	20	23	5	2	12	9	25	3	5	104

Table 4.12a
 Estate-Related Associations:
 Western Neighborhood, 1630-1659

	Executor/Administrator	Witness	Purchaser	Total
Charles Parish	0	1	0	1
York Parish	1	0	1	2
Total	1	1	1	3

Table 4.12b
Estate-Related Associations:
Western Neighborhood, 1660-1699

	Executor/ Administrator	Legatee	Witness	Overseer/ Trustee	Security	Appraiser	Estate Divider	Possessed Estate	Creditor	Debtor	Purchaser	Total
Family	12	40	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	55
Relative	0	14	6	1	2	4	0	0	0	1	0	28
Wife's Previous Husband	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	6
Friend	1	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	7
Neighbor	0	3	15	1	5	6	10	0	14	4	0	58
Godparent	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Tenant	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Same Precinct	0	0	1	0	1	6	5	0	4	15	0	32
Other Precinct	0	0	1	0	1	3	2	0	1	7	0	15
Charles Parish	0	3	5	0	0	0	0	1	2	12	0	23
Charles Parish- York Parish Area	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	3
York Parish	2	0	8	0	5	1	0	0	0	3	4	23
Hampton Parish	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Marston/Bruton Parish	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Gloucester County	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	19	63	42	4	15	20	17	2	25	44	6	257

Table 4.12c
Estate-Related Associations:
Western Neighborhood, 1700-1740

	Executor/ Administrator	Legatee	Witness	Security	Appraiser	Creditor	Debtor	Total
Family	11	35	0	0	0	0	0	46
Relative	4	1	0	1	2	0	0	8
Friend	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Neighbor	0	1	13	8	15	2	11	50
Landlord	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Tenant	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Same Precinct	0	0	0	3	5	1	4	13
Other Precinct	0	0	1	1	3	0	6	11
Charles Parish	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	4
York-Yorkhampton Parish	0	1	2	1	2	3	1	10
Yorktown	0	3	0	1	1	0	1	6
Total	17	42	18	15	28	7	26	153

APPENDIX 5
TABLES FOR CHAPTER 5¹

¹Unless noted otherwise, the source for the tables is the Biographical Files compiled for this study.

Table 5.1a
Mean Estate Value and Labor Force of Charles Parish and
York County Decedents Who Died Before 1700

	All Charles Parish Officeholders and Jurors	All Charles Parish Residents	All Charles Parish Men	All York County Residents	All York County Men	All Charles Parish Women	All York County Women
Estate Value	92.77	84.86	88.60	162.59	165.44	26.96	96.22
Number of Servants	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
Number of Slaves	2	1	1	2	2	0	0
Number of Laborers	4	2	2	2	2	0	1
Number of Records	12	33	31	194	186	2	8

Table 5.1b
Mean Estate Value and Labor Force of Charles Parish and
York County Decedents Who Died Between 1700 and 1777

	All Charles Parish Officeholders and Jurors	All Charles Parish Residents	All Charles Parish Men	All York County Residents	All York County Men	All Charles Parish Women	All York County Women
Estate Value	410.95	256.28	264.02	317.74	340.62	203.11	185.00
Number of Servants	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Number of Slaves	4	3	3	3	3	4	3
Number of Laborers	4	4	3	3	3	4	3
Number of Records	103	228	199	891	760	29	131

Table 5.1c
Mean Estate Value and Labor Force of Charles Parish and
York County Decedents Who Died by 1777

	All Charles Parish Officeholders and Jurors	All Charles Parish Residents	All Charles Parish Men	All York County Residents	All York County Men	All Charles Parish Women	All York County Women
Estate Value	377.75	234.60	240.38	290.00	306.18	191.75	179.89
Number of Servants	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Number of Slaves	4	3	3	3	3	4	3
Number of Laborers	4	3	3	3	3	4	3
Number of Records	115	260	230	1085	946	31	139

Source: St. Mary's City Commission York County Inventory Tape.

Table 5.2a
Landholding of Charles Parish Decedents Who Were Officeholders

Decade	0	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1660s	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
1670s	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1680s	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1690s	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1700s	1	1	3	1	0	0	2	1	0
1710s	0	0	15	2	1	1	1	1	0
1720s	0	0	11	4	0	0	1	2	0
1730s	0	1	1	0	0	0	7	3	1
1740s	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	4	1
1750s	0	1	1	0	0	1	3	6	0
1760s	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
1770s	1	1	2	1	0	0	4	3	1
Total	10	4	34	9	1	2	29	20	5

Table 5.2b
Landholding of All Charles Parish Decedents

Decade	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1660s	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
1670s	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
1680s	5	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	1
1690s	6	1	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	0
1700s	6	0	1	6	1	0	0	3	1	1
1710s	4	0	0	18	2	3	1	4	2	3
1720s	9	1	0	12	5	0	0	3	2	2
1730s	1	2	2	3	0	0	0	10	7	6
1740s	3	0	0	4	0	0	0	7	5	6
1750s	1	3	2	4	0	0	1	7	9	6
1760s	6	1	1	2	0	0	0	3	2	8
1770s	2	2	1	4	1	0	0	7	4	2
Total	51	10	7	56	10	3	2	51	33	35

Table 5.2c
Landholding of All York County Decedents

Decade	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1630s	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
1640s	9	0	0	6	1	0	0	3	0	3
1650s	4	2	0	2	0	1	0	3	0	1
1660s	7	0	0	2	2	2	2	7	1	0
1670s	24	0	0	5	1	2	1	6	2	3
1680s	23	1	1	5	1	0	0	3	4	1
1690s	20	1	2	3	1	2	3	11	3	1
1700s	18	3	3	20	5	2	2	11	3	4
1710s	20	2	2	46	8	5	2	11	5	11
1720s	35	2	0	37	9	1	2	19	10	10
1730s	8	8	3	25	3	1	1	23	12	17
1740s	15	4	2	30	1	2	1	34	11	32
1750s	24	10	3	18	2	0	1	28	18	36
1760s	21	3	4	21	2	0	1	26	10	21
1770s	9	7	4	22	2	2	1	27	7	17
Total	237	45	24	244	38	20	17	213	86	157

KEY TO LANDHOLDING CATEGORIES:

- 0 = No evidence of landholding
- 1 = No land at death
- 2 = Land earlier in career, but not at death
- 3 = 1 to 350 acres
- 4 = 351 to 800 acres
- 5 = 801 to 1500 acres
- 6 = 1500+ acres
- 7 = Owned land at death, acreage unknown
- 8 = Probably owned land at death
- 9 = Probably did not own land at death

Source: St. Mary's City Commission York County Inventory Tape.

Table 5.3
Mean and Median Estate Value, Slaveholding, and Rural Landholding of
York County Officeholders, Williamsburg Officeholders, Yorktown Officeholders, and
Non-Officeholders From Williamsburg and Yorktown

	York County Justices of the Peace	Williamsburg Common Hall	York County Clerks, Dep. Clerks, Dep. King's Attorney	York County Dep. Sheriffs, Constables, Surveyors of *	Yorktown Surveyors of Streets and Landings	York County Petit Jury Duty Only	York County Grand Jury Duty Only	York County Grand and Petit Jury Duty Only	Williamsburg Non- Officeholders	Yorktown Non- Officeholders
Mean Estate Value	1160	2775	451	381	653	233	804	672	195	83
Median Estate Value	901	830	387	183	507	117	524	164	60	54
Mean Number of Slaves	20*	15*	6	7	9	2	11	8	2	2
Median Number of Slaves	18	15	6	3	6	1	5	5	0	0
Mean Number of Rural Acres	509	284	941	317	211	282	366	215	100*	150
Median Number of Rural Acres	399	200	255	215	130	150	78	200	100	205
Number of Records	22	5	3	38	9	14	5	21	33	19
Number of Records (Land)	53	13	4	49	7	16	3	12	11	9

* Highways, Bailiffs, Tobacco Agents, Jailors

* Outlines not included in calculation

Sources: Table 3 Comparative Table Estate Values of Urban Officeholders and Non-Officeholders; Table 4 Comparative Slaveholding of Urban Officeholders and Non-Officeholders; Table 5 Comparative Sizes of Rural York County Plantations Owned by Officeholders and Non-Officeholders in Linda H. Rowe, "Peopling the Power Structure: Urban Oriented Officeholders in York County, Virginia 1699-1780," (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1989).

Table 5.4
Officeholders and Jurors
in the Charles Parish Population, 1630-1740

Year	Charles Parish Population	3 Year Running Average	Adult Males in Charles Parish	3 Year Running Average	% of Charles Parish Population	Officeholders From Charles Parish	Jurors From Charles Parish
1630	1	-	1	-	100	0	0
1631	1	3	1	1.33	.44	0	0
1632	7	5	2	2.33	.47	0	0
1633	7	7	4	3.67	.52	0	0
1634	7	8.67	5	6	.69	1	0
1635	12	18.33	9	12	.65	1	0
1636	36	29	22	17.67	.61	2	0
1637	39	40.33	22	23.67	.59	2	0
1638	46	44	27	26.33	.60	2	0
1639	47	47	30	28.67	.61	2	0
1640	48	44.67	29	28	.63	4	0
1641	39	42.33	25	26	.61	3	0
1642	40	39	24	24.67	.63	3	0
1643	38	41.67	25	26	.62	3	0
1644	47	50.33	29	31.33	.62	3	0
1645	66	72.67	40	45	.62	3	0
1646	105	90.33	66	56	.62	9	0
1647	100	107.33	62	63.33	.58	4	0
1648	117	93.33	62	53.33	.57	6	0
1649	63	83	36	45.33	.55	3	0
1650	69	68.67	38	38.67	.56	3	0
1651	74	83	42	41	.49	3	0
1652	84	83	43	45	.54	6	0
1653	91	95.67	50	48.67	.51	5	0
1654	112	110.67	53	54	.49	4	0
1655	129	120	59	55.33	.46	3	0
1656	119	127.67	54	58	.45	4	0
1657	135	140.67	61	64.33	.46	6	0
1658	168	155.33	78	71	.46	5	20
1659	163	167.67	74	75.33	.45	7	18

Table 5.4, continued

Year	Charles Parish Population	3 Year Running Average	Adult Males in Charles Parish	3 Year Running Average	% of Charles Parish Population	Officeholders From Charles Parish	Jurors From Charles Parish
1660	172	175.33	74	76	.43	8	6
1661	191	189.67	80	78	.41	6	7
1662	206	192.33	80	75.33	.39	9	5
1663	180	193.33	66	72	.37	1	0
1664	194	202.33	70	73.67	.36	2	0
1665	233	221.67	85	82.67	.37	5	3
1666	238	248.33	93	96.33	.39	4	6
1667	274	265	111	104	.39	4	2
1668	283	289.33	108	112.67	.39	5	11
1669	311	307.33	119	117.67	.38	4	4
1670	328	329.67	126	126.33	.38	6	4
1671	350	338.67	134	131.67	.39	9	5
1672	338	351.33	135	135.67	.39	6	0
1673	366	359.33	138	137.33	.38	6	3
1674	374	385	139	145.33	.38	9	5
1675	415	404	159	149.67	.37	9	4
1676	423	419.33	151	152	.36	9	0
1677	420	422.67	146	151	.36	7	0
1678	425	430.33	156	153.33	.36	5	18
1679	446	429.67	158	152.33	.35	6	5
1680	418	429.33	143	147	.34	10	10
1681	424	424.33	140	141.33	.33	8	13
1682	431	430	141	140.67	.33	11	4
1683	435	439.67	141	142.33	.32	9	11
1684	453	449.33	145	145.33	.32	6	14
1685	460	459	150	146	.32	8	18
1686	464	472	143	148.67	.31	9	0
1687	492	477.67	153	147.67	.31	9	4
1688	477	479.33	147	145.67	.30	9	7
1689	469	481.33	137	143.33	.30	8	7

Table 5.4, continued

Year	Charles Parish Population	3 Year Running Average	Adult Males in Charles Parish	3 Year Running Average	% of Charles Parish Population	Officeholders From Charles Parish	Jurors From Charles Parish
1690	498	502	146	149.67	.30	5	18
1691	539	529	166	159.67	.30	8	21
1692	550	553.33	167	168.67	.30	8	23
1693	571	560	173	170	.30	7	11
1694	559	562.33	170	171.33	.30	10	7
1695	557	555	171	171	.31	8	6
1696	555	555.33	172	170	.31	10	2
1697	554	558	167	170.67	.31	7	0
1698	565	554.33	173	169.33	.31	7	5
1699	544	554.33	168	171	.31	11	8
1700	554	543	172	171	.31	9	3
1701	531	529	173	168.67	.32	12	14
1702	502	507	161	162.67	.32	13	6
1703	488	495	154	158.67	.32	12	6
1704	495	499	161	160.33	.32	19	2
1705	514	503.67	166	163	.32	14	0
1706	502	512	162	164.33	.32	15	13
1707	520	514.33	165	165	.32	13	15
1708	521	523	168	166.33	.32	21	22
1709	528	529	166	167.33	.32	11	18
1710	538	535.67	168	164.33	.31	5	21
1711	541	542.67	159	167.33	.31	15	21
1712	549	550	175	171.67	.31	15	23
1713	560	559.33	181	181.33	.32	11	24
1714	569	561	188	185.33	.33	11	24
1715	554	563	187	190	.34	11	30
1716	566	568.33	195	192	.34	16	52
1717	585	579	194	196	.34	13	18
1718	586	563.67	199	185.33	.33	11	15
1719	520	547	163	174.33	.32	13	11

Table 5.4, continued

Year	Charles Parish Population	3 Year Running Average	Adult Males in Charles Parish	3 Year Running Average	% of Charles Parish Population	Officeholders From Charles Parish	Jurors From Charles Parish
1720	535	514	161	152.67	.30	12	11
1721	487	503.67	134	143	.28	10	6
1722	489	488.33	134	135	.28	12	5
1723	489	483	137	135	.28	12	8
1724	471	477.33	134	135.33	.28	13	11
1725	472	472.33	135	134	.28	11	10
1726	474	472.67	133	135	.29	10	3
1727	472	466.67	137	132.67	.28	12	2
1728	454	462.33	128	131	.28	14	0
1729	461	458	128	130.33	.28	10	11
1730	459	467	135	134.33	.29	9	1
1731	481	475.67	140	141	.30	9	1
1732	487	481.67	148	146	.30	11	0
1733	477	482.67	150	148.67	.31	11	1
1734	484	480.33	148	146.67	.31	12	4
1735	480	468.33	142	139.67	.30	14	7
1736	441	450.67	129	129.67	.29	11	16
1737	431	431.33	118	121.33	.28	15	21
1738	422	425.33	117	119.67	.28	11	8
1739	423	420.67	124	124.33	.30	15	20
1740	417	-	132	-	.32	10	23

Table 5.5a
Number of Years Between Arrival in Charles Parish and
Appointment to a Local-, County-, or Colony-Level Office

Decade First in Charles	Same Year	1 to 5 Years	6 to 10 Years	11 to 15 Years	16 to 20 Years	21 to 25 Years	26 or More Years	Total
1630s	2	1	2	2	1	0	0	8
1640s	3	3	1	5	1	1	0	14
1650s	2	6	4	2	1	1	0	16
1660s	2	5	2	1	3	0	0	13
1670s	1	4	1	3	2	1	0	12
1680s	0	1	3	2	1	0	0	7
1690s	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	3
1700s	1	2	4	2	0	0	0	9
1710s	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	3
1720s	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	6
1730s	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
Total	14	25	19	21	9	4	1	93

Table 5.5b
Number of Years Between Arrival in Charles Parish and
Appointment as a Petit, Grand, Inquest, or Land Survey Juror

Decade First in Charles	Same Year	1 to 5 Years	6 to 10 Years	11 to 15 Years	16 to 20 Years	21 to 25 Years	26 or More Years	Total
1640s	0	0	1	10	2	0	2	15
1650s	11	9	2	4	0	1	0	27
1660s	7	6	3	4	4	0	1	25
1670s	2	14	8	7	1	0	1	33
1680s	1	4	4	1	1	0	0	11
1690s	3	3	3	1	0	1	0	11
1700s	1	7	4	0	0	0	0	12
1710s	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	3
1720s	1	2	2	2	1	1	0	9
1730s	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	4
Total	26	49	28	30	9	3	5	150

Table 5.6a
First Decade of Officeholding by Place of Death

First Decade of Officeholding	Charles Parish	York/ Yorkhampton	York County	Elizabeth City County	Warwick County	Gloucester County	Carolina	England	Unknown	Total
1630s	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	3
1640s	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	8
1650s	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	11
1660s	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	18
1670s	14	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	19
1680s	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	16
1690s	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
1700s	15	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	16
1710s	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	18
1720s	9	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	10
1730s	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	26
Total	132	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	14	154

Table 5.6b
First Decade of Jury Service by Place of Death

First Decade of Jury Service	Charles Parish	York/York-hampton	York County	Elizabeth City County	Warwick County	Unknown	Total
1650s	25	0	0	0	0	7	32
1660s	18	0	1	0	0	4	23
1670s	16	0	0	2	0	4	22
1680s	30	0	0	0	0	3	33
1690s	27	0	0	0	0	5	32
1700s	22	2	0	0	2	1	27
1710s	26	0	0	0	0	2	28
1720s	10	1	0	1	1	2	15
1730s	23	0	0	0	0	9	32
Total	197	3	1	3	3	37	244

Table 5.6c
 Mean Time (in Years) of Residence in Charles Parish of All Adult Residents, All Adult
 Residents Born in Charles Parish, Officeholders, Jurors, and All Male Residents

Decade of Birth	All Adult Residents of Charles Parish		All Adult Residents Born in Charles Parish		Officeholders		Jurors		All Male Residents	
	Mean Residence	No. of Men	Mean Residence	No. of Men	Mean Residence	No. of Men	Mean Residence	No. of Men	Mean Residence	No. of Men
1590s	11	2	-	0	21	1	-	0	11	2
1600s	14	8	-	0	25	3	25	2	14	8
1610s	9	47	-	0	20	9	29	4	9	49
1620s	6	87	-	0	16	12	21	12	6	101
1630s	11	89	-	0	24	13	17	27	9	116
1640s	11	134	10	7	22	19	23	34	10	162
1650s	10	163	21	17	28	17	22	37	11	206
1660s	12	128	20	30	29	11	26	26	12	189
1670s	12	138	19	50	25	12	22	24	12	236
1680s	12	115	19	46	22	18	21	30	13	210
1690s	14	104	17	63	27	13	24	18	14	220
1700s	14	91	15	56	31	15	30	23	15	199
1710s	14	89	15	65	29	14	26	29	18	163
1720s	17	47	17	46	34	14	29	19	15	136
1730s	19	35	19	34	25	11	20	17	13	135

Table 5.7
 Mean Time (in Years) of Residence in Charles Parish of Men Who Served
 as a Justice of the Peace, Churchwarden, Vestryman, Constable, or Surveyor of the Highways

First Decade of Officeholding	Justice of Peace		Churchwarden		Vestryman		Constable		Surveyor of the Highways	
	Number of Office- holders	Mean Time	Number of Office- holders	Mean Time	Number of Office- holders	Mean Time	Number of Office- holders	Mean Time	Number of Office- holders	Mean Time
1630s	1	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1640s	1	5	0	0	1	19	3	1	0	0
1650s	4	6	0	0	0	0	5	2	1	4
1660s	0	0	1	1	1	1	7	2	6	3
1670s	3	10	0	0	1	32	7	2	7	2
1680s	1	11	2	9	2	22	14	1	6	3
1690s	4	11	3	4	5	13	3	4	2	2
1700s	0	0	7	2	16	3	8	2	6	5
1710s	2	4	4	2	0	0	10	2	7	8
1720s	2	15	5	1	0	0	4	5	10	5
1730s	3	11	3	2	0	0	3	3	8	5

Table 5.8a
Place of Birth of Officeholders

Decade of Birth	Charles Parish	York Parish	Elizabeth City County	Warwick County	Virginia	England	Scotland	Unknown	Total
1590s	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
1600s	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	3
1610s	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	2	9
1620s	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	9	13
1630s	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	6	13
1640s	2	1	0	0	0	6	0	10	19
1650s	7	0	0	0	0	1	0	8	16
1660s	5	0	0	0	1	0	0	5	11
1670s	9	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	13
1680s	11	0	2	1	0	1	0	3	18
1690s	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	12
1700s	9	3	0	0	0	0	1	3	16
1710s	12	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	14
1720s	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14
1730s	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Total	89	4	4	2	1	30	1	52	183

**Table 5.8b
Place of Birth of Jurors**

Decade of Birth	Charles Parish	York Parish	Elizabeth City County	Warwick County	Virginia	New England	England	Scotland	France	Holland	Unknown	Total
1600s	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
1610s	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	4
1620s	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	8	12
1630s	0	0	0	0	1	0	7	0	1	1	17	27
1640s	2	2	0	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	19	34
1650s	12	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	21	36
1660s	13	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	12	26
1670s	19	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	5	28
1680s	18	1	4	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	5	30
1690s	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	18
1700s	15	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	5	24
1710s	24	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	29
1720s	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19
1730s	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
Total	155	6	6	2	2	1	31	1	1	1	100	306

Table 5.9a
Decade of Birth in Charles Parish by Decade of
Appointment to a Local-, County-, or Colony-Level Office

Decade of Birth	1670s	1680s	1690s	1700s	1710s	1720s	1730s	1740s	1750s	1760s	1770s	1780s	Total
1640s	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
1650s	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
1660s	0	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
1670s	0	0	0	7	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
1680s	0	0	0	1	7	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	11
1690s	0	0	0	0	3	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	9
1700s	0	0	0	0	1	0	6	2	0	0	0	0	9
1710s	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4	1	4	0	0	12
1720s	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	6	5	1	0	14
1730s	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	3	1	11
Total	4	6	1	11	13	6	11	9	8	15	4	1	89

Table 5.9b
Decade of Birth in Charles Parish by Decade of
Appointment as a Petit, Grand, Inquest, or Land Survey Juror

Decade of Birth	1660s	1670s	1680s	1690s	1700s	1710s	1720s	1730s	1740s	1750s	1760s	1770s	Total
1640s	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
1650s	0	2	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
1660s	0	0	3	8	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
1670s	0	0	0	2	13	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	16
1680s	0	0	0	0	2	15	1	0	1	0	0	0	19
1690s	0	0	0	0	0	2	10	1	4	0	0	0	17
1700s	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	9	5	0	0	0	15
1710s	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	11	0	1	2	24
1720s	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	10	3	0	19
1730s	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	13	1	1	17
Total	1	3	9	13	16	19	12	20	27	13	17	3	153

Table 5.10
First Decade of Appointment to Office or Jury by Place of Birth

First Decade of Appointment	Officeholders			Jurors		
	Born Outside of Charles Parish	Born in Charles Parish	% Born in Charles Parish	Born Outside of Charles Parish	Born in Charles Parish	% Born in Charles Parish
1630s	2	0	0	0	0	0
1640s	10	0	0	0	0	0
1650s	10	0	0	32	0	0
1660s	16	0	0	22	1	4.3
1670s	14	4	22.2	19	3	13.6
1680s	11	6	35.3	24	9	27.3
1690s	7	1	14.3	18	13	41.9
1700s	6	2	25.0	12	16	57.1
1710s	7	13	65.0	10	19	65.5
1720s	5	6	54.5	4	12	75.0
1730s	5	11	68.8	4	20	83.3
1740s	1	9	90.0	6	27	81.8
1750s	0	8	100	0	13	100
1760s	0	15	100	1	17	94.4
1770s	0	4	100	0	3	0
1780s	0	1	100	0	0	0
Total	94	80	45.9	152	153	50.2

Table 5.11a
Number of Years Between Majority and Appointment
to a Local-, County-, or Colony- Level Office

Decade of Birth	Same Year	1 to 5 Years	6 to 10 Years	11 to 15 Years	16 to 20 Years	21 to 25 Years	26 or More Years	Total
1640s	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
1650s	0	3	3	1	0	0	0	7
1660s	0	0	2	0	1	2	0	5
1670s	0	2	3	3	1	0	0	9
1680s	0	4	3	2	1	0	1	11
1690s	0	1	4	2	1	1	0	9
1700s	1	1	3	3	0	1	0	9
1710s	2	1	4	1	1	2	2	13
1720s	0	5	3	1	3	1	1	14
1730s	0	4	2	2	1	2	0	11
Total	3	22	27	15	9	9	4	89

* Age 18

Table 5.11b
Number of Years Between Majority and Appointment
as a Local-, County-, or Colony-Level Office

Decade of Birth	Same Year	1 to 5 Years	6 to 10 Years	11 to 15 Years	16 to 20 Years	21 to 25 Years	26 or More Years	Total
1640s	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
1650s	0	2	6	1	1	0	1	11
1660s	1	3	7	0	1	0	1	13
1670s	0	5	6	3	3	0	0	17
1680s	2*	6	4	5	0	0	1	18
1690s	0	6	2	2	1	2	3	16
1700s	0	2	4	9	1	0	0	16
1710s	2•	10	7	1	1	0	2	23
1720s	3	9	2	1	2	1	0	18
1730s	0	8	4	5	0	0	0	17
Total	9	51	43	27	10	3	8	151

* 1 - age 20

• 1 - age 19

Table 5.12a

538

Son's Highest Office as Compared to Father's or Grandfather's Highest Level of Service

Father's Highest Level of Service	Officeholders Born in Seventeenth Century			Officeholders Born in Eighteenth Century		
	Colony	County	Local	Colony	County	Local
Colony	0	1	6	0	3	0
County	2	1	1	0	2	4
Local	1	1	14	1	2	22
None	1	2	14	0	2	6
Jury Service	0	0	9	0	1	6
Grandfather-Officeholder	0	1	1	0	0	0
Grandfather-Jury Service	0	0	1	0	0	0
Total	4	6	46	1	10	38

Table 5.12b

Son's Jury Service as Compared to Father's or Grandfather's Highest Level of Service

Father's Highest Level of Service	Jurors Born in Seventeenth Century	Jurors Born in Eighteenth Century
Colony	1	0
County	4	0
Local	12	15
None	12	10
Jury Service	16	10
Grandfather-Officeholder	1	0
Total	46	35

Notes: Includes Jurors Only; Grandfather's officeholding or jury service used if father did not hold an office.

539

Table 5.13a
Son-in-Law's Highest Office as Compared to Father-in-Law's Highest Level of Service

Father-in-Law's Highest Level of Service	Officeholders Born in the Seventeenth Century			Officeholders Born in the Eighteenth Century		
	Colony	County	Local	Colony	County	Local
Colony	0	0	3	0	0	0
County	0	3	2	0	0	2
Local	2	3	14	0	0	0
None	0	0	5	0	0	0
Jury Service	0	0	3	0	0	0
Total	2	6	27	0	0	2

Table 5.13b
Son-in-Law's Jury Service as Compared to Father-in-Law's Highest Level of Service

Father-in-Law's Highest Level of Service	Jurors Born in Seventeenth Century	Jurors Born in Eighteenth Century
Colony	2	0
County	0	0
Local	3	0
None	5	0
Jury Service	3	0
Total	13	0

Table 5.14
Impact of Jury Service on An Individual's Highest Office

Decade of Birth	Jury Service Before First Office-holding: Highest Office Held			Jury Service After First Office-holding: Highest Office Held			Jury Service at Same Time as First Officeholding Highest Office Held		
	Colony	County	Local	Colony	County	Local	Colony	County	Local
1600s	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
1610s	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	1	1
1620s	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0
1630s	0	3	3	0	0	2	0	0	0
1640s	0	3	5	0	0	6	0	1	1
1650s	0	2	4	1	0	6	0	1	0
1660s	0	0	8	0	0	2	0	0	0
1670s	0	0	6	0	1	2	0	1	2
1680s	0	1	9	0	0	2	1	0	3
1690s	1	0	4	0	0	2	0	0	0
1700s	0	0	5	0	2	5	0	0	1
1710s	1	2	7	0	2	0	0	0	0
1720s	0	2	8	0	0	2	0	0	2
1730s	0	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	2	15	69	3	9	29	1	4	11

Table 5.15
Occupation By Highest Office

Occupation	Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century			
	None	Local	County	Colony	None	Local	County	Colony
Planter	*	55	8	9	*	81	16	3
Merchant	4	1	0	1	1	0	2	1
Unknown	0	9	0	1	0	3	1	0
Miller	1	2	1	3	2	1	2	0
Tanner	2	1	0	1	0	2	0	0
Doctor	5	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
Smith	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wheelwright	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Blacksmith	0	1	0	0	4	1	0	0
Shoemaker	1	1	0	0	2	1	0	0
Carpenter	11	1	0	0	10	2	1	0
Saddler	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
Ordinary Keeper	1	0	0	0	4	3	4	1
Store Keeper	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Tailor	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	0
Waterman	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ferry Keeper	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cooper	8	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Boatwright	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Overseer	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Weaver	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Sawyer	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bricklayer	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0
Teacher	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
Total	43	75	9	15	40	97	27	5

* planters who did not hold a local-, county-, or colony-level office were not tallied.

Table 5.16
Reasons Why Churchwardens and Grand Jurors Presented Charles Parish Residents

Decade	Violation of Social and Moral Behavior	Neglect of Duties	Failure to Pay Taxes	Total
1640s	18	0	0	18
1650s	2	0	0	2
1660s	6	0	2	8
1670s	8	1	0	9
1680s	12	5	0	17
1690s	5	1	7	13
1700s	35	48	2	85
1710	12	17	4	33
1720s	15	3	0	18
1730s	21	1	1	23
1740s	18	4	6	28
1750s	13	3	7	23
1760s	42	10	9	61
Total	207	93	38	338

APPENDIX 6
TABLES FOR CHAPTER 6¹

¹The source for the tables is the Biographical Files compiled for this study.

Table 6.1
 Poor Residents in the Charles Parish Population, 1630-1740

Year	Number of Poor Residents	3 Year Running Average	% of Charles Parish Population
1630	1	-	-
1631	0	.67	.22
1632	1	.67	.13
1633	1	1.67	.24
1634	3	1.67	.19
1635	1	2.33	.13
1636	3	1.67	.06
1637	1	1.33	.03
1638	0	.67	.02
1639	1	2	.04
1640	5	3.33	.07
1641	4	3.67	.09
1642	2	2.67	.07
1643	2	2.67	.06
1644	4	6.67	.13
1645	14	17.67	.24
1646	35	27.33	.30
1647	33	34	.32
1648	34	27.33	.29
1649	15	22	.27
1650	17	16.67	.24
1651	18	17.33	.21
1652	17	19	.23
1653	22	21.33	.22
1654	25	24.33	.22
1655	26	23.67	.20
1656	20	27.33	.21
1657	36	36.67	.26
1658	54	46.33	.30
1659	49	49.33	.29
1660	45	48.33	.28

Table 6.1, continued
 Poor Residents in the Charles Parish Population, 1630-1740

Year	Number of Poor Residents	3 Year Running Average	% of Charles Parish Population
1661	51	47.33	.25
1662	46	43	.22
1663	32	37.33	.19
1664	34	37.67	.19
1665	47	45	.20
1666	54	57	.23
1667	70	63	.24
1668	65	69.67	.24
1669	74	71	.23
1670	74	77.33	.23
1671	84	81.33	.24
1672	86	85	.24
1673	85	84.67	.24
1674	83	89.33	.23
1675	100	92	.23
1676	93	94	.22
1677	89	96	.23
1678	106	97.67	.23
1679	98	96.67	.22
1680	86	89	.21
1681	83	83.67	.20
1682	82	83	.19
1683	84	86	.20
1684	92	88.33	.20
1685	89	89	.19
1686	86	92.67	.20
1687	103	94	.20
1688	93	91.33	.19
1689	78	85.33	.18
1690	85	89.67	.18
1691	106	98.67	.19

Table 6.1, continued
 Poor Residents in the Charles Parish Population, 1630-1740

Year	Number of Poor Residents	3 Year Running Average	% of Charles Parish Population
1692	105	109.67	.20
1693	118	109.67	.20
1694	106	108.67	.19
1695	102	104.33	.19
1696	105	104.33	.19
1697	106	107.33	.19
1698	111	105.67	.19
1699	100	104.67	.19
1700	103	106	.20
1701	115	104	.20
1702	94	101.33	.20
1703	95	95	.19
1704	96	97.67	.20
1705	102	98	.19
1706	96	99	.19
1707	99	97.67	.19
1708	98	97.33	.19
1709	95	96.67	.18
1710	97	94.33	.18
1711	91	97.33	.18
1712	104	103.33	.19
1713	115	112.67	.20
1714	119	116.33	.21
1715	115	119.33	.21
1716	124	119.67	.21
1717	120	118	.20
1718	110	104.67	.19
1719	84	93.67	.17
1720	87	79.33	.15
1721	67	74	.15
1722	68	66.33	.14

Table 6.1, continued
 Poor Residents in the Charles Parish Population, 1630-1740

Year	Number of Poor Residents	3 Year Running Average	% of Charles Parish Population
1723	64	66.67	.14
1724	68	68.67	.14
1725	74	69	.15
1726	65	70.33	.15
1727	72	65	.14
1728	58	66.33	.14
1729	69	64.33	.14
1730	66	68	.15
1731	69	72	.15
1732	81	78.33	.16
1733	85	83.33	.17
1734	84	80.67	.17
1735	73	77.67	.17
1736	76	72.33	.16
1737	68	68	.16
1738	60	64.33	.15
1739	65	67.67	.16
1740	78	-	-

548

Table 6.2
Annual Totals of Different Categories of Poor Residents in Charles Parish, 1630-1740

Year	Freed From Levies	Children Bound Out	Poor Widows and Orphans	Servants	Tenants	Landless Adult Men*	Illegitimate Children●	Inventory Worth Less Than L50
1630	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
1631	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1632	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
1633	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
1634	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
1635	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
1636	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	1
1637	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1638	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1639	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
1640	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	0
1641	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0
1642	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
1643	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
1644	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0
1645	0	0	0	0	1	13	0	0
1646	0	0	0	2	1	34	0	0
1647	0	0	0	2	1	32	0	0
1648	0	0	0	0	2	32	0	0
1649	0	0	0	0	2	13	0	0
1650	0	0	0	0	4	13	0	0
1651	0	0	0	0	5	13	0	0
1652	0	0	0	0	3	14	0	0
1653	0	0	0	0	3	19	0	0
1654	0	0	0	2	4	21	0	0
1655	0	0	0	2	5	21	0	0
1656	0	0	0	2	6	14	0	0
1657	0	0	0	3	5	26	0	4
1658	0	0	0	4	7	43	1	0
1659	0	0	0	7	3	42	0	0
1660	1	0	0	3	3	40	0	0

* includes male servants

● includes mothers if they were not a servant

Table 6.2, continued
Annual Totals of Different Categories of Poor Residents in Charles Parish, 1630-1740 549

Year	Freed From Levies	Children Bound Out	Poor Widows and Orphan	Servants	Tenants	Landless Adult Males*	Illegitimate Children●	Inventory Worth Less Than 50
1661	1	0	0	5	3	42	2	0
1662	4	0	0	16	8	31	0	0
1663	3	0	0	2	3	25	0	0
1664	3	0	0	2	6	24	0	0
1665	3	0	0	7	6	34	0	0
1666	2	0	0	3	6	43	0	1
1667	2	0	0	6	6	60	0	1
1668	2	0	0	5	5	55	0	2
1669	2	0	0	13	4	64	2	0
1670	3	0	0	9	3	67	0	0
1671	3	0	0	14	4	72	3	0
1672	2	0	0	12	4	74	2	0
1673	2	0	0	19	6	73	1	0
1674	2	0	0	15	8	70	1	0
1675	2	0	0	15	10	84	0	0
1676	1	1	0	16	9	78	0	0
1677	1	1	3	12	11	69	1	0
1678	3	1	0	11	10	79	1	8
1679	3	1	1	11	15	73	0	2
1680	2	1	0	13	13	67	0	1
1681	1	1	0	7	16	63	0	1
1682	1	0	0	9	12	64	3	0
1683	1	0	0	9	12	68	0	0
1684	1	0	0	11	10	76	1	0
1685	1	0	0	10	10	76	0	0
1686	0	0	0	7	9	74	0	0
1687	1	0	0	6	6	83	0	10
1688	0	0	0	8	8	78	0	5
1689	0	0	0	5	6	69	2	0
1690	0	0	0	5	11	73	0	0
1691	0	0	0	11	12	88	2	0

* includes male servants

● includes mothers if they were not a servant

Table 6.2, continued
Annual Totals of Different Categories of Poor Residents in Charles Parish, 1630-1740 550

Year	Freed From Levies	Children Bound Out	Poor Widows and Orphans	Servants	Tenants	Landless Adult Men*	Illegitimate Children●	Inventory Worth Less than L50
1692	2	0	0	10	11	88	0	0
1693	1	0	0	12	10	91	5	6
1694	0	0	0	10	11	86	4	0
1695	0	0	0	8	6	92	0	0
1696	1	0	0	5	7	88	0	6
1697	1	0	0	6	5	90	1	6
1698	2	1	1	10	5	96	0	0
1699	2	0	0	9	5	89	0	1
1700	1	0	0	10	4	93	2	1
1701	2	0	0	5	4	97	4	8
1702	1	0	0	10	5	84	0	0
1703	2	0	0	8	4	80	3	2
1704	2	0	0	8	7	80	3	0
1705	2	0	0	9	5	86	1	3
1706	2	0	0	5	4	85	2	0
1707	3	0	0	4	4	90	0	0
1708	4	0	0	3	3	89	0	0
1709	3	0	0	5	3	87	0	0
1710	3	0	0	5	3	85	3	0
1711	2	0	0	7	3	77	3	0
1712	4	0	0	6	6	89	1	0
1713	5	0	0	4	4	98	2	4
1714	4	0	0	4	4	104	1	3
1715	4	0	0	5	4	102	0	0
1716	5	0	0	3	11	102	1	2
1717	5	0	0	1	7	104	2	1
1718	4	0	0	1	9	95	0	1
1719	4	0	0	2	2	77	0	0
1720	4	0	0	1	5	69	0	9
1721	2	0	0	1	4	55	4	1
1722	1	0	2	0	4	57	4	0

* includes male servants

● includes mothers if they were not a servant

Table 6.2, conintued
 Annual Totals of Different Categories of Poor Residents in Charles Parish, 1630-1740 551

Year	Freed From Levies	Children Bound Out	Poor Widows and Orphans	Servants	Tenants	Landless Adult Men*	Illegitimate Children●	Inventory Worth Less Than L50
1723	0	0	1	0	5	58	0	0
1724	0	0	1	1	5	56	0	6
1725	1	0	0	1	6	61	6	0
1726	0	0	0	0	4	61	0	0
1727	0	0	0	0	5	60	0	7
1728	0	0	0	2	5	53	0	0
1729	0	0	0	0	3	59	7	0
1730	1	2	0	0	3	60	0	0
1731	2	0	0	0	3	64	0	0
1732	1	0	0	1	2	77	0	0
1733	0	0	0	0	2	81	2	0
1734	0	0	0	0	4	78	2	0
1735	0	0	0	0	24	46	2	1
1736	0	0	0	0	18	48	2	8
1737	1	6	0	0	18	39	4	0
1738	1	4	0	0	20	34	0	1
1739	0	4	0	0	18	43	0	0
1740	0	4	0	0	20	54	0	0

* includes male servants

● includes mothers if they were not a servant

Table 6.3
Landless Adult Males in Charles Parish, 1630-1740

Year	Number of Adult Males Who Did Not Own Land	3 Year Running Average	% of Adult Males in Charles Parish
1630	1	-	-
1631	0	.67	.50
1632	1	.67	.29
1633	1	1.67	.46
1634	3	1.67	.28
1635	1	2	.17
1636	2	1	.06
1637	0	.67	.03
1638	0	.33	.01
1639	1	2	.07
1640	5	3.33	.12
1641	4	3.67	.14
1642	2	2.67	.11
1643	2	2.67	.10
1644	4	6.67	.21
1645	14	17.67	.39
1646	35	27.33	.49
1647	33	34	.54
1648	34	27.33	.51
1649	15	22	.49
1650	17	16.67	.43
1651	18	17.33	.42
1652	17	19	.42
1653	22	21.33	.44
1654	25	24.33	.45
1655	26	23.67	.43
1656	20	25.67	.44
1657	31	33.67	.52
1658	50	42	.59
1659	45	46	.61
1660	43	44.33	.58

Table 6.3, continued
 Landless Adult Males in Charles Parish, 1630-1740

Year	Number of Adult Males Who Did Not Own Land	3 Year Running Average	% of Adult Males in Charles Parish
1661	45	42.33	.54
1662	39	37.33	.50
1663	28	32.33	.45
1664	30	32.67	.44
1665	40	39.67	.48
1666	49	51.67	.54
1667	66	58.33	.56
1668	60	64.67	.57
1669	68	66	.56
1670	70	71.33	.56
1671	76	74.67	.57
1672	78	77.67	.57
1673	79	78.33	.57
1674	78	83.67	.58
1675	94	86.33	.58
1676	87	87	.57
1677	80	85.33	.57
1678	89	85.67	.56
1679	88	85.67	.56
1680	80	82.33	.56
1681	79	78.33	.55
1682	76	78.33	.56
1683	80	80.67	.57
1684	86	84	.58
1685	86	85	.58
1686	83	86	.58
1687	89	86	.58
1688	86	83.33	.57
1689	75	81.67	.57
1690	84	86.33	.58
1691	100	94.33	.59

Table 6.3, continued
 Landless Adult Males in Charles Parish, 1630-1740

Year	Number Of Adult Males Who Did Not Own Land	3 Year Running Average	% of Adult Males in Charles Parish
1692	99	100	.59
1693	101	99	.58
1694	97	98.67	.58
1695	98	96.67	.57
1696	95	96	.56
1697	95	97	.57
1698	101	98.67	.57
1699	94	97.33	.57
1700	97	97.33	.57
1701	101	95.67	.57
1702	89	91.33	.56
1703	84	86.67	.55
1704	87	87.33	.54
1705	91	89	.55
1706	89	91.33	.56
1707	94	91.67	.56
1708	92	92	.55
1709	90	87.33	.52
1710	80	83.33	.51
1711	80	85	.51
1712	95	92.33	.54
1713	102	101.67	.56
1714	108	105.33	.57
1715	106	109	.57
1716	113	110	.57
1717	111	109.33	.56
1718	104	98	.53
1719	79	85.67	.49
1720	74	70.67	.46
1721	59	64.67	.45
1722	61	61	.45

Table 6.3, continued
 Landless Adult Males in Charles Parish, 1630-1740

Year	Number of Adult Males Who Did Not Own Land	3 Year Running Average	% of Adult Males in Charles Parish
1723	63	61.67	.46
1724	61	63.67	.47
1725	67	64.33	.48
1726	65	65.67	.49
1727	65	62.67	.47
1728	58	61.67	.47
1729	62	61	.47
1730	63	64	.48
1731	67	69.67	.49
1732	79	76.33	.52
1733	83	81.33	.55
1734	82	78.33	.53
1735	70	72.67	.52
1736	66	64.33	.50
1737	57	59	.49
1738	54	57.33	.48
1739	61	63	.51
1740	74	-	-

Table 6.4a

Male Landowners: Average Number of Years in Charles Parish Before Becoming a Landowner and Average Number of Years As a Landowner

Decade	Number of Landowners	Average Number of Years in Charles Parish Before Becoming a Landowner	Average Number of Years Owner Held Land
1630s	47	0	8
1640s	28	0	7
1650s	38	2	12
1660s	43	5	16
1670s	49	5	18
1680s	37	6	14
1690s	45	5	17
1700s	34	6	19
1710s	61	6	16
1720s	35	3	17
1730s	38	5	16

Table 6.4b

557

Male Leaseholders: Average Number of Years in Charles Parish Before Becoming a Leaseholder and Average Number of Years As a Leaseholder

Decade	Number of Leaseholders	Average Number of Years in Charles Parish Before Becoming a Leaseholder	Average Number of Years Lessees Rented Land
1630s	0	0	0
1640s	4	3	8
1650s	11	1	3
1660s	9	4	6
1670s	18	6	6
1680s	14	11	4
1690s	16	7	4
1700s	5	7	5
1710s	16	15	3
1720s	10	9	5
1730s	31	9	8

Table 6.5
 Number of Servants in Charles Parish's Poor Population, 1630-1740

Year	Number of Servants	3 Year Running Average	% of Poor Population
1630	0	-	-
1631	0	0	0
1632	0	0	0
1633	0	0	0
1634	0	0	0
1635	0	.67	.29
1636	2	.67	.40
1637	0	.67	.50
1638	0	0	0
1639	0	0	0
1640	0	0	0
1641	0	0	0
1642	0	0	0
1643	0	0	0
1644	0	0	0
1645	0	.67	.04
1646	2	1.33	.05
1647	2	1.33	.04
1648	0	.67	.02
1649	0	0	0
1650	0	0	0
1651	0	0	0
1652	0	0	0
1653	0	.67	.03
1654	2	1.33	.05
1655	2	2	.08
1656	2	2.33	.09
1657	3	3	.08
1658	4	4.67	.10
1659	7	4.67	.09
1660	3	5	.10

Table 6.5, continued
 Number of Servants in Charles Parish's Poor Population, 1630-1740

Year	Number of Servants	3 Year Running Average	% of Poor Population
1661	5	8	.17
1662	16	7.67	.18
1663	2	6.67	.18
1664	2	3.67	.10
1665	7	4	.09
1666	3	5.33	.09
1667	6	4.67	.07
1668	5	8	.11
1669	13	9	.13
1670	9	12	.16
1671	14	11.67	.14
1672	12	15	.18
1673	19	15.33	.18
1674	15	16.33	.18
1675	15	15.33	.17
1676	16	14.33	.15
1677	12	13	.14
1678	11	11.33	.12
1679	11	11.67	.12
1680	13	10.33	.12
1681	7	9.67	.12
1682	9	8.33	.10
1683	9	9.67	.11
1684	11	10	.11
1685	10	9.33	.10
1686	7	7.67	.08
1687	6	7	.07
1688	8	6.33	.07
1689	5	6	.07
1690	5	7	.08
1691	11	8.67	.09

Table 6.5, continued
 Number of Servants in Charles Parish's Poor Population, 1630-1740

Year	Number of Servants	3 Year Running Average	% of Poor Population
1692	10	11	.10
1693	12	10	.09
1694	10	10	.09
1695	8	7.67	.07
1696	5	6.33	.06
1697	6	7	.07
1698	10	8.33	.08
1699	9	9.67	.09
1700	10	8	.08
1701	5	8.33	.08
1702	10	7.67	.08
1703	8	8.67	.09
1704	8	8.33	.09
1705	9	7.33	.07
1706	5	6	.06
1707	4	4	.04
1708	3	4	.04
1709	5	4.33	.04
1710	5	5.67	.06
1711	7	6	.06
1712	6	5.67	.05
1713	4	4.67	.04
1714	4	4.33	.04
1715	5	4	.03
1716	3	3	.03
1717	1	1.67	.01
1718	1	1.33	.01
1719	2	1.33	.01
1720	1	1.33	.02
1721	1	.67	.01
1722	0	.33	.005

Table 6.5, continued
 Number of Servants in Charles Parish Poor Population, 1630-1740

Year	Number of Servants	3 Year Running Average	% of Poor Population
1723	0	.33	.005
1724	1	.67	.01
1725	1	.67	.01
1726	0	.33	.005
1727	0	.67	.01
1728	2	.67	.01
1729	0	.67	.01
1730	0	0	0
1731	0	.33	.005
1732	1	.33	.004
1733	0	.33	.004
1734	0	0	0
1735	0	0	0
1736	0	0	0
1737	0	0	0
1738	0	0	0
1739	0	0	0
1740	0	-	-

Table 6.6
Annual Totals of Male and Female Servants in Charles Parish, 1630-1740

Year	Male	Female	Year	Male	Female	Year	Male	Female	Year	Male	Female
1630	0	0	1661	2	3	1692	6	4	1723	0	0
1631	0	0	1662	13	3	1693	7	5	1724	1	0
1632	0	0	1663	1	1	1694	6	5	1725	1	0
1633	0	0	1664	1	1	1695	4	4	1726	0	0
1634	0	0	1665	3	4	1696	2	3	1727	0	0
1635	0	0	1666	1	2	1697	3	3	1728	2	0
1636	2	0	1667	5	1	1698	4	6	1729	0	0
1637	0	0	1668	4	1	1699	6	3	1730	0	0
1638	0	0	1669	11	2	1700	8	2	1731	0	0
1639	0	0	1670	8	1	1701	3	2	1732	0	1
1640	0	0	1671	12	2	1702	6	4	1733	0	0
1641	0	0	1672	8	4	1703	4	4	1734	0	0
1642	0	0	1673	16	3	1704	4	4	1735	0	0
1643	0	0	1674	13	2	1705	4	5	1736	0	0
1644	0	0	1675	11	4	1706	2	3	1737	0	0
1645	0	0	1676	12	4	1707	2	2	1738	0	0
1646	2	0	1677	9	3	1708	1	2	1739	0	0
1647	2	0	1678	7	4	1709	3	2	1740	0	0
1648	0	0	1679	8	3	1710	2	3			
1649	0	0	1680	11	2	1711	1	6			
1650	0	0	1681	6	1	1712	2	4			
1651	0	0	1682	7	2	1713	2	2			
1652	0	0	1683	6	3	1714	1	3			
1653	0	0	1684	7	4	1715	0	5			
1654	2	0	1685	8	2	1716	0	3			
1655	2	0	1686	4	3	1717	0	1			
1656	2	0	1687	3	3	1718	0	1			
1657	2	1	1688	6	2	1719	1	1			
1658	1	3	1689	4	1	1720	1	0			
1659	3	4	1690	4	1	1721	0	1			
1660	2	1	1691	7	4	1722	0	0			

Table 6.7a
Prospects of Male Servants in Charles Parish, 1630-1740

First Decade in Charles Parish	Born in Charles Parish	Born in England	Place of Birth = Unknown	Died While a Servant	Unknown if Finished Servitude	Finished Servitude, Became Servant Again	Finished Servitude, Unknown if Left Charles Parish	Finished Servitude, Left Charles Parish	Finished Servitude, Stayed in Charles Parish	Finished Servitude, Became Landowner	Finished Servitude, Became Leaseholder	Finished Servitude, Became Officeholder
1630s	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
1640s	0	4	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
1650s	0	8	1	0	3	0	0	0	4	3	1	1
1660s	0	23	5	7	9	0	2	2	9	0	3	0
1670s	2	34	6	10	19	1	0	0	12	1	0	0
1680s	3	15	4	5	12	0	1	2	2	0	0	0
1690s	3	3	6	3	3	1	0	2	4	0	0	0
1700s	4	7	2	4	8	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
1720s	2	0	3	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Total	14	96	27	29	61	2	5	7	33	4	4	1

Table 6.7b
Prospect of Female Servants in Charles Parish, 1630-1740

First Decade in Charles Parish	Born in Charles Parish	Born in England	Place of Birth = Unknown	Died While a Servant	Unknown if Finished Servitude	Finished Servitude, Became Servant Again	Finished Servitude, Unknown if Left Charles Parish	Finished Servitude, Left Charles Parish	Finished Servitude, Stayed in Charles Parish	Finished Servitude, Married
1650s	0	3	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
1660s	0	8	0	2	4	0	2	0	0	0
1670s	3	11	3	4	11	0	0	0	2	1
1680s	0	7	3	2	6	0	2	0	0	0
1690s	1	4	3	0	4	0	0	1	2	0
1700s	0	3	2	1	3	0	0	0	1	1
1710s	1	0	5	0	3	0	2	0	1	0
Total	5	36	16	10	33	0	6	1	6	2

APPENDIX 7
TABLES FOR CHAPTER 7¹

¹The source for the tables is the Biographical Files compiled for this study.

Table 7.1
Miscellaneous Associations:
Female Residents of Charles Parish, 1630-1740

	Party in Civil Suit	Witness Evidence	Grantor/Grantee Deed of Gift	Grantor/ Grantee Power of Attorney	Assigner/ Assignee	Witness	Total
Family	2	0	32	7	0	1	42
Relative	2	3	2	3	0	2	12
Friend	0	0	0	9	0	0	9
Neighbor	6	19	7	6	0	24	62
Same Precinct	1	4	0	1	0	1	7
Other Precinct	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Mester & Wife	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Godparent/Godchild	0	0	7	0	0	0	7
Charles Parish	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Yorkhampton	2	2	0	1	2	0	7
Yorktown	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
Bruton Parish	1	0	0	0	0	3	4
Elizabeth City County	0	1	1	0	1	0	3
Warwick County	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
James City County	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Unknown	0	4	4	0	1	7	16
Total	17	38	53	28	4	41	179

Table 7.2
Estate-Related Associations:
Female Residents of Charles Parish, 1630-1740

	Executor/ Adminiator	Legatee	Witness	Overseer/ Trustee	Creditor	Debtor	Purchaser	Total
Family	180	435	3	0	1	0	2	621
Relative	3	27	4	1	2	0	0	37
Neighbor	1	18	34	0	12	4	0	69
Friend	2	2	3	0	0	0	0	7
Godparent	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5
Master/Employer	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	4
Landlord	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Tenant	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Same Precinct	0	2	3	0	0	1	0	6
Other Precinct	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	3
Yorkhampton	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Williamsburg	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Unknown	0	10	5	0	0	2	0	17
Total	186	503	55	1	20	7	2	744

Table 7.3
Social Crimes Committed By Female
Residents of Charles Parish, 1640-1740

	Fornication/ Adultery	Suspected of Infanticide	Bearing Illegitimate Child	Selling Liquor Without a License	Did Not Keep Road Open	Refused to Allow Processing	Unknown	Total
1640s	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
1650s	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	3
1660s	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1670s	3	0	4	0	0	0	0	7
1680s	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
1690s	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	5
1700s	4	0	4	2	0	0	0	10
1710s	1	0	3	0	1	0	1	6
1720s	0	0	5	0	0	1	0	6
1730s	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	7
Total	20	1	27	2	1	1	1	53

APPENDIX 8, SECTION 1
TABLES FOR CHAPTER 8

Table 8.1

Annual Totals of Free Blacks in Charles Parish

Year	Free Blacks	Year	Free Blacks
1671	1	1716	14
1672	2	1717	13
1673	3	1718	14
1674	3	1719	12
1675	3	1720	14
1676	3	1721	16
1677	3	1722	16
1678	4	1723	17
1679	3	1724	16
1680	2	1725	18
1681	2	1726	14
1682	2	1727	14
1683	2	1728	10
1684	5	1729	11
1685	5	1730	12
1686	5	1731	7
1687	5	1732	8
1688	5	1733	7
1689	8	1734	7
1690	9	1735	8
1691	10	1736	6
1692	10	1737	6
1693	14	1738	8
1694	16	1739	7
1695	14	1740	9
1696	14	1741	8
1697	14	1742	7
1698	14	1743	11
1699	13	1744	12
1700	16	1745	14
1701	16	1746	13
1702	11	1747	14
1703	13	1748	12
1704	10	1749	13
1705	9	1750	19
1706	12	1751	13
1707	10	1752	12
1708	9	1753	11
1709	10	1754	11
1710	14	1755	11
1711	11	1756	12
1712	13	1757	11
1713	14	1758	11
1714	13	1759	13
1715	13	1760	15

Table 8.1, continued

Annual Totals of Free Blacks in Charles Parish

Year	Free Blacks	Year	Free Blacks
1761	17	1786	35
1762	21	1787	33
1763	21	1788	31
1764	24	1789	29
1765	22	1790	26
1766	21	1791	26
1767	25	1792	27
1768	27	1793	25
1769	30	1794	25
1770	30	1795	26
1771	31	1796	27
1772	34	1797	26
1773	39	1798	25
1774	37	1799	25
1775	40	1800	19
1776	42	1801	19
1777	46	1802	16
1778	42	1803	16
1779	34	1804	16
1780	33	1805	13
1781	32	1806	11
1782	31	1807	11
1783	41	1808	12
1784	40	1809	11
1785	42	1810	11

Source: 241 free black biographies.

Note: This figures include all free black men, women, and children for year that there is evidence that they lived in Charles Parish.

Table 8.2

Free Blacks in Comparison to the Charles Parish Population

Year	Free Blacks	Estimated Total Black Population	Estimated Total Population	% Free Blacks in Estimated Total Black Population	% Free Blacks in Estimated Total Population
1733	7	487	1035	1.43	.67
1734	7	524	1102	1.33	.64
1735	8	---	---	---	---
1736	6	505	1041	1.19	.58
1737	6	---	---	---	---
1738	8	---	---	---	---
1739	7	539	1079	1.29	.65
1740	9	563	1118	1.60	.81
1741	8	568	1115	1.41	.72
1742	7	575	1119	1.22	.63
1743	11	575	1107	1.91	.99
1744	12	595	1137	2.02	1.06
1745	14	613	1159	2.28	1.21
1746	13	631	1182	2.06	1.10
1747	13	627	1162	2.07	1.12
1748	12	610	1121	1.97	1.07
1749	13	652	1187	1.99	1.10
1750	19	653	1178	2.91	1.61
1751	13	649	1155	2.00	1.13
1752	12	---	---	---	---
1753	11	---	---	---	---
1754	11	690	1187	1.59	.93
1755	11	---	---	---	---
1756	12	---	---	---	---
1757	11	---	---	---	---
1758	11	---	---	---	---
1759	13	708	1183	1.84	1.10
1760	15	762	1269	1.97	1.18
1761	17	781	1295	2.18	1.31
1762	21	772	1274	2.72	1.65
1763	21	780	1295	2.69	1.62
1764	24	792	1295	3.03	1.85
1765	22	765	1246	2.88	1.77
1766	21	740	1200	2.84	1.75
1767	25	766	1237	3.26	2.02
1768	27	440	*708	*6.14	*3.81
1769	30	893	1430	3.36	2.10
1770	30	885	1411	3.39	2.13

*--data for the lower precinct of Charles Parish; information not available for the upper precinct in 1768

Sources: 241 free black biographies.
 Kevin P. Kelly, "The People of York County in the Eighteenth Century. Table 2. Estimate of White, Black, and Total York Populations," in "Urbanization in the Tidewater South: Town and Country Development in York County, Virginia 1630-1830," NEH grant RO-20869-85.

Table 8.3

Comparison of Free Black and White Births
Recorded in the Charles Parish Register

Year	Total Births	White Births	Free Black Births	% Free Black Births
1648	1	1	0	----
1649	1	1	0	----
1650	1	1	0	----
1651	0	0	0	----
1652	3	0	0	----
1653	3	3	0	----
1654	2	2	0	----
1655	1	1	0	----
1656	2	2	0	----
1657	4	4	0	----
1658	1	1	0	----
1659	3	3	0	----
1660	4	4	0	----
1661	1	1	0	----
1662	8	8	0	----
1663	3	3	0	----
1664	6	6	0	----
1665	9	9	0	----
1666	11	11	0	----
1667	14	14	0	----
1668	13	13	0	----
1669	27	27	0	----
1670	12	11	0	----
1671	22	22	0	----
1672	18	18	0	----
1673	17	17	0	----
1674	19	19	0	----
1675	19	19	0	----
1676	24	24	0	----
1677	23	23	0	----
1678	12	12	0	----
1679	28	28	0	----
1680	15	15	0	----
1681	17	17	0	----
1682	23	23	0	----
1683	19	19	0	----
1684	24	23	1	4.17
1685	15	15	0	----
1686	18	18	0	----
1687	18	18	0	----
1688	24	23	1	4.17
1689	24	23	1	4.17
1690	41	41	0	----
1691	36	36	0	----
1692	34	34	0	----
1693	38	36	2	5.26
1694	23	21	2	8.69
1695	23	22	1	4.35

Table 8.3, continued

Comparison of Free Black and White Births
Recorded in the Charles Parish Register

Year	Total Births	White Births	Free Black Births	% Free Black Births
1696	29	27	2	6.89
1697	32	30	2	6.25
1698	33	32	1	3.03
1699	23	23	0	----
1700	31	29	1	3.23
1701	28	26	2	7.14
1702	27	26	1	3.70
1703	29	26	3	10.34
1704	33	32	1	3.03
1705	35	34	0	----
1706	27	26	1	3.70
1707	35	34	1	2.86
1708	26	26	0	----
1709	40	39	1	2.50
1710	33	32	1	3.03
1711	22	22	0	----
1712	28	27	1	3.57
1713	29	27	2	6.89
1714	25	25	0	----
1715	6	6	0	----
1716	9	9	0	----
1717	37	37	0	----
1718	22	22	0	----
1719	28	27	1	3.57
1720	38	37	1	2.63
1721	24	23	1	4.17
1722	31	30	1	3.23
1723	28	27	1	3.57
1724	24	23	1	4.17
1725	29	27	2	6.89
1726	23	22	1	4.35
1727	31	29	2	6.45
1728	22	22	0	----
1729	30	30	0	----
1730	19	18	1	5.26
1731	34	34	0	----
1732	26	25	1	3.85
1733	25	25	0	----
1734	31	31	0	----
1735	26	25	1	3.85
1736	20	20	0	----
1737	33	33	0	----
1738	27	26	1	3.70
1739	24	24	0	----
1740	35	35	0	----
1741	35	34	1	2.86
1742	26	26	0	----
1743	28	26	2	7.14
1744	27	26	1	3.70

Table 8.3, continued

Comparison of Free Black and White Births
Recorded in the Charles Parish Register

Year	Total Births	White Births	Free Black Births	% Free Black Births
1745	21	19	2	9.52
1746	23	22	1	4.35
1747	19	18	1	5.26
1748	19	18	1	5.26
1749	21	21	0	----
1750	26	23	3	11.54
1751	18	17	0	----
1752	19	17	0	----
1753	16	16	0	----
1754	19	15	0	----
1755	24	24	0	----
1756	14	14	0	----
1757	19	19	0	----
1758	16	16	0	----
1759	12	12	0	----
1760	21	21	0	----
1761	13	12	1	7.69
1762	17	17	0	----
1763	13	13	0	----
1764	18	17	1	5.56
1765	34	31	3	8.82
1766	40	38	2	5.00
1767	24	22	2	8.33
1768	38	35	3	7.89
1769	35	31	4	11.43
1770	32	30	2	6.25
1771	27	26	1	3.70
1772	29	27	2	6.89
1773	33	30	3	9.09
1774	29	27	2	6.89
1775	29	25	4	13.79
1776	32	29	3	9.38
1777	21	17	4	19.05
1778	28	25	3	10.71
1779	29	26	3	10.34
1780	24	22	2	8.33
1781	36	34	2	5.56
1782	26	23	3	11.54
1783	38	32	6	15.79
1784	29	26	3	10.34
1785	22	16	6	27.27
1786	14	12	2	14.29
1787	6	5	1	16.67
1788	0	0	0	----
1789	2	2	0	----
1790	0	0	0	----
1791	0	0	0	----
1792	0	0	0	----
1793	0	0	0	----

Table 8.3, continued

Comparison of Free Black and White Births
Recorded in the Charles Parish Register

Year	Total Births	White Births	Free Black Births	% Free Black Births
1794	0	0	0	----
1795	0	0	0	----
1796	0	0	0	----
1797	0	0	0	----
1798	0	0	0	----
1799	0	0	0	----
1800	1	1	0	----

Sources: Charles Parish Birth Register.
241 free black biographies.

Table 8.4
 Percentage of Free Black Births Recorded in
 the Charles Parish Register By Decade

Decade	Percentage of Free Black Births
1640	----
1650	----
1660	----
1670	----
1680	1.52
1690	3.21
1700	3.54
1710	2.09
1720	3.57
1730	1.51
1740	3.54
1750	1.64
1760	6.32
1770	9.34
1780	12.69
1790	----

Sources: Charles Parish Birth Register.
 241 free black biographies.

Table 8.5
 Illegitimate Children Born to White and
 Free Black Mothers in Charles Parish

Grand Jury Presentments for Illegitimate Children		
Decade	White Women	Free Black Women
1670s	4	0
1680s	1	0
1690s	2	1
1700s	4	2
1710s	3	0
1720s	1	3
1730s	6	0
1740s	0	1
1750s	0	0
1760s	6	4
1770s	2	0
Total	29	11

Source: York County Records.

APPENDIX 8, SECTION 2

Residential and Landholding Information for Individuals Who Signed
"A York County Petition of the Latter Part of the Eighteenth Century"

<u>Name</u>	<u>Residence</u>	<u>Landholding</u>
Armistead, Robert	Eliza. City Co.	Elizabeth City land
Berry, Edward	Upper Precinct	145 acres
Brown, Richard	Lower Precinct	238 acres
Cattilla, Abraham	Upper Precinct	no evidence
Cattilla, Edward	Lower Precinct	no evidence
Chisman, John	Lower Precinct	117 acres
Colbert, Richard	Upper Precinct	no evidence
Cook, Ann	Upper Precinct	129 1/2 acres
Cox, Thomas	Upper Precinct	120 acres
Curtis, Edmund	Upper Precinct	held 50 acres with John Tomer
Davenport, Joseph	Upper Precinct	held glebe land as parish minister
Davenport, William	[Upper Precinct]	no evidence
Gemmill, John	Lower Precinct	65 acres
Giles, John	Lower Yorkhampton	no evidence
Hansford, Elizabeth	Upper Precinct	280 acres
Hayward, Edward C.	Upper Precinct	1889 acres
Hayward, William	Upper Precinct	466 acres
Holloway, James	Upper Precinct	50 acres
Holloway, Thomas	Upper Precinct	son of James who held 50 acres
Hunt, Thomas	Lower Precinct	700 acres
Hunter, John	Lower Precinct	no evidence
Kelso, Robert	no evidence	no evidence
Langstone, Mary	Lower Precinct	no evidence
Mallory, William	Lower Precinct	50 acres
Manson, Robert	Upper Precinct	184 acres
Mennis, Francis	Lower Precinct	100 acres (fr uncle Callowhill Mennis)
Minson, Thomas	no evidence	no evidence
Moore, Merritt	Lower Precinct	670 acres
Patrick, John	Lower Precinct	184 acres
Patrick, Martha	Upper Precinct	widow of Curtis who held 160 acres
Patrick, Thomas C.	[Upper Precinct]	son of Curtis who held 160 acres
Presson, Robert	Lower Precinct	100 acres
Rawlins, Vincent	Lower Yorkhampton	no evidence (former Charles resident)
Reade, Hawkins	Lower Precinct	209 acres
Roberts, Gerrard	Lower Precinct	son of Thomas who held 455 acres
Roberts, Lucy	Lower Precinct	widow of Thomas who held 455 acres
Robinson, John	Lower Precinct	425 acres
Robinson, [William]	Lower Precinct	270 acres

Residential and Landholding Information for Individuals Who Signed
 "A York County Petition of the Latter Part of the Eighteenth Century,"
 continued

<u>Name</u>	<u>Residence</u>	<u>Landholding</u>
Robinson, Starkey Junior	Upper Precinct	630 acres
Sherrington, Robert	Lower Precinct	100 acres
Shield, Robert	Upper Precinct	part of 760 acres
Shield, Samuel	Upper Precinct	part of 760 acres
Wilson, Willis	Lower Precinct	100 acres
Wise, Elizabeth	Upper Precinct	no evidence

Sources: York County Project Master Biographical File, Department of
 Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.
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 York County Personal Property Tax Lists.
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