

1989

In Pursuit of Urban Property: Lot holders in Colonial Yorktown and Williamsburg

Julie Caroline Julia Richter
College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd>



Part of the [United States History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Richter, Julie Caroline Julia, "In Pursuit of Urban Property: Lot holders in Colonial Yorktown and Williamsburg" (1989). *Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects*. Paper 1539625542.
<https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-11gw-js43>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, & Master Projects at W&M ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects by an authorized administrator of W&M ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@wm.edu.

IN PURSUIT OF URBAN PROPERTY:
LOTHOLDERS IN COLONIAL YORKTOWN AND WILLIAMSBURG

A Thesis

Presented to

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

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

by

Caroline Julia Richter

1989

APPROVAL SHEET

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

Master of Arts

Caroline Julia Richter
Author

Approved, December 1989

James P. Whittenburg
James P. Whittenburg

James Axtell
James Axtell

Kevin P. Kelly
Kevin P. Kelly

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	iv
LIST OF TABLES.....	v
LIST OF MAPS.....	x
ABSTRACT.....	xi
INTRODUCTION.....	2
CHAPTER I. ATTEMPTS AT URBANIZATION IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY VIRGINIA....	8
CHAPTER II. YORKTOWN.....	13
CHAPTER III. WILLIAMSBURG.....	51
CHAPTER IV. A COMPARISON OF INVESTORS IN YORKTOWN AND WILLIAMSBURG LOTS.....	96
CHAPTER V. CONCLUSION.....	101
APPENDIX I.....	104
APPENDIX II.....	105
APPENDIX III.....	106
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	184

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis is also part of the York County Project final report to the National Endowment for the Humanities entitled "Urbanization in the Tidewater South, Part II: The Growth and Development of Williamsburg and Yorktown." Lorena S. Walsh, Cathleene B. Hellier, Linda H. Rowe, and Kevin P. Kelly (also one of the readers for the thesis) of the Department of Historical Research at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation all read and commented upon several versions of this paper. Michael J. Puglisi, formerly of the Department of Historical Research and now at Emory and Henry College, read an early draft of this section of the report. Wendy Sumerlin, Pam Marshall, Inge Flester, and Karen Graham of Colonial Williamsburg spent many hours typing, editing, and printing the tables for the paper. Thanks also go to James Axtell, who suggested turning in this paper as a thesis, and James P. Whittenburg, who carefully read the text and the tables.

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Yorktown Lotholders: Number of Lotholders, Resident Lotholders, and Residents by Decade.....	16
2. Yorktown Lotholders--York County Men: Lots Owned at First Evidence of Lotholding and Lots Owned at Last Evidence of Lot-holding.....	19
3.1 All Yorktown Lotholders: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Decade of Last Evidence of Lotholding.....	111
3.2 Yorktown Lotholders--York County Men: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Decade of Last Evidence of Lotholding.....	112
3.3 Yorktown Lotholders--York County Women: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Decade of Last Evidence of Lot-holding.....	113
4.1 All Yorktown Lotholders: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Tens of Years at Yorktown Lot.....	114
4.2 Yorktown Lotholders--York County Men: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Tens of Years at Yorktown Lot.....	115
4.3 Yorktown Lotholders--York County Women: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Tens of Years at Yorktown Lot.....	116
5.1 All Yorktown Lotholders: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Tens of Years at Yorktown Residence.....	117
5.2 Yorktown Lotholders--York County Men: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Tens of Years at Yorktown Residence....	118
5.3 Yorktown Lotholders--York County Women: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Tens of Years at Yorktown Residence....	119
6.1 All Yorktown Lotholders: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition.....	120
6.2 Yorktown Lotholders--York County Men: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition.....	121

6.3 Yorktown Lotholders--York County Women: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition.....	122
6.4 Yorktown Lotholders--Non York County Men: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition.....	123
6.5 Yorktown Lotholders--Non York County Women: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition.....	124
7.1 All Yorktown Lotholders: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Disposition.....	125
7.2 Yorktown Lotholders--York County Men: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Disposition.....	126
7.3 Yorktown Lotholders--York County Women: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Disposition.....	127
7.4 Yorktown Lotholders--Non York County Men: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Disposition.....	128
7.5 Yorktown Lotholders--Non York County Women: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Disposition.....	129
8.1 Yorktown Lotholders--York County Men: Table of Place of Birth by Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding.....	130
8.2 Yorktown Lotholders--York County Women: Table of Place of Birth by Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding.....	131
9.1 Yorktown Lotholders--York County Men: Table of Place of Death by Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding.....	132
9.2 Yorktown Lotholders--York County Women: Table of Place of Death by Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding.....	134
10.1 Yorktown Lotholders--York County Men, Commercial Trades: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition.....	135
10.2 Yorktown Lotholders--York County Men, Craftsmen: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition...	136
10.3 Yorktown Lotholders--York County Men, Laborers: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition...	137
10.4 Yorktown Lotholders--York County Men, Miscellaneous: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition...	138
10.5 Yorktown Lotholders--York County Men, Planters: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition.....	139

10.6 Yorktown Lotholders--York County Men, Professionals: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition...	140
10.7 Yorktown Lotholders--York County Men, Service Sector: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition...	141
10.8 Yorktown Lotholders--York County Women, Planters: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition...	142
10.9 Yorktown Lotholders--York County Women, Professionals: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition...	143
10.10 Yorktown Lotholders--York County Women, Service Sector: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition.....	144
11 Williamsburg Lotholders: Number of Lotholders, Resident Lot-holders, and Residents by Decade.....	60
12 Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Men: Lots Owned at First Evidence of Lotholding and Lots Owned at Last Evidence of Lot-holding.....	63
13.1 All Williamsburg Lotholders: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Decade of Last Evidence of Lotholding.....	145
13.2 Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Men: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Decade of Last Evidence of Lotholding.....	146
13.3 Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Women: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Decade of Last Evidence of Lotholding.....	147
14.1 All Williamsburg Lotholders: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Tens of Years at Williamsburg Lot.....	148
14.2 Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Men: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Tens of Years at Williamsburg Lot.....	149
14.3 Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Women: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Tens of Years at Williamsburg Lot.....	150
15.1 All Williamsburg Lotholders: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Tens of Years at Williamsburg Residence.....	151
15.2 Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Men: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Tens of Years at Williamsburg Residence.....	152

15.3	Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Women: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Tens of Years at Williamsburg Residence.....	153
16.1	All Williamsburg Lotholders: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition.....	154
16.2	Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Men: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition.....	155
16.3	Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Women: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition.....	156
16.4	Williamsburg Lotholders--Non York County Men: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition.....	157
16.5	Williamsburg Lotholders--Non York County Women: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition...	158
17.1	All Williamsburg Lotholders: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Disposition.....	159
17.2	Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Men: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Disposition.....	160
17.3	Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Women: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Disposition.....	161
17.4	Williamsburg Lotholders--Non York County Men: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Disposition.....	162
17.5	Williamsburg Lotholders--Non York County Women: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Disposition.....	163
18.1	Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Men: Table of Place of Birth by Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding.....	164
18.2	Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Women: Table of Place of Birth by Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding.....	166
19.1	Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Men: Table of Place of Death by Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding.....	167
19.2	Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Women: Table of Place of Death by Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding.....	169
20.1	Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Men, Commercial Trades: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition.....	170
20.2	Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Men, Craftsmen: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition...	171

20.3 Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Men, Laborers: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition...	172
20.4 Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Men, Miscellaneous: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition.....	173
20.5 Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Men, Planters: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition...	174
20.6 Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Men, Professionals: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition.....	175
20.7 Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Men, Service Sector: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition.....	176
20.8 Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Women, Commercial Trades: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition.....	177
20.9 Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Women, Craftsmen: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition...	178
20.10 Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Women, Laborers: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition...	179
20.11 Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Women, Miscellaneous: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition.....	180
20.12 Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Women, Planters: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition...	181
20.13 Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Women, Professionals: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition.....	182
20.14 Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Women, Service Sector: Table of Decade of First Evidence of Lotholding by Mode of Acquisition.....	183
21 Decade in Which Yorktown Lotholders Acquired Williamsburg Property.....	98
22 Decade in Which Williamsburg Lotholders Acquired Yorktown Property.....	98

LIST OF MAPS

Map	Page
1. York County and Vicinity.....	3
2. York County.....	4
3. Yorktown, 1691.....	15
4. Waterfront Property and Gwyn Reade Subdivision.....	36
5. Yorktown, 1781.....	49
6. Theodorick Bland's Draft of Williamsburg, 1699.....	54
7. Williamsburg Lots and Dividing Line between York and James City counties.....	57
8. Frenchman's Map of Williamsburg, 1782.....	95

ABSTRACT

Traditionally, urban historians have focused on physical size and population density as the main indicators of urbanization. This definition tends to down play Yorktown, Williamsburg, and other such urban ares in the eighteenth-century South. In recent years, an emphasis upon the variety of services in a given area has led to the recognition of these locations as urban. Economic opportunity as measured by access to property in an urban area of any size is an indication of a town's prosperity and its ability to provide economic, political, and cultural services to residents and visitors. An examination of the establishment and subsequent growth of Yorktown and Williamsburg will reveal the differences in the availability of property in these two towns and the people whose acquisition of urban lots supported urbanization in York County, Virginia. Changes in patterns of lot acquisition and disposition; length of tenure; and time of residence in the towns will indicate periods of prosperity when many people became lotholders, and years when it was difficult for individuals to acquire town land.

This paper focuses on men and women who lived in York County because the urban landholders who lived in other areas of Virginia did not play a large role in the physical development of either town. The resident lotholders will be compared and contrasted with the non-propertied members of each urban population in order to determine how wide-spread the opportunities were for the acquisition of lots. Those individuals who acquired several lots will be examined because they influenced the amount of urban property which was available to prospective purchasers.

Both Yorktown and Williamsburg prospered in the first half of the eighteenth century. Initially their growth depended upon York County's mature society and strong economy, and their advantageous geographic location. The decade of the 1740s was a critical, transitional period for both of the urban centers which indicated that each town's growth and success depended upon its designated function, Yorktown the port city for the county, and Williamsburg, the colonial capital of Virginia.

In Pursuit of Urban Property:
Lotholders in Colonial Yorktown and Williamsburg

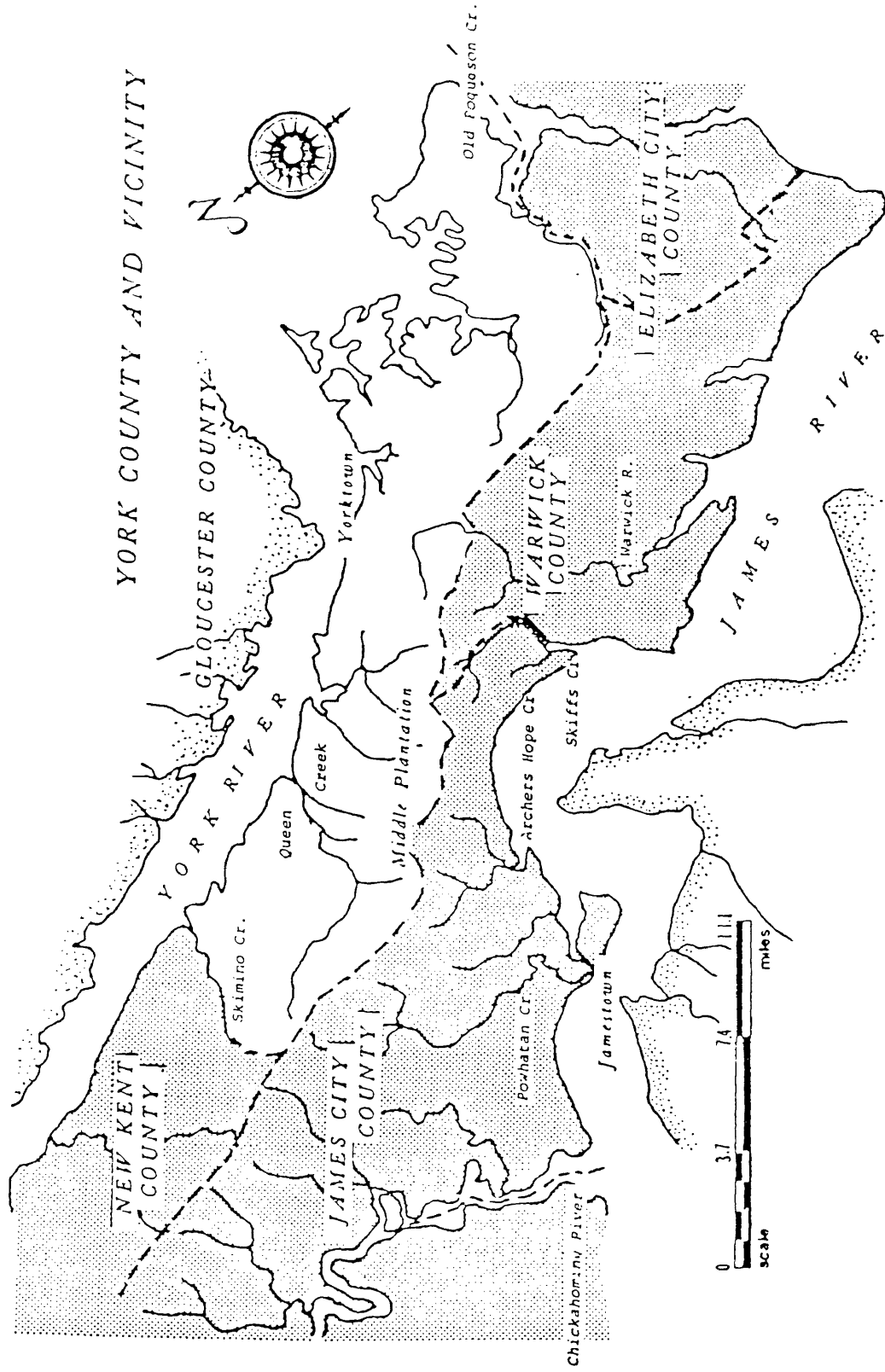
INTRODUCTION

During the last decade of the seventeenth century the General Assembly of Virginia passed two acts which created Yorktown and Williamsburg. Unlike earlier attempts to establish towns, these two locations developed into prosperous urban centers. Yorktown and half of Williamsburg are in York County, one of the original counties which the Crown designated in 1633. [Maps 1 and 2] By the 1690s this tidewater county had an established, mature society and a healthy economy. These conditions, together with the favorable geographic location of Yorktown and Williamsburg, accounted for the initial success of urbanization in York County.¹

Traditionally, urban historians have focused on physical size and population density as the main indicators of urbanization. This definition tends to down play Yorktown, Williamsburg, and other such urban areas in the eighteenth-century South. In recent years, an emphasis upon the variety of services available in a given area has led to the recognition of these locations as urban.² Economic opportunity as

¹Kevin P. Kelly, "Assumptions and Explanatory Hypothesis of the York County Project," (unpublished paper, Department of Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, November, 1985), pp. 1, 3.

²For discussion of the process of urbanization in the colonial Chesapeake, see, for example, "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; Joseph A. Ernst and H. Roy Merrens, "'Camden's turrets pierce the skies!': The



Map 1 York County and Vicinity

NEW KENT COUNTY



Map 2 York County

measured by access to property in an urban area of any size is an indication of a town's prosperity and its ability to provide economic, political, and cultural services to residents and visitors. An examination of the establishment and subsequent growth of Yorktown and Williamsburg will reveal the differences in the availability of property in these two towns--Yorktown, a county port, and Williamsburg, the colonial capital--and the people whose acquisition of urban lots supported urbanization in York County. Changes in patterns of lot acquisition and disposition; length of tenure; and time of residence in the towns will indicate periods of prosperity when many people became lotholders, and years when it was difficult for individuals to acquire town land.

The discussion of lotholding focuses on York County residents who owned urban property.³ We know more about lot owners who acquired town

Urban Process in the Southern Colonies during the Eighteenth Century," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Series, XXX(1973):549-574; Hermann Wellenreuther, "Urbanization in the Colonial South: A Critique. With a Letter from Fred Siegel and a Reply from Joseph A. Ernst and H. Roy Merrens," *ibid.*, 3rd Series, XXXI(1974):653-671; Lois Green Carr, "'The Metropolis of Maryland': A Comment on Town Development along the Tobacco Coast," Maryland Historical Magazine, 69(1974):124-145; Edward M. Riley, "The Town Acts of Colonial Virginia," Journal of Southern History, 16(1950):306-323; John C. Rainbolt, "The Absence of Towns in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," *ibid.*, 35(1969):343-360; and Carville Earle and Ronald Hoffman, "Staple Crops and Urban Development in the Eighteenth-Century South," Perspectives in American History, X(1976):7-78.

³For each lotholder we recorded information about the urban property he or she held at the first date of evidence of lotholding. These dates have been consolidated into decades--1690s, 1700s, 1710s, etc.--in order to observe change over time. See Appendix I for a discussion of criteria for inclusion in the data base.

Often the first reference to lotholding is the only reference, or at least we are uncertain how long the property holders retained possession of their town land.♦ We can reconstruct a full profile of lotholding only for those for whom there is evidence about the status of their urban properties when they were last mentioned in York County

land by patent, purchase, or inheritance from a will or a deed of gift than we do about property holders who acquired their land by more obscure means. Land transfers by patent, purchase, deed of gift, will, or default had to be officially recorded. Leases, subleases, or arrangements regarding land acquired by right of marriage to a lot owner 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. We can study length of tenure, patterns of acquisition and disposition, and change over time only for the lotholders who obtained property through the first-listed means.⁴

The greater attention given to the lotholders who lived in York County is because the urban landholders who lived in other areas of Virginia did not play a large role in the physical development of either town. Non-York County lotholders accounted for just 5.7% of the 506 individuals who obtained property in Yorktown. Only during the first ten years of the eighteenth century were there more than ten non-local

records. See Cathleene B. Hellier, Peter V. Bergstrom, Linda H. Rowe, Julie Richter, and Michael Puglisi, "A Manual for Biographical Linking and Coding: York County Project--Phase II," (Department of Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, rev. March 1987), Subfiles 927 and 928.

For this study "York County resident" is defined as any individual known to have been an inhabitant of York County at any time during his/her lifetime. This term refers to a head of household and to a woman, either independent or married, who actively participated in the urban economy, not to the entire population of either of the two towns. It was not always possible to determine whether or not an individual was a York County resident.

All biographical information in this paper is drawn from the Master Biographical File and the York County Project Biographical worksheets, Department of Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

⁴See Appendix II for a discussion of lotholding by lease, "by right of," and unknown types of tenure.

Yorktown landholders in a year, and after the 1750s not one out of county resident acquired lots in the portland. Seventy of the Williamsburg lotholders were inhabitants of other Virginia counties. The resident lotholders will also be compared and contrasted with the non-propertied members of each urban population in order to determine how wide-spread the opportunities were for the acquisition of lots. Those individuals who acquired several lots will be examined because they influenced the amount of urban property which was available to prospective purchasers.

This paper is organized in five chapters: 1) a short discussion of seventeenth-century attempts at urbanization; 2) Yorktown; 3) Williamsburg; and 4) a look at the men and women who held property in both towns; and 5) a conclusion examining the differences and similarities between the towns.

CHAPTER I

ATTEMPTS AT URBANIZATION IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY VIRGINIA

Seventeenth-century Virginians had commented on the lack of and need for towns before the establishment of Yorktown and Williamsburg in the 1690s. In 1676 an observer noted that if "the tobacco of every County had been brought to p'[ar]ticular places," it would be instrumental in "causeing Warehouses to be built, and soe in p'[ro]cess of times Townes."⁵ Henry Hartwell, James Blair, and Edward Chilton discussed the benefits that towns would have for the colony in their 1697 report The Present State of Virginia, and the Colledge. These men informed the Board of Trade that unlike New Englanders, Virginians had "seated themselves, without any Rule or Order in Country Plantations, and being often sensible of the Inconveniencies of that dispers'[e]d way of living, their General Assemblies have made several Attempts to bring the People into Towns, which have prov'[e]d all ineffectual." They believed that "if

⁵[William Sherwood], "Virginia's Deploured Condition: Or an Impartiall Narrative of the Murders Comitted there, and of the Sufferings of his Majesties Loyall Subjects under the Rebellious Outrages of Mr Nathaniel Bacon Junior...", quoted in Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia, 1650-1750, (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1984), p. 210. See also Riley, "The Town Acts of Colonial Virginia," pp. 306-323 and Ronald E. Grim, "The Absence of Towns in Seventeenth-Century Virginia: The Emergence of Service Centers in York County," (unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1977), pp. 319-325. In quotations taken from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century documents the original spelling has been retained.

Towns and Ports can be brought to bear, the chief Obstruction to the Improvement of that Country will be removed." Hartwell, Blair, and Chilton blamed the General Assembly for the lack of towns because "the major Part of the Members whereof having never seen a Town, nor a well improv'[e]d Country in their Lives, cannot therefore imagine the Benefit of it, and are afraid of every Innovation that will put them to a present Charge, whatever may be the future Benefit."⁶

Hartwell, Blair, and Chilton also noted that the colonial legislature had passed several bills intended to encourage town development which had not been successful. In March 1655/6 the General Assembly decided that each county should have "one or two places and no more ... where the marketts and trade of the county shall be and not else where." The desire for markets also could be seen two years later when it was "enacted, that if any countie or particular person shall settle any place whether the merchants shall willingly come for the sale or bringing of goods such men will bee lookt upon as benefactors to the publique." The location selected for the "Town for York River" near Wormeley's landing and creek.⁷ However, neither act resulted in the

⁶Henry Hartwell, James Blair, and Edward Chilton, The Present State of Virginia, and the College, ed. Hunter Dickinson Farish, (Charlottesville, Virginia: Dominion Books for Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, 1964), pp. 11-12, 13, 5. This report reflected the adoption of a European perspective of economic development which assumed that trade and mercantile activities would prosper only if they were concentrated in towns.

⁷William 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, Virginia: The University Press of Virginia for the Jamestown Foundation of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1969), 1:412-414, 476. On December 30, 1662 the York County clerk noted that Wormeley's Creek and Landing was "where

appearance of market centers because these plans for development did not suit the economic condition of the colony.

Next, in June 1680, the General Assembly laid out plans for the establishment of twenty trade centers in "An act for cohabitation and encouragement of trade and manufacture." This legislation, based on "the great necessity, usefulness and advantages of cohabitation in this his majesties county of Virginia," instructed the feofees or trustees appointed for each county to purchase a specified fifty acre tract of land from its owner for ten thousand pounds of tobacco and cask. Then the feofees were to sell to each interested individual "one halfe acre of the said land in ffee simple, he pay to the county one hundred pounds of tobacco and caske and building such dwelling house and ware house thereupon as by this is enjoyned."⁸ The designated location for York County's town, "on Mr. Reeds land where the Ship Honors store was, including the low beach for land, wharfes, &c. and the old field where Webber dwelt for cohabitation,"⁹ would prove to be advantageous for trade.

On October 26, 1680 the York County clerk noted that Mrs. Elizabeth Reade failed to appear "to treat with his Maj[esty]'s justices ab[ou]t laying out Land for towne" Although other Virginians, including residents of Middlesex County, drew up plans for towns, the 1680 act did not generate any urbanization before the King suspended the bill on

they Imagine the Towne for Yorke River shall be built...." York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills(3)183.

⁸Hening, ed., The Statutes and Large, 2:474.

⁹Ibid., The Statutes at Large, 2:472.

December 21, 1681.¹⁰ Ten years later the colonial legislators again passed "An act for Ports, &c." The April 1691 law proclaimed "that from and after the first day of October, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and ninety two, all ships, barques, and other vessels whatsoever, arriving into, or sayling out from this country for trayd, shall unload and put on shoare, and take from shoar to load on board, all tobaccoes, goods and merchantdises, at some one or other of the poarts, Wharfes, Keyes, or places hereafter mentioned in this act...."¹¹ The legislation instructed the justices of the peace in each county "to appoint and command the surveyor of each county to lay out and survey fifty acres of land, at such place and places as are hereafter in this act named, appointed, and set down for the ports, wharfes, keyes, and places for receiving on shoar, and shipping, all goods, tobaccoes, wares, and merchantdises as aforesaid; and for the erecting ware houses, or any other houses, for the better secureing all such good, tobaccoes, wares and merchantdises to be imported or exported as aforesaid."¹²

The purchaser of a lot, "his heires or assignes shall within the space of four months next ensuing such grant begin and without delay proceed to build and finish on each halfe acres granted to him one good house, to contain twenty foot square at the least, wherein if he failes to performe then such grant to be void in law, and the lands therein

¹⁰York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills (6)256; Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, p. 214; Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 2:508.

¹¹Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 3:54.

¹²Ibid., 3:55.

granted lyable to the choyce and purchase of any other person."¹³ This requirement to build "one good house" reflected the concern of some Virginians for the widely scattered population, "our wild and Rambling way," and the lack of a "Christian Neighbourhood" and "brotherly admonition" associated with life in towns. The great attachment of the colony's planters to tobacco was the cause of these worries.¹⁴

In most instances the passage of town acts coincided with times of depression in the tobacco trade. Virginia's legislators hoped that centralization would encourage planters to diversify their crops, and to restrict the amount of tobacco which was grown. Centralized markets would also reduce freight costs. However, the Crown disapproved of actions that would limit tobacco production and diminish royal revenues. In addition, economic diversification would put the colonists into competition with English manufacturers. The repeal of the town acts within a few years of their passage by the Crown did not concern most Virginians who had wanted help during times of economic difficulty, but lost interest in these reforms when tobacco prices improved.¹⁵ In contrast to the lack of interest on the part of county residents in earlier attempts to legislate urban centers, a number of York's male inhabitants lent their support to the April 1691 port act which established Yorktown.

¹³Ibid., 3:56.

¹⁴Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, pp. 209-210.

¹⁵Russell R. Menard, "The Tobacco Industry," Research in Economic History, 5(1980):109-177.

CHAPTER II

YORKTOWN

In response to directions in the 1691 General Assembly "act for Ports, &c." York County's justices of the peace decided "on the 29th day of this instant July [to] meet upon Mr Benjamine Reads land ... being the land appointed by law for a port etc in ord[er] to laying out the same for a towne ... & further this c[our]t doth hereby nominate & make choyce of Mr. Joseph Ring & Mr. Thomas Ballard to take & receive of Mr. Benjamine Read affirm & authenticke deed or conveyance of s[ai]d land as fees in trust...." On August 18, 1691 Benjamin Reade and his wife Lucy of Gloucester County granted the designated fifty acre tract to Ring and Ballard for 10,000 pounds sweet scented tobacco and cask.¹⁶ York County Surveyor Lawrence Smith surveyed this tract and laid out eighty-five lots by November 24, 1691, the first date that Yorktown property was available. The York County Levy dated November 25, 1692 provides evidence that this time the legislated town received effectual support. An initial group of fifty men purchased fifty-four lots "upon Mr Benjamin Read's land beginning at the lower side of Smiths Creeke, and so running

¹⁶York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills(9)42-43, 64. See Ibid., pp. 69-70 for plats of Smith's survey.

downward by the river towards the ferry." ¹⁷ [Map 3] These sales added 10,440 pounds of tobacco to York County's budget, a sum which covered the purchase price of the land. ¹⁸ Another eleven men had acquired lots by the end of 1692. ¹⁹

Initially Yorktown received backing from residents of all areas of York County, and also from three inhabitants from neighboring counties. The buyers ranged from Lieutenant Governor Francis Nicholson, whose support of urbanization in the colonial Chesapeake can be seen in his plans for Annapolis and Williamsburg, ²⁰ to men such as Francis Callowhill and Edward Moss, planters from Charles Parish, the poorest agricultural area in York. ²¹ Colonial leaders including Edmund Jennings, the Secretary of the Colony, and William Cole, member of His Majesty's Council, also

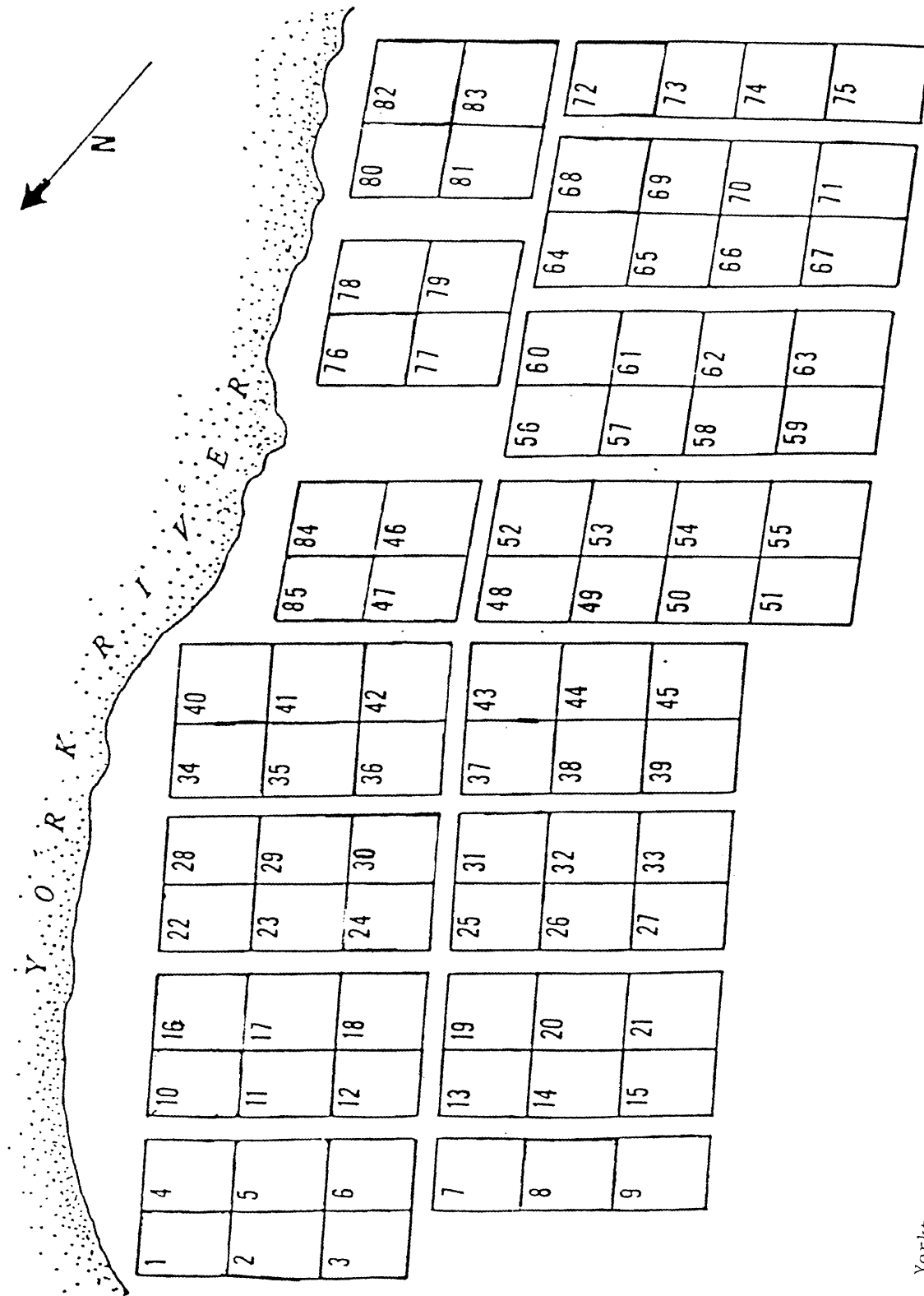
¹⁷York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills(9)188-189. Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 3:59. On March 2, 1692/3, the 1691 Port Act was suspended, and in April 1699 the General Assembly passed "An act for confirming titles to towne lands" which guaranteed ownership of town lots to those who had purchased them before the suspension of the Port Act. See Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 3:108-109, 186-189.

¹⁸Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 3:188-189. See also Grim, "The Absence of Towns," pp. 326-356, 401-424.

¹⁹See Table 1 for totals of Yorktown lotholders, Yorktown residents, and resident lotholders in each decade from the 1690s to the 1770s. Additional tables used in the discussion of the port town are located at the end of the text.

²⁰John W.Reps, Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland, (Williamsburg: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972, distributed by the University Press of Virginia), pp. 84-174; Hartwell, Blair, and Chilton, The Present State of Virginia, p. 13.

²¹Ages of the lotholders have not been included for any of the men and women who held urban property because only a small portion of the group--seventy eight (16.8%) out of 463 resident Yorktown lotholders--had evidence of documentable (to the year) or exact dates of birth. Only in the 1690s are there more than ten York County men with good birth information, and at most three local women per decade fit this group.



Map 3 Yorktown, 1691

Table 1
 Yorktown Lotholders
 Number of Lotholders, Resident Lotholders,
 and Residents by Decade

Decade	number of lot- holders	number of resi- dent lot holders	percent- age of resident lotholders	number of resi- dents	percent- age of residents with lots	percent- age of residents without lots
1690s	31.7	3.6	13.3	3.9	84.3	15.7
1700s	31.8	7.7	24.4	8.9	85.0	15.0
1710s	40.4	12.0	29.8	18.0	68.5	31.5
1720s	42.1	14.0	33.4	21.4	65.4	34.6
1730s	41.9	16.3	38.6	25.5	63.8	36.2
1740s	52.0	22.7	43.8	37.8	60.2	39.2
1750s	61.2	25.1	46.5	45.8	58.8	38.2
1760s	52.7	28.4	54.3	44.0	64.6	35.4
1770s	49.8	34.0	68.4	49.1	69.5	30.5

invested in the port. Purchases by William and Dudley Digges, Issac Sedgwick, Francis Page, and Robert Reade showed that several of York's leading families viewed the town as being beneficial, or representing a worthwhile financial investment. Francis Reade of Gloucester County bought a lot for his brother Benjamin, the previous owner of the portland.

From the beginning Yorktown received strong local support. Half of the original lotholders lived in York County for more than twenty years during their lives, and just over one-fifth are known to have been born in the area. The local connection was also reflected in the fact that fifty-two of the first decade's lotholders, including fifty-one of the original purchasers, were planters in York County.²² In addition, 62% of Yorktown's first investors held rural land in the area for more than twenty years. Yorktown too received backing from local men who worked in non-agricultural activities including craftsmen, merchants, and professionals. Ordinary keepers and mariners from the service sector

²²The occupational groupings used in this study are based on the system developed by Edward C. Papenfuse in connection with his work on Annapolis. See Edward C. Papenfuse, In Pursuit of Profit. The Annapolis Merchants in the Era of the American Revolution, 1763-1805, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), pp. 250-256.

If an individual practiced two occupations that fell into one category--jeweler and silversmith, for example--he was counted once as a craftsman. However, if someone was an ordinary keeper and a merchant, he appeared in both categories. While this inflates the number of people who practiced occupations in the two towns, it provides a more accurate indication of the number of services which were available. In many cases the dates of lotholding and of recorded occupational activity did not coincide, and it has been assumed that these individuals supported themselves during their adulthood by practicing their stated occupation(s) even if the evidence of this activity only covered a short time span. See Appendix III for the occupational groupings of Yorktown and Williamsburg lotholders.

acquired lots throughout the town's first ten years.

Although a wide range of individuals supported urbanization through the acquisition of town property, most did not make a large investment in town land. During the 1690s the typical Yorktown property owner held only one lot.²³ This pattern of acquiring a single lot began with the original patentees. Of the initial lotholders, fifty-five bought one half acre lot in the portland. Francis Nicholson patented three lots, and the 1692 levy listed Nathaniel Bacon and Thomas Chisman as the purchasers of two lots apiece. William Buckner and Thomas Mountfort each purchased one lot in 1691 and went on to acquire more in their lifetimes. Buckner, a York justice of the peace and a merchant, bequeathed five and one-third lots to his son William at the time of his death in 1715. At William's death in 1722 the lots passed to his brother John who held them until his death between June 1747 and April 1748. Mountfort, a merchant and an ordinary keeper, acquired three additional lots before he died in 1709. These two men were the first of a small group of individuals to purchase several lots in the portland. The majority of the men who owned urban property when they disappeared from York County had not added to their initial purchase of a half acre section. The average number of lots owned at their last appearance was 1.51, and half of this group, including Buckner and Mountfort, left town land as legacies to family

²³The mean and median size of lots owned at one's last date active in York County are important because an increase (or decrease) in these figures from the first date of evidence of lotholding is the only indication that any of the lotholders entered into subsequent lot transactions. The mean and median figures are based on the maximum number of lots which we know an individual owned. These statistics are based on an exact number of lots and on maximum and minimum totals if an exact figure was not known. If the size of an individual's lotholding was unknown, the case was not included. See Table 2.

Table 2

Yorktown Lotholders--York County Men
Lots Owned at First Evidence of Lotholding

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Median</u>
1690s	1.06	1.00
1700s	1.34	1.00
1710s	1.39	1.00
1720s	1.57	1.00
1730s	1.37	1.00
1740s	1.42	1.00
1750s	1.26	1.00
1760s	3.01	1.00
1770s	2.20	2.00

Yorktown Lotholders--York County Men
Lots Owned at Last Evidence of Lotholding

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Median</u>
1690s	1.51	1.00
1700s	2.43	2.00
1710s	2.52	1.00
1720s	3.94	2.00
1730s	2.49	1.00
1740s	2.04	1.38
1750s	2.31	2.00
1760s	2.25	2.00
1770s	1.92	2.00

members.

Another indication of limited commitment was the short length of time that this initial group lived in Yorktown and held urban land. After acquiring a town lot, many of the first investors failed to take further action. Only fifteen of the decade's seventy-two lotholders actually lived in the town at some time during their lives. Thirteen resided in Yorktown for less than ten years, and only two remained in the port for as long as twenty years. These landholders were joined by between three and five non-propertied town inhabitants. The residential population did not climb above ten until 1699 when it reached fourteen. Twenty-four of the fifty-eight original lotholders defaulted within the first year because they did not build a dwelling house as specified in the General Assembly act, and eight others had deserted their town property by 1696. Fifty-four held their lot less than ten years and only five kept possession over two decades. Just twenty-six of the York County men possessed their portland at the date they were last active in the county. Many original lotholders must have looked on their properties as passive investments that they hoped a lessee would develop. When the town did not materialize overnight, many of the planters were unwilling or unable to maintain their investment.

While these figures represent fluctuation and instability in the number of lotholders and residents, they do not indicate the town's decline. By October 14, 1699 Yorktown's trustees had re-granted twelve of the forfeited lots,²⁴ and the number of lotholders and known town inhabitants increased to thirty-one and fourteen, respectively. Some of

²⁴York County Deeds, Orders, and Wills(11)223.

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" which 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 within the said limitts of York Towne" by October 31, 1697.²⁵ In addition, Yorktown's role in the York River shipping trade grew, and a greater number of sailors spent longer periods of time in the town.²⁶ It is possible that the economic opportunities of both of these developments attracted ordinary keepers Robert Leightenhouse, Thomas Sessions (also a carpenter), Thomas Pate, Samuel Dickenson, Joshua Broadbent, and Alexander Young (also a cooper); carpenter Robert Harrison; blacksmith James Darbyshire; and tailor William Simpson to re-patent lots and establish themselves in the portland. Of this group only Harrison and Simpson who moved to Yorktown from Gloucester County were not York County residents before they invested in the port.

Even though many 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 the residents of York County. The subsequent lotholders, especially those who acquired town lots in the late 1690s and the first two decades of the eighteenth century, were directly

²⁵Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 3:146-147; quote from p. 146.

²⁶Kevin P. Kelly, "Urbanization of Lower Tidewater Virginia: York County, A Case Study, 1690-1750," (paper presented at "Urbanization in Maryland and Virginia," Historic Petersburg Foundation Conference, March 12, 1988), pp. 12-15.

responsible for its actual growth.²⁷ Although Yorktown saw a greater degree of regularity in the number of residents and lotholders in the first decade of the eighteenth century than it had in the 1690s, the taking up of lots was not steady. While the early years of the new century saw a small number of additional people become lotholders, 1705-1709 was a time of quick growth. Twenty-three of the sixty first-time lotholders in the 1700s decade received deeds from the town trustees. The thirteen original patents and the ten re-patents demonstrated that the town continued to expand into areas that had not yet been developed at the same time that forfeited lots were resettled.²⁸ Another fourteen individuals purchased lots from owners who had developed their property, and ten lotholders received their urban property as a legacy. Six of the new lotholders in the 1700s decade were women from York County. Three females received their town land as gifts, and two purchased lots. This is in contrast to the one area female who held Yorktown property for three years in the 1690s.

The great expansion in the middle of the decade was connected to a new "act for establishing ports and towns," passed by the General Assembly in 1705 to encourage urbanization.²⁹ During 1706 the port gained nineteen of the decade's new lotholders. These men joined the eighteen who already held town land to increase the total number of urban property holders in that year to

²⁷Ibid., pp. 5-8.

²⁸By the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century, fifteen lots (#48, 50, 51, 54, 55, 59, 63, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 73, and 74) had not been patented. See Grim, "The Absence of Towns," pp. 401-424.

²⁹Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 3:404-419.

thirty-seven. The next year saw eleven first-time holders move the number of lotholders up to forty-one. The acquisitions during 1706 and 1707 represented a high degree of expansion because only one male resident received his lot as a legacy, and Yorktown's trustees granted original patents to seven individuals. Nearly three-quarters of these new lotholders were York County residents. As in 1691, the new legislative initiative was effective, because men and women from the local area invested in portland property.

Thomas Nelson, Lawrence Smith (son of the surveyor of Yorktown), Philip Lightfoot, and Miles Cary who each purchased one lot, and Joseph Walker who bought half of a lot were among the decade's new property owners. All five men participated in local county government, and Nelson, Lightfoot, and Cary held a variety of colony level offices. Nelson and Lightfoot, two of Yorktown's leading merchants, established their residences and businesses in the port during this decade. Although all their initial purchases were below the decade average of 1.34, these men went on to acquire additional lots throughout their lives, most of which descended to family members at the time of their deaths. Nelson and Lightfoot who bequeathed eleven and ten lots, respectively, were partially responsible for the jump in the average number of lots owned by this decade's lotholders when they died or moved away from York County. This figure increased from just over one and a half lots in the previous decade to 2.43.

The greater number of lotholders and residents in the decade of the 1700s did not account for the feeling of permanence in Yorktown. The longer spans of time that individuals remained in town as residents and

loholders revealed an increased and more effective commitment. The proportion of loholders who disposed of urban land within ten years of acquisition fell from three-quarters in the 1690s to two-thirds in the first decade of the eighteenth century, and eight were in possession of their lots for more than twenty years. Another indication of this persistence can be seen in the fact that as compared to 36% in the previous decade, twenty-seven out of forty-three local property owners in the 1700s still owned Yorktown lots when they died, moved away, or disappeared from York County. The number of loholders who actually established residence in Yorktown increased from 20.8% to half, and twelve of these could be identified as town dwellers at the time of their deaths. Fourteen of the twenty-seven men who retained possession of lots as long as they were active in York County left urban property to their families.

The nineteen local men and women in the service sector comprised the largest group of loholders with identified occupations. Six of these individuals, including one female, acquired their lots from the trustees. Four women joined the male ordinary keepers in providing lodging to Yorktown's visitors. While planters formed the second most frequently identified occupational group in this decade, they did not make up as great a percentage of the loholders in the 1700s--30%--as they had in the 1690s--72.2%. The immigration of local craftsmen and males involved in trade, together with the large increase of individuals in the service sector shows that Yorktown's growth was tied to support from those who would benefit and prosper in an urban environment.

The pattern of lot acquisition in the 1710s paralleled that of the

preceding decade. The total number of lotholders in the first years of the 1710s remained near that of 1709, and declined slightly before increasing by the middle of the decade. In 1719 Yorktown had fifty-one lotholders, approaching for the first time in twenty-seven years the fifty-six it had had in 1692. The most dramatic increase was in the number of lotholders who made the port their home. This figure almost tripled between 1710 and 1719. The tally of those who lived in Yorktown rose from ten in 1710 to twenty-eight at the end of the decade. However, all of the town residents did not share in the land grab. During this ten year span an average of 31.5% of the town residents did not have evidence that they occupied any urban land, a substantial increase from 4.6% in the 1690s and 14.9% in the first decade of the eighteenth century.

In this time period, the town enjoyed expansion into previously undeveloped areas, and by the end of the decade only four half-acre sections had not been settled.³⁰ Twenty-seven of the first time lotholders in the 1710s acquired their urban land by patent or gift. Yorktown's trustees issued eleven patents, including four re-grants, during this ten year period. Fifteen acquisitions by legacy indicated that the first generation of Yorktown's lotholders viewed their urban land as a valuable possession to be kept in the family. Eleven women, including one out of county resident, joined the ranks of York's lotholders during this decade. Men accounted for 81.5% of the decade's fifty-three lotholders, and all but two were inhabitants of York County.

³⁰Only lots #63, 67, 71, and 75 were not sold during the colonial period. See Grim, "The Absence of Towns," pp. 329, 401-424.

This represented a sharp decline from the ten out of county male lotholders in the first decade of the century.

The typical new male lot owners took up a single lot. Two of the decade's large investors in town property--John Gibbons and William Rogers--began their lotholding careers with the purchase of two half-acre sections. The other, Cole Digges, inherited one and a half lots from his father. Following the pattern of others who invested in town property, each man was involved in various levels of government--Gibbons and Rogers in York County, and Digges in colony and church offices. This group planted rural land in Yorkhampton Parish while they lived in houses on their Yorktown property, and worked as merchants, as Rogers and Digges did, or as an ordinary keeper like Gibbons. All three bequeathed their urban lots to their families.

As was the case for the new lotholders in the 1700s, those involved in the service sector comprised the majority of new lotholders whose occupation could be identified. Of the sixteen men and four women in this group, eight owned their lots and it is unknown how eleven came into possession of town land. Fourteen planters, including one woman, acquired half-acre sections in Yorktown. Although a smaller number of craftsmen secured an interest in town lots during the 1710s, the five who did all owned their property. Four out of six men involved in commercial trades also owned Yorktown lots. The decline in the number of men who worked in mercantile activities, in conjunction with the decrease in craftsmen, suggests that the opportunities for men with these skills were contracting at the same time that the service sector continued to expand.

Following the trend of earlier decades, the mean number of lots owned by a local man when he last appeared in the York County records rose to 2.52 from 1.39 at the beginning of his lotholding career. This figure shows that several lotholders, including Gibbons, Rogers, and Digges, entered into subsequent land transactions which increased the size of their holdings. The fact that nearly 72% of the new 1710s lotholders held their urban property less than ten years enabled the larger urban investors, especially Nelson and Lightfoot, to increase their holdings. This consolidation would affect the ability of future lotholders to obtain additional lots.

During the 1720s forty-one individuals acquired Yorktown lots for the first time. This was a decrease of twenty-five new lotholders from the previous decade. A greater number of women acquired Yorktown lots during this time period. Nine women, including eight from York County, were involved in almost one-quarter of the first time transactions. The non-resident female and the five males from other Virginia counties accounted for 21.9% of the new lotholders, a substantial increase from the 4.6% in the previous decade. The twenty-six remaining lotholders were men from York County.

This great slow down in the growth of the number of new property holders did not represent a decline in Yorktown's fortunes. It signalled two developments: first, that the portland had run out of room for expansion and second, that the lotholders were retaining possession of lots for longer periods of time. The town trustees did not grant any new patents in the 1720s, evidence that all of the lots suitable for settlement had been developed. Instead of subdividing the lots, several

Yorktowners looked to expand into unsettled areas near the town.

In the latter part of the decade, four merchants, John Ballard, Richard Ambler, Thomas Nelson, and Cole Digges, showed an interest in land that had not been included in the property purchased from Benjamin Reade.³¹ These men each petitioned the Council "setting forth that between the land appropriated for the said Town & the River there lies a beach of sand which at high tides is overflowed, but nevertheless may with some expence & labour be made convenient for building warehouses for the securing merchandizes of great bulk and weight...." Each petitioner continued, "praying that eighty foot square of the Beach may be granted him by patent for the purpose aforesaid, with power to enlarge the same by making a wharf into the river w[hi]ch may be of great benefit to the trade of that Town." The council granted the petitions with the stipulation that the wharves and warehouses did not "encroach upon the publick landings or the Streets leading through the said Town to the River side."³² Ambler had built a wharf at the waterfront by the end of the decade, and Lightfoot's landing was in place in the early 1730s.

Evidence of increasing persistence in Yorktown was the fact that seventeen of the new 1720s lotholders received their lots as legacies or

³¹Charles Chiswell petitioned the Council for waterfront property on the York River in May 1716. The Council approved his petition in October of the same year. This is the only evidence that Chiswell held Yorktown property, and it is unknown if he built a warehouse on the section of land granted him by the Council. See H. R. McIlwaine et al., eds., Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, 6 vols., (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia State Library, 1927-1966), 3:426, 430.

³²For Richard Ambler's petition dated August 15, 1728, see Ibid., 4:183-184. See also Thomas Nelson on the same date, Ibid, 4:184; Cole Digges and John Ballard, June 12, 1729, Ibid., 4:207-208.

held lifetime rights to the property. Only seven bought town land in the decade. Eight men and three women of the thirty-four resident lotholders are known natives of York County, and eighteen--fifteen males and three females--lived in York at the time of their death. Another sign of the stronger connection to the area was that 40% of the decade's lotholders kept possession of urban property for over ten years, the lowest turnover rate up to that time. In addition, a growing number of lotholders established their residence in Yorktown. By the end of the 1720s one-third of the urban landholders also lived in the town.

This increased sense of permanence in Yorktown's population was a product of longer spans of residence and lotholding, and the low rate of turnover among new lotholders. While these developments indicated Yorktown's development, they also made it more difficult for the individuals to become lotholders. In the 1720s an average of 34.6% of Yorktown's residents were unpropertied. Fewer lots were unoccupied because of the increased duration of possession, and the extent of York's expansion in the first two decades of the century. In addition, the large lotholders--Nelson and Lightfoot--were adding to their holdings.

Available evidence suggests further concentration of town property holdings. Eleven of these men bequeathed lots to family members, nearly the same percentage as in the 1710s. Among those twenty-one York County men who owned lots when they died or disappeared from the area, the average rose from 2.52 to 3.94. Both of the 1720s large lotholders made larger investments in town property than Gibbons, Rogers, and Digges did. John Ballard inherited his first Yorktown property from his father-in-law John Gibbons. After an officeholding career in which he served as

justice of the peace, coroner, and surveyor of Yorktown, Ballard divided his seven lots among his four sons. Unlike most of his contemporaries, Ballard left information about how he used some of his urban property. His will of December 1744 noted that Henry Walters and Susannah Thompson each rented a lot from him. Like Ballard, Richard Ambler was a county officeholder who began his lotholding career with one half-acre section. Ambler also was active in colony level and church government, serving as Collector of the York District, vestryman, and churchwarden. After his death in 1766, he left a minimum of twenty-one and one-quarter lots, including eighteen in the Gwyn Reade Subdivision, to his sons Edward and Jacquelin.³¹

The next ten years, the 1730s, were also characterized by a small number of new lotholders. Twenty-seven of the decade's thirty-nine new holders of portland property were male residents of York County. Town land did not hold as great an interest for those from other areas of the colony. There was less opportunity for non-York County residents to invest in Yorktown in the 1730s than in earlier decades because fewer lotholders were making town property available. At this time, the price of land in Yorkhampton Parish was steadily increasing, thus making it difficult to acquire rural property near the port town. Only four non-resident males acquired lots during this decade, a sharp decline from the 1720s. Six female York County residents accounted for the remaining 15.4% of the new lotholders.

Three men, Reginald Orton, Ishmael Moody, and William Nelson, began their investment in urban property during the decade of the 1730s. They

³¹See below for information on the Gwyn Reade Subdivision.

all resided in Yorktown, and practiced the occupations of tailor, ordinary keeper, and merchant in the port city, respectively. Orton held an unknown portion of a lot in 1735 when he served as Yorktown constable. At the time of his death between September 1755 and May 1757, he owned six lots which he bequeathed to his children. Moody inherited his first lot from his step-father Edward Powers, a Yorktown carpenter, merchant, and ordinary keeper, in March 1732/3. He left this lot and four others as a legacy to his son Edward in 1748. Nelson followed in the footsteps of his father Thomas Nelson, and was a successful planter and merchant. He also served as justice of the peace and burgess for York County, Councillor, and President of the Council. Nelson purchased a lot in 1735, inherited at least two lots from his father in 1745, and left as many as ten lots to his own children in 1772.

The new lotholders of the 1730s were similar to those of the preceding ten years in terms of their connection to the York County area and to Yorktown. At least twelve of the resident lotholders were born in the county. Almost half of the urban lotholders possessed their property over ten years, the slowest turnover rate of the century. Twenty-two made Yorktown their place of residence, and ten of this group were urban dwellers for more than a decade. As in the 1720s, a high proportion of the new property owners--41%--came into possession of their lots as a gift--through inheritance, a deed of gift, or lifetime rights. Eight purchases and one re-patent accounted for close to one-quarter of the transactions.

Many in this group of newly propertied individuals maintained their connection to the port throughout their lives. Twenty-one of the thirty-

one York County inhabitants owned urban property at the last evidence of their presence in the area. Twelve men and one woman of the twenty-one bequeathed lots in the portland to their families. Fifteen of the twenty-seven male lotholders died in York County, and eleven were definitely Yorktown residents at the time of their death, and others may have been.

Because a larger number of property owners held on to their lots for a long time, availability of town property was limited. The 1730s also saw a further decline in the mean number of lots held. This figure dropped to an average of 1.37 lots for those who owned half-acre sections at the first evidence of lotholding. The average number of lots an individual in this group had to dispose of decreased to 2.49. The smaller totals of craftsmen and men in the service sector and commercial activities who became lotholders also are an indication of the increasing difficulty of acquiring urban land. This indicates that fewer lots were available, and that there were not as many opportunities to become a property holder.³²

The need to break free from this land shortage probably influenced the decision of Yorktown's trustees to officially annex the waterfront property where Ballard, Ambler, Nelson, and Digges had earlier built warehouses, wharves, and landings to the town. On December 8, 1738, in response to a petition from the town trustees, the Burgesses found "that it likewise appears to have been the Intent and Design of the said Benjamin Read, that the said Five Acres, between the Lines of the said

³²After the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the level of detail in the York County records decreased. It is possible that actual residents and lotholders were not identified as such.

Fifty Acres, proposed to be laid out into Lots and Streets, and the River, should pass to the said Feofees, with the said Fifty Acres." However, because Gwyn Reade, son and heir of Benjamin Reade, disagreed, claiming "a Title to the before mentioned Five Acres of Land, as Heir in Tail, the Committee submit to the Judgment of this House, whether it be reasonable to bring in a Bill according to the Prayer of the said Petition."³³

On December 21, 1738 "by an Act passed this Session of Assembly there is Vested in the Feofees of the Town of York a Small parcel of Land lying on the River Side to be Used as a Common for the said Town Upon payment of One Hund[re]d Pounds Current Money to Mr Gwyn Reide which is to be Raised by Taxing the Several proprietors of Land in the said Town...." Since "part of the said Common hath been Appropriated for Erecting a Fort and Battery for the Defence of the Road and Port of the said Town, It is Ordered that the Sum of Twenty pounds being proportionable to the Vallue of the Lands so Appropriated besides the charge of passing the Act out of the Revenue of 2s [hillings] per hdd [hogshead] be paid to the Feofees to Enable them to Satisfie the said Gwyn Reid in full Satisfaction for the Land afforesaid pursuant to the Act of Assembly."³⁴

³³H.R. McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses, 13 vols. (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia State Library, 1910), 1736-1740:368.

³⁴McIlwaine et al., Executive Journals, 4:436. See also McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1736-1740:385, 387; idem, Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, 3 vols., (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia State Library, 1918-1919), 2:880, 881; and Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 5:68-72. An entry dated February 19, 1738/9 noted "that a c[our]t. be held on Fryday next to assess the Value of the Common lately taken into this Town on the Inhabitants & owners of the Lotts therein." See York County orders, Wills, and Inventories (18)471.

As directed by the General Assembly, York County's justices of the peace assessed "the Inhabitants & owners of Lotts in York Town the Sum of 100 pounds to be paid to Gwyn Reade of the County of Glo[u]c[este]r. Gent[leman] for 5 Acres of ground lately taken from him for the use of a Common...."³⁵ The assessment included the name of each lotholder and the number of lots that he or she held as of February 23, 1738/9. Thirty-two men and four women held eighty-two lots, and the Yorkhampton Parish Church and the York County courthouse occupied two lots and one lot, respectively.³⁶ The four female lotholders of 1738/9 owned only 4.5% of all urban property with an average of .92 lots apiece, far below the average of 2.28 lots for the group as a whole, and 2.45 lots for each of the male lotholders. Two men, Philip Lightfoot and Thomas Nelson, controlled slightly more than one-quarter of the settled area of the port. Lightfoot held ten lots, and Nelson had twelve, including the half-acre where the Swan Tavern was located. Four other men previously identified as investors in Yorktown owned several lots at the time of the assessment: Cole Digges (four), Richard Ambler (three and one-third), William Rogers (three), and Lawrence Smith (four). These six men--16.2% of the lotholders--had tenure of 44.3% of the eighty-five lots in

³⁵York County Orders, Wills, and Inventories(18)478-479. On March 20, 1738/9 Gwyn Reade acknowledged that he had received payment for the land from Thomas Nelson, one of the town trustees. See York County Orders, Wills, and Inventories(18)496.

³⁶John and Ann Gibbons appeared as joint tenants of two lots. John had inherited the property from his father in 1727 and Ann held one-third of this property as part of her dower until at least June 16, 1740. See York County Orders, Wills, and Inventories(18)478-479, 611.

Yorktown.³⁷

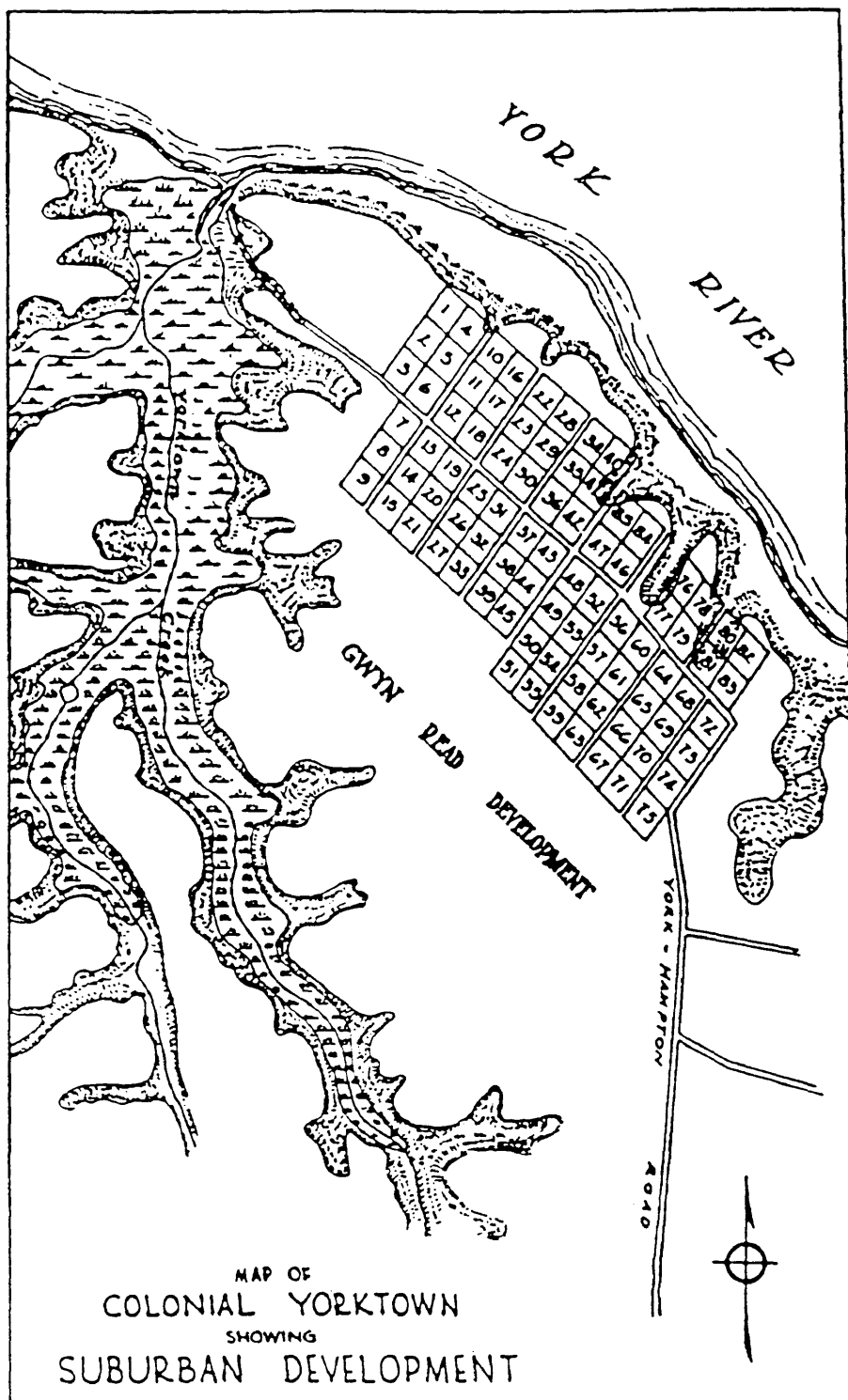
Having found a market for his holdings near Yorktown, Reade decided to subdivide another tract of land which adjoined the town. [Map 4] The next year he laid out fifty acres of land on the south side of Yorktown into lots which he offered for sale. An April 1757 General Assembly act noted "that the lands laid out as aforesaid, by the said Gwyn Read, into lots, adjoining the said town, which have been, or shall be hereafter built upon, and saved according to the rules and regulations required for saving lots in the said town, shall be added to and made part of the said town...."³⁸

In contrast to the two previous decades, the number of individuals who acquired a town lot for the first time increased during the 1740s. The Gwyn Reade Subdivision attracted ten of the fifty-six new lotholders. In spite of the large number of lots in the subdivision that could have been purchased from Gwyn Reade, legacies and lifetime rights to urban

³⁷The thirty-six lotholders appearing on the 1738/9 assessment falls short of the figure of fifty-one identified by the York County Project. It is likely that several of the landholders who were assessed for more than one lot had rented out part of a lot. The York County Project list notes four women whose property was included with a husband's or son's property on the Gwyn Reade assessment list. Our assumption that ordinary keepers and merchants had to have an interest in at least part of a lot for an ordinary or a building in which to store their merchandise inflated the total number of presumed lotholders because it includes William Harwood and Benjamin Catton, ordinary keepers, and a merchant, John Dixon. On the other hand, the York County Project figures probably better reflect an urban economy that included leasing and subleasing of desirable commercial properties.

The assessment noted that eighty-two lots were owned, and three others were the location of the church and the York County courthouse. Since four of the eighty-five lots in Yorktown proper were never developed during the colonial period, Gwyn Reade must have sold lots in his subdivision to individuals in addition to Robert Martindale before February 1738/9.

³⁸Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 7:189.



Map 4 Waterfront Property and Gwyn Reade Subdivision
 (Edward M. Riley, "Suburban Development Of Yorktown, Virginia, During the Colonial Period," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 60(1952), p. 524)

land continued to be the most common mode of acquisition, totalling 42.8% of the transactions. Approximately the same share of York County lotholders--40%--are known to have been born in the local area. Forty-two men from York County made up the majority of the new lotholders. Ten resident women and three males from other counties completed this group. The percentage of all of the 1740s lotholders who held their town land at least ten years increased slightly to 55.4% in the 1740s. The percentage of urban property holders who resided in the port also rose to 57.1% in this decade. In 1740 and 1744 just over four-fifths of the lotholders were also town residents. This figure dropped off to 73% in the last two years of the decade.

The new proprietors held an average of 1.42 lots. This figure did not increase much from the previous decade even though there were many more lots available. Nor did the addition of Gwyn Reade land produce a decline in the number of unpropertied residents. An average of 39.8% of Yorktown's residents in the 1740s did not have evidence of lotholding. Subdivision land was less expensive than lots in Yorktown proper, ranging from a low of £2..10..0 for an unimproved lot to a high of £40..0..0 for a half-acre with improvements during this decade. Prices for a lot in Yorktown rose as high as £300..0..0 and dropped down to £15..0..0. Although the price should have enabled town residents who had not been able to afford land in Yorktown proper to become lotholders, this did not occur because several investors led by Lightfoot with four lots, Ballard with six lots, the Nelsons with twelve lots, and Ambler with twenty lots

bought up a large portion of the sub-division land.³⁹ Ambler bequeathed property in this section of Yorktown to his sons, and it is likely that the three other men did the same.

The break from established patterns became apparent in the sharp decline in the number of lotholders among the 1740s group who remained in the Yorktown area and who bequeathed their lots. Although almost 54% of the new lotholders in the 1730s and 1740s owned urban land when they died or left York County, disposal by gift fell from 61.9% to 20%. Another 20.0% sold their town lands, and there was no evidence as to how 53% of the 1740s lotholders disposed of their Yorktown lots. The number of sales and unknown dispositions doubled from the totals in the 1730s. The average number of lots owned by men at their date last active in the area was just over two, a drop of almost half a lot. These changes were connected to the shift in Yorktown's position in the Virginia economy after the mid-century.

The total of new lotholders with identified occupations increased during this decade. The expanding number of heads of household, which reached a high of seventy-seven in 1748, might have attracted some of the nine craftsmen or the eight in the service sector to Yorktown. Men involved in commercial activities accounted for thirteen of the first-time lotholders. Three of the four large investors in this decade--Walter Charles, John Norton, and Patrick Matthews--were merchants. Norton, the head of John Norton and Company, based in London, purchased his first town lot in March 1745/6. He held six lots at his death in 1777 which

³⁹Edward M. Riley, "Suburban Development of Yorktown, Virginia, During the Colonial Period," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 60(1952):523, 525, 525 n.8.

his sons occupied after he returned to England by September 1764. A gardener as well as a merchant, Matthews bought two lots in the Gwyn Reade Subdivision in 1743. He acquired at least two more lots during his lifetime in addition to the half acre he held "by right of" his wife. Charles owned three Gwyn Reade lots which he sold in 1748 to William Harwood of Warwick County, the fourth large purchaser of the decade. Harwood sold these lots eight months later, and subsequently purchased a half-acre section that he controlled until December 1775, if not later.

Yorktown's expansion of the 1740s continued into the first years of the next decade. While purchases, legacies, and lifetime rights accounted for a smaller number of first-time transactions than in previous years, lots acquired by unknown tenure increased in the 1750s.⁴⁰ Nearly 50% fewer of the lotholders were natives of York County than in the preceding decade. The percentage of those who held urban land over ten years dropped from 55.4 during the 1740s to 31.3. However, the decline in the proportion of lotholders who established their residence in the portland was not as substantial. The figure fell from 62.5% to 57.7% for the group as a whole, and from 42.9% to 36.7% for those who called Yorktown home for a minimum of ten years. The average number of lots which an owner first purchased dropped from 1.42 lots in the 1740s at 1.26 lots in the 1750s. The proportion of Yorktown residents who were un-propertied averaged 38.2% during this ten year span.

The port reached its highest number of lotholders, residents, and resident lotholders during the colonial era in the 1750s. The tally of

⁴⁰See note 34 above. In addition to the lack of detail in the records, there are not any extant York County records from November 1754 to January 1759.

identified town dwellers totalled fifty-one in 1752 before it dropped to forty-two within five years. 1752 also saw a total of seventy male and female lotholders, a figure which declined to fifty-seven in the latter part of the decade. The number of resident lotholders peaked at thirty-two in 1752 and 1753 before it decreased to twenty-five by 1757. A greater proportion of these town dwellers retained a connection to the urban center and its surroundings than their immediate predecessors had. Nineteen of this group died in York County, including eight men and three women who were portland residents at the time of their death.

However, this persistence did not carry over into the length of tenure or disposition of urban land. Only 68.9% of the twenty-nine who owned lots at their first evidence of lotholding were still lot owners when they disappeared from the York County records. This represents a decline of almost 20% from the 1740s. Seven of this group sold their urban land, and an equal number bequeathed Yorktown property.

For the first time a larger group of craftsmen obtained town property than individuals from the other occupational categories. The number of men in the service sector also increased over the previous decade's total. Only eight from the commercial trades--merchants, auctioneers, and bookkeepers--appeared on the list of new lotholders, a decline from thirteen in the 1740s. Both Daniel Fisher and Francis Jerdone noted that the power of the Nelson and Lightfoot families made it difficult for a man to establish himself as a merchant in Yorktown by mid-century.⁴¹ In addition, the importance of the York River Basin in

⁴¹Daniel Fisher, "The Fisher History," in Louise Pecquet du Bellet, ed., Some Prominent Virginia Families, (Lynchburg, Virginia: J. P. Bell, 1907), II:752-773; and Francis Jerdone, "Letter Book of Francis Jerdone,"

Virginia's trade began to decline at the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth century. After 1750 growth was concentrated in the James and Rappahannock river basins. The decline of the area around the York is reflected in the fact that there were fewer new towns along the river, and that those in the area did not experience the expansion which characterized Norfolk, Richmond, and Petersburg. The faster growing urban centers encroached upon Yorktown's hinterland and reduced its area of influence.⁴² The reduction of Yorktown's role and of opportunities in the town itself probably played a part in the smaller number of men and women who acquired lots in the second half of the 1750s and held urban land at the time of their deaths. An outside force that might have influenced Yorktown's fortunes was the Seven Years' War. After 1758 there was no longer was a threat to the Virginia frontier. However, the colony's economy suffered from what Virginians viewed as a just contribution to the war. In addition, a credit crisis and the first decline in tobacco prices since the 1740s affected individuals.⁴³

Only two of the 1750s male lotholders made large investments in town property and became long term residents in the 1750s. James Mills, a tailor and a planter, purchased two Yorktown lots in 1750. He was active

William and Mary Quarterly, 1st Series, XI(1903): 154.

⁴²Peter V. Bergstrom, Markets and Merchants: Economic Diversification in Colonial Virginia, (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985), pp. 141, 143-146. See also James O'Mara, "Urbanization in Tidewater Virginia During the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Historical Geography," (Ph. D. dissertation, York University, 1979), pp. 340-345, 378, 411, 412.

⁴³Warren M. Billings, John E. Selby, and Thad W. Tate, Colonial Virginia: A History, (White Plains, New York: KTO Press, 1986), pp. 265, 266, 296.

in the county and served as a Yorktown constable before his death between July and August 1762. Although his will is torn, it is known that Mills left two of his seven lots to his niece Martha Gunther. It is likely that his widow Hannah had at least a lifetime right to the remaining lots. David Jameson was a successful merchant and bookkeeper, and after purchasing a lot in 1752, he went on to buy four and four-fifths lots and a waterfront warehouse. He held a minimum of three lots on which his estate paid taxes on after his death in 1793. The fact that all of Mills' and most of Jameson's urban land was in Yorktown proper, while the large purchasers from the previous decade had concentrated their lotholding in the Gwyn Reade Subdivision is another indication that investors purchased much of the land in this area from Gwyn Reade in the 1740s.

The slow down of the late 1750s continued into the 1760s. During this decade Yorktown depended upon local support because there was no incentive for outsiders to invest in the port. In fact, not one of the thirty new property holders in the 1760s was an out of county resident. At least eight future lotholders were natives of the county, and half of this group were born in the port town. The acquisition of lots--one-third legacies and by right of tenure, and slightly more than one-quarter for both unknown tenure and purchase--followed the patterns of the preceding ten years even though the number of new urban property holders declined by twenty-two. A larger portion of the group than in the preceding decade--40% as compared to 31.3%--held urban property for a minimum of ten years.

The average amount owned by twelve local males--just over three

lots--was influenced by the eighteen Gwyn Reade lots Jacquelin Ambler inherited from his father Richard in 1766. Twenty-four of the lotholders, including three women, were lifetime residents of the county, and 54% of this group called Yorktown home for at least ten years. In the 1760s an average of 54.3% of the lotholders are known to have established their residence in Yorktown, an increase from 46.5% during the previous decade. The mean number of unpropertied residents dropped to 35.4%, the first time that this figure decreased.⁴⁴

A greater proportion of the men and women who first acquired urban property in the 1760s maintained a connection to the York County area until the end of their lotholding careers than their counterparts in the 1740s and 1750s did. Close to half died in the county, and eleven of these fourteen were Yorktown residents at the time of their deaths. Nearly all of the thirteen men and three women who were propertied owned lots on the last date of their appearance in the local records. Nine devised town lands to family members, and two put their property up for sale. The men had an average of two and one-quarter lots in their possession, a sharp decline from the mean of 3.01 lots at the beginning of their lotholding careers which was due in part to the fact that Ambler had disposed of his Gwyn Reade property before he died in Richmond in January 1798.

While the average investor of the 1760s did not accumulate as much property as those in earlier decades had, three men did acquire several lots a piece. John Thompson, a mariner and merchant of Gloucester who moved to Yorktown in 1760, bought three lots from Robert Ballard the

⁴⁴See note 34 above.

following year. He held this land until his death, and bequeathed it to his son John. Thomas Nelson, son of William, also purchased lots in 1761. Nelson, who signed the Declaration of Independence and served as a general in the Revolutionary War, willed at least five lots to his family. Northampton County's Nathaniel Littleton Savage was a Yorktown resident when Griffin Stith sold him six town lots in 1767. Three years later Savage sold the property to Thomas Lilly. This resident of Northampton County sold another three lots to Robert Nelson in 1777.

Eleven men with commercial interests, including Thompson and Savage, became lotholders, close to double the number who had acquired urban property during the 1750s. This jump suggests that Yorktown was able to support new merchants, bookkeepers, and auctioneers because it was becoming a port with a trading base in the local area.⁴⁵ The small number of craftsmen, professionals, and individuals from the service sector who established themselves on Yorktown property demonstrates that the port could no longer absorb a large number of men and women seeking to practice these occupations. Because the residential population did not grow much after the early 1750s, the town did not require additional suppliers of goods and services. In addition, after the middle of the century it would have been difficult for York's craftsmen to have competed with those in Williamsburg who produced a wider variety of items.

After a slowdown in the turnover rate of lots in the 1760s, Yorktown again experienced a time of an increased number of property conveyances in the 1770s. As the town population ceased to expand, more land

⁴⁵O'Mara, "Urbanization in Tidewater Virginia," pp. 340-345, 409.

transfers were exchanges among family members. Twenty-three of the sixty-one newly propertied received their urban land by means of a gift. Twenty-six of the forty-five local men began their lotholding careers as the owners of an average of two and one-fifth lots. Just under a third of the sixty-one lotholders were identified as York County natives, and thirty-nine of the lotholders were urban dwellers at some point in their lives. Over two-fifths of the local males, and of this decade's lotholders as a group, called the port city home for a minimum of ten years.

Both the number of lotholders and residents stood at a higher figure at the end of the decade than in 1770. While these totals fluctuated from year to year, the proportion of residents who held town land increased steadily during the decade. An average of 30.5% of the port's residents were unpropertied in the 1770s, a decline from 35.4% in the previous decade.⁴⁶ Persistence in the Yorktown area was apparent at the end of the 1770s group's lotholding careers. Forty-five percent were identified as local inhabitants and one-third as Yorktown residents at the time of their death. Thirty male lot owners disposed of an average of 1.92 half-acre sections on their date last active in the county, and thirteen of the thirty bequeathed urban property.

Thomas Lilly, a Yorktown mariner, was the only new urban landholder to purchase several town lots before the beginning of the American Revolution. He bought his first six half acre sections from Nathaniel Littleton Savage in 1770. Lilly was party to additional land transactions during the next twenty years, and owned Yorktown property

⁴⁶See note 34 above.

until 1793 even though he had moved across the York River to Gloucester County in 1783 and then to Matthews County in 1793. Robert Nelson held a smaller number of lots than Lilly did, and for a shorter length of time. Nelson purchased three lots in 1777 which he owned until he sold them and two others to his brother Thomas in 1786. It is not surprising that Yorktown residents and property holders were not interested in acquiring lots in the portland after the destruction of the town during the final battle of the Revolutionary War.

From the 1690s to the 1770s Yorktown's lotholders had strengthened their ties to the local area and the town, and the proportion of urban property holders who made their home in Yorktown steadily increased. Although the portland attracted purchasers from other areas of Virginia, this group accounted for just 5.7% of the 506 lotholders. Only during the first ten years of the eighteenth century were there more than ten non-local Yorktown landholders in a year, and after the decade of the 1750s there were no new out-of-county lotholders because these individuals had no incentive to invest in a port town that no longer played a large role in the colony's trade and was being replaced by trading centers which were closer to their homes.

While most lotholders held a single lot, there were a small number of men who invested in several half-acre sections. By the middle of the century it was difficult for an individual to accumulate the number of lots that Thomas Nelson or Philip Lightfoot had acquired because all the suitable tracts in Yorktown proper had been developed and the large holdings had been divided among the investor's heirs. The availability of subdivision lots after the late 1730s did not reduce the number of

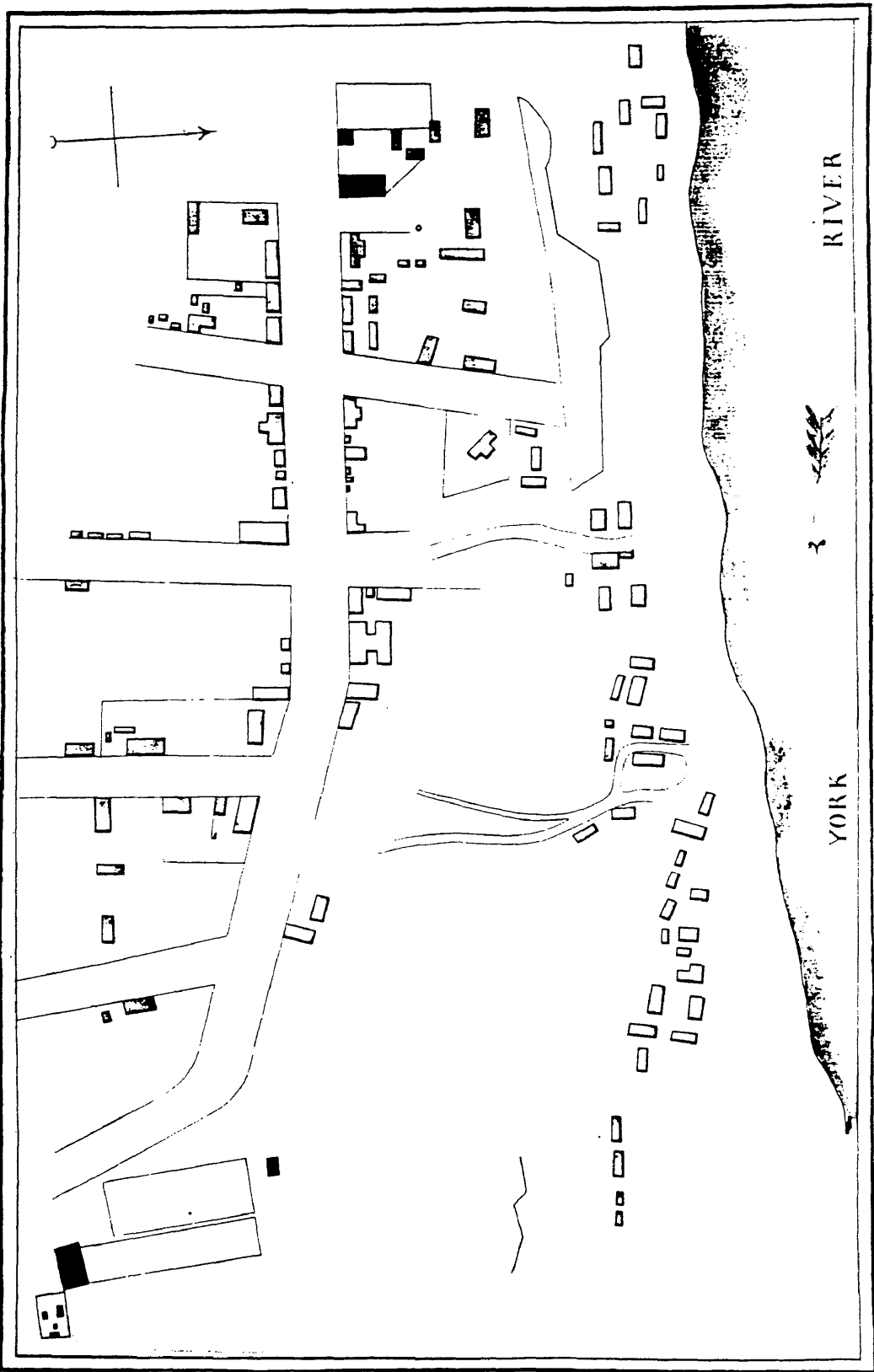
unpropertied town residents. The opportunity to acquire the less expensive Gwyn Reade property did not materialize for two reasons. First, investors including Ballard, Ambler, Nelson, and Lightfoot bought large sections from Gwyn Reade. In addition, the price of these lots increased after the initial transfer because the property had been developed. Because the unpropertied portion of the town population did not return to the 1690s-1710s level of under one-third until the 1770s, it is possible that other lotholders in addition to John Ballard rented out several of their lots to unpropertied urban dwellers.

Lot acquisition and expansion in Yorktown can be divided into five phases of development. First, the 1690s saw local York County residents support urbanization through the purchase of town property. Even though many did not become urban residents or long term lotholders, their investment in urban land was critical to the establishment of Yorktown. During the next phase the lotholders who acquired town lots between 1700 and 1720 brought about its growth. Continuity and persistence were products of a greater number of lotholders becoming town residents and increased periods of lotholding and residence. In addition, individuals who practiced non-agricultural occupations moved to Yorktown which expanded the town's economy, and the remaining lots were settled. Third, the years from 1720 to 1740 witnessed a decrease in the number of available lots in Yorktown proper. This was a result of the fact that an increasing number of lotholders held their urban property for longer periods of time. It is possible that some men and women were not able to obtain town lots because of the large holdings of several of the investors.

The second stage of growth in Yorktown was evident in the addition of the waterfront property and the Gwyn Reade Subdivision to the south of the portland. This expansion took place at a time when the York River basin economy and towns along the river were growing quickly. These twenty years were a time of transition for the port. Many of the new lotholders were merchants, craftsmen, and ordinary keepers who were probably drawn to Yorktown by the opportunities in a town experiencing physical and economic growth. The potential for expansion did not continue because the port's role in the Virginia economy declined. As a result, many of those who became lotholders during the 1740s and 1750s did not retain possession of their urban property for long periods of time, or become long term town residents as their counterparts had done earlier in the century. The 1760s and 1770s were a period of adjustment to the town's reduced role as a port. A smaller number of people acquired urban property in the 1760s, and this decade was characterized by a greater persistence in the local area which continued into the 1770s.

The conditions that had fostered Yorktown's initial urban growth and development in the 1690s and first part of the eighteenth century were not present by mid-century. Because the port did not play a regional economic role after 1750, its economy was only able to maintain an urban center on a reduced, local scale. The numbers of lotholders, inhabitants, and resident lotholders experienced a slight decline after the middle of the century. The destruction by the British and their allies in 1781 tore apart a town that had become increasingly localized during the eighteenth century. [Map 5] By the end of the 1770s nearly

Plan de York town pour servir à l'établissement du Quartier d'Armes du Régiment de la Compagnie de Chasseurs de la Ville de York, le 22 Mars 1781.



Map 5 Yorktown, 1781
 (John W. Reys, Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland, (Williamsburg, Virginia: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972, distributed by the University Press of Virginia), Figure 59. Plan of Yorktown, Virginia: 1781)

70% of the lotholders were town residents, and less than one-third of the identified urban dwellers were unpropertied. In the Post-Revolutionary period Yorktown continued to play a role in Virginia's reduced tobacco trade as the only inspection warehouse in the Tidewater region.⁴⁷

⁴⁷Peter J. Albert, "The Protean Institution: The Geography, Economy, and Ideology of Slavery in Post-Revolutionary Virginia," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1976), pp. 13-56.

CHAPTER III

WILLIAMSBURG

Plans to settle the area known as Middle Plantation, and later renamed Williamsburg, date from February 1632/3. During a period of crisis when many English in Virginia feared for their lives, in "An act for the Seatinge of the middle Plantation" the General Assembly ordered "that every fortyeth man be chosen and maynteyned out of the tithable persons of all the inhabitants, within the compasse of the forrest conteyned betweene Queens creeke in Charles river, and Archers Hope creeke in James river, with all the lands included, to the bay of the Cheseapeake, and it is appoynted that the sayd men be there at the plantation of Doctr. John Pott...." These men were to be "imployed in buildinge of houses, and securinge that tract of land lyinge betweene the sayd creekes." In order to encourage further English settlement as a buffer zone against the original Indian inhabitants, "yf [if] any free men shall this yeaere before the first day of May, voluntarilie goe and seate uppon the sayd place of the middle plantation, they shall have fifty acres of land Inheritance, and be free from all taxes and publique chardges...."⁴⁸

This buffer zone against the Indians attracted settlers in the years after 1633, and by 1676 the area was described as "the very Heart and

⁴⁸Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 1:208-209.

Centre of the Country...." After Jamestown burned down during Bacon's Rebellion, several York County residents petitioned the King's Commissioners, asking "if a Town be built for the Gov[er]nor, councill, Assembly to meet and for the Generall court we humbly propose the Middle Plantation as thought the most fitt Place being the Center of the Country as alsoe within Land most safe from any foreigne Enemy by Shipping, and Place upon a River Side being liable to the Battery of their greatt Guns." In spite of their argument, the King's Commissioners turned down the petition and decided to rebuild at Jamestown.⁴⁹

After receiving support from the Crown to establish a college to educate native Virginians, the General Assembly decided not to locate this institution at Jamestown. Instead, in October 1693 the colonial legislators designated "that Middle Plantation be the place for erecting the said college of William and Mary in Virginia and that the said college be at that place erected and built as neare the church now standing in Middle Plantation old ffields as convenience will permit."⁵⁰ By 1699 William and Mary had attracted a group of students who believed that the establishment of a town would be beneficial to the college. In the third of the "Speeches of Students of the Colledge of William and Mary Delivered May 1, 1699," a young man noted that "here are great helps and

⁴⁹F. A. Winder, ed., Virginia Manuscripts from the British Public Record Office &...., vol. 2: Bacon's Rebellion, pp. 482, 84-85. Cited by Rutherford Goodwin, ed., A Brief & True Report Concerning Williamsburg in Virginia: Being an Account of the most important Occurrences in that Place from its first Beginning to the present time, 3rd ed., (Williamsburg: August and Charles Dietz for the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972), pp. 6, 12. See also Grim, "The Absence of Towns."

⁵⁰Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 3:122.

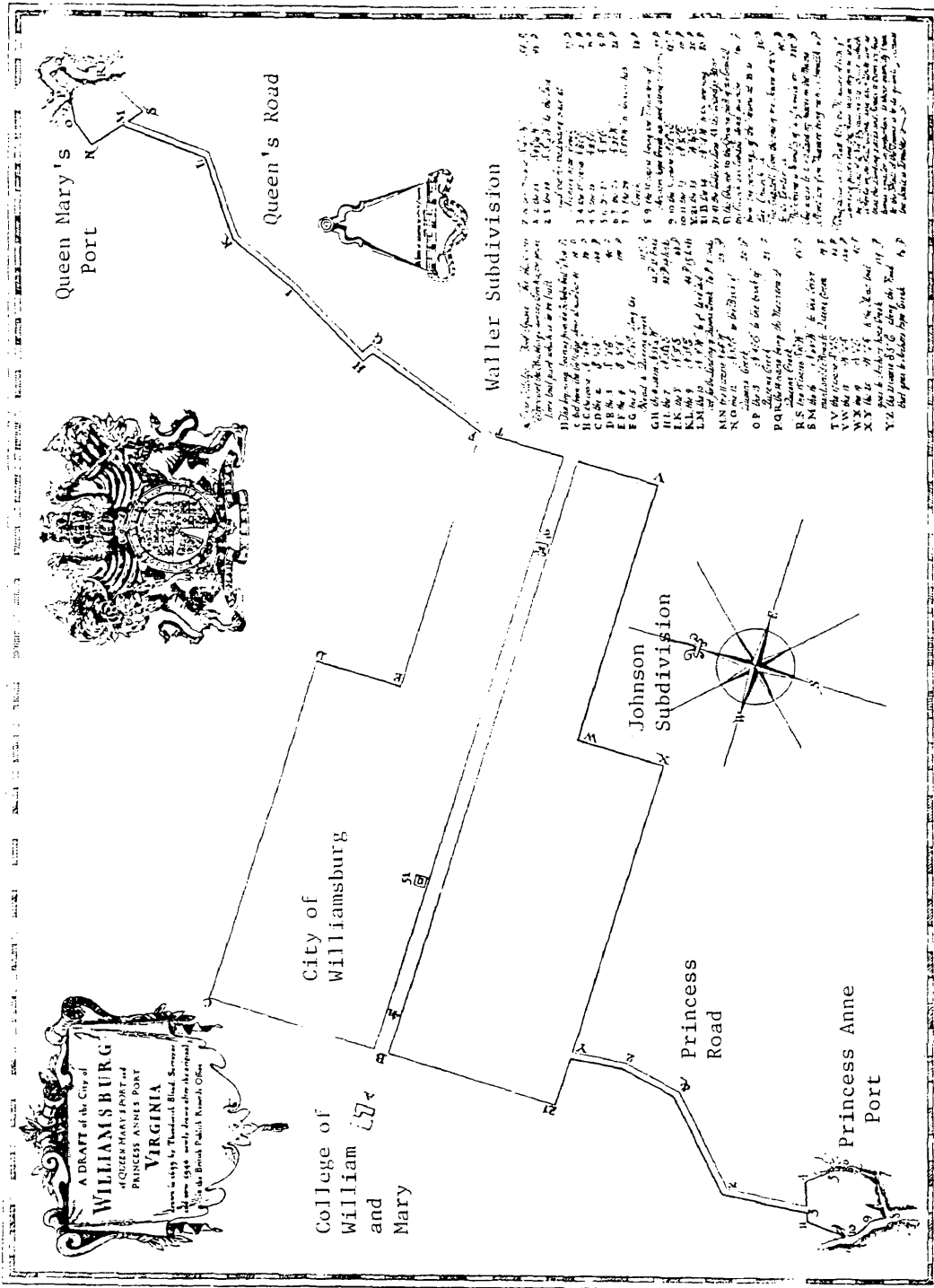
advances made already towards the beginning of a Town, a Church, an ordinary, several stores, two Mills, a smiths shop a Grammar School, and above all the Colledge." He also believed that the town would be beneficial to William and Mary, for "had we a Town, here would be Tradesmen, Labourers, Shopkeepers perhaps Printers, Booksellers, Bookbinders, Mathematical instrument makers nurses for the sick, and in short all other sort of people that can be usefull about a Colledge, here likewise would be a conjunction of these two things w[hi]ch make fine men study and conversation: which except they be carried on hand in hand together will be both of them very Lame & imperfect."⁵¹

The year before the speeches it had been decided to move the capital of the colony. The General Assembly chose Middle Plantation as the site for the new town of Williamsburg. Middle Plantation straddled York and James City counties in a location that had "been found by constant experience, to be healthy, and agreeable to the constitutions of the inhabitants of this his majesty's colony and dominion ... and the conveniency of two navigable and pleasant creeks, that run out of James and York rivers, necessary for the supplying the place with provisions and other things of necessity."⁵² [Map 6]

The General Assembly decided that "two Hund[re]d eighty three Acres, thirty five Poles and a halfe of Land scituate lying and being at the

⁵¹"Speeches of Students of the College of William and Mary Delivered May 1, 1699," William and Mary Quarterly, 2nd Series, X(1930):332.

⁵²"An Act Directing the Building the Capitoll and the City of Williamsburgh," in "Acts of the Virginia Assembly 1662-1702," pp. 399-401 in the Jefferson Collection, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress. Reprinted in Goodwin, ed., A Brief & True Report Concerning Williamsburg in Virginia, p. 336.



Map 6 Theodorick Bland's Draft of Williamsburg, 1699

Middleplantation in James Citye and York Countyes ... shall be and is hereby reserved and appropriated for the onley and sole Use of a City to be there built and erected and to no other [Use] Intent or Purpose whatsoever." The new city of Williamsburg had five sections. The largest contained "two Hund[re]d & twenty Acres of the s[ai]d land ... and is hereby appointed and sett a part for Ground on w[hi]ch the s[ai]d City shall be built and erected...." Next, the legislators designated that "fifteen Acres forty four Poles and a quart[e]r of Land ... shall be and is hereby appointed and sett a part for a Road or Way from the s[ai]d City to the Creek commonly cal[l]ed or knowne by the Name of Queens creek run[n]ing into York River...." The "fourteen Acres seventy one poles and a quart[e]r of Land...." at the end of Queen's road was to be the location of Queen Mary's Port.⁵³

The bill also called for a road leading to a port on the James River. Princess Road included "ten Acres forty two Poles and a halfe of Land ... [as] a Way from the s[ai]d City of Williamsburgh, to the Creek commonly called and knowne by the Name of Archers Hope Creek...." Larger than Queen Mary's Port, Princess Anne Port contained "twenty three Acres thirty seven Poles and a halfe, of land ... [as] a Port or Landing Place for the s[ai]d city of W[illia]msburgh...."⁵⁴

As in Yorktown, the lots in Williamsburg were to "be laid out and proportioned into halfe Acres every of which halfe Acre shall be a

⁵³Goodwin, ed., A Brief & True Report, pp. 338-339. See also McIlwaine, ed., Legislative Journals, 1:265, 273-276; and idem, Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1695-1702:197.

⁵⁴Goodwin, ed., A Brief & True Report, p. 339.

distinct Lott of ground...."⁵⁵ [Map 7] Williamsburg's feoffes were to "convey and assure in Fee unto any Person requesting the same and paying the said Feoffes or Trustees the first Cost of the Purchase thereof and fifty Percent Advance one or more halfe Acre, or halfe Acres...." A purchaser was required "within the Space of twenty four Months next ensuing the Date of such Grant begin to build and finish on each halfe Acre or Lott so granted one good Dwelling House containing twenty Foot in width and thirty Foot in Length at the least...."⁵⁶ If this condition was not met, the lot would be forfeited to the trustees.

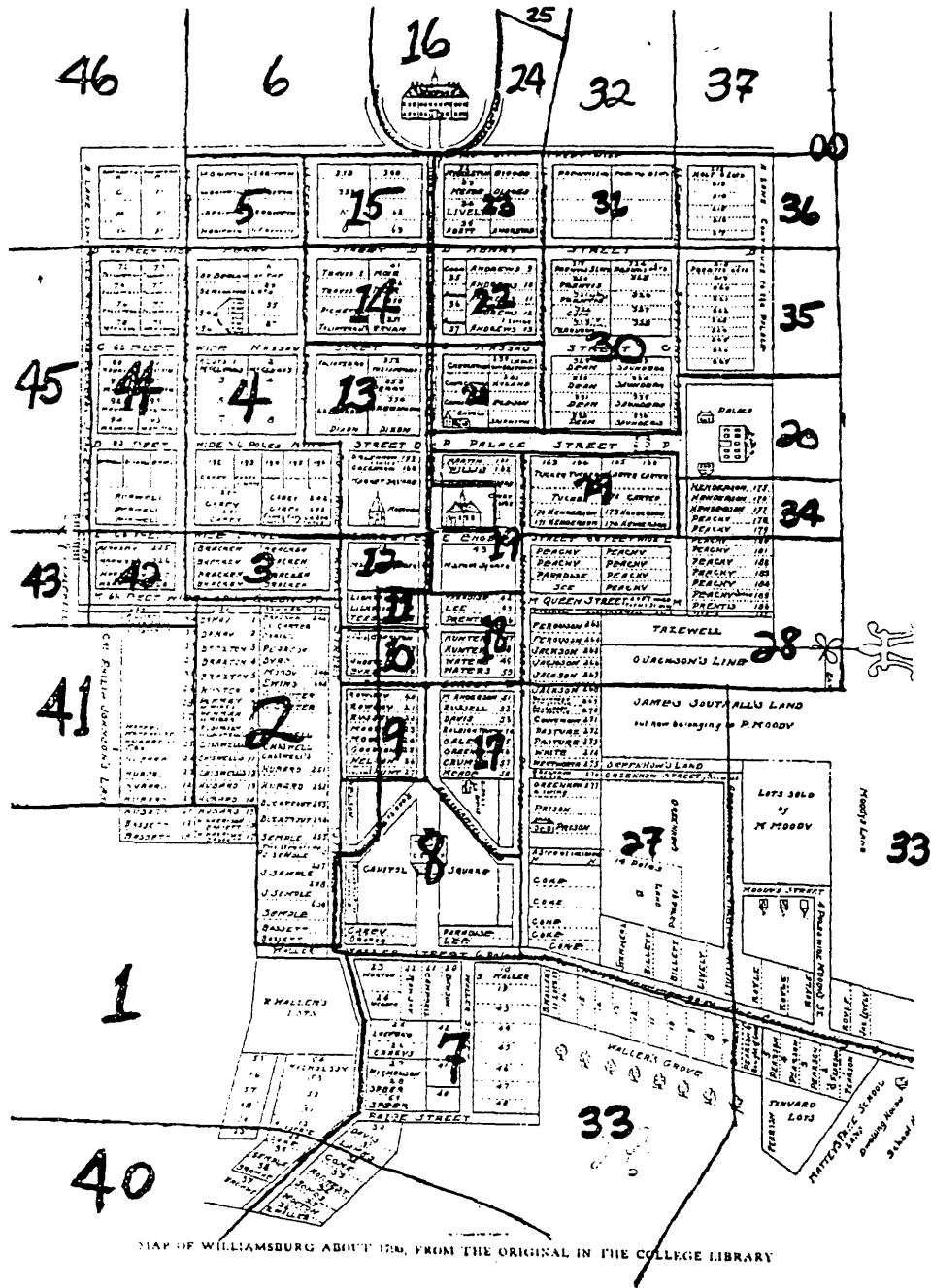
The General Assembly decreed that "the Lots at the aforementioned Ports or Landings shall be proportioned at the Discretion of the Directors hereafter mentioned, provided that each Lott shall not exceed sixty Foot square...." An additional stipulation required "that a sufficient Quantity of Land at each Port or Landing Place shall be left in common at the discretion of the Directors hereafter appointed."⁵⁷

Any lots where there had been houses before the establishment of Williamsburg were to remain the property of the respective owners. In addition, four lots previously laid out for Benjamin Harrison Junior were to continue under his control. All other lots were not to "be sold or disposed of to any Person or Persons whatsoever before the twentieth Day of October next ensuing the Date of this Act to the End that the whole Country may have timely Notice of this Act and equall Liberty in the

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 341.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 342.



Map 7 Williamsburg lots and dividing line between York and James City Counties

Choice of the Lots."⁵⁸

The move of the capital to Williamsburg in 1699 did not meet with unanimous approval. Unlike several college students, Robert Beverley did not believe that Middle Plantation was a favorable location for a town. A prominent Virginian who often disagreed with the colony's leaders, Beverley wrote that Lieutenant Governor Francis Nicholson "caused the Assembly, and Courts of Judicature, to be remov'[e]d from James-Town, where there were good Accomodations for People, to Middle Plantation, where there were none." Also, he viewed the town as detrimental to the students because "by the Frequency of Public Meetings, and the Misfortune of his [Nicholson's] Residence, the Students are interrupted in their study, and make less Advances than formerly." In 1705 he described Williamsburg as "this imaginary City is yet advanced no further, than only to have a few Publick Houses, and a Store-House, more than were built upon the Place before."⁵⁹ In spite of his bias, Beverley's account of Williamsburg's slow growth was accurate. Three years earlier a Swiss traveler, Francis Louis Michel, described the capital as a place "where a city is intended and staked out to be built." He mentioned the "State House, together with the residence of the Bishop, some stores and houses of gentlemen, and also eight ordinaries or inns, together with the

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 344. See also Reys, Tidewater Towns, pp. 141-193.

⁵⁹Robert Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, ed. Louis B. Wright, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1947), p. 105.

magazine."⁶⁰

Williamsburg did not experience an initial period of growth as Yorktown had during 1691-1692.⁶¹ Only Benjamin Harrison, a native of Surry County and one of the town trustees, held property in the capital city in 1699.⁶² He possessed "four lots, or half acres, which at the first laying out of the land for the said city, were laid out and appropriated for the buildings then erected on the same, by Benjamin Harrison, j[unio]r. esq[ui]re]. shall remain and continue to the use of the said Benjamin Harrison...."⁶³ Although just seven individuals had acquired town land by 1701, the colony's leaders had no intentions of

⁶⁰Francis Louis Michel, "Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701-December 1, 1702," ed. and trans. William J. Hinke, Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 24(1916):26.

⁶¹Several contemporaries noted the slow growth of Williamsburg in its first years. This fact is supported by the statistics generated from the data collected about the urban population. However, the statistics convey a picture of settlement that probably was slower than what actually took place. Williamsburgers--whether they were officeholders, lotholders, craftsmen, or active in any other role--are difficult to follow through the records due to the nature and location of the town. Williamsburg was the location of the colony's court, and, after 1722, the city's municipal court. It also straddled the line between James City and York Counties. As a result, court proceedings could be recorded at the General Court, Williamsburg's Hustings Court (after 1722), or either of the two county courts. To complicate matters further, only the York County records and originals of a few documents that were recorded in the other courts are extant.

⁶²See Table 11 for totals of Williamsburg lotholders, Williamsburg residents, and resident lotholders for each decade from the 1700s to the 1770s. Additional tables used in the discussion of the colonial capital are located at the end of the text.

⁶³Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 3:430. In 1704 the Burgesses ordered that John Page's four houses in the middle of Duke of Gloucester Street were to be demolished. It is likely that the houses were in place before 1699 because the building regulations would not have allowed construction in the street. See McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1702/3-1712: 55, 61, 65, 66, 69.

Table 11

Williamsburg Lotholders
 Number of Lotholders, Resident Lotholders,
 and Residents by Decade

Decade	number of lot- holders	number of resi- dent lot holders	percent- age of resident lotholders	number of resi- dents	percent- age of residents with lots	percent- age of residents without lots
1700s	7.9	4.9	61.8	9.9	51.1	48.9
1710s	29.5	15.1	52.7	26.9	53.7	46.3
1720s	51.4	23.4	45.4	38.1	61.4	38.6
1730s	49.8	22.6	44.1	47.4	47.1	52.9
1740s	66.0	37.9	57.2	72.7	52.8	47.2
1750s	90.1	50.1	55.9	92.0	54.8	45.2
1760s	107.3	66.1	56.2	120.7	55.1	48.9
1770s	134.6	74.7	62.2	138.3	60.6	39.4

deserting the town. On April 25 of that year, the Council decreed that a tract of "fifty or sixty Acres of Land adjoining to the Lotts assigned in the City of Williamsburgh for a house to be built on for the Residence of the Gov[erno]r of this his Majt[est]y's Colony & Dominion w[hi]ch Land belongs to Henry Tyler of the County of York Gent[leman]..." was to be added to the town.⁶⁴

The pace of acquisition was slow throughout the 1700s, and unlike Yorktown, the capital did not undergo a spurt of growth after the General Assembly passed the 1705 "act for establishing ports and towns" and "Act Continuing the Act directing the building the Capital and the city of Williamsburg; with additions."⁶⁵ Twenty-four individuals acquired lots during Williamsburg's first full decade. This group was composed of twenty men and one woman from York County, and three males from other areas of the colony.⁶⁶ The resident lotholders included men who are known to have been born in York and Charles City counties, England, Scotland, and France.

There is evidence that six men received patents from the trustees in this decade. This figure would be higher if the "Account of every

⁶⁴McIlwaine et al., eds., Executive Journals, 2:137. "An Act directing the building an house for the Governor of this Colony and dominion" dated October 1705 noted that sixty three acres had been purchased from Tyler; see Ibid. See also Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 3:285-287.

⁶⁵The 1705 act concerning Williamsburg modified and re-confirmed the 1699 act. See Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 3:419-428.

⁶⁶Ages of the lotholders have not been included for any of the men and women who held urban property because only a small portion of the group--111 (16.2%) out of 684 resident Williamsburg lotholders--had evidence of documentable (to the year) or exact dates of birth. See note 3 above for information on source of biographical material and note 22 for discussion of occupational categories.

Proprietors Name concerned in the Land taken up for the Said City What Quantity of Land Each proprietor is to be paid for what Lotts are disposed of and what is received thereupon...." which the trustees kept was extant.⁶⁷ It is likely that several of the twelve who held their first urban property by unknown tenure actually obtained their lots by a patent recorded in the General Court. In spite of the large number of available lots the seven local males who owned Williamsburg property held an average of one and two-thirds lots.⁶⁸ Six of these men held lots for more than ten years. An average of 61.8% of the lotholders settled in the new capital during this decade and just under half of the Williamsburgers were unpropertied. Seven York County men, including six who bequeathed town lands, owned an average of 4.44 lots when they disappeared from the York County records slightly more than two and one-half times larger than the typical male investor's original holdings. Thirteen of the resident lotholders died in York County, and nine of this group are known to have been inhabitants of Williamsburg. Six of the local men bequeathed their town lands to family members.

The new town attracted several men who joined the ordinary keeper, the smith, the millers, and the storekeepers noted by the William and Mary student. Three craftsmen, two professionals, and four merchants established themselves in Williamsburg during the 1700s. The small number of lotholders who practiced these occupations suggests that neither the inhabitants of the area nor the government officials who traveled to town looked upon Williamsburg as a service center at this

⁶⁷McIlwaine, ed., Journal of the House of Burgesses, 1695-1702:279.

⁶⁸See Table 12 and note 23 above.

Table 12

Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Men
Lots Owned at First Evidence of Lotholding

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Median</u>
1700s	1.67	2.00
1710s	2.15	1.00
1720s	3.05	2.00
1730s	2.29	2.00
1740s	3.18	2.00
1750s	1.77	1.00
1760s	2.83	2.00
1770s	2.63	1.00

Williamsburg Lotholders--York County Men
Lots Owned at Last Evidence of Lotholding

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Median</u>
1700s	4.44	3.00
1710s	3.16	2.00
1720s	2.76	2.00
1730s	2.92	2.00
1740s	2.75	2.00
1750s	2.44	2.00
1760s	4.20	2.00
1770s	2.81	1.00

time. While several colonial leaders stayed at William and Mary when in town, others did expect to find lodging in the capital, and thirteen ordinary keepers provided accommodations for these men and other visitors.

Two of the three men who owned several town lots were tavernkeepers. Henry Gill was a resident of Charles City County when he purchased two lots from the town trustees on May 2, 1707. He had moved to Williamsburg by February 24, 1708/9 when he opened an ordinary. Gill continued to live on his town property until his death by July 19, 1721. He owned a minimum of seven lots which he bequeathed to his wife Margaret and children John and Elizabeth. The second tavern keeper immigrated to York County from France. John Marot, a Huguenot refugee who arrived in Virginia around 1700, first worked as a servant for William Byrd II. He was a Williamsburg resident and lotholder when he received an ordinary license on November 24, 1705. Marot kept an ordinary near the Capitol until his murder in 1717. Like Gill, Marot left his six and one-tenth Williamsburg lots to his wife and children. Another overseas immigrant, Archibald Blair, lived in James City County when he purchased a lot from the city trustees in 1700. Blair and his brother James, the Commissary and President of William and Mary, were from Scotland. Archibald made his mark as a merchant and a doctor, and as an officeholder, participating in all levels of government--local, colony, municipal, and church. By the time of his death on March 4, 1732/3, Blair had acquired between eight and nine additional lots which he devised to his son John. Like the investors in Yorktown these men began their lotholding careers by acquiring a small number of half-acre sections.

During the 1710s Williamsburg experienced a three-fold increase in the number of first time lotholders from that in the 1700s. Sixty-three local residents--fifty-five men and eight women--and nine males from other counties gained possession of town property. Nine of the new lotholders are known to have been born in York County, including one woman who was a native of Williamsburg. A greater proportion of the new lotholders in the 1710s immigrated from England, France, Scotland, and Switzerland than in the previous decade.

Nearly half of the seventy-two transactions were sales, including twenty-two trustee deeds and thirteen purchases. Only two individuals received urban property as a gift. Thirty-six local men owned a mean of almost two and one-sixth lots at the first evidence of their lotholding. Almost half of those who possessed urban land were identified area residents at the time of their deaths, and just under a quarter lived in the colonial capital when they died.

Forty-five of the forty-eight lot owners kept possession of urban property until they disappeared from the local records. This tally included thirty-five York County men who held an average of three and one-sixth lots each. The rise in the mean number of lots is evidence that several had been a party to subsequent lot transactions during their lives. In addition to increasing the size of one's holdings by patenting or purchasing half-acre sections in Williamsburg proper, one could also acquire property at the Capital Landing during this decade.

The first lots to be sold at Queen Mary's Port were granted after Christopher Jackson had been paid £72.7.2 in December 1714 for "Surveying and Laying out the City of Williamsburgh and the Roads to the Ports

belonging to the Said City...." at the request of Governor Spotswood.⁶⁹ While John Reps suggested that the 1699 act which established Williamsburg might not have intended that Queen Mary and Princess Anne Ports would become residential areas⁷⁰, the York County records indicated that those who held property at Capital Landing thought differently. Six York County males bought Queen Mary's Port property from the trustees in this decade, including Giles Moody and John Davis who kept taverns at their dwelling houses at the port. It is possible that two more residents of Capital Landing, Jonathan Drewitt and his wife Martha, provided lodging at their lot known as the Swan.

The skills of and goods produced by the new lotholders of this decade moved Williamsburg closer to the picture of an urban service center described by a William and Mary student in 1699. John Marot's widow Anne was one of six women who operated taverns in the capital, and nineteen men from the service sector, including ordinary keepers and the proprietor of a theater, established themselves in Williamsburg during

⁶⁹McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1712-1726:111, 112, 47, 72.

⁷⁰Reps, Tidewater Towns, pp. 148, 177, 179. Jackson's survey of Queen Mary's Port is not extant, and it is assumed that the layout of this port was similar to that of Princess Anne Port. In January 1774 Williamsburg's clerk Matthew Davenport asked "THE Person who has got a Plan of the lots at the College Landing, or a Plan of Johnson's Lots, in the City of Williamsburg...." to send them to him. Four months later Davenport announced that "THE Plan of the Lots, and Common, at Princess Anne Port, within this city (commonly called the College Landing) being lost, the Court of Directors have ordered that they be re-surveyed and laid off anew...." He hoped that information from the lotholders at the port about the location of boundaries would enable the Court of Directors to draft a plan that would conform to the original. Virginia Gazette, Purdie and Dixon, January 20, 1774, p. 3, c. 2; and May 12, 1774, p. 4, c. 3. See Reps, Tidewater Towns, p. 178 for 1774 survey of Princess Anne Port.

the 1710s. It is known that William Livingston, who moved to Williamsburg from nearby New Kent County, was the sponsor of a play house from September 1715 until December 1723, and possibly later. The addition of fifteen craftsmen and seven merchants made a wider variety of objects available to men and women in Williamsburg. After spending some time in England, Edmund Jenings returned to a capital that had grown during his absence. In a May 1716 letter to William Blathwayt Jenings noted that "I returned to this Country, which in the few years of my Absence, I found more moderate, Williamsburg much enlarged and a prospect of being a usefull Town, The Governour's house regular & neatly furnished, the Colledge rebuilt & Capitol in good order; Ornaments not to bee equalled in America The inhabitants liveing more decent after the English manner & the Country plentiful & in Peace."⁷¹

Although Williamsburg was becoming an urban service center in the 1710s, the largest group of new lotholders were planters. A group of twenty-three planters from York County and several leading planters from other counties supported urbanization in Williamsburg as their counterparts had done in Yorktown. Two developments persuaded planters and other investors that it would be beneficial to acquire property in Williamsburg during the 1710s. First, between 1700 and 1720 Virginia's white population experienced a dramatic increase from 58,000 to 87,000, and by 1721 five new counties had been created to provide government for

⁷¹Edmund Jenings to William Blathwayt, 25 May 1716. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Miscellaneous Manuscript Collection, Williamsburg, Virginia.

the colony's new inhabitants.⁷² A greater number of residents and travelers frequented Williamsburg because they required the services of colonial officials. Second, in addition to the expansion of government on the local level, there was an increase in activity on the colony level. After meeting only four times in the 1700s, all before 1706, the House of Burgesses met in nine separate sessions during the 1710s.⁷³ The greater number of opportunities to provide members of the colonial elite with goods and services attracted many to the capital.⁷⁴

One of the gentry planters, William Bassett of New Kent County, owned several Williamsburg lots. Bassett, a Burgess, Councillor, and Member of the Board of Visitors for William and Mary, purchased six lots on the James City County side of town from the trustees on October 14, 1717. Although he never established a permanent Williamsburg residence, Bassett held this property until his death in 1723. Christopher Jackson, who surveyed and laid out Williamsburg and the roads leading to the ports in 1714, also acquired six lots by means of a trustee deed in this decade. While there is no direct evidence that Jackson ever lived in a

⁷²United States Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, 2 vols., (Washington, D. C.: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1976), II:2121-132; and Martha W. Hiden, How Justice Grew: Virginia Counties: An Abstract of Their Formation, (Williamsburg, Virginia: Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration Corporation, 1957), pp. 83-87.

⁷³McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1702/3-1712, 1712-1726.

⁷⁴For discussion of English country towns functioning as social and cultural centers for the gentry see Peter Clark, "Introduction," in Peter Clark, ed., The Transformation of English Provincial Towns, (London: Hutchinson and Co., Ltd., 1984), pp. 20-22; and Peter Borsay, "'All the town's a stage': Urban Ritual and Ceremony," in *Ibid.*, pp. 228-258. For discussion of migration to urban areas in England see Clark, "Introduction," *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

house on his urban property, it is possible that he did since he was identified as a resident of James City County when he last appeared in the York County records. A carpenter, Richard King, was active in the York County area for eight years before he bought nine lots from the trustees in 1716. Although he was not described as a Williamsburg resident until he did so himself in his will dated January 3, 1727/8, King probably lived in the town before then because he associated with urban inhabitants in business and legal matters.

The two men who began their large investments during the 1710s were influential, long-time Williamsburg residents. Archibald Blair's son John, who followed in his father's footsteps as a merchant and a public official, purchased the first of his many lots in February 1718/9. At the time of his death on November 5, 1771, Blair owned at least sixteen lots, including five tenements which his executors advertised for sale according to the terms of his will. Additional evidence that Blair rented several of his houses and lots is found in the account of the settlement of his estate.

Unfortunately John Holloway did not leave information about what he did with all of his Williamsburg lots. Holloway was an attorney in King and Queen County before he moved to Williamsburg by February 1716/7. Like Blair, he held a wide range of county, colony, and church offices, in addition to serving as Williamsburg's first Mayor in 1722. Holloway purchased nine town lots in May 1715, and one lot at Queen Mary's Port in October of the same year. Between 1715 and his death in 1734 he was a party to many land transactions, and at one time he possessed over twenty lots and a windmill. Although the disposition of his fourteen lots after

his death is unknown, it is possible that this property passed to his widow Elizabeth who was possessed of town property when she died in 1755.

If Holloway had invested in town lots with the intention to rent or to sell the property he would have been successful during the 1720s because of the small number of lots which were available. This decade's fifty first-time lotholders represented a decrease of almost one-third from the 1710s total, and only two out of this group received patents from the trustees. These figures do not signal a decline in support for Williamsburg; instead they indicate the success of the colonial capital.

By 1725 virtually all of the town lots had been purchased and several of those in possession of urban land added to their property holdings and retained title to the property for longer periods of time. The majority of the newly propertied were males from the York County area. These twenty-six men were joined by sixteen local women, and eight males and one female from other areas of Virginia.⁷⁵ Twenty-four of the new lotholders acquired their lots as gifts, either as legacies or life rights in urban property. This trend was more pronounced among women than men. Fourteen of the females received urban property as gifts as compared to just over one-third of the local men. The large number of bequests in this decade indicates that several of the first generation of Williamsburg lotholders were dying and leaving lots to family and friends. As a result, some of the new lotholders had a connection to Williamsburg before they became property holders and town residents.

Only nine out of the decade's newly propertied can be identified as

⁷⁵When the new lotholders are broken down into male/female and resident/non-resident categories these totals add up to fifty-one. A male was included as both a resident and a non-resident lotholder.

natives of any of the peninsula counties. After they had become proprietors of Williamsburg lots, almost 43% of the men and women retained possession of the property for at least ten years. The typical male lot owner began his investment in urban land with close to three lots. This increase of almost one lot from the 1710s reduced the amount of available urban property for others to acquire. Another indication of the decrease in the number of undeveloped lots is the fact that the average number of unpropertied residents rose from 27.5% in 1720 to 48.6% eight years later. Seventeen men and eleven women--two thirds of the new York County lotholders--lived in Williamsburg at some point in their lives, and nineteen of this group called the capital their home for more than ten years. Eighteen local male lotholders who controlled an average of just over two and three-quarters lots and nine of their female counterparts possessed town property at the time of their last appearance in York County. Ten out of this group of twenty-seven men and women devised their town property to family and friends.

In spite of the smaller number of available lots, six Williamsburgers became the owners of at least eight lots apiece. One of the decade's two trustee deeds conveyed nine lots at Queen Mary's Port to Lewis Holland in August 1720. A Williamsburg merchant from 1720 until his death in 1731, Holland ordered his executors to sell his lots at Capital Landing. A tract of eight lots in Williamsburg had four owners in this decade. The first owner was William Cocke, Secretary of the Colony. After his death in 1720, it became evident that he had defaulted on a mortgage to Gloucester County's Peter Beverley, who served as Speaker of the House of Burgesses, Treasurer, Auditor General, and Surveyor General. Beverley

sold the lots to John Pratt, another resident of Gloucester County, who held the property for four years before he conveyed it to his niece Elizabeth Cocke Pratt. Later Elizabeth Jones, she retained ownership of these lots until her death in 1762 even though she and her husband Thomas Jones had moved to Hanover County five years earlier.

Like Lewis Holland, Martha Kaidyee Drewitt Booker held a number of lots at Queen Mary's Port. She owned a minimum of eight lots at the time of her death between November 1742 and February 1742/3. Booker had inherited a lot at Capital Landing from her second husband Jonathan Drewitt by December 17, 1728, the date that she purchased another lot in the port area. She left all of her urban property to her nephew John Bryan who sold eight lots on December 17, 1750. In contrast to Jones and Booker, none of the females who actively participated in Williamsburg's economy as tavern keepers, merchants, or a teacher owned the lots on which they lived or conducted business. The smaller number of men in all the occupational categories who established themselves in Williamsburg during this decade is another sign of the reduced opportunity to become a lotholder.

As the opportunity to acquire town lands declined in the 1720s those who became lotholders and residents remained in the Williamsburg area for longer periods of time. Williamsburgers commented upon this persistence and the need for increased regulation due to the greater number of inhabitants and visitors in their petition to the Burgesses for the incorporation of the capital city. They noted their great satisfaction in viewing "the prosperous Condition of the Capital City of this Colony flourishing under your auspicious Governm[en]t: That place which a few

yeares Since could hardly find reception for One half of our Body can now commodiously entertain the whole. The Number of the Inhabitants and the great Concourse of People resorting to this place we humbly conceive require a Strict regulation of Government and a Spedier method of proceeding than in the Ordinary Course of the Law and also a better manner of furnishing Provisions and necessaries for the Subsistence than is comonly practiced in this Country."⁷⁶ This petition was successful, and on July 28, 1722 Williamsburg became the first incorporated city in colonial Virginia.

As was the case for the lotholders of the 1720s, the newly propertied of the 1730s developed their connection to Williamsburg and its surroundings after the acquisition of town land. Just seven out of sixty-four new lotholders are known to have been born in the local area. At least fifty-seven, including nine women, were residents of York County at some point during their lives. While seventeen purchases and fourteen legacies accounted for close to half of the transactions, the most common mode of acquisition was unknown tenure.⁷⁷ Twenty-six of these men and women occupied Williamsburg lots for at least ten years, and eleven kept possession of urban property for over twenty years. Twenty-one men from the area owned an average of 2.29 lots on the first date of their

⁷⁶McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1712-1726:341, 344 348. Quote is from p. 348.

⁷⁷The large number of individuals who held lots by an unknown type of tenure is partially due to advertisements in the Virginia Gazette. Often the advertisers noted that goods or services were available at their house or shop without including information about how they had come into possession of the property. It is likely that this group contained about lot owners and renters. The first extant issue of the paper printed by William Parks is dated September 11, 1736.

lotholding careers. By the time of their disappearance from the local records, eight additional men had become urban land owners, and the typical size of one's holdings had risen to just under three lots. The increase in the number of lot owners and the size of their holdings indicates that it became possible to obtain additional lots. Almost two-thirds of these men bequeathed their town lands as did two female lotholders. Thirty-eight of the York County lotholders died in the area, and all but six of this group were residents of Williamsburg at the time of their deaths.

Persistence in Williamsburg and its environs is also evident in the increased number of individual lotholders who lived in the capital city. The longer spans of residence in the city by lotholders made it more difficult for the unpropertied to acquire a lot. The proportion of landless town dwellers rose to 52.9% during the 1730s from 38.6% in the previous decade. This was a result of the small number of available town lots, the fact that the growing population placed additional pressure on the supply of lots, and the increased proportion of lot owners who retained possession of larger amounts of urban property until they died, moved away, or disappeared from York County.

The number of first-time female lotholders from the York County area fell to nine in the 1730s. Six of these women gained their urban property as gifts, and only one, Frances Webb, acquired a lot in her own name as a lessee. After her husband's death, Mrs. Webb leased a lot previously owned by Richard King, and in 1745 she advertised that millinery items which she had made were for sale at her house on the Palace Green. Notices in the Virginia Gazette indicate that Barbara

DeGraffenreid and Mary Stagg played an important role in making Williamsburg a social center. Both women held assemblies and dances at their houses in the city, and Mrs. Stagg also taught acting and gave dancing lessons, performed as an actress, perhaps at William Livingston's theater, and was a confectioner.

The doubling of the number of known town residents from thirty-six in 1730 to seventy-four at the end of the decade increased the demand for goods, services, and entertainment. A greater number of craftsmen, planters, professionals, and men involved in service and trade became lotholders in this decade than in the 1720s. Although they made up a smaller proportion of the new urban landholders than did other occupational groups, several merchants made a large investment in town lots.

Henry Hacker purchased a ten lot section of Williamsburg property from Thomas Jones, the executor of Richard King, in March 1736/7. Hacker was a successful merchant and tailor in addition to being the owner of three plantations totalling one thousand acres in Bruton Parish. He rented part of his house to Mark Cosby in June 1739, and a house to Doctor John Amson before Amson purchased his own lots in 1746. Hacker bequeathed his ten lots, which included houses at Capital Landing, to his wife Mary, James Cocke, and David Long after his death in 1742.

Two mercantile partners, John Harmer and Walter King, purchased a lot in Williamsburg in May 1735 before buying five lots at the Capital Landing the next year. A native of Bristol, England, King served as a justice of the peace for York County and as a Williamsburg alderman before returning to England in 1752. Harmer also held several offices

including York County justice of the peace and coroner, Burgess, Bruton Parish churchwarden, and mayor and trustee of Williamsburg before he left Virginia for England in the early 1750s.

A parcel of six lots had five owners during this decade. Thomas Corbin of Urbanna in Middlesex County sold the remainder of a 500 year lease to this property to John Holloway in April 1732. Two years later Holloway was forced to sell the six lots and additional property to Augustine Moore of King William County, and Thomas Jones and William Robertson of Williamsburg, in order to pay his debts. Jones had become the sole owner of this urban land by December 1746 when he sold the lots to Amson.

Merchants were not the only ones in this group of lotholders to obtain property at Capital Landing in the 1730s. Martha Booker's son John Kaidyee, a native and life-long inhabitant of York County, purchased four lots at Queen Mary's Port from Samuel Cobbs in September 1736. Kaidyee had acquired four additional lots at the port by January 6, 1742/3 when he wrote his will in which he bequeathed his urban land to his kinsmen.

The continued acquisition of property at Queen Mary's Port and the increased number of residents at the landing during the 1730s were two more signs that nearly all of the lots in Williamsburg proper had been settled.⁷⁸ In June 1746 the town trustees began to convey lots that were

⁷⁸It is difficult to use the subdivision of existing lots as an indication of the number of developed sections of town property. William Robertson sold part of his lot on Duke of Gloucester Street, adjoining the Capitol Square, in November 1718 to John Brown before all the lots along this street had been taken up. This is due to the fact that lots near the Capitol were in demand and were divided on account of their desirable location.

created out of the Market Square area in an attempt to make more urban property available for potential purchasers. Benjamin Waller was aware of the need to expand the physical size of Williamsburg. On September 13, 1743 Waller bought 945 acres of land from Mann Page of Gloucester County. An act of Assembly the following September confirmed the transaction, including "the reversion of seven hundred acres of land, or thereabouts, adjoining the city of Williamsburg, in the county of York," and broke the entail on this land.⁷⁹

Waller subdivided an eighteen acre section of this property on the east side of Williamsburg, along the roads to Capital Landing and Yorktown, into thirty six lots. He had begun selling these lots by February 1748/9 as if they were part of the town proper. The lots were not officially annexed to the city until March 1756 when the General Assembly decreed "that the lands laid out, as aforesaid, by the said Benjamin Waller, into lots adjoining the said city, so soon as the same shall be built upon and saved according to the condition of the deeds of conveyance, shall be added to, and made part of the said city of Williamsburg...." In addition, "the freeholders and inhabitants thereof shall then be entitled thereto, and have, and enjoy all the rights, privileges, and immunities granted to, or enjoyed by, the freeholders and inhabitants of the said city; and shall be subject to the same jurisdiction, rules, and government with the other inhabitants of the said city."⁸⁰

⁷⁹Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 5:277-284.

⁸⁰Ibid., 7:54. See also McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1752-1758:365,374,382,385,392.

New lots created in the town itself and those annexed onto the town were essential to the growth and expansion of Williamsburg because they provided men and women with a greater opportunity to become lotholders. The 1740s saw an increase in the total of first time lotholders and town residents as seventy- seven individuals--seventy men, including eight from areas outside of York County, and seven local women--acquired town property. As in previous decades, the majority of the females received lots as gifts. Nineteen York County men purchased their first lots, by means of a deed of sale, a trustee deed, or a re-grant of a trustee deed. Another group of nineteen held their first Williamsburg property by an undetermined type of tenure. Just nine of the area males inherited urban land, and the small number of legacies suggests that many of the 1740s lotholders moved to the area in order to acquire town lots.

Information on the place of birth of this group also indicates migration to York County and the capital city . Only thirteen of the sixty-two male lotholders are definitely known to have been born in the area. Over three-quarters of the newly propertied male and female lotholders in the 1740s were town residents at some point during their lives. Of the thirty who lived in the York County area when they died, at least twenty-two dwelled in the capital city. The increased connection between lotholders and the urban environment did not cause a reduction in the number of unpropertied town dwellers.⁸¹ This group accounted for as little as 41.7% of Williamsburg's population in 1742 and

⁸¹In addition to the decreasing detail in the York County records, the lack of documents from James City County makes it possible that actual residents and lotholders were not identified as such. See also note 34 above.

as much as 60.4% of the town inhabitants in 1747.

A smaller portion of all the new lotholders in the 1740s than in the 1730s held lots for longer than ten years. In spite of the increased number of lotholders in this decade, the higher turnover rate and the fact that Williamsburg grew in size in the 1740s made it possible for individuals to obtain several sections of town property. The thirty-six men who owned urban land at their first date of lotholding held an average of just over three and one-sixth lots each as compared to 2.29 lots in the 1730s. The average amount of property these males possessed at the end of their lotholding careers decreased from slightly less than three half-acre sections in the 1730s to two and three-quarters in the 1740s.

While the capital enjoyed a period of great expansion and attracted many people to town during the 1740s, the growth was not steady. Between 1740 and 1747 the tally of Williamsburg's heads of households jumped from sixty-one to 111, and the following year it plummeted to seventy-four. This dramatic decline was the result of disease. Williamsburg endured a smallpox epidemic from sometime in 1747 until well into the next year. An account of the effects of the epidemic on the population is contained in "A true State of the small Pox Febr[uar]y. 22d 1747/8." The compiler of the list, thought to be Dr. John deSequeyra, noted that at least fifty-three of the 754 town residents who had contracted smallpox had died.⁸²

⁸²Cathleene B. Hellier and Kevin P. Kelly, "The Capital at Mid-Century: A Population Profile of Williamsburg in 1747/8," (Occasional Papers from the Research Division, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, September 1987), p. 1.

Shortly before the outbreak of this epidemic, the Capitol building caught on fire and burned to the ground in January 1746/7. Williamsburg began to feel the repercussions of this event in April 1747 when the Burgesses considered rebuilding the Capitol at a new location, either on the James River or on the Pamunkey, a branch off of the York River. After deciding on the latter site, the Burgesses received a petition from the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Common Council, and citizens of Williamsburg against this move. Instead of granting the request, the legislators passed a bill to compensate the town for financial loss resulting from the removal of the capital. However, a year and a half later in November 1748, the situation had changed, and a bill to rebuild the Capitol in Williamsburg was introduced into the House. After the Burgesses approved the measure, the Council and the Governor also agreed to it.⁸³ Although there had been earlier attempts to move the capital, this was the closest the town came to losing the colonial government.⁸⁴ The passage of this legislation, the addition of lots at the end of the decade, and the return of a healthy environment enabled the town to enjoy a period of great expansion during the next three decades.

The city's need for land and its re-affirmed position as the colonial capital probably influenced Philip Johnson and Matthew Moody to annex their rural property adjoining Williamsburg onto the town in the

⁸³McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1742-1749:242-243, 244, 245, 283, 294, 296, 301, 303, 328. See also Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 6:197-198.

⁸⁴Richard S. Morton, Colonial Virginia, 2 vols., (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1960), II:559; and Alonzo T. Dill and Brent Tarter, "The 'hellish Scheme' to Move the Capital," Virginia Cavalcade, XXX(1980):4-11.

late 1750s as Waller had done in the 1740s. In September 1758 Johnson informed the General Assembly "that he hath laid off seventeen acres and twenty-six poles of the said trust land [held by Johnson in behalf of John Robinson], adjoining the southern bounds of the city of Williamsburg, into thirty lots, which he is desirous may be added to and made part of the said city." The General Assembly granted Johnson's petition, and decreed that the holders and inhabitants of the lots would enjoy the benefits and privileges of Williamsburg residents when they built upon their property.⁸⁵

Unfortunately little is known about this subdivision other than that Johnson was in possession of the property by 1753 and might have sold lots as early as that year.⁸⁶ His land was on the James City County side of Williamsburg, and the official life of this subdivision is unknown. The minutes of the September 16, 1760 meeting of the Executive Council noted that "his Majesty's Orders in Council for disallowing several Acts of Assembly pass'[e]d in the Year's 1758 and 1759, viz: An Act for vesting certain Lands therein mentioned in Philip Johnson Gentleman adding the same to the City of Williamsburg, and for other purposes

⁸⁵Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 7:247-248. See also McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1758-1761:35, 38, 42, 43, 45; and idem, Legislative Journals, 3:1196.

⁸⁶There are only two extant references to lots in the Johnson Subdivision. One is in a deed from Philip Ludwell Grymes and his wife Judith to James Hubbard dated November 1, 1774. Grymes sold Hubbard "...all that tract or parcel of land situate lying & adjoining to the South of the three above granted lots which was lately the property of Philip Johnson...." Loose Papers of the Fredericksburg District Court. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Miscellaneous Manuscript Collection, Williamsburg, Virginia. The settlement of the account of Joseph Royle deceased and Company with John Tazewell and John Dixon mentioned "Lots in Johnson's Plans;" York County Records, Wills and Inventories (22)256.

mentioned." However, in March 1761, "An Act for vesting certain lands therein mentioned in Philip Johnson, gentleman, adding the same to the City of Williamsburg, and for other purposes therein mentioned" provided for the addition of thirty two lots in the Johnson Subdivision to Williamsburg. The act included the stipulation "that the execution of this act shall be, and the same is hereby, suspended, until his majesty's approbation thereof shall be obtained." Although there is no evidence that the King approved the act to add the lots to the city again, the Frenchman's Map (1782) and Benjamin Bucktrout's map (1800) included this subdivision in the town.⁸⁷

In February 1759 Moody petitioned the General Assembly to add to the capital the subdivision where he "hath laid off a parcel of his land, in the county of York, adjoining the city of Williamsburg, on the west side of the road leading to queen Mary's port into twelve lots...." At the same time Waller noted that he had laid "off a parcel of his land, in the county of James City, bounded westwardly by the eastern bounds of the said city, northwardly by the road leading to York town, eastwardly by the lots heretofore laid off by the said Benjamin Waller, and southwardly by the land of Philip Johnson, into lots...." The General Assembly decreed that the Moody Subdivision and the addition to Waller's section of town lots would become part of the town once the occupants had built upon their property.⁸⁸

The enlarged size of Williamsburg enabled a total of 111 men and

⁸⁷McIlwaine et al., ed., Executive Journals, 6:170; Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 7:452-454; and Reps., Tidewater Towns, pp 159-162.

⁸⁸Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 7:314-316.

women to become lotholders in the 1750s, a jump of thirty-four from the 1740s. Ninety-six of this group were local men, and they were joined by eight York County females, and seven males from other areas of Virginia. Just under a quarter of the new lotholders are known to have been born in the local area. In addition, men born as close by as Gloucester, Surry, and Charles City counties; as far away as Richmond and Stafford counties near the Potomac River; and long-distance immigrants from England and Scotland became York County residents and lotholders. Nearly four-fifths of the York County area lotholders established a residence in Williamsburg, and over one-quarter lived in the capital for more than twenty years. This figure suggests the presence of a core group of residents who remained in Williamsburg while the lessees and individuals who held urban property by an unknown form of tenure moved in and out of the capital more quickly.

Even though there were a greater number of available lots during the 1750s because of the annexation of the subdivision areas, less than one-third of the new lotholders purchased urban land. An equal portion of the newly propertied, thirty-four, held lots by an undetermined type of tenure. The number of recorded leases increased to eight, and the percentage of bequeathed lots remained close to the level of the 1740s.

The average number of lots first owned by male property owners dropped from 3.18 in the 1740s to a little more than one and three-quarters in the 1750s, indicating that it was difficult to acquire several lots in spite of the addition of the subdivisions to the city because of the decade's large group of new urban lotholders and the increased number of individuals who held their urban property for longer

periods of time. Almost two-fifths of the 1750s property holders kept possession of urban land over ten years, and forty-two of the fifty lot owners still controlled Williamsburg land when they died, moved away, or disappeared from York County. The thirty-eight men in this group owned 2.44 lots, a small decrease from the typical two and three-quarters lots held by men who began their lotholding careers in the 1750s. One-third of this group sold their town lots, and the disposition was unknown for another fifteen. Thirteen bequeathed Williamsburg lots, the smallest proportion of legacies since the growth and expansion during the 1710s. Forty-five of the local men and women died in the Williamsburg area, including thirty-four identified residents of the town itself.

The Moody and Waller Subdivisions attracted several craftsmen and individuals from the service sector in the 1750s. These new lotholders--craftsmen, a boarding house keeper, merchants, an actor, and ordinary keepers--joined the barber and wigmaker, a lawyer, a vintner, craftsmen, and tavern keepers who had established themselves in the subdivision areas during the late 1740s.⁸⁹ Two men took advantage of the large number of available lots in these two subdivisions. Christopher Ford was a resident of King William County on February 7, 1752 when he purchased five lots and pasturage from Waller. Ford, who was a carpenter and a joiner, sold his lots to Alexander Craig on May 17, 1758. Craig already owned a lot in the subdivision which he bought in February 1748/9. This saddler and leather worker also purchased a lot along the main street in Williamsburg and three and one-eighth acres in the Moody Subdivision. Craig, a town resident at the time of his death in January 1776, ordered

⁸⁹Reps, Tidewater Towns, pp. 177, 179.

his executors to sell the eight and one-eighth lots--a total which did not include the lots purchased from Ford--that he owned at his death.

Two men, John Greenhow, a native of Westmoreland County, England and John Carter, son of John Carter, Keeper of the Public Gaol in Williamsburg, were able to acquire several lots in the colonial capital during their lotholding careers. Both men first appeared in the colonial capital as merchants in the mid 1750s. They each purchased lots in addition to their initial unknown tenure holdings. Greenhow bought four lots in 1762, and Carter became the co-owner of part of a lot with his brother James in August 1765. These two men lived the remainder of their lives in Williamsburg, and owned lots at the time of their deaths. Greenhow, who served as a petit juror, left between four and eight lots to be sold by his executors. Carter was more active in civic affairs, serving as the municipal Chamberlain, as a member of Williamsburg's Committee of Safety, and Bursar for William and Mary. The disposition of Carter's nine or ten lots is unknown.

The expansion of lotholders during the 1750s continued into the next decade. The 1760s figure of 132 new lotholders represented an 18.9% increase over the preceding ten years, and the 102 males from York County accounted for slightly more than three-fourths of the new lotholders. Twenty area women and eight men from other Virginia counties completed the decade's new lotholders. As in the 1750s, only a small portion of those new lotholders in the 1760s are known to have been born in the area. Williamsburg continued to attract immigrants in this decade, as evidenced by the seven Englishmen, one Scot, and one Frenchman who became resident lotholders.

Half of the 102 area males, and 44.8% of all the decade's lotholders acquired their first Williamsburg property by an unknown type of tenure.⁹⁰ Just seventeen of the newly propertied, including nine women, received urban land as a gift. The forty male owners held an average of 2.83 lots, a jump of 1.06 lots from a mean of 1.77 during the 1750s. This increase was possible because a smaller proportion of local men--30.3% in the 1760s as compared to 45.0% in the 1750s--actually owned urban land at the beginning of their lotholding careers.

Both the total of lotholders who possessed urban property less than ten years and the tally of the unpropertied residents decreased slightly. A greater attachment to the area was evident as a greater number of urban property holders lived in the capital city than in all earlier decades except the 1700s. The tally of forty-two resident lot owners at the time of their death was an increase from the eighteen who are known to have been born in the Williamsburg area. The acquisition of property in Williamsburg proper and the subdivisions increased the average size of their holdings to almost four and one-quarter lots. In spite of the persistence in this urban center, only sixteen of all who controlled lots when they left the York County area bequeathed property, and fifteen sold Williamsburg land. Close to half of the propertied left no evidence as to how they disposed of their lots, a higher figure than in previous

⁹⁰The high number of lots held by an undetermined means, and also the fact that sixty three of the new urban landholders of the 1760s gained possession of lots during the years 1766 to 1768 are influenced by the Virginia Gazette. After a three year gap from 1763 to 1765, issues of the Williamsburg paper are extant from 1766 until the printers moved to Richmond in 1780. In addition, William Rind began the publication of a second Virginia Gazette in 1766. Rind's newspaper voiced the opinions of colonial leaders, and often carried advertisements which differed from those printed by Alexander Purdie and John Dixon in their edition.

decades. This is another indication of the movement in and out of town that is associated with an increased number of short-term lotholders.

Resident female lotholders, including one who is known to have been born in Bruton Parish and three in Williamsburg, played a more active role in the economy during the 1760s than they had for several decades. Eight owned town property, including one who purchased a lot. It is possible that the two ordinary keepers who received urban land as gifts continued the service that their husbands had begun. However, the woman who leased property for her tavern, and those who worked as a mantua maker, a milliner, or an ordinary keeper on lots held by unknown tenure probably operated their own businesses. This decade saw the last addition of land to the capital. In November 1762 the General Assembly agreed to add ten acres of John Randolph's land "adjoining the southern boundaries of the City of Williamsburg, fronting England Street ... so as to include the said ten acres into lots, and hath lately built and made considerable improvements thereon" to the town. As in the case of the other subdivisions, the holders of these lots were to "have and enjoy, all the rights, privileges and immunities, granted to and enjoyed by the freeholders and inhabitants of the said city, and shall be subject to the same jurisdiction rules and government."⁹¹ Randolph built a large house on this property where he lived until 1775 when he left for England. There is no evidence that he ever sold any part of this tract.

The other subdivision areas did not experience an equal amount of

⁹¹Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, 7:598-599. See also McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1761-1765:164.

growth in this decade. Only two new lotholders, a doctor and tanner, established themselves in the Waller Subdivision. In November 1760 a tanner named William Pearson purchased five lots in this section of town including the house in which he lived. By the time of his death seventeen years later, Pearson had acquired a total of fourteen lots which descended to his family. On the other side of the road to Queen Mary's Port, a wide variety of services became available in the 1760s. The Moody Subdivision attracted a barber, several artisans, a teacher, and a merchant. A licensed boarding house keeper provided lodging, and an unlicensed tavern keeper was presented in York County court for illegally retailing liquor. There is no information about a Mr. Russell who owned eight lots in this part of Williamsburg before October 1765, the date when the subsequent owner Alexander Finnie sold the property. Benjamin Bucktrout held one Moody Subdivision lot "by right of" his wife Mary for a few months in 1769. Three years earlier he had arrived in Williamsburg from London, and advertised his cabinetmaking business in the Virginia Gazette. Bucktrout also worked as an undertaker, store keeper, and wall paper hanger, and owned eight and one-quarter lots at the time of his death in 1813.

Charles Taliaferro also practiced several occupations, including chairmaker, merchant, coachmaker, and brewer while he was a Williamsburg lotholder. The first evidence of Taliaferro's lotholding was in a December 1769 Virginia Gazette when he advertised six lots for sale. The 1798 list in the Williamsburg City Land Books notes that Taliaferro owned fourteen lots when he died, but does not provide information about the next owner of the property. The 1791 entry in the Williamsburg City Land

Books indicate that the size of William Holt's lotholding had greatly increased from the one-tenth lot he purchased in July 1760 to the ten lots he owned at the time of his death in 1791. Holt served the Williamsburg area as a merchant, planter, justice of the peace, tithetaker, and mayor in 1782. Although Peachy Holt renounced her husband's will, it is possible that she received a share of his town lands as her dower right. William Byrd III of Charles City County bequeathed his six lots to his wife after his death in 1777. A frequent visitor to Williamsburg, Byrd served as a Burgess, Councillor, and Rector and member of the Board of Visitors at William and Mary. Before he became a lot owner Byrd leased a minimum of two lots from George Washington between 1762 and 1768.

During the latter portion of the decade the number of men and women identified as being economically active rose as high as 160, and the tally of propertied urban inhabitants reached to seventy-eight. In addition to this growing residential population, visitors during Public Times, officials in town for governmental business, and those in attendance at the Meetings of the Merchants⁹² looked to Williamsburg as a place that could provide them with a wide variety of goods and services. The forty-nine craftsmen who established themselves in the capital represented a jump from thirty-two in the 1750s. The service sector also expanded, adding twenty-seven men and women who practiced a diverse group of occupations, from barber to undertaker, and to tavern keeper. The

⁹²For information on the Meetings of the Merchants held in Williamsburg see James H. Soltow, The Economic Role of Williamsburg, (Williamsburg, Virginia: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, distributed by the University Press of Virginia, 1965), pp. 10-19, 44-48, 86-87, 97, 107, 163-186.

number of males and females involved in commercial activities increased slightly to thirty-two. The great expansion in this occupational group had taken place between the 1740s and the 1750s when Yorktown's role in the Virginia economy began to decline.

The increasing variety of services available in town and the expanding population enabled Williamsburg to continue to attract people in the 1770s. For the fourth consecutive decade the number of new lotholders increased. Of these 162 men and women, 143 were York County residents. Just twenty-six are known to be natives of the area, and fifteen--twelve English, one Scottish, and two French--migrated from across the Atlantic. As in the 1760s, the most common mode of acquisition was by an unknown tenure. The 1770s witnessed eighty-four individuals, including sixty-nine men and nine women from the local area, obtain town lots in this manner. The small number of legacies--twenty-seven--also suggests that many of Williamsburg's new lotholders did not have ties to the area before acquiring property. Fifteen of the York County women owned Williamsburg land, including seven who purchased lots. One-third of the 116 men from York County who became lot owners held an average of 2.63 half-acre sections at the beginning of their lotholding careers, a small decrease from the preceding decade. Several of the men who first purchased lots in the 1750s and the 1760s continued to acquire property which reduced the number of lots available to the 1770s investor.

Although an increased number of area residents controlled urban land at their last appearance in the county records, fewer in this group of new landholders persisted in Williamsburg than in earlier decades. Only

31% were lotholders ten years after gaining possession of town property. While 123 of the newly propertied resided in the capital, close to four-fifths of these urban dwellers called Williamsburg home for less than a decade. A core group of residents remained in town as the short-term inhabitants left and their places were taken by others attracted by the opportunities in an urban center.

While Williamsburg did not suffer the physical destruction of Yorktown, it did lose its role as the capital of the Commonwealth in the spring of 1780. After the war a number of Williamsburgers moved to Richmond to take advantage of the economic opportunities in the new capital. However, the movement away from Williamsburg did not enable those who stayed to become lotholders and to add to their holdings. Sixty-three male lot owners possessed an average of 2.81 lots when they disappeared from the York County area, an increase of less than one-fifth of a lot from the time when they first appeared as lotholders. This indicates that those who remained in the Williamsburg area were not among those who had been drawn to the capital by economic opportunities. Almost half of the 1770s group of urban landholders did not leave any evidence about how they disposed of their lots. Another 27% put their town property up for sale, and 24.7% devised their urban real estate to family members.

George Chaplin, a butcher who owned property and established a residence in both Williamsburg and Yorktown, is an example of an investor who fell upon hard times. In 1771 he purchased eight lots in the Waller Subdivision on Capital Landing Road from John Blair, and two half-acre sections in Yorktown. The following July Chaplin mortgaged his

Williamsburg property to William Pearson, and by September 1773 he defaulted on the mortgage on his portland lots to James Anderson.

Three of the other four investors retained title to their Williamsburg property until their deaths. Samuel Griffin purchased William Byrd's lots from his widow in December 1778, and Griffin's daughter inherited this property after his death in 1810. A baker, Cornelius DeForest also bought urban land in 1778. He added to this one lot, and when his will was probated in June 1782, his widow Sarah gained possession of ten lots. Like DeForest, Williamsburg native Joseph Prentis began his lotholding career on a small scale. After holding property by unknown tenure in 1779, he paid taxes on twelve lots in 1782, including the six lots he purchased from Frances Hubbard in June of that year. Prentis, a prominent lawyer and judge, continued to acquire Williamsburg property, and when he died in June 1809, he ordered much of his estate, including his twenty-three lots, to be sold. James McClurg also held his first town land by unknown tenure. A doctor, surgeon, banker, and member of William and Mary's faculty, McClurg continued to own lots after he moved to Richmond in 1792. Nineteen years later he sold a total of ten lots to Samuel Tyler.

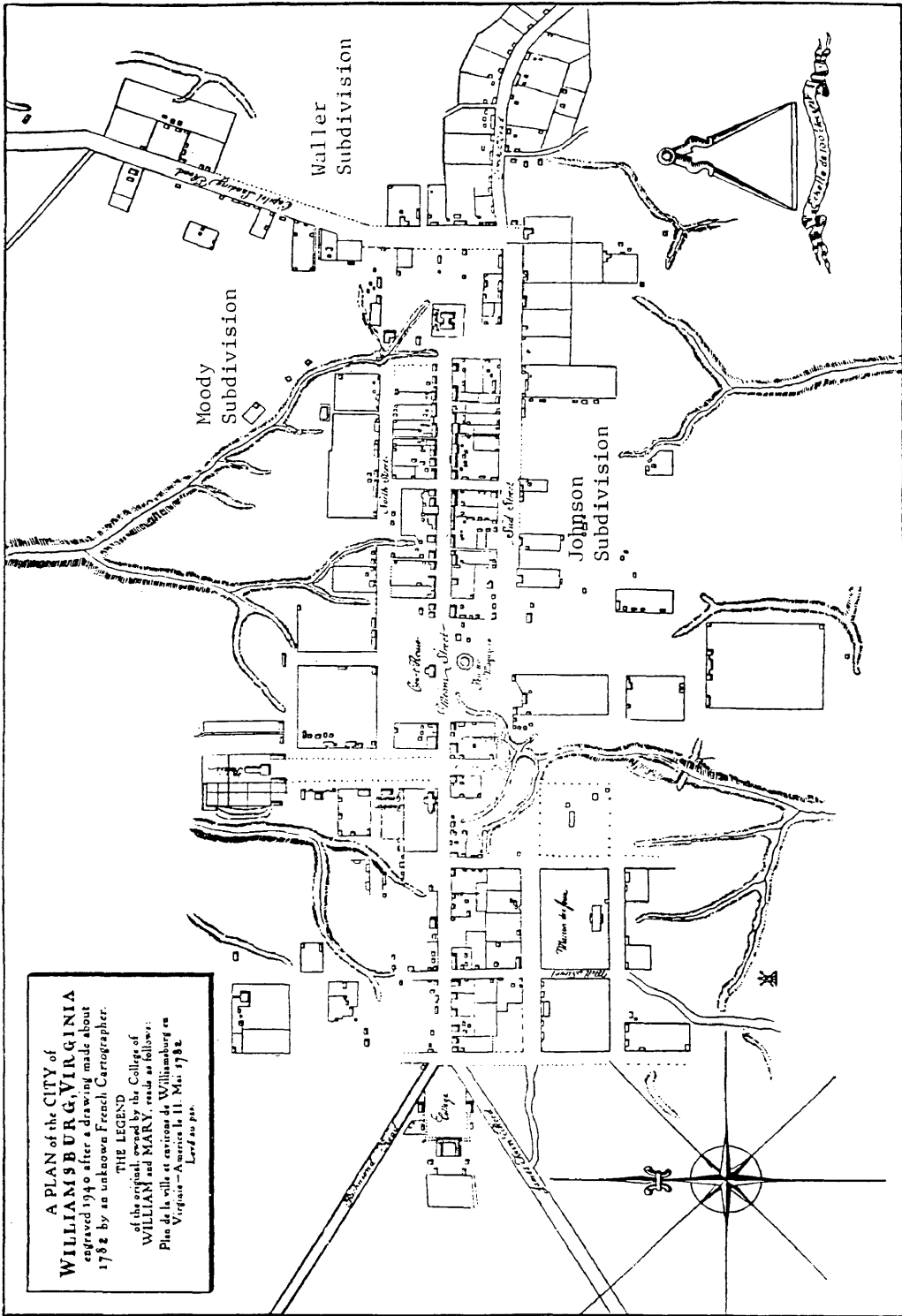
Samuel Taylor represented the end of eighty years worth of change in Williamsburg. After a slow beginning in the 1700s, Williamsburg enjoyed physical growth and expansion until the end of the 1770s decade. Even though 575 of the 763 of the lotholders in the sample were York County men and another 109 were their female counterparts, Williamsburg should not be viewed as being as local a town as Yorktown. Seventy of the lotholders lived in other areas of the colony during the time of their

lotholding, and ninety-six of the future York County lotholders are known to have been born outside of the local area. Seventy-six of these men and women immigrated from Great Britain and Europe. Just 113, including forty-four in Williamsburg, are known to have been born in the county.

Although 538 of the local lotholders lived in Williamsburg at some point in their lives, 360 made their home in the capital for less than ten years. Within two decades of establishing a Williamsburg residence, two-thirds had moved on to other places. Only thirty-two called the town home for more than thirty years. This high turnover rate also was a characteristic of lotholding patterns. Almost two-thirds retained possession of their urban property for less than a decade. Men and women were attracted to Williamsburg by the economic opportunities in an expanding, prosperous urban center. However, many of these individuals only stayed for a few years, perhaps because Williamsburg did not provide sufficient economic opportunities for some. The short-term residents and lotholders were replaced by a new group hoping to prosper in the urban environment. In contrast to the growing number of men and women who arrived in the capital each decade, several families--the Blairs, Randolphs, and Prentises--established themselves in Williamsburg early in the eighteenth century. Men and women from these families were among the 121 lotholders who retained town lands for a minimum of twenty years.

The town's expansion from the 1700s to the 1770s can be divided into four stages. After a slow start in the first decade of the century, the 1710s witnessed a tremendous increase the number of lotholders and town residents. The trustees granted at least twenty-two patents in this decade, and by the middle of the 1720s almost all of the half-acre

sections had been settled. During this phase, Williamsburg's population grew and the town developed into an urban service center which catered to the needs of residents, colony officials, and visitors. In the third period Williamsburg continued to attract men and women even though there were few available lots during the late 1720s, the 1730s and the early 1740s. With the creation of a municipal government in the colonial capital, a greater number of travelers and gentry spent time in the town. As a result the opportunities to provide goods and services for these people increased, and again pulled craftsmen, professionals, merchants, and individuals from the service sector to Williamsburg. The decade of the 1740s was a critical time for the town. At the same time that the increased population necessitated the creation of lots out of the Market Square area, Williamsburg was in danger of losing its function as the colonial capital. The decision of the Burgesses to rebuild the Capitol in Williamsburg in 1748 and the addition of lands adjoining the eastern edge to the town in the late 1740s and 1750s enabled the city to continue the expansion begun in the 1740s until the time that the capital was relocated in Richmond. [Map 8]



Map 8 Frenchman's Map of Williamsburg, 1782

CHAPTER IV

A COMPARISON OF INVESTORS IN YORKTOWN AND WILLIAMSBURG LOTS

Throughout the colonial period Yorktown received much of its backing from York County residents who acquired a single lot. A group of men, including Thomas Nelson, Philip Lightfoot, Richard Ambler, and John Ballard played an important role in Yorktown's growth through the acquisition of several lots in the town and the Gwyn Reade Subdivision. These men purchased lots as long-term investments which they devised their children. Many of those individuals who held a single half-acre section in the port also left their property as bequests. Archibald and John Blair, William Pearson, and Henry Hacker were among the Williamsburg investors who bequeathed their town lands to family members. Unlike Yorktown, there were several short-term investors who bought and re-sold lots in the capital city within a few months or years. During the 1720s William Cocke, Peter Beverley, and John Pratt owned an eight-lot section before Elizabeth Cocke Pratt Jones acquired the property. The 1730s saw Thomas Corbin, John Holloway, Augustine Moore, Thomas Jones, and William Robertson own a six-lot parcel between 1732 and 1734. Jones was the sole owner by 1746 when he sold the lots to Doctor John Amson. This lot transaction was just one of the many property transfers in which Holloway was involved over a span of almost twenty years. It is likely that he viewed lots as a commodity for speculation, and bought up

lots in Williamsburg proper and Queen Mary's Port to re-sell.

A third type of investor appeared in Williamsburg in times of prosperity and expansion. The opportunity to provide goods and services to residents of and visitors to the colonial capital attracted rural residents, itinerant peddlers, and immigrants from Great Britain and Europe. These individuals usually held their Williamsburg property for a short period of time before disappearing or moving away from the York County area.

Only thirty-three out of a total of 1231 lotholders held property in both Yorktown and Williamsburg between the 1710s and the 1770s.⁹³ All were York County residents and a majority of these thirty men and three women were among Yorktown's propertied class before they turned their attention to Williamsburg. These individuals can be grouped in three categories. All but two of this group of twenty-two gained possession of lots in the capital city in the 1730s or later, including seven during the 1750s decade (see Table 21). Typically this acquisition took place 12.8 years after they first held portland property. Just seven moved from Yorktown to Williamsburg: Robert Wills, an ordinary keeper, in the 1730s; John Dixon, doctor and merchant, during the 1740s; carpenter Edward Boswell in the 1750s and his former partner James Taylor the following decade; and Charlotta Dixon, butcher George Chaplin, and John Hatley Norton of the merchant family in the 1770s. The fact that only a small number changed their place of residence and that just one did so during Yorktown's decline in the 1750s suggests that this group as a

⁹³Six others acquired property in the second urban center after October 1781.

Table 21
Decade In Which Yorktown Lotholders
Acquired Williamsburg Property

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Number of Lotholders</u>
1700s	0
1710s	1
1720s	1
1730s	3
1740s	4
1750s	7
1760s	3
1770s	3

Table 22
Decade in Which Williamsburg Lotholders
Acquired Yorktown Property

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Number of Lotholders</u>
1700s	0
1710s	1
1720s	0
1730s	1
1740s	1
1750s	0
1760s	0
1770s	3

whole were not pushed out of the port. Instead, they looked upon their Williamsburg property as an investment which they made because of the small amount of available land in the port. This was undoubtedly true for the Nelsons, the Lightfoots, the Digges family, James Pride, and Patrick Matthews.

Six men acquired Yorktown lots an average of seven years after becoming property holders in the capital (see Table 22). Three Williamsburg ordinary keepers--William Smith, Robert Laughton, and William Wyatt--also held Yorktown land. It is possible that they were attracted by the port's growth: Smith and Laughton left the capital in the 1710s and the 1730s, respectively. Although Wyatt kept an ordinary in Yorktown during the 1740s, it appears that he continued to reside in Williamsburg. In the 1770s Doctor Thomas Powell moved his residence to Yorktown for a few years before he relocated in Fredericksburg. During the same decade James Anderson and Beverly Dixon appeared as owners of Yorktown property. It is likely that these portland lots represented an investment for each man. Anderson was a successful blacksmith and Armorer at the Powder Magazine, and Dixon was a merchant. It is evident that Yorktown held little attraction for those who resided in Williamsburg, probably due to its smaller size and range of economic diversity.

The final five of this group of thirty-three acquired property in both urban areas in the same year Theodosia Rogers, Thomas Nelson, Junior, and Joseph M. Davenport received lots as legacies from their husband and fathers, respectively. The fourth, William Montgomery, held land in the portland and the capital city "by right of" his wife Sarah,

daughter of William and Theodosia Rogers. Merchant Daniel Fisher hoped to establish a store on a lot in Yorktown which he held by an unknown type of tenure in August 1750. The next month he leased a lot in Williamsburg after the Nelsons and the Lightfoots had made it impossible for him to establish his business in the port.

CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

While Penelope J. Corfield's statement that "...the impact of towns and their growth cannot be analysed in isolation from the wider economies in which they are found...." refers to the development of eighteenth-century English towns,⁹⁴ it makes an important point for the study of urbanization in the colonial South. Both Williamsburg and Yorktown prospered in the first half of the eighteenth century. Initially their growth depended upon York County's mature society and strong economy, and their advantageous geographic location. After becoming established, each town thrived and sustained its growth because of its designated function. By the 1720s inhabitants of the port and the capital began to look beyond their respective town limits for room to expand. The addition of the subdivisions--Gwyn Reade in Yorktown, and Waller, Johnson, and Moody in Williamsburg--enabled development to continue.

The decade of the 1740s was a critical, transitional period for both of the urban centers. By this time York County no longer was "the very Heart and Centre of the Country...." The spread of settlement beyond the tidewater region into the piedmont had shifted the colony's population westward. As a result, Yorktown's role in shipping and trade declined as

⁹⁴Penelope J. Corfield, The Impact of English Towns, 1700-1800, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 95.

ports further inland handled the commercial business of the newer settlements. Williamsburg nearly lost its position as the colonial capital in a move to shift the government to a more central location.

In spite of the fact that after 1750 Yorktown was not as important to the Virginia economy as it had once been, the town did not experience a rapid decline. It is likely that the port re-established its trade on a local basis during the latter part of the 1750s and the 1760s. After this period of adjustment, Yorktown again experienced growth and prosperity which was ended by the port's destruction at the end of the Revolutionary War. Once the Burgesses decided to keep the colony's government in Williamsburg, this town began a period of great expansion which lasted until 1780. Its role as the political, social, financial, and cultural center for the colony drew many people to town for goods, services, and entertainment. Increasingly these demands were fulfilled by the steady stream of residents and itinerants who were skilled craftsmen, merchants, and entertainers. Like Yorktown did in the 1750s, Williamsburg underwent a time of adjustment after Virginia's government was moved to Richmond in 1780.

Although the lotholders of Williamsburg and Yorktown differed in the types of investments they made in urban property, the length of tenure of this property, and the time of residence in the urban areas, there were some important similarities. In both towns support from residents was crucial, and within three decades of their establishment almost all the urban land had been developed. Changes in the patterns of acquisition reflect the small amount of available property; this is seen in an increase in legacies in Yorktown and the growing number of individuals

who held Williamsburg lots by an unknown type of tenure.

Even though Yorktown and Williamsburg had developed into prosperous urban centers by the middle of the eighteenth century, both towns depended on their function, as port or center of government, respectively, to continue to attract potential lotholders, and to provide the economic opportunities to encourage them to remain. The change in status is reflected in a smaller number of residents, lotholders, and potential urban dwellers in each town. After the Revolutionary War Yorktown and Williamsburg were inhabited by a core group of resident lotholders who could be supported by the county's economy and the reduced demand for services in the two urban centers.

APPENDIX I

We found records of only a small number of leases--ten in Yorktown and forty-one in Williamsburg--and it is unknown whether the majority of the lessees held the lots during the entire term of the agreement. It is often impossible to determine how long individuals held town lands by unknown types of tenure because many of these people had only one reference to operating a store or an ordinary in the Virginia Gazette. The total of lots held by unknown tenure is probably inflated because we assumed that ordinary keepers and merchants had to have some kind of property rights to at least part of a lot in order to run an ordinary or keep a storehouse. If a petition for an ordinary license or a reference to a warehouse was the first evidence of an individual's lotholding, he or she was assigned unknown tenure of an unknown number of lots. The data on the category of "by right of tenure" also is not very informative. Females accounted for twenty-six of the lots held by lifetime right in the port, and for twenty-five in the capitol. They were primarily widows who inherited the right to hold their deceased husband's town properties, either until death or until they remarried. Because women infrequently appeared in the court records it can be hard to determine how long they held their urban land. There is the same problem for men who held urban property "by right of" their wives.

APPENDIX II

To be included in the sample of urban residents, an individual had to be of age by October 1781, and to meet one or more of the following criteria for inclusion in the data base. The criteria included a statement of one's residence in Williamsburg or Yorktown; lotholding, either as a resident or a non-resident; men, women, and itinerants who made an economic contribution to the area; an association with a town resident; students and faculty members at the College of William and Mary; and Burgesses of York County, William and Mary, and Williamsburg. The sample's 2355 individual biographies include 763 Williamsburg lotholders and 507 who held lots in the portland.

APPENDIX III

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES FOR YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS

PROFESSIONAL

apothecary
doctor
lawyer
midwife
minister
surgeon
teacher

COMMERCIAL

auctioneer
bookkeeper
merchant

CRAFTSMEN

apprentice
armorer
blacksmith
brazier
bricklayer
cabinetmaker
carpenter
chairmaker
collarmaker
cooper
gunsmith
jeweler
joiner
leather breeches maker
saddler
shoemaker
silver/goldsmith
tailor
tanner
weaver
wheelwright
wigmaker

SERVICE

actor/actress
baker

SERVICE (continued)

barber
boardinghouse keeper
boatwright
brewer
butcher
dancing master
ferrykeeper
gardener
keeper of a shot house/illegal retailer of liquor
mariner
miller
ordinary keeper/tavern keeper
pilot
ship captain
ship wright

LABOR

builder
servant

MISCELLANEOUS

custodian of a public building
entrepreneur

AGRICULTURE

planter

APPENDIX III (Continued)

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES FOR WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS

PROFESSIONAL

apothecary
cartographer
clerk
dentist
doctor
lawyer
midwife
minister
scrivener
surgeon
surveyor
teacher

COMMERCIAL

auctioneer
banker
bookkeeper
merchant
store clerk
tobacconist

CRAFTSMEN

apprentice
artist
blacksmith
book binder
bricklayer
brickmaker
cabinetmaker
carpenter
chairmaker
clockmaker
coachmaker
cutler
engraver
farrier
founder
gilder
glazier
gunsmith

CRAFTSMEN (continued)

hammerman
harnessmaker
hatter
jeweler
joiner
leather worker
mantua maker
milliner
painter
plasterer
printer
saddler
seamstress
shoemaker
silver/goldsmith
stationer
staymaker
tailor
tanner
wallpaper hanger
watchmaker
wheelwright
whitesmith
wigmaker

SERVICE

actor/actress
baker
barber
bartender
boardinghouse keeper
brewer
butcher
candymaker
carter
chandler
cook
dancing master
ferrykeeper
gardener
grazier
keeper of a shot house/illegal retailer of liquor
mariner
millwright
musician/music teacher
ordinary keeper/tavern keeper
ship captain
soap boiler
undertaker
vintner
waterman

LABOR

builder
housekeeper
servant

MISCELLANEOUS

custodian of a public building
entrepreneur
land speculator
manufacturer
soldier

AGRICULTURE

planter

Table 3.1

ALL YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY DECADE OF LAST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING

	1690s	1700s	1710s	1720s	1730s	1740s	1750s	1760s	1770s	1780s	1790s	1800s	1810s	1820s	1840s	TOTAL
1690s	42	21	7	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	72
1700s	0	25	17	10	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	60
1710s	0	0	33	13	9	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	60
1720s	0	0	0	18	8	8	1	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	40
1730s	0	0	0	0	11	7	10	5	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	36
1740s	0	0	0	0	0	22	8	14	8	4	0	0	0	0	0	56
1750s	0	0	0	0	0	0	29	11	5	2	1	1	0	0	0	49
1760s	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	4	5	4	1	0	0	0	30
1770s	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	26	20	5	4	1	1	1	59
1780s	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	5	1	2	0	0	25
1790s	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
TOTAL	42	46	57	43	34	42	49	49	50	48	16	8	3	1	1	489

Table 3.2

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY MEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY DECADE OF LAST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING

	1690s	1700s	1710s	1720s	1730s	1740s	1750s	1760s	1770s	1780s	1790s	1800s	1810s	1820s	1840s	TOTAL
1690s	40	19	7	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	68
1700s	0	19	12	6	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	43
1710s	0	0	27	10	8	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	48
1720s	0	0	0	7	6	7	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	25
1730s	0	0	0	0	9	6	7	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	27
1740s	0	0	0	0	0	18	6	9	6	4	0	0	0	0	0	43
1750s	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	8	5	2	1	1	0	0	0	35
1760s	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	4	4	3	1	0	0	0	23
1770s	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	17	15	5	3	1	1	1	44
1780s	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	2	1	2	0	0	20
1790s	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
TOTAL	40	38	46	25	27	35	32	33	38	40	12	7	3	1	1	378

Table 3.3

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY WOMEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY DECADE OF LAST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING

	1690s	1700s	1710s	1720s	1730s	1740s	1750s	1760s	1770s	1780s	1790s	1800s	TOTAL
1690s	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1700s	0	2	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
1710s	0	0	4	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	9
1720s	0	0	0	5	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	8
1730s	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	0	0	0	0	6
1740s	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	3	1	0	0	0	10
1750s	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	3	0	0	0	0	9
1760s	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	1	1	0	7
1770s	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	5	0	1	15
1780s	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	4
TOTAL	1	2	7	7	3	7	11	14	11	7	4	1	75

Table 4.1

ALL YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
 TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
 BY TENS OF YEARS AT YORKTOWN LOT

	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	61-70	TOTAL
1690s	54	13	3	2	0	0	72
1700s	39	12	4	4	0	0	59
1710s	43	9	5	2	0	1	60
1720s	24	8	3	1	4	0	40
1730s	17	11	5	3	0	0	36
1740s	25	14	12	4	1	0	56
1750s	33	9	4	0	2	0	48
1760s	18	4	5	3	0	0	30
1770s	40	7	7	1	2	1	58
1780s	19	4	2	0	0	0	25
1790s	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
TOTAL	314	91	50	20	9	2	486

Table 4.2

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY MEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY TENS OF YEARS AT YORKTOWN LOT

	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	61-70	TOTAL
1690s	50	13	3	2	0	0	68
1700s	28	8	3	3	0	0	42
1710s	34	8	4	1	0	1	48
1720s	11	7	3	1	3	0	25
1730s	14	8	2	3	0	0	27
1740s	21	8	9	4	1	0	43
1750s	21	7	4	0	2	0	34
1760s	13	4	4	2	0	0	23
1770s	26	7	7	0	2	1	43
1780s	16	2	2	0	0	0	20
1790s	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
TOTAL	236	72	41	16	8	2	375

Table 4.3

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY WOMEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY TENS OF YEARS AT YORKTOWN LOT

	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	TOTAL
1690s	1	0	0	0	0	1
1700s	5	0	1	0	0	6
1710s	6	1	1	1	0	9
1720s	6	1	0	0	1	8
1730s	1	2	3	0	0	6
1740s	4	4	2	0	0	10
1750s	7	2	0	0	0	9
1760s	5	0	1	1	0	7
1770s	14	0	0	1	0	15
1780s	2	2	0	0	0	4
TOTAL	51	12	8	3	1	75

Table 5.1

ALL YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY TENS OF YEARS AT YORKTOWN RESIDENCE

	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	TOTAL
1690s	13	2	0	0	0	0	0	15
1700s	25	2	2	1	0	0	0	30
1710s	28	2	3	0	0	0	0	33
1720s	19	3	2	1	0	0	0	25
1730s	12	6	0	2	0	1	1	22
1740s	20	8	3	2	0	1	1	35
1750s	19	5	3	1	1	1	0	30
1760s	11	4	5	3	1	0	0	24
1770s	21	5	7	4	1	1	0	39
1780s	18	3	0	0	0	0	0	21
1790s	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	186	41	25	14	3	4	2	275

Table 5.2

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY MEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY TENS OF YEARS AT YORKTOWN RESIDENCE

	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	TOTAL
1690s	13	2	0	0	0	0	0	15
1700s	22	1	1	1	0	0	0	25
1710s	22	2	2	0	0	0	0	26
1720s	13	2	2	1	0	0	0	18
1730s	9	4	0	1	0	1	1	16
1740s	18	7	1	2	0	0	1	29
1750s	17	2	2	1	1	1	0	24
1760s	10	4	4	2	1	0	0	21
1770s	18	4	7	1	1	1	0	32
1780s	17	1	0	0	0	0	0	18
1790s	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	159	30	19	9	3	3	2	225

Table 5.3

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY WOMEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY TENS OF YEARS AT YORKTOWN RESIDENCE

	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	51-60	TOTAL
1690s	0	0	0	0	0	0
1700s	2	1	1	0	0	4
1710s	6	0	1	0	0	7
1720s	6	1	0	0	0	7
1730s	3	2	0	1	0	6
1740s	2	1	2	0	1	6
1750s	2	3	1	0	0	6
1760s	1	0	1	1	0	3
1770s	3	1	0	3	0	7
1780s	1	2	0	0	0	3
TOTAL	26	11	6	5	1	49

Table 6.1

ALL YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNK.	UNKNOWN PATENT	ORIG. PATENT	RE- PATENT	OWNER- SHIP	PURCHASE	LEGACY	DEED OF GIFT	LEASE	DEFAULT	BY RIGHT OF	TOTAL
<u>16XX</u>												
90s			52						0			72
<u>17XX</u>												
00s	7	1	13	12	0	14	10	1	0	1	3	62
10s	19	0	7	3	3	7	15	2	2	0	8	66
20s	9	0	0	0	7	7	13	1	0	0	4	41
30s	9	0	0	1	5	8	8	1	0	0	7	39
40s	11	0	0	0	2	15	17	0	4	0	7	56
50s	13	0	0	0	7	13	9	0	2	0	8	52
60s	8	0	0	0	3	8	6	0	1	0	4	30
70s	17	0	0	0	10	11	12	2	0	0	9	61
80s	1	0	0	0	13	3	4	0	0	0	5	26
90s	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
TOTAL	98	1	72	19	53	91	95	9	10	1	57	507

Table 6.2

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY MEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNK.	UNKNOWN PATENT	ORIG. PATENT	RE- PATENT	OWNER- SHIP	PURCHASE	LEGACY	DEED OF GIFT	LEASE	DEFAULT	BY RIGHT OF	TOTAL
1690s	4	0	50	2	1		1	1	1	0		68
1700s	5	1	10	8	0	10	6	0	0	1		43
1710s	14	0	7	3	3	6	10	2	1	0		51
1720s	6	0	0	0	4	6	8	1	0	0		26
1730s	6	0	0	0	5	8	4	1	0	0		27
1740s	8	0	0	0	2	13	13	0	3	0		43
1750s	11	0	0	0	7	10	4	0	1	0	5	38
1760s	8	0	0	0	2	8	2	0	1	0	2	23
1770s	13	0	0	0	9	11	4	2	0	0	6	45
1780s	0	0	0	0	12	3	4	0	0	0	2	21
1790s	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
TOTAL	75	1	67	14	47	80	56	7	7	1	31	387

Table 6.3

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY WOMEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNKNOWN	REPATENT	OWNER- SHIP	PURCHASE	LEGACY	DEED OF GIFT	LEASE	BY RIGHT OF	TOTAL
1690s	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
1700s	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	6
1710s	5	0	0	0	4	0	1	0	10
1720s	3	0	2	0	2	0	0	1	8
1730s	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	3	6
1740s	3	0	0	0	3	0	1	3	10
1750s	2	0	0	1	4	0	0	2	9
1760s	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	2	7
1770s	3	0	1	0	8	0	0	3	15
1780s	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	4
TOTAL	17	1	5	2	29	1	2	19	76

Table 6.4

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
NON-YORK COUNTY MEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNK.	ORIG. PATENT	RE- PATENT	OWNER- SHIP	PURCHASE	LEGACY	DEED OF GIFT	LEASE	BY RIGHT OF	TOTAL
1690s	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3
1700s	0	3	2	0	3	2	0	0	0	10
1710s	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
1720s	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	2	5
1730s	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	5
1740s	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	3
1750s	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	4
TOTAL	2	5	3	1	9	6	1	1	4	32

Table 6.5

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
NON-YORK COUNTY WOMEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNKNOWN	DEED OF GIFT	TOTAL
1700S	1	0	1
1710S	0	1	1
1720s	0	2	2
TOTAL	1	3	4

Table 7.1

ALL YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF DISPOSITION

	UNKNOWN	SALE	FORFEIT	LEGACY	WILL ORDERED TO BE SOLD	INTESTATE TO FAMILY	INTESTATE TO BE SOLD	TOTAL
1690s	10	0	2	11	1	3	1	28
1700s	12	5	2	14	0	4	0	37
1710s	7	6	0	11	0	4	0	28
1720s	5	5	0	9	0	2	0	21
1730s	5	2	0	10	1	3	0	21
1740s	16	6	0	4	1	2	1	30
1750s	6	7	0	6	0	1	0	20
1760s	5	1	0	7	1	2	0	16
1770s	14	9	0	9	1	5	0	38
1780s	9	5	0	5	0	0	0	19
TOTAL	89	46	4	86	5	26	2	258

Table 7.2

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY MEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF DISPOSITION

	UNKNOWN	SALE	FORFEIT	LEGACY	WILL ORDERED TO BE SOLD	INTESTATE TO FAMILY	INTESTATE TO BE SOLD	TOTAL
1690s	10	0	2	9	1	3	1	26
1700s	8	3	2	13	0	1	0	27
1710s	6	4	0	9	0	4	0	23
1720s	3	1	0	9	0	2	0	15
1730s	1	2	0	9	1	3	0	16
1740s	13	5	0	4	1	2	1	26
1750s	5	5	0	6	0	1	0	17
1760s	4	1	0	6	1	1	0	13
1770s	13	4	0	8	0	5	0	30
1780s	7	4	0	5	0	0	0	16
TOTAL	70	29	4	78	4	22	2	209

Table 7.3

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY WOMEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF DISPOSITION

	UNKNOWN	SALE	LEGACY	WILL ORDERED TO BE SOLD	INTESTATE TO FAMILY	TOTAL
1690s	0	0	0	0	0	0
1700s	0	0	1	0	1	2
1710s	1	2	2	0	0	5
1720s	2	1	0	0	0	3
1730s	2	0	1	0	0	3
1740s	2	1	0	0	0	3
1750s	1	1	0	0	0	2
1760s	1	0	1	0	1	3
1770s	1	5	1	1	0	8
1780s	2	0	0	0	0	2
TOTAL	12	10	6	1	2	31

Table 7.4

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
NON-YORK COUNTY MEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF DISPOSITION

	UNKNOWN	SALE	LEGACY	INTESTATE TO FAMILY	TOTAL
1690s	0	0	2	0	2
1700s	3	2	0	2	7
1710s	0	0	0	0	0
1720s	0	1	0	0	1
1730s	2	0	0	0	2
1740s	1	0	0	0	1
1750s	0	1	0	0	1
TOTAL	6	4	2	2	14

Table 7.5

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
NON-YORK COUNTY WOMEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF DISPOSITION

	SALE	TOTAL
1720s	2	2
TOTAL	2	2

Table 8.1

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY MEN
TABLE OF PLACE OF BIRTH
BY DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING

	1 6 9 0 s	1 7 0 0 s	1 7 1 0 s	1 7 2 0 s	1 7 3 0 s	1 7 4 0 s	1 7 5 0 s	1 7 6 0 s	1 7 7 0 s	1 7 8 0 s	T O T A L
UNKNOWN	38	26	34	12	13	22	23	17	25	11	221
VIRGINIA	4	2	1	4	1	0	2	1	2	2	19
YORK COUNTY	5	5	3	4	4	2	1	0	1	1	26
CHARLES PARISH	3	1	4	1	0	4	2	1	2	1	19
YORKTOWN	0	0	1	2	2	10	3	4	11	4	37
YORKHAMPTON PARISH	4	3	4	1	3	1	2	0	0	0	18
BRUTON PARISH	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	5
WARWICK COUNTY	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	3
JAMES CITY COUNTY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
GLOUCESTER COUNTY	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	5
RICHMOND COUNTY	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
NORTHUMBERLAND CO.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
ENGLAND	10	4	3	2	2	2	4	0	0	0	27
SCOTLAND	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
FRANCE	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	68	43	51	26	27	43	38	23	45	21	385

Table 8.2

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY WOMEN
 TABLE OF PLACE OF BIRTH
 BY DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING

	1 6 9 0 s	1 7 0 0 s	1 7 1 0 s	1 7 2 0 s	1 7 3 0 s	1 7 4 0 s	1 7 5 0 s	1 7 6 0 s	1 7 7 0 s	1 7 8 0 s	T O T A L
UNKNOWN	0	6	8	5	4	7	2	3	9	3	47
VIRGINIA	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	3
YORK COUNTY	0	0	1	1	0	2	3	1	1	0	9
CHARLES PARISH	0	0	0	2	1	0	2	1	2	0	8
YORKTOWN	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	4
YORKHAMPTON PARISH	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	3
MIDDLESEX COUNTY											
ENGLAND	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
TOTAL	1	6	10	8	6	10	9	7	15	4	76

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY MEN
TABLE OF PLACE OF DEATH
BY DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING

	1 6 9 0 s	1 7 0 0 s	1 7 1 0 s	1 7 2 0 s	1 7 3 0 s	1 7 4 0 s	1 7 5 0 s	1 7 6 0 s	1 7 7 0 s	1 7 8 0 s	T O T A L
UNKNOWN	15	20	22	11	7	22	18	11	20	13	159
VIRGINIA	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
YORK COUNTY	10	2	5	3	1	5	0	0	1	0	27
CHARLES PARISH	10	2	3	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	18
YORKTOWN	5	12	15	11	9	9	8	8	16	7	100
YORKHAMPTON PARISH	15	6	4	1	4	0	3	1	1	0	35
BRUTON PARISH	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
WILLIAMSBURG	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	4	1	9
ELIZABETH CITY CO.	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
HAMPTON	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
WARWICK COUNTY	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	3
JAMES CITY COUNTY	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
KING WM. COUNTY	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
CHARLES CITY CO.	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
RICHMOND	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
HANOVER COUNTY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1

Table 9.1 continued

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY MEN
TABLE OF PLACE OF DEATH
BY DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING

	1 6 9 0 s	1 7 0 0 s	1 7 1 0 s	1 7 2 0 s	1 7 3 0 s	1 7 4 0 s	1 7 5 0 s	1 7 6 0 s	1 7 7 0 s	1 7 8 0 s	T O T A L
PRINCESS ANNE CO.	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
NORTHAMPTON CO.	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
BRUNSWICK CO.	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
LOUISA COUNTY	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
WINCHESTER	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
CLARKE COUNTY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
CHARLES CO., MD.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
ANTIGUA	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
ENGLAND	2	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	2
TOTAL	65	43	51	26	27	42	38	23	45	21	381

Table 9.2

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY WOMEN
TABLE OF PLACE OF DEATH
BY DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING

	1 6 9 0 s	1 7 0 0 s	1 7 1 0 s	1 7 2 0 s	1 7 3 0 s	1 7 4 0 s	1 7 5 0 s	1 7 6 0 s	1 7 7 0 s	1 7 8 0 s	T O T A L
UNKNOWN	0	1	5	5	2	5	3	3	10	2	36
YORK COUNTY	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
CHARLES PARISH	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
YORKTOWN	0	3	2	1	3	5	3	3	4	2	26
YORKHAMPTON PARISH	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
BRUTON PARISH	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
WILLIAMSBURG	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	3
TOTALS	1	6	8	8	6	10	8	7	15	4	73

Table 10.1

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY MEN: COMMERCIAL TRADES
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNK.	ORIG. PATENT	RE- PATENT	OWNER- SHIP	PURCHASE	LEGACY	LEASE	DEFAULT	BY RIGHT OF	TOTAL
1690s	1	9	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	13
1700s	0	2	2	0	4	1	0	1	0	10
1710s	2	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	6
1720s	0	0	0	1	3	2	0	0	0	6
1730s	2	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	1	7
1740s	5	0	0	1	3	3	1	0	0	13
1750s	1	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	3	8
1760s	3	0	0	0	6	2	0	0	0	11
1770s	5	0	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	10
1780s	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
TOTAL	19	12	2	9	24	12	2	1	5	86

Table 10.2

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
 YORK COUNTY MEN: CRAFTSMEN
 TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
 BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNK. PATENT	UNK. PATENT	ORI. PATENT	RE- PATENT	OWNER- SHIP	PURCHASE	LEGACY	DEED OF GIFT	LEASE	BY RIGHT OF	TOTAL
1690s	1	0	7	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	10
1700s	1	1	4	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	11
1710s	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	5
1720s	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	5
1730s	3	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	5
1740s	2	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	1	2	9
1750s	7	0	0	0	3	4	1	0	0	1	16
1760s	4	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	7
1770s	3	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	7
1780s	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	3
TOTAL	22	1	14	2	8	17	6	2	1	5	78

Table 10.3

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY MEN: LABORERS
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNK.	ORIG. PATENT	PURCHASE	LEASE	TOTAL
1690s	0	1	0	0	1
1700s	0	1	0	0	1
1710s	1	0	0	0	1
1720s	0	0	1	0	1
1740s	0	0	0	1	1
1750s	1	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	2	2	1	1	6

Table 10.4

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY MEN: MISCELLANEOUS
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNK.	RE- PATENT	OWNER- SHIP	PURCHASE	LEGACY	BY RIGHT OF	TOTAL
1690s	1	0	1	0	0	1	3
1700s	0	1	0	0	1	0	2
1730s	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
1740s	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
1760s	2	0	0	1	0	0	3
TOTAL	4	1	2	1	1	1	10

Table 10.5

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
 YORK COUNTY MEN: PLANTERS
 TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
 BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNK.	ORIG. PATENT	RE- PATENT	OWNER- SHIP	PURCHASE	LEGACY	DEED OF GIFT	LEASE	DEFAULT	BY RIGHT OF	TOTAL
1690s	2	41	2	1	3	1	1	0	0	1	52
1700s	1	5	3	0	3	4	0	0	1	1	18
1710s	1	4	1	0	2	3	0	1	0	1	13
1720s	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	1	7
1730s	2	0	0	3	4	4	0	0	0	2	15
1740s	2	0	0	1	4	5	0	1	0	2	15
1750s	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	0	3	8
1760s	2	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	1	8
1770s	4	0	0	1	3	1	1	0	0	0	10
1780s	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	3
1790s	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	14	50	6	8	31	23	2	3	1	12	150

Table 10.6

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY MEN: PROFESSIONALS
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNK.	ORIG. PATENT	OWNER- SHIP	PURCHASE	LEGACY	LEASE	TOTAL
1690s	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
1700s	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
1710s	1	1	0	0	1	0	3
1730s	1	0	0	2	0	0	3
1740s	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
1750s	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
1760s	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
1770s	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
1780s	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
TOTAL	4	3	2	4	1	1	15

Table 10.7

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY MEN: SERVICE SECTOR
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNK.	ORIG. PATENT	RE-PATENT	OWNER-SHIP	PURCHASE	LEGACY	DEED OF GIFT	LEASE	DEFAULT	BY RIGHT OF	TOTAL
1690s	2	14	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	21
1700s	5	4	1	0	3	0	0	0	1	1	15
1710s	8	2	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	1	16
1720s	5	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	8
1730s	2	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	6
1740s	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	7
1750s	3	0	0	3	1	0	0	1	0	1	9
1760s	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
1770s	2	0	0	2	5	0	1	0	0	1	11
1780s	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	30	20	4	9	17	3	2	2	1	7	95

Table 10.8

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY WOMEN: PLANTERS
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	PURCHASE	LEGACY	BY RIGHT OF	TOTAL
1690s	0	0	1	1
1710s	0	1	0	1
1730s	0	0	2	2
1750s	1	0	0	1
1760s	0	0	1	1
1770s	0	0	1	1
TOTAL	1	1	5	7

Table 10.9

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY WOMEN: PROFESSIONALS
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNKNOWN	BY RIGHT OF	TOTAL
1690s	0	1	1
1740s	1	0	1
TOTAL	1	1	2

Table 10.10

YORKTOWN LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY WOMEN: SERVICE SECTOR
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNK.	RE- PATENT	PURCHASE	LEGACY	BY RIGHT OF	TOTAL
1700s	1	1	1	1	0	4
1710s	3	0	0	1	0	4
1720s	2	0	0	0	0	2
1740s	1	0	0	0	0	1
1770s	0	0	0	0	1	1
TOTAL	7	1	1	2	1	12

Table 13.3

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY WOMEN
 TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
 BY DECADE OF LAST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING

	1700s	1710s	1720s	1730s	1740s	1750s	1760s	1770s	1780s	TOTAL
1700s	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1710s	0	4	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	8
1720s	0	0	8	5	1	1	1	0	0	16
1730s	0	0	0	3	0	4	1	1	0	9
1740s	0	0	0	0	4	1	2	0	0	7
1750s	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	2	7
1760s	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	5	1	18
1770s	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	9	27
1780s	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	13
TOTAL	1	4	8	9	6	9	15	20	21	106

Table 14.1

ALL WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY TENS OF YEARS AT WILLIAMSBURG LOT

	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	TOTAL
1690s	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
1700s	16	4	2	1	0	0	23
1710s	44	16	5	2	3	2	72
1720s	28	13	5	2	1	0	49
1730s	37	15	8	3	0	0	63
1740s	49	10	4	10	2	0	75
1750s	64	17	8	12	4	0	105
1760s	78	28	7	10	3	0	126
1770s	109	25	15	7	2	0	158
1780s	47	14	1	0	0	1	63
1790s	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
1800s	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
TOTAL	474	143	55	48	15	3	738

Table 14.2

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY MEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY TENS OF YEARS AT WILLIAMSBURG LOT

	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	TOTAL
1690s	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
1700s	14	4	1	1	0	0	20
1710s	35	13	3	1	2	1	55
1720s	11	9	3	1	1	0	25
1730s	27	12	6	2	0	0	47
1740s	37	9	3	9	2	0	60
1750s	56	14	5	11	4	0	90
1760s	63	23	6	7	2	0	101
1770s	74	21	11	6	1	0	113
1780s	32	11	0	0	0	1	44
1790s	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
1800s	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
TOTAL	351	117	38	39	12	2	559

Table 14.3

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY WOMEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY TENS OF YEARS AT WILLIAMSBURG LOT

	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	TOTAL
1700s	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
1710s	4	0	2	0	1	1	8
1720s	11	3	1	1	0	0	16
1730s	3	3	2	1	0	0	9
1740s	5	1	1	0	0	0	7
1750s	3	1	2	1	0	0	7
1760s	12	0	1	3	1	0	17
1770s	20	2	3	1	1	0	27
1780s	10	2	1	0	0	0	13
TOTAL	69	12	13	7	3	1	105

Table 15.1

ALL WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY TENS OF YEARS AT WILLIAMSBURG RESIDENCE

	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	TOTAL
1690s	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1700s	14	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	19
1710s	32	9	2	0	1	0	1	0	45
1720s	18	6	2	1	1	0	0	0	28
1730s	22	13	7	2	1	0	0	0	45
1740s	39	8	4	0	3	0	0	0	54
1750s	51	10	13	8	1	0	0	0	83
1760s	57	23	8	4	2	0	0	1	95
1770s	97	15	8	1	1	1	0	0	123
1780s	28	8	4	1	0	1	0	0	42
1790s	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1800s	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
TOTAL	360	96	50	18	10	2	1	1	538

Table 15.2

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY MEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY TENS OF YEARS AT WILLIAMSBURG RESIDENCE

	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	TOTAL
1690s	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1700s	14	4	1	0	0	0	0	19
1710s	27	7	1	0	1	0	1	37
1720s	11	4	0	1	1	0	0	17
1730s	20	10	6	1	1	0	0	38
1740s	34	7	4	0	3	0	0	48
1750s	47	9	12	7	1	0	0	76
1760s	49	21	4	3	1	0	0	78
1770s	78	10	6	1	1	1	0	97
1780s	22	7	1	1	0	1	0	32
1790s	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1800s	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
TOTAL	304	79	36	15	9	2	1	446

Table 15.3

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY WOMEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY TENS OF YEARS AT WILLIAMSBURG RESIDENCE

	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	71-80	TOTAL
1710s	4	2	1	0	0	0	7
1720s	7	2	2	0	0	0	11
1730s	2	3	1	1	0	0	7
1740s	4	1	0	0	0	0	5
1750s	3	1	0	1	0	0	5
1760s	7	2	4	1	1	1	16
1770s	17	5	2	0	0	0	24
1780s	6	0	3	0	0	0	9
TOTAL	50	16	13	3	1	1	84

Table 16.1

ALL WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN PATENT	ORIGINAL PATENT	REPATENT	OWNERSHIP	PURCHASE	LEGACY	DEED OF GIFT	LEASE	DEFAULT	BY RIGHT OF	TOTAL
1690s	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1700s	12	0	5	1	2	2	0	0	0	0		24
1710s	17	1	20	1	9	13	4	0	3	0	4	72
1720s	4	0	2	0	4	14	14	0	1	1	10	50
1730s	22	0	0	0	7	17	5	0	3		9	64
1740s	20	0	1	1	12	19	11	1	5		5	77
1750s	34	0	0	0	9	34	11	1	8		12	111
1760s	60	0	0	0	9	35	10	1	13	0	6	134
1770s	84	0	0	0	13	32	18	0	6	0	9	162
1780s	9	0	0	0	34	13	6	0	2	0	1	65
1790s	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1800s	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
TOTAL	262	1	29	3	101	180	79	3	41	6	58	763

Table 16.2

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY MEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNKNOWN PATENT	UNKNOWN PATENT	ORIGINAL PATENT	REPATENT	OWNERSHIP	PURCHASE	LEGACY	DEED OF GIFT	LEASE	DEFAULT	BY RIGHT OF	TOT
1690s	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1700s	11	0	4	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	20
1710s	15	1	18	1	7	8	1	0	3	0	1	55
1720s	2	0	2	0	3	9	6	0	1	0	3	25
1730s	19	0	0	0	5	14	1	0	2	1	6	45
1740s	19	0	1	1	9	17	6	1	5	1	2	62
1750s	31	0	0	0	7	33	8	0	7	2	8	95
1760s	51	0	0	0	7	29	5	1	8	0	1	102
1770s	69	0	0	0	9	23	7	0	6	0	2	115
1780s	7	0	0	0	25	10	1	0	2	0	1	45
1790s	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1800s	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
TOTAL	225	1	26	2	76	145	35	2	34	4	26	575

Table 16.3

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY WOMEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNKNOWN	OWNERSHIP	PURCHASE	LEGACY	LEASE	BY RIGHT OF	TOTALS
1700s	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
1710s	2	1	1	2	0	2	8
1720s	2	0	1	7	0	6	16
1730s	2	0	0	4	1	2	9
1740s	1	0	0	3	0	3	7
1750s	2	1	0	3	0	2	8
1760s	7	0	1	4	3	5	20
1770s	9	1	7	7	0	3	27
1780s	1	7	1	4	0	1	13
TOTAL	27	10	11	34	4	23	109

Table 16.4

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
NON-YORK COUNTY MEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF
LOTHOLDING BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNK.	ORIG. PATENT	RE- PATENT	OWNER- SHIP	PURCHASE	LEGACY	DEED OF GIFT	LEASE	DE- FAULT	BY RIGHT OF	TOTAL
1690s	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
<u>17XX</u>											
00s	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
10s	0	2	0	1	4	1	0	0	0	1	9
20s	0	0	0	1	5	1	0	0	1	0	8
30s	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	1	6
40s	0	0	0	3	2	2	0	0	1	0	8
50s	1	0	0	1	2	0	1	1	0	1	7
60s	1	0	0	1	3	1	0	2	0	0	8
70s	4	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	1	10
80s	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
TOTAL	6	4	1	11	25	5	1	3	2	4	62

Table 16.5

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
NON-YORK COUNTY WOMEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE
OF LOTHOLDING BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNKNOWN	LEGACY	BY RIGHT OF	TOTAL
1720s				
1750s				
1770s				
1780s	0	1	0	1
TOTAL	1	5	2	8

Table 17.1

ALL WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF DISPOSITION

	UNKNOWN	SALE	DEED OF GIFT	FORFEIT	MORTGAGE DEFAULT	LEGACY	WILL ORDERED TO BE SOLD	INTEST- ATE TO FAMILY	INTEST- ATE TO BE SOLD	TOTAL
1690s	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
1700s	1	0	0	0	0	6	1	1	0	9
1710s	15	4	0	0	0	14	9	3	0	45
1720s	12	4	0	0	0	7	3	6	0	32
1730s	12	1	0	0	0	15	3	4	2	37
1740s	15	4	0	0	2	17	1	3	0	42
1750s	15	7	0	1	0	10	5	5	1	42
1760s	28	9	0	0	0	11	6	5	1	60
1770s	43	20	1	0	0	11	5	6	3	89
1780s	18	16	0	0	0	7	0	6	1	48
TOTAL	159	65	1	1	2	101	33	39	8	405

Table 17.2

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY MEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF DISPOSITION

	UNKNOWN	SALE	DEED OF GIFT	FORFEIT	MORTGAGE DEFAULT	LEGACY	WILL ORDERED TO BE SOLD	INTEST- ATE TO FAMILY	INTEST- ATE TO BE SOLD	TOTAL
1700s	0	0	0	0	0	6	1	0	0	7
1710s	13	2	0	0	0	10	7	3	0	35
1720s	7	1	0	0	0	4	3	3	0	18
1730s	7	0	0	0	0	15	3	4	0	29
1740s	11	3	0	0	2	16	1	3	0	36
1750s	14	6	0	1	0	9	4	3	1	38
1760s	23	7	0	0	0	9	4	4	1	48
1770s	33	12	1	0	0	10	3	4	0	63
1780s	13	12	0	0	0	6	0	4	1	36
TOTAL	121	43	1	1	2	85	26	28	3	311

Table 17.3

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY WOMEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF DISPOSITION

	UNKNOWN	SALE	LEGACY	WILL ORDERED TO BE SOLD	INTESTATE TO FAMILY	INTESTATE TO BE SOLD	TOTAL
1700s	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1710s	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
1720s	4	2	1	0	2	0	9
1730s	3	0	0	0	0	2	5
1740s	2	1	0	0	0	0	3
1750s	1	1	1	1	0	0	4
1760s	3	1	1	2	1	0	8
1770s	7	4	0	2	2	3	18
1780s	5	2	1	0	1	0	9
TOTAL	25	11	5	6	6	5	58

Table 17.4

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
NON-YORK COUNTY MEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF DISPOSITION

	UNKNOWN	SALE	LEGACY	WILL ORDERED TO BE SOLD	INTESTATE TO FAMILY	TOTAL
1690s	0	0	1	0	0	1
1700s	1	0	0	0	1	2
1710s	2	2	3	1	0	8
1720s	1	1	2	0	1	5
1730s	2	1	0	0	0	3
1740s	2	0	1	0	0	3
1750s	0	0	0	0	0	0
1760s	1	0	1	0	0	2
1770s	3	1	0	0	1	5
1780s	0	1	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	12	6	8	1	3	30

Table 17.5

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
NON-YORK COUNTY WOMEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING BY
MODE OF DISPOSITION

	SALE	LEGACY	TOTAL
1770s	3	1	4
TOTAL	3	1	4

Table 18.1

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY MEN
TABLE OF PLACE OF BIRTH
BY DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING

	1 7 0 0 s	1 7 1 0 s	1 7 2 0 s	1 7 3 0 s	1 7 4 0 s	1 7 5 0 s	1 7 6 0 s	1 7 7 0 s	1 7 8 0 s	1 7 9 0 s	1 8 0 0 s	T O T A L
UNKNOWN	12	35	14	33	41	55	71	84	33	0	1	379
VIRGINIA	0	1	1	0	2	2	5	1	3	0	1	16
YORK COUNTY	1	1	2	1	1	7	1	0	1	0	0	15
CHARLES PARISH	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
YORKTOWN	0	0	0	0	4	0	2	2	2	0	0	10
YORKHAMPTON PARISH	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
BRUTON PARISH	0	6	1	1	2	4	4	5	0	0	0	23
WILLIAMSBURG	0	0	2	2	3	10	6	9	1	0	0	33
ELIZABETH CITY CO.	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
WARWICK COUNTY	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
JAMES CITY COUNTY	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	2	1	0	0	6
NEW KENT COUNTY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
GLOUCESTER COUNTY	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
KING & QUEEN CO.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
KING WILLIAM CO.	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

Table 18.1 continued

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY MEN
TABLE OF PLACE OF BIRTH
BY DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING

	1 7 0 0 s	1 7 1 0 s	1 7 2 0 s	1 7 3 0 s	1 7 4 0 s	1 7 5 0 s	1 7 6 0 s	1 7 7 0 s	1 7 8 0 s	1 7 9 0 s	1 8 0 0 s	T O T A L
CHARLES CITY CO.	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
HENRICO COUNTY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
PRINCE GEORGE CO.	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
MIDDLESEX CO.	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
ESSEX COUNTY	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
RICHMOND CO.	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
STAFFORD COUNTY	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
NORTHAMPTON CO.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
AMELIA COUNTY	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
LOUISA COUNTY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
AUGUSTA COUNTY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
MARYLAND	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
ENGLAND	4	6	2	9	5	9	5	8	1	0	0	49
SCOTLAND	1	2	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	7
IRELAND	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
FRANCE	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	4
SWITZERLAND	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	20	55	26	48	62	95	102	116	46	1	2	573

Table 18.2

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY WOMEN
TABLE OF PLACE OF BIRTH
BY DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING

	1 7 0 0 s	1 7 1 0 s	1 7 2 0 s	1 7 3 0 s	1 7 4 0 s	1 7 5 0 s	1 7 6 0 s	1 7 7 0 s	1 7 8 0 s	T O T A L
UNKNOWN	1	5	12	7	6	5	12	17	10	75
VIRGINIA	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
YORK COUNTY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
CHARLES PARISH	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
YORKTOWN	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
BRUTON PARISH	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	4
WILLIAMSBURG	0	1	0	0	0	1	3	5	1	11
ELIZABETH CITY CO.	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
JAMES CITY COUNTY	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
HENRICO COUNTY	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
ENGLAND	0	0	2	1	0	0	2	2	0	7
FRANCE	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	1	8	16	9	7	8	19	27	11	109

Table 19.1

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY MEN
TABLE OF PLACE OF DEATH
BY DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING

	1 7 0 0 s	1 7 1 0 s	1 7 2 0 s	1 7 3 0 s	1 7 4 0 s	1 7 5 0 s	1 7 6 0 s	1 7 7 0 s	1 7 8 0 s	T O T A L
UNKNOWN	5	16	9	11	29	41	59	60	23	253
YORK COUNTY	0	5	0	1	2	3	1	3	0	15
YORKTOWN	0	0	0	2	2	1	0	1	2	8
BRUTON PARISH	4	9	6	2	3	4	2	1	1	32
WILLIAMSBURG	8	15	8	28	18	31	28	40	11	187
JAMES CITY COUNTY	0	1	1	0	1	3	2	1	0	9
JAMESTOWN	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
NEW KENT COUNTY	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
CHARLES CITY CO.	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
HENRICO COUNTY	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	3
RICHMOND	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	1	1	7
HANOVER COUNTY	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
NORFOLK BOROUGH	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
ISLE OF WIGHT CO.	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
SURRY COUNTY	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
PRINCE GEORGE CO.	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	4
CHESTERFIELD COUNTY	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	3

Table 19.1 continued

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY MEN
TABLE OF PLACE OF DEATH
BY DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING

	1 7 0 0 s	1 7 1 0 s	1 7 2 0 s	1 7 3 0 s	1 7 4 0 s	1 7 5 0 s	1 7 6 0 s	1 7 7 0 s	1 7 8 0 s	T O T A L
PETERSBURG	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
SPOTSYLVANIA CO.	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	4
RICHMOND COUNTY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
FAIRFAX COUNTY	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
BRUNSWICK COUNTY	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
CHARLOTTE COUNTY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
AMELIA COUNTY	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
ALBEMARLE COUNTY	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
CHARLOTTESVILLE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
FREDERICK COUNTY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
WINCHESTER	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
ANNAPOLIS	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
NORTH CAROLINA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
PHILADELPHIA	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	3
NEW YORK	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
NEW YORK CITY	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
ENGLAND	2	0	1	1	2	3	0	1	0	10
TOTAL	20	55	26	46	61	96	101	115	43	563

Table 19.2

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY WOMEN
TABLE OF PLACE OF DEATH
BY DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING

	1 7 0 0 s	1 7 1 0 s	1 7 2 0 s	1 7 3 0 s	1 7 4 0 s	1 7 5 0 s	1 7 6 0 s	1 7 7 0 s	1 7 8 0 s	T O T A L
UNKNOWN	0	2	8	4	3	4	4	16	8	49
YORK COUNTY	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	6
YORKHAMPTON PARISH	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
BRUTON PARISH	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3
WILLIAMSBURG	1	2	4	4	4	3	7	10	4	39
NEW KENT COUNTY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
RICHMOND	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	3
CAROLINE COUNTY	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
FREDERICKSBURG	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
FAIRFAX COUNTY	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
AMELIA COUNTY	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
TOTAL	1	8	16	9	7	8	19	27	13	108

Table 20.1

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
 YORK COUNTY MEN: COMMERCIAL TRADES
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN PATENT	ORIGINAL PATENT	OWNERSHIP	PURCHASE	LEGACY	LEASE	DEFAULT	BY RIGHT OF	TOTAL
1690s	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1700s	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	4
1710s	2	1	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	7
1720s	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	4
1730s	2	0	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	8
1740s	2	0	0	1	10	2	1	1	0	17
1750s	10	0	0	2	7	3	5	0	3	30
1760s	18	0	0	2	4	1	4	0	0	29
1770s	21	0	0	2	5	2	1	0	0	31
1780s	3	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	6
TOTAL	58	1	5	10	37	9	13	1	3	137

Table 20.2

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY MEN: CRAFTSMEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNKNOWN	ORIGINAL PATENT	OWNERSHIP	PURCHASE	LEGACY	DEED OF GIFT	LEASE	DEFAULT	TOTAL
1700s	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
1710s	0	6	3	6	0	0	0	0	15
1720s	1	0	1	4	1	0	0	0	7
1730s	7	0	0	5	0	0	1	0	13
1740s	4	0	3	7	2	1	4	0	21
1750s	14	0	1	12	3	0	1	1	32
1760s	29	0	3	10	2	0	3	0	47
1770s	34	0	2	4	3	0	0	0	43
1780s	2	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	8
1800s	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	92	7	19	50	11	1	9	1	190

Table 20.3

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY MEN: LABORERS
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNKNOWN	ORIGINAL PATENT	OWNERSHIP	PURCHASE	LEGACY	TOTAL
1700s	1	0	0	0	0	1
1710s	1	1	0	0	0	2
1720s	0	0	0	0	1	1
1730s	0	0	0	1	0	1
1750s	1	0	0	1	0	2
1760s	0	0	0	1	0	1
1770s	0	0	0	1	0	1
1780s	0	0	1	0	0	1
TOTAL	3	1	1	4	1	10

Table 20.4

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY MEN: MISCELLANEOUS
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN PATENT	ORIGINAL PATENT	OWNERSHIP	PURCHASE	LEASE	BY RIGHT OF	TOTAL
1710s	0	1	2	0	1	0	1	5
1730s	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	4
1740s	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	3
1750s	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	3
1760s	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	4
1770s	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
1780s	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	6	1	3	3	4	3	1	21

Table 20.5

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY MEN: PLANTERS
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNKNOWN	ORIGINAL, PATENT	RE-PATENT	OWNERSHIP	PURCHASE	LEGACY	LEASE	DEFAULT	BY RIGHT OF	TOTAL
1690s	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1700s	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	6
1710s	4	10	0		1			0	0	21
1720s	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0		9
1730s	5	0	0	2	5	1	0	0		14
1740s	3	1	1	2	4	2	0	1		16
1750s	10	0	0	3	10	4	0	1	3	31
1760s	5	0	0	2	12	2	1	0	0	22
1770s	10	0	0	1	3	2	0	0	1	17
1780s	1	0	0	6	2	1	0	0	0	10
1800s	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
TOTAL	41	15	1	20	45	14	3	2	8	149

Table 20.6

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY MEN: PROFESSIONALS
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNKNOWN	ORIGINAL PATENT	OWNERSHIP	PURCHASE	LEGACY	DEED OF GIFT	LEASE	BY RIGHT OF	TOTAL
1700s	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
1710s	2	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	7
1720s	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
1730s	3	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	5
1740s	3	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	9
1750s	2	0	1	8	1	0	0	1	13
1760s	2	0	1	7	0	1	0	0	11
1770s	11	0	2	1	3	0	2	1	20
1780s	1	0	3	0	0	0	2	0	6
1800s	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	24	3	12	22	5	1	7	2	76

Table 20.7

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
 YORK COUNTY MEN: SERVICE SECTOR
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN PATENT	ORIGINAL PATENT	OWNERSHIP	PURCHASE	LEGACY	LEASE	DEFAULT	BY RIGHT OF	TOTAL
1700s	10	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	13
1710s	12	1	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	19
1720s	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	4
1730s	3	0	0	2	4	0	0	1	1	11
1740s	7	0	0	1	3	0	1	0	0	12
1750s	9	0	0	0	2	1	2	1	0	15
1760s	15	0	0	2	3	0	3	0	0	23
1770s	11	0	0	1	5	1	1	0	0	19
1780s	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	5
TOTAL	68	1	5	11	23	2	7	2	2	121

Table 20.8

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY WOMEN: COMMERCIAL TRADES
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOT-
HOLDING BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNKNOWN	LEGACY	LEASE	TOTAL
1720s	0	1	0	1
1730s	0	0	1	1
1760s	3	0	0	3
1770s	2	0	0	2
TOTAL	5	1	1	7

Table 20.9

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY WOMEN: CRAFTSMEN
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNKNOWN	LEGACY	LEASE	TOTAL
1730s	0	1	1	2
1760s	2	0	0	2
1770s	4	0	0	4
TOTAL	6	1	1	8

Table 20.10

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY WOMEN: LABORERS
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF
LOTHOLDING BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNKNOWN	TOTAL
1770s	1	1
TOTAL	1	1

Table 20.11

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY WOMEN: MISCELLANEOUS
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF
LOTHOLDING BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	OWNERSHIP	TOTAL
1780s	1	1
TOTAL	1	1

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY WOMEN: PLANTERS
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNKNOWN	PURCHASE	LEGACY	BY RIGHT OF	TOTAL
1710s	0	0	2	0	2
1720s	0	0	1	1	2
1730s	0	0	1	2	3
1740s	0	0	2	0	2
1750s	2	0	0	2	4
1760s	2	0	0	0	2
1770s	1	1	1	0	3
TOTAL	5	1	7	5	18

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY WOMEN: PROFESSIONALS
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNKNOWN	LEGACY	BY RIGHT OF	TOTAL
1720s	0	0	1	1
1730s	1	1	0	2
1770s	1	0	0	1
TOTAL	2	1	1	4

WILLIAMSBURG LOTHOLDERS
YORK COUNTY WOMEN: SERVICE SECTOR
TABLE OF DECADE OF FIRST EVIDENCE OF LOTHOLDING
BY MODE OF ACQUISITION

	UNKNOWN	OWNERSHIP	LEGACY	LEASE	BY RIGHT OF	TOTAL
1710s	2	1	1	0	2	6
1720s	2	0	1	0	3	6
1730s	2	0	1	0	0	3
1740s	1	0	0	0	1	2
1750s	1	0	0	0	0	1
1760s	1	0	1	1	1	4
1770s	1	0	1	0	0	2
1780s	0	1	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	10	2	5	1	7	25

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Williamsburg, Virginia. The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.
Miscellaneous Manuscript Collection.

Williamsburg, Virginia. Virginia Gazette, 1736-1780.

Yorktown, Virginia. York County Court Records, 1633-1811.

Secondary Sources

Albert, Peter J. "The Protean Institution: The Geography, Economy, and Ideology of Slavery in Post-Revolutionary Virginia." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1976.

Baker, Nancy T., Lois Green Carr, P. M. G. Harris, Jean B. Russo, and Lorena S. Walsh. "Annapolis and Anne Arundel County, Maryland: A Study of Urban Development in a Tobacco Economy, 1649-1776." Final report to the National Endowment for the Humanities, Project number RS-20199-81-1955.

Bergstrom, Peter V. Markets and Merchants: Economic Diversification in Colonial Virginia. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985.

Bergstrom, Peter V., Cathleene B. Hellier, Kevin P. Kelly, Michael J. Puglisi, Julie Richter, Linda H. Rowe, and Lorena S. Walsh. "Urbanization in the Tidewater South, Part II: The Growth and Development of Williamsburg and Yorktown." Final report to the National Endowment for the Humanities, Project number RO-20869-85, 1989.

Beverly, Robert. The History and Present State of Virginia. Edited by Louis B. Wright. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1947.

Billings, Warren M., John E. Selby, and Thad W. Tate. Colonial Virginia: A History. White Plains: KTO Press, 1986.

Borsay, Peter. "'All the town's a stage': Urban Ritual and Ceremony." The Transformation of English Provincial Towns. Edited by Peter Clark. London: Hutchinson and Co., Ltd., 1984.

Carr, Lois Green. "'The Metropolis of Maryland': A Comment on Town Development along the Tobacco Coast." Maryland Historical Magazine, 69(1974):124-145.

- Clark, Peter. "Introduction." The Transformation of English Provincial Towns. Edited by Peter Clark. London: Hutchinson and Co., Ltd., 1984.
- Corfield, Penelope J. The Impact of English Towns, 1700-1800. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Dill, Alonzo T. and Brent Tarter. "The 'hellish Scheme' to Move the Capital." Virginia Cavalcade, XXX(1980):4-11.
- Earle, Carville and Ronald Hoffman. "Staple Crops and Urban Development in the Eighteenth-Century South." Perspectives in American History, X(1976):7-78.
- Ernst, Joseph A. and H. Roy Merrens. "'Camden's turrets pierce the skies!': The Urban Process in the Southern Colonies during the Eighteenth Century." William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Series, III(1973):549-574.
- Fisher, Daniel. "The Fisher History." Some Prominent Virginia Families. Edited by Louise Pecquet du Bellet. Lynchburg, Virginia: J. P. Bell, 1907.
- Goodwin, Rutherford, ed. A Brief & True Report Concerning Williamsburg in Virginia: Being an Account of the most important Occurrences in that Place from its first Beginning to the present time. 3rd Edition. Williamsburg: August and Charles Dietz for the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972.
- Grim, Ronald E. "The Absence of Towns in Seventeenth-Century Virginia: The Emergence of Service Centers in York County." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1977.
- Hartwell, Henry, James Blair, and Edward Chilton. The Present State of Virginia, and the College. Edited by Hunter Dickinson Parish. Charlottesville: Dominion Books for Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, 1964.
- Hellier, Cathleene B., Peter V. Bergstrom, Linda H. Rowe, Julie Richter, and Michael J. Puglisi. "A Manual for Biographical Linking and Coding: York County Project--Phase II." Department of Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, revised March 1987.
- Hellier, Cathleene B. and Kevin P. Kelly. "The Capital at Mid-Century: A Population Profile of Williamsburg in 1747/8." Occasional Papers from the Research Division, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, September 1987.
- Hening, William Waller, 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.
- Hiden, Martha W. How Justice Grew: Virginia Counties: An Abstract of Their Formation. Williamsburg: Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration Corporation, 1957.
- Jerdone, Francis. "Letter Book of Francis Jerdone." William and Mary Quarterly, 1st Series, XI(1903):153-161, 236-242.
- Kelly, Kevin P. "Assumptions and Explanatory Hypothesis of the York County Project." Unpublished paper, Department of Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, November 1985.
- Kelly, Kevin P. "Urbanization of Lower Tidewater Virginia: York County, A Case Study, 1690-1750." Paper presented at "Urbanization in Maryland and Virginia," Historic Petersburg Foundation Conference, March 12, 1988.
- McIlwaine, H. R. et al., eds. Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia. 6 vols. Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1927-1966.
- McIlwaine, H. R., ed. Journals of the House of Burgesses. 13 vols. Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1910.
- McIlwaine, H. R., ed. Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia. 3 vols. Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1918-1919.
- Menard, Russell R. "The Tobacco Industry." Research in Economic History, 5(1980):109-177.
- Michel, Francis Louis. "Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701-December 1, 1702." Edited and translated by William J. Hinke. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 24(1916):1-43, 113-141, 275-303.
- Morton, Richard S. Colonial Virginia. 2 vols. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1960.
- O'Mara, James. "Urbanization in Tidewater Virginia During the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Historical Geography." Ph.D. dissertation, York University, 1979.
- Papenfuse, Edward C. In Pursuit of Profit. The Annapolis Merchants in the Era of the American Revolution, 1763-1805. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975.
- Rainbolt, John C. "The Absence of Towns in Seventeenth-Century Virginia." Journal of Southern History, 35(1969):343-360.

- Reps, John W. Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland. Williamsburg: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, distributed by the University Press of Virginia, 1972.
- Riley, Edward M. "Suburban Development of Yorktown, Virginia. During the Colonial Period." Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 60(1952):522-536.
- Riley, Edward M. "The Town Acts of Colonial Virginia." Journal of Southern History, 16(1950):306-323.
- Rutman, Darrett B. and Anita H. A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia 1650-1750. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1984.
- Soltow, James H. The Economic Role of Williamsburg. Williamsburg: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, distributed by the University Press of Virginia, 1965.
- "Speeches of Students of the College of William and Mary Delivered May 1, 1699." William and Mary Quarterly, 2nd Series, X(1930):323-337.
- United States Bureau of the Census. Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970. 2 vols. Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1976.
- "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.
- Wellenreuther, Hermann. "Urbanization in the Colonial South: A Critique. With a Letter from Fred Siegel and a Reply from Joseph A. Ernst and H. Roy Merrens." William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Series, XXXI(1974):653-671.
- York County Project. Master Biographical File. Department of Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

VITA

Caroline Julia Richter

Born in Berkeley, California, on July 22, 1961. Graduated from San Marino High School, San Marino, California, June 1979. The author received an A. B. from Smith College in 1983 and a M. A. in American Studies from the College of William and Mary in 1985. She has worked as a Project Assistant with the York County Project, Department of Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation from July 1984 to May 1989 and as a Research Fellow from May 1989 to present. The author entered the Ph. D. program in the Department of History, College of William and Mary in August 1987 and is a Ph. D. candidate.