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Funerary Treatment and Social Status: A Case Study of Colonial Tidewater Virginia

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FUNERARY TREATMENT AND SOCIAL STATUS:

A CASE STUDY OF COLONIAL TIDEWATER VIRGINIA

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A Thesis

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by

Norman Vardney Mackie, III

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APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of

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ii

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the memories of Archibald DeMille and Norman Vardney Mackie, Sr. The first was a seaman of brave deeds; the second, a steward of land and men....

READER
Learn from this Example that
As the most Exalted station may
be debased by VICE so there
is no situation in life on
which VIRTUE will not confer
DIGNITY!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

For more than twenty years gravestones have fallen into
the realm of data investigated by historical archaeologists.
It has been the purpose of these scholars to consider
gravestones holistically, viewing them as part of a larger
cultural process. In an important seminal work, Edwin
Dethlefsen and James Deetz (1966) saw colonial gravestones
in New England as comprising an archaeological data base,
and examined temporal, spatial, and formal dimensions using
the same criteria and methodology employed in other
artifactual studies. Since rigorous controls could be
placed on colonial gravestones concerning these three
dimensions, the regularity of their observed popularity
curves constituted undeniable proof in favor of seriation --
a relative dating technique which had been used by
prehistorians for decades, although its accuracy had only
been assumed and not proven. This idea of implementing
historic period material culture in order to test methods
employed by prehistorians forms an important component of
the present work.

The impact of Deetz's provocative brand of scholarship
on this thesis does not end there, however. In his classic
work In Small Things Forgotten (1977), Deetz proposed that
distinct regional traditions developed throughout the
colonies as a result of the differing cultural backgrounds
of the settlers, the purposes of settlement, and environ -
mental conditions. Moreover, it was hypothesized that
material culture and behavior in these regions should reflect
these varying traditions (Deetz 1977:38). The geographic
focus of the present analysis is thus based, in part, on a
desire to examine regional diversity with respect to
material culture.

Moving beyond purely academic considerations, however,
my decision to select Tidewater Virginia as a focus of study
was based not entirely on the area's close proximity to my
home while I was attending the College of William and Mary.
Nor was my choice merely a result of the plentiful and
varied monuments, or the great potential of corroborative
evidence preserved in the documents of ancient nearby
counties. Rather, it is not with the least hesitation, that
I must admit to an aesthetic or, perhaps, even a spiritual
factor that was involved. Several were the mornings when I
arrived at a churchyard or private burying ground just as
the sun was beginning its long daily pilgrimage and, as

v

similar notions are seldom contemplated even in the mind of the most adventurous tourist, the silence of those mornings was simultaneously sweet and deadening. Indeed, it was on such occasions that I became increasingly bonded to both the quietude and, perhaps more than was necessary, the people who had lain for centuries beneath the decaying monuments. And as I worked, I wished secretly that Cotton Mather had not been preaching figuratively when he said, in reference to early New England monuments, that "the stones in this wilderness have grown so witty as to speak" (in Ludwig 1966: 56).

N.V.M.

Georgetown, District of Columbia
March 1986

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations appear in citations
throughout the text:

PR..........Principal Registry of the Probate Divorce
            and Admiralty Division of the High Court
            of Justice

TQM........Tyler's Quarterly Magazine

VMHB.......Virginia Magazine of History and Biography

WMQ........William and Mary Quarterly

ABSTRACT

Prehistorians have long assumed that differences in the degree of funerary treatment between groups or individuals are indicative of differing levels of social organization. Epistemologically speaking, however, the fragmentary nature of data remaining from pre - literate societies has precluded the empirical verification of this hypothesis. By comparison, the historical archaeologist can examine material complexity in funerary treatment as well as the nuances of social organization which surviving documents serve to elucidate. The patterns of association between these two data groups, or lack thereof, constitute a controlled method of testing the assumptions of prehistorians.

In the present study of colonial Tidewater Virginia, complexity in funerary treatment is examined in conjunction with documentary evidence concerning social status. A statistically significant correlation between these well-defined data groups is discovered, thus lending support to the prehistorian's assumption of a correlation between funerary treatment and social organization. The essay concludes with a holistic comparison involving findings in both Tidewater Virginia and New England. Apparent regional differences are likewise seen as having significant implications for the prehistorian.

FUNERARY TREATMENT AND SOCIAL STATUS:

A CASE STUDY OF COLONIAL TIDEWATER VIRGINIA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Social status has been a primary focus of study in anthropology since the formalization of the discipline. Although it is not appropriate here to provide a detailed review of anthropological thought pertaining to social organization, it is possible to cite Linton's work on status and role (1936:113-131), Lowie's synthetic approach to the social organization of contemporary primitive societies (1920), and Service's analysis of social evolution (1962) as significant contributions to the conceptual development of social status. In more specific terms, it may be generally agreed that the recognition of status as a universal cultural unit has resulted as a consequence of the large number of published ethnographies which have appeared over the last eighty years (Edmonson 1958:2). Early examples of the ethnographic treatment of social status are found in the works of Sapir (1915), Boas (1897), and Swanton (1911).

Although the examination of social status has rested predominantly within the sphere of sociocultural anthropology, it has also received much attention among prehistorians. Despite the fragmentary nature of their subject matter, it has been a common assumption among these scholars

that the complexity of funereal paraphernalia and furniture within a society can indicate the manner of social organization as well as the extent of stratification. Previous analyses of social organization and status by prehistorians have indeed been based on mortuary data from archaeological sites, and have focused on the identification of two organizational forms. The first is comprised of band and tribal systems which were egalitarian in nature, and which are thought to have typified the Archaic cultural period. The second form encompasses those social systems which were hierarchically oriented, being either ranked or stratified. Examples of this form include chiefdoms, states, and centralized political systems. In contrast to the egalitarian system, it has been posited that the mortuary practices of hierarchical systems exhibit more noticeable differences in wealth, energy expenditure, and rank among both groups and individuals (Rothschild 1979:658-651).

In attempting to identify the above forms of social organization through mortuary practices, prehistorians have employed two major types of data: ceremonial grave goods, and the form and complexity of overall funerary treatment. Grave goods have been the focus of several major works, including those of Rothschild (1979), Winters (1968), Larson (1971), Peebles (1971), and Rathje (1970). Tainter (1975, 1977), meanwhile, was concerned only with the varying degrees of energy expenditure involved in the treatment of the dead. Still others, such as Brown (1971),

Saxe (1971), and Binford (1971) have implemented both types of data, while Haviland (1967) attempted to make inferences about social organization through the analysis of skeletal remains. The problems with these types of analyses, however, are several. First prehistorians studying sites of mortuary activity rarely, if ever, consider the supporting evidence of social structure which may be available in associated domestic sites. Second, and in line with the first problem, prehistorians are often not in a position to fully evaluate the entire range of settlement in a given area. Finally, the majority of these analyses fail to make use of ethnographic analogies which might conceivably shed light on conclusions based solely on archaeological remains (Horvath 1976:1).

The historical archaeologist, on the other hand, has at his disposal a powerful arsenal of data through which to explore theoretical constructs only tentatively examined through the methods of prehistory. Historical documents and archaeological remains can be analyzed together in a truly corroborative fashion towards the explication of past social dynamics. Consequently, historical archaeologists are in a position to test the assumptions made by prehistorians pertaining to many vectors of social life.

With this in mind, the present paper addresses two major issues. On the one hand, it is concerned with testing an hypothesis which occurs implicitly in a previous study of colonial Tidewater tombstones by Elizabeth Crowell (1979).

In her analysis, which deals generally with gravestone procurement, form, symbolism, and location, Crowell noted an apparent correlation between monument type and the social status of the deceased. This is made very clear in her statement that "...people in England used different types of funerary monuments according to their station in life...This system can be seen to continue in Virginia" (Crowell 1979: 16). Crowell did not, however, examine this apparent relationship statistically, nor did she provide an in-depth description of social status in colonial Tidewater Virginia upon which to verify her observations. The present work attempts to remedy these shortcomings, and proceeds under the assumption that if a household's social status was depicted in the form and degree of complexity of its members' funerary treatment, then statistical correlations between the variables of that treatment and the social station of the household should be visible.

An additional focus of this analysis will be to test some of the assumptions and theories forwarded by prehistorians in their attempts to explicate social organization through mortuary customs. Paramount among these is the supposition that funerary treatment can reflect a society's mode of social organization. Because the prehistorian is forced to reconstruct cultural behavior solely from material remains, it is only a matter of logic that his conclusions are not completely verifiable. By comparison, the approach implemented in this analysis incorporates the material

culture of funerary treatment as well as documentary
knowledge of social organization and status in colonial
Tidewater Virginia. A statistical correlation between these
two data sets, or lack thereof, will help either to verify
or refute the major assumption of prehistorians who have
attempted to identify social status through mortuary
practices.

Methods. For the purposes of regional comparison,
which shall be examined more fully towards the end of this
work, methods were chosen to follow where possible those
utilized by Steven Horvath in a similar study of gravestones
in Rehoboth, Massachusetts (Horvath 1976). Horvath focused
on four major methods of analyzing social differentiation
which had been defined twelve years earlier by the academ-
ician Harold M. Hodges, Jr. As quoted in Horvath and in
Hodges, the four methods of analysis are as follows:

> (1) how the people to be ranked live --
> their styles of life, possessions, and
> patterns of associations with others; (2)
> what others think -- how prestige judges
> would rank them; (3) how people rank them-
> selves -- their consciousness of class
> and of their own class position, and (4)
> how people earn their livings -- their
> occupations and sources of income (Hodges
> 1964:79).

In reference to Hodges' first and fourth approaches,
it is clear that wealth in terms of land, money, or servants
was a fairly reliable indicator of social differentiation in
colonial Tidewater Virginia. As will be discussed in
Chapter II, the growing acceptance of capital - based trade

and mercantile endeavors during the Tudor and Stuart regimens meant that economic and social status were inexorably linked by the time of the colony's founding. This condition was intensified throughout the duration of the colonial period. Nonetheless, the use of a quantitative approach toward wealth in defining social status is made somewhat difficult in that members of the middle classes often possessed greater wealth than members of the gentry. J.F.D. Smyth, an eighteenth century traveler in the colonies, described the fortunes of certain middle class individuals as "superior to some of the first rank, but their families are not so ancient, nor respectable; a circumstance here held in some estimation" (Brown and Brown 1964:33). Another man termed a "gentleman", John Bates, possessed an estate at death which was valued at less than half the worth of the estate of one of Robert Carter's servants (Brown and Brown 1964:37). Although it can be affirmed that there was a recognizable correlation between economic and social status in colonial Virginia, it is clear from these examples that anomalies exist to plague the researcher.

Within the context of the present work, Hodges' second and third approaches are here deemed the most conducive for the purposes of identifying an individual's social status. Indeed, in terms of how individuals in colonial Tidewater Virginia ranked themselves and were ranked by others, the answers were to be found in primary documents, and carved (or not carved) upon the stones themselves. As shall be

demonstrated in a later section, legal documents -- not only of paper, but also fashioned of stone -- contained unmistak- able and unwavering terms, titles, and symbols of social station in the Virginia colonies. Such designations connoted with sharp legal precision the status of their users and non - users, and were never used haphazardly or indiscrimin- ately. In essence, their use was largely regulated by English custom, and the proper boundaries of adoption were rarely if ever overstepped. In delineating social strata, emphasis was placed upon gravestone inscriptions, primary records, and, finally, secondary works which objectively evaluated primary sources. The strength of this method is that it allows for an emic definition of how people ranked themselves and were ranked by others in the colonial situa- tion.

The data base for this study is comprised of in excess of 150 marked burials, all of which date to the period 1650- 1776. These burials are located in a study area which encompasses eleven Tidewater counties (Lancaster, Middlesex, Mathews, Gloucester, York, James City, Charles City, Isle of Wight, New Kent, Prince George, Surry) and three cities (Petersburg, Williamsburg, Norfolk)(Figure 1). A 100% data recovery program was implemented with respect to this area. Information from all gravestones was recorded on index cards. For each stone, inscriptions and epitaphs were copied, preserving original capitalization and spelling. A sketch was made showing form and any motif, and photographs

FIGURE 1

MAP OF VIRGINIA SHOWING THE STUDY AREA
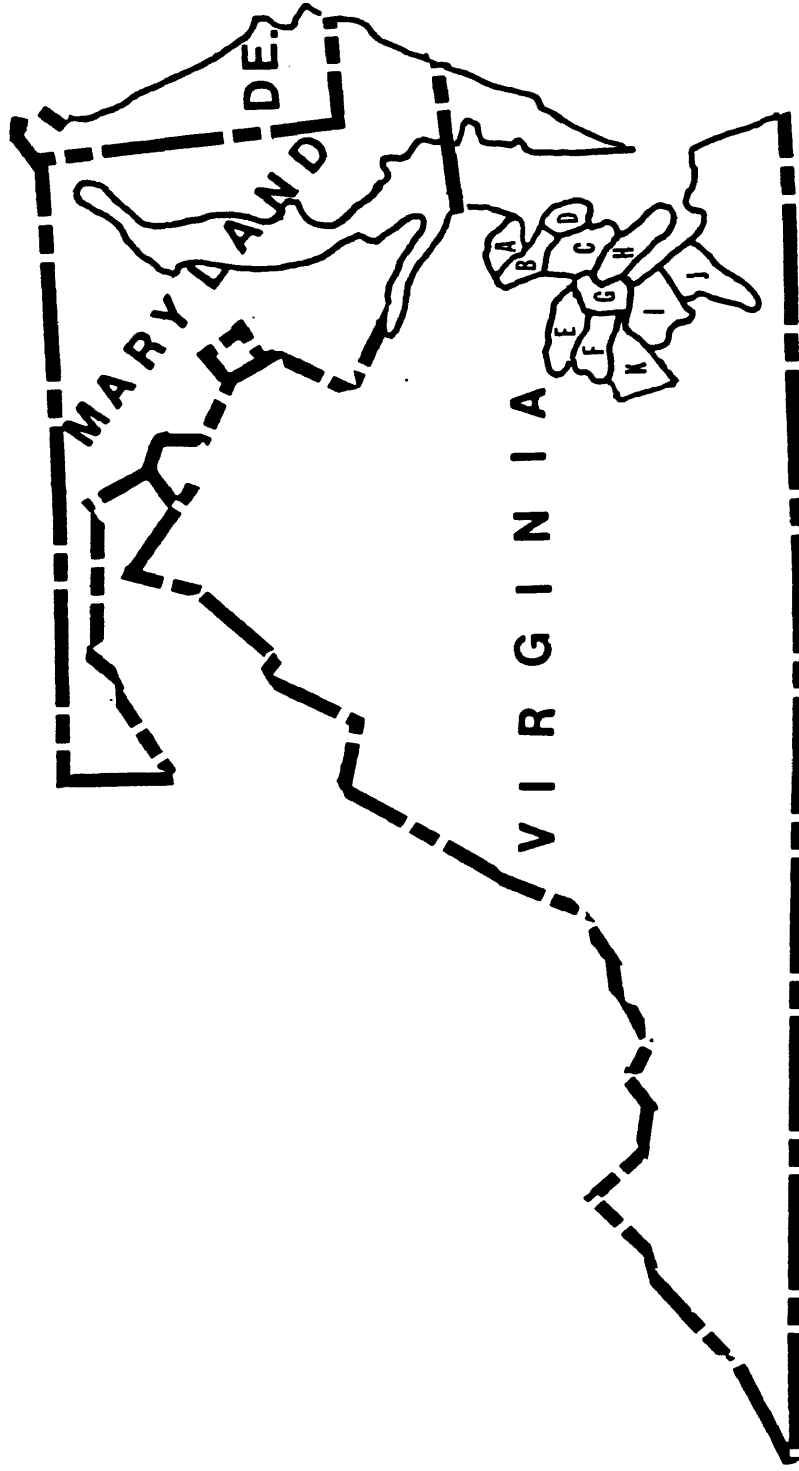
Key: A. Lancaster County   D. Mathews County   G. James City County   J. Isle of Wight
      B. Middlesex County   E. New Kent County   H. York County   County
      C. Gloucester County   F. Charles City County I. Surry County   K. Prince George
                                                                                      County

were taken of all marked burials.

CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE
IN COLONIAL TIDEWATER VIRGINIA

English precedents. The social distinctions extant in

seventeenth and, later, eighteenth century Virginia had

evolved from those recognized in earlier periods of English

history. A knowledge of the earlier forms of social organ-

ization is therefore necessary to the understanding of the

unique social structure which was later to emerge in

Virginia.

That the English medieval hierarchical system was

directly tied to land ownership is an unequivocable observa-

tion. The tillable soils of England -- worked since time

immemorial -- comprised the medium for success in a realm

based for the most part upon agrarian interests and pursuits.

The guiding factor in this agrarian system, however, was

that agriculture was a very expansive livelihood in the

sustenance of populations, yet the land available was

limited; and, as the land and the produce which it yielded

were central to the sustenance of the realm, there had

developed in medieval times a social hierarchy based in

general upon the presence, absence, and extent of land

ownership (Talpalar 1968:8-9; Harrison 1984:27-28). The

most telling principle of this feudal land - based system was

that called the "quit rent", for it points up the relation-
ship between landholding and social status. All proprietors
including tenant, freeholder, and quality below the king
had to pay the charge known as the quit rent to the
individual next above him in the landholding pyramidal
structure. What is most significant is that these dues
served no fiscal function, but were instead symbolic payments
acknowledging to the king, lord, or freeholder that the
parcel of land was being held by inferior title (Talpalar
1968:9; Harrison 1984:30).

Land ownership and all of its associated status were
most strictly enforced in medieval England by the concepts
of primogeniture and entail. The former dictated all of the
family's property to be conveyed only to the deceased's
eldest son, while the latter prevented the alienation of
real property. The combined result of these feudal institu-
tions was the perpetuation of landed estates and property
within single families over numerous generations, and the
guaranteed affiliation of family members over time with the
aristocracy. These strictly enforced traditional principles
of infeudation -- combined with the symbolic power of the
quit rent -- created a completely predictable, stable, and
secure way of life. That a land _ based elite should be
distinctly separated from the lower echelons of society was
an accepted tenet of everyday life, and any other condition
beyond stratification would have seemed alien. For in
medieval England, quantity of land was translated into

<u>quality</u> as regards the aristocratic family or individual. And as the blood of quality was passed from generation to generation, the caste distinctions became solidified and precluded any form of upward mobility for the common classes (Talpalar 1968:9).

The land-based system of social organization of earlier centuries passed virtually unchanged into the realm of Tudor England. Secondary bases underlying both social structure and new social mobility were forming at this time, however. Most notable were the growing power and acceptance of the capital-based commercial industries, and the newly forming niches which they provided within the social and economic hierarchy (Ashley 1982:78-93). Notwithstanding, during the Tudor period these endeavors of the "mart" proved to be minor cogs within the mechanism of feudalism; they were merely ancilliary incorporations within the dominant institution behind social organization, and it would not be until Stuart times that capital-based traders and merchants would seek to enforce their lifestyle over the land-based loyalists in the English Civil War. Yet the trade and mercantile factors were becoming an increasingly accepted part of Tudor life and, though they were engaged in more by small factions than by large groups, they formed a base which, more and more, would contribute to changes in the realm in the sixteenth century.

The most well-defined element of Tudor society was the nobility. Although two centuries before the term had

referred to all those of gentle birth, it was at some point
before 1500 that all lords (i.e. those possessing the rank
of baron and above) had come to be viewed as constituting
the very upper echelon of society. Youings (1984:112) argues
that the lords came to realize their new - found distinction
through the king's practice of personally inviting them to
his parliaments. Whatever the reason, persons of nobility
were owners of the largest estates in England and were
viewed as the leading citizens and civic authorities in all
of the Tudor realm. They had inherited their real property,
as elder sons, from fathers also entitled to the claim of
nobility; they likewise would confer their estates upon
death, and through the institutions of primogeniture and
entail, to elder sons who alone would be worthy of the noble
title of lord.

The younger sons of nobility, of course, were the
children that time had forgotten. Although they enjoyed a
certain degree of social status based on their father's
name, were entitled to bear arms, and could thus use the
title "esquire", they were fully dependent on marrying an
heiress or pursuing some other form of income in order to
survive economically. This was due to the principle of
primogeniture, through which all real family property was
inherited by the eldest son. Secondary patrimonies for
younger sons were small if at all issuable, and were
created from marriage portions, purchases, and the
inheritances of mothers (Youings 1984:113).

The honorific "esquire" had originally been a term connected with medieval European military traditions, and was derived from the Latin scuto or scutum -- "having to do with arms". Over the course of time, however, the harshness of scuto took on a somewhat more refined connotation when it came to refer to young gentlemen who had successfully completed a military apprenticeship prior to adopting the high social station of knighthood. These young gentlemen became known variously by the terms ecuyer, armiger, scutifer, and scutarius, the first from which derives the term "esquire" (Dawes 1949:71). In Tudor England the title of "esquire" took on yet another meaning, and referred to those who held the legal right to a coat of arms. Although this was to an extent a hereditary right in that the imagery of the coat was transferred from father to son, the right to bear the symbol had to be re-established by each new generation. In the cases of both younger sons of the nobility, and sons of successful capital - based families which had more recently "earned" a grant of arms, this meant the development and continuance of prominent means through land acquisition, mercantile endeavors, industrial entrepreneurism, one of the respected professions, or by other methods (Holderness 1976:37; Youings 1984:115, 117). These two alternative criteria -- sufficient wealth or respected lineage -- are made very clear in Henry VIII's letters patent to Clarenceux, King of Arms, on 19 April 1530. In this document Clarenceux is directed to convey arms to

any individual so requesting who "by the service done to us
or to other be increased or augmented to possessions and
riches able to maintain the same"; in addition, he is further
dispatched to prevent awards to individuals "issued of
[descended from] vile [unfree] blood, rebels to our person
[or] heretics contrary to the faith" (Youings 1984:116).

The term "esquire" was a strict legal title whose
presence either in printed or verbal form commanded immediate
recognition. The term "gentleman", on the other hand, did
not possess such a strict connotation, and the dignity
associated with the title was levied only through the
approval of neighbors and friends (Youings 1984:116).
Originally, the term "gentleman" had stemmed from the French
Gentile-homme, and was used in England subsequent to the
Norman Conquest. In its earliest connotation the term
pertained to all individuals worthy of titled rank, not
excluding members of the royal family. At the end of the
fifteenth century the title was used in reference to those
within the basal stratum of the minor aristocracy, the
distinguishing trait of this group being their ability to
survive in the absence of personal physical exertion.
During the sixteenth century, the term "gentleman" was used
with regard to a vast array of individuals, many of whom
would not have been considered true gentlemen by those from
previous centuries (Dawes 1949:73). William Harrison
described the various people who fell within the proper
bounds of the title during the sixteenth and early

seventeenth centuries:

> Whosoever studieth the laws of the realm,
> whoso abideth in the university giving
> his mind to his book, or professeth physic
> and the liberal sciences, or, beside his
> service in the room of a captain in the
> wars or good counsel given at home,
> whereby his commonwealth is benefited,
> can live without manual labour, and
> thereto is able and will bear the port,
> charge, and countenance, of a gentleman,
> he shall...be...reputed for a gentleman
> ever after...(Edelen 1968:113-114).

It is indeed clear from Harrison's description that the title of "gentleman" could, in sixteenth century England, be earned in the absence of good blood, and with a successful calling in the arts, professions, military, and civic duty. In addition, one could raise himself to this honorable rank through the accruance of wealth and substance, the possession of which allowed the individual in question to bear the "port" and "charge" of the title.

It has been assumed by scholars on both sides of the Atlantic that a coat of arms was the tell-tale sign of a gentleman in both the Middle Ages and later periods of English history (Fox-Davies 1909:15-17; Bruce 1907:105; Tyler 1897:112). Brooke-Little (1969:16), however, has shown this assumption to be an incorrect one. Although the easiest way to justify one's gentility was to be granted a right to arms by the Court of Chivalry, the term "gentleman" did not infer an inherent entitlement to armorial bearings. In fact, an individual could be viewed as possessing gentlemanly rank in the absence of arms, while a man who

displayed them was referred to as "a gentleman of coat armour". The problem, however, was that it became increasingly difficult in legal and social matters to prove one's honorable rank in the absence of arms. The numerous grants of arms extant from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries make it clear that the bestowed award is a recognition of previously established gentility. The petitioning individual is usually referred to in the preamble as a "gentleman", and, as a result of such honorable character, is then awarded his grant of arms. This growing need to possess the outward insignia of gentlemanly status will become more important when examining the "gentleman" in colonial Virginia.

Knighthood, along with its impressive title of "Sir", was an honor which, even for the sons of nobility, had to be conferred. The dubbing was performed either by the king himself or, especially during the great wars of mid-century, by a commander on the field of confrontation. Especially during the last half of the century, knighthood was bestowed upon the heads of twelve or more noted gentry families in each shire of the realm, the total not far exceeding 350 in all. An initial list was drawn up, under the principle of "distraint", mentioning all those worthy of knighthood based on monetary and material means. Interestingly, after the few were selected for dubbing, those qualified but not chosen were made to pay a fine, hearkening back to earlier centuries when to be granted knighthood meant to take on

financial liabilities, as in public office (Youings 1984:114-115).

After the nobility and gentry, who held steadfastly to their positions as leading citizens and burgesses, the next rung down on the social ladder was occupied by the group who referred to themselves collectively as "yeomen". This minority within the general populace of the realm had emerged as a recognizable body by 1500, and was soon after that time accepted as a coalition which held some status over the leagues of neighboring poor husbandmen which surrounded them. Indeed, their distinction appears to have been predominantly an economic one for, unlike the husband-man, the yeoman (1) was usually possessed of large acreage handed down through a long series of agrarian - minded ancestors, (2) consistently held the most secure tenure status, and (3) often held a significant portion of his land freely (Youings 1984:121). The derivation of the title itself speaks of sedentism and dependence upon the earth as zeoman, the Saxon word to which "yeoman" can be traced, referred to "a person who was settled, staid, married and engaged in earning a living from the soil"(Dawes 1949:77).

An additional source of yeoman status was the participation in activities which may be referred to as civic in nature. It was common in Tudor England for certain of the small farming communities to be completely without members of the gentlemanly ranks. In such cases, yeoman farmers took the reins of leadership in community issues and

endeavors, and, with respect to the parishes, took the oaths of constable and churchwarden. Sir John Fontescue, a lawyer and observer of the time, went so far as to praise yeomen as the very heart of the jury system operating in England at the time. Many of the sons of yeoman farmers were able to benefit from the social, economic, and political bases which their fathers had consolidated, and actively pursued both university educations and careers in the clergy. In this, many were able to progress socially and economically upward in a society which was becoming less stratified and more accepting of mobility. There are even numerous instances of the sons of yeomen acquiring the rank of "gentleman" and the dignity of knighthood (Youings 1984:121-122).

The lowest stratum of Tudor society was comprised, according to observer William Harrison, of "...day laborers, poor husbandmen, and some retailers (which have no free land), copyholders, and all artificers, as tailors, shoe-makers, carpenters, brickmakers, masons, etc."(Edelen 1968: 118). These said Harrison "have neither voice nor authority in the commonwealth, but are to be ruled and not to rule other...". Youings (1984:123-124) argues in support of such diverse employments within the lower class, yet at the same time takes exception to the idea that such occupational divisions were clearly visible in the eyes of the contemp-orary Tudor observer. She posits that no recognizable line would have been drawn between those somewhat dependent upon other individuals (day laborers, copyholders), those able to

make ends meet through their own personal toil (poor husband-
men, retailers, and poor artificers), and those who were
completely dependent upon the good will and charity of the
public at large. In a like manner, aliens were perceived
by the natives of Tudor England as a single homogenous mass,
yet this unfortunate group was relegated to a status
positioned even further below the lower class described by
Harrison. These individuals were denied nationalization,
were not allowed land ownership, and suffered taxation which
was double the amount paid by a native Englander, among
other restrictions (Youings 1984:127-128).

The social organization of pre - Tudor England was
based on land ownership, and, as real property through
primogeniture was retained within single families through
successive generations, the differences between men became
based solely upon blood. These differences were thus
qualitative and unchanging and there existed a caste society
marked by rigid stratification as well as an absence of
social mobility. The introduction and growing acceptance of
the manufacturing and trade industries during the Tudor
regimen, however, provided the seeds from which the
dissolution of feudalism would stem, albeit gradually. Land
is extensive yet limited, and its scarcity in England
comprised the very lifeblood of the feudal system. The
production of goods for trade is, by comparison, intensive
and unbounded, and allows for the build-up of reserves and
the accruance of capital (Talpalar 1968:10). Success in

Tudor England, though in a minor way, was thus becoming more and more associated with the accumulation of wealth and not land. In essence, there was developing a concern with quantity rather than quality, and the potential for achievement was no longer bounded by the soils which had immemorially defined dignity. Indeed, with success in the trades, mercantilism, the professions, or by alternate means, there was a chance for upward mobility; the caste society was slowly moving towards a class society (Talpalar 1968:24-25). In light of this situation, it was not by sheer coincidence that the prerequisites for attaining gentlemanly rank had become increasingly divorced from blood and land, and that certain members of the yeomanry enjoyed a status beyond which their predecessors had achieved.

In the initial years of the seventeenth century the distinction between feudalism and capitalism had crystallized into two bona fide sociopolitical factions: Cavalier and Puritan. The former group consisted of feudalists who saw fit to remain loyal to the traditions of antiquity and the laws of land ownership; the latter group sought to establish trade and capital as the basis for a new way of life -- a life in which social mobility and the constant potential for improvement could be enjoyed. The Crown, embodied by Stuart king James I, was at the outset supportive of the Puritans, and made this quite clear by putting up for sale titles of nobility at 10,000 pounds sterling each to any who could afford their purchase. Many of the Puritans complied,

and, along with title, acquired power and prestige, and sought to develop the outward signs of dignity which the landed nobility had cultivated over the centuries (Talpalar 1968:11; Stone 1965:74-77). The traditionalists looked forever after with disdain upon the Puritan "interlopers", a relatively mild term considering that this was the first direct impingement upon the ancient privileges of the landed nobility.

Despite the institutional differences between the Cavaliers and the Puritans -- differences which would before mid-century culminate in civil war -- both groups continued to recognize the traditional hierarchical forms of social organization. Although Puritan values were based on the accumulation of capital and increased social mobility, individuals continued to be measured through the extent of their economic achievements. And the only organizational model available for replication, complete with its outward symbols of status, was that which had characterized feudalism since time out of mind (Stone 1965:38-39). Thus, on the eve of colonization in Virginia, there was a melding of old and new views which one author describes as "an attempt to fuse the best and the richest and the wisest, in which ...English elite began to be a compound of the blue of blood and the yellow of gold" (Talpalar 1968:25).

Social organization in colonial Tidewater Virginia. That the English colonization of Virginia was founded upon the newly emerged atmosphere of capitalism and commercial

interest is an accepted truth. Edward Rider, who had
invested substantial interests in the Virginia Company,
pointed out what was to him the most unique aspect of the
new venture:

> ...there was a material difference between
> the Spanish and English plantations. For
> the Spanish colonies were founded by the
> Kings of Spain...out of their own treasury
> and revenues, and they maintain the
> garrisons there, together with a large
> navy, for their use and defence; whereas
> the English plantations had been at first
> settled and since supported at the charge
> of private adventurers and planters (Brown
> 1901:145).

Indeed, the desire to invest capital into the New World for
profit was infectious, and it possessed not only the "new"
trade and merchant elite, but the "blue of blood" as well.
This is evident rather early on in the charter of 1612 in
which twenty-five nobles, one-hundred-and-eleven knights,
sixty-six esquires, and twenty gentlemen affixed their names
as incorporators (Bruce 1907:39). An identical trend in
immigration to the colony continued throughout the remainder
of the century, with members of the upper echelons in
England seeking stakes in the profitable bounty of Virginia.
Intensive genealogical research has shown that these
"adventurers of the person" were not merely defeated
Cavaliers, but were sons and brothers of the peerage, mem-
bers of the landed country gentry, English military officers,
and merchants (Wertenbaker 1959; Bruce 1907:39-100).

The social organization of England had been a
hierarchical one in which those of social prominence held

rein also over political affairs. Indeed, the first colonists at Jamestown saw no reason why this vector of public life should at all be altered. It is thus following no surprise that the leadership of the community during the first fifteen years of its settlement was drawn from the very upper division of English society. Some of the distinguished personages included George Percy, son of the Earl of Northumberland, four sons of the West family -- who were children of Lord de la Warr, and Christopher Davison, a son of Queen Elizabeth's secretary (Bailyn 1959:92). Although this is by no means an exhaustive list, it provides a profile of the dominant leadership of the time.

But the recognizable arrangement of ruling elite and subservient yeomanry, the latter of which comprised the majority of the population, was not to last. By the 1630's the one-time leaders of the venture had either returned to England or met their fate in an unfamiliar and unmerciful environment (Craven 1971:3). There was a gap which needed to be filled in the direction of public affairs, and the challenge was met, though unfittingly in terms of tradition, by members of the yeomanry who had successfully weathered the initial hardships of settlement. The obvious paradox concerning the new leadership -- that members of the yeomanry were not socially worthy of directing public affairs -- provided the basis for Sir John Harvey's attempts to undermine the growing power of this unworthy planter group. Harvey, however, was ousted from the colony by the

yeoman leadership in 1635 (Bailyn 1959:93-97).

It would thus be simple to imagine the continued domination of the native planters into the next several decades of the life of the colony. This, however, was not to be the case for, around mid-century, there appeared in substantial numbers from England a leadership which was more socially worthy of controlling political matters. These were the founders of the great Virginia families which would later form the eighteenth century aristocracy -- a body of leaders unparalleled in the colonial history of the New World. The names are strikingly familiar: Digges, Carter, Ludwell, Byrd, and Mason. A common thread among these and other prominent immigrants was that they were all younger sons of gentle families associated with business and governmental interests in and around London. In addition, they held interests in Virginia derived from subscriptions made by close relatives during the phase of the Company. Their mission was twofold: On one hand, they sought to invest their new - found capital into the Virginia wilderness in order to reap the benefits of substance. Secondly, they yearned to enjoy the privileges which wealth and success would surely bring (Bailyn 1959:98-100; Craven 1971: 3-4). For although these individuals had risen from prominent families, they were forced through contemporary social norms to re-establish their own rights to membership in the gentlemanly ranks.

Within ten years of their appearance in the colony,

many of these individuals had achieved their social goals
and were directing political matters. There were those,
however, who still felt that the traditional dyad involving
social and political eminence was not being adequately
fulfilled. One such individual, the traditionalist
Nathaniel Bacon, did not feel that the new sociopolitical
framework was in accordance with the laws of custom; the
newly formed leaders, though lately of gentility, had come
from too humble origins. His sentiments are presented
acrimoniously in his "manifesto":

> Let us trace these men in Authority and
> Favour to whose hands the dispensation of
> the Countries wealth has been committed;
> let us observe the sudden Rise of their
> Estates compared with the Quality in
> wch they first entered this Country...
> And lett us see wither there extractions
> and Education have not been vile, And by
> what pretence of learning and vertue they
> could enter soe soon into Imployments
> of so great Trust and consequence...
> (Bailyn 1959:104).

Bacon's displeasure, of course, later took the form of the
rebellion which was named after him. Yet after the
subsidence of the conflict, the end of the century was
marked by the constituency's acceptance that newly dis-
tinguished families were worthy of political leadership
(Bailyn 1959:106). And this is in itself re-established
the traditional belief voiced by John Winthrop that "in
all times some must be rich some poore, some highe and
eminent in power and dignitie; others meane and in subieccion"
(Winthrop 1630:282).

It is clear from the above progression that the social organization of seventeenth century Virginia was the result of an interplay between heritage and fluctuations in the social and physical environment. Temporal variation in both emigration, political leadership, and opposition to authority had produced a unique, though in many respects familiar, social system. In a like manner, Virginians in the seventeenth century made a rigorous effort to uphold customary titles of social rank common in the mother country. In many cases the traditional titles were pertinent; in other instances, the meaning of the title changed in accordance with changes in the New World social situation. Notwithstanding, the social position of an individual was clearly and recognizably fixed in the presence or absence of a title.

The term "gentleman", the most conspicuous honorific in use in seventeenth century Virginia, had changed significantly from its sixteenth century meaning. Whereas in England the title could refer to those not possessed of armorial bearings, usage of the term in Virginia assumed the strict legal connotation of the English "esquire", and thus indicated that the individual was entitled to a coat of arms. As Tyler (in Bruce 1907:105) stated, and as the present author verified, there does not appear to be a single instance when a person whose name was followed by the term "gentleman" in land records and deeds was not entitled to a coat of arms. The new specificity of the term may have

rested on the remoteness of the colony; the immigrant, soon to be far from the age - old social customs of the mother land, endeavored to ensure that there would be no contesting his gentlemanly status in the New World. In this, the coat of arms was an undeniable symbol of his rank. The concern with carrying the family arms to Virginia is reflected in the substantial number of individuals who confirmed their privilege prior to departing (Bruce 1907:106). For example, one Moore Fauntelroy in 1633 received such a confirmation, the Office of the English Heralds emphasizing that his family had held right to their coat of arms "time out of mind" (VMHB 1893:224).

The appellation "mister" often appears in documents as a prefix to the names of those worthy of the title of "gentleman". However, it is just as often found in association with the names of people who, though not entitled to bear arms, enjoyed a social status well above that of a yeoman. Such individuals were highly respected members of the community, most often having established themselves in the clergy, military, or professions. Still others were honored academicians, or those who had accrued the means and substance warranting public recognition. In many cases, these individuals had as much to say about community affairs as did members of gentility; there was always extant, however, both a social and legal understanding that those entitled to the rank of "gentleman" constituted a relatively inaccessible social strata.

The title "Honorable", the use of which was far more frequent in Virginia than in England, was used only in reference to an individual who held a great office which was never occupied by more than one person at a time. The term was most often positioned before the names of the Governor, Treasurer, Auditor, and Secretary (Bruce 1907:123-124). Only "esquire" appears to have been a more prominent honor-ific and, different from its meaning in England, the term was applied only to members of the Council. The Councillors were members of the Upper House of the General Assembly appointed by the Royal Governor, and they played a prominent role in the development of legislation. They were also, in essence, advisors to the Governor concerning colonial, provincial, and international affairs. The appropriate parallel to the Councillor in England would have been a member of the English House of Lords, and it is easily understood why the individual appointed to the Council enjoyed a status comparable to that of an English nobleman (Bruce 1907:121).

It was a common practice during the seventeenth century to enhance a family's distinction by encouraging its members to attain as many public offices as possible. In this, the member of the Council was usually able to hold a greater number of positions than anyone else in the community (Bruce 1907:129-130). By way of his initial appointment to advise the Royal Governor, he became not only a Councillor, but a member of the Upper House and a justice of the Supreme or

General Court as well. In addition, the Councillor was his county's chief lieutenant or commander, a naval officer, escheator, and customs collector. It is in no way surprising that members of the Council were considered to be the most prominent gentlemen in the colony (Bruce 1907:131-132).

The military title conveyed such a high degree of dignity that the name so honored by it was rarely followed by a term of further distinction. To possess such an honorific seems to have signified a relatively high degree of social status, an attitude which hearkens back to sixteenth century England when the genteel qualities of skill and strength were associated with war rather than with labor (Talpalar 1968:10). To be a dignified member of the clergy also warranted a high degree of social consideration. The most common title for ministers was "master" or its abbreviated form "Mr.", yet interestingly, these terms were often preceded by the addition "reverend". A possible explanation for the addition is that it served to set clergymen apart from those who had acquired the title "Mr." through alternative endeavors. In most cases, the capitalized "Reverend" completely substituted for "Mr." or "master" and, in such instances, was synonymous with the respectable term of "Mr." (Dawes 1949:79).

Individuals of elite status in the Tidewater region were largely those who, through sizable capital investment in the New World, were able to acquire vast estates toward the goal of profit. Such individuals were clearly the

minority, and they held and directed political authority in the colony, especially during the last half of the century. In addition to this small group of gentry, there was a much larger constituency of the "freeman" class which was fully able to weather the initial costs of transportation and get a decent start in the Virginia wilderness. This constituency, referred to collectively as "commonalty", was comprised chiefly of country farmers, town craftsmen, and minor entrepreneurs. Although they did not begin their careers in the New World with sufficient capital to create a profitable economic domain, they could with time achieve such a status (Talpalar 1968:49-50, 82).

A minority of farmers were, upon their arrival, economically endowed so as to purchase and independently own small tracts of land. Family sustenance stood firm as the major focus of daily activity, yet with time there was the true potential for the accruance of capital, and thus social and economic mobility. In the majority of cases, however, members of the farming commonalty had gotten their starts in the bondsman class. Their transportation to the New World had been paid by the master of an estate who sought reimbursement through hard labor. Food, shelter, and the arsenal of tools through which to clear forests and cultivate fields were provided for, yet during the period of indenture the servant was not allowed to retain any product of his exertions, nor was he entitled to social status. At the end of servitude, the worthy individual was

induced to remain economically active on the master's estate
through the principle of the leaseholding arrangement. In
this situation, the individual could claim at very least
half the rewards of his labor, while the remaining percentage
comprised payments on the mortgage. The leaseholder was
thus a man who was in the process of purchasing his own
farm, and as such he acquired the status not only of
property owner, but of freeman and citizen as well. It
must be pointed out, however, that the mass of the farming
commonalty at any given time was mortgaged to some degree
to the manager of an agricultural estate (Talpalar 1968:
81-82, 85).

The craftsman in the Virginia wilderness also possessed
the potential for social mobility, although his entrance
into the economic system was somewhat more privileged than
that of the indentured servant. For the skilled craftsman
was an indispensable component of the master's estate -- a
specialist who possessed the ability to perform a skill or
skills which no one else could successfully perform. And
it was indeed this "misterious" ability which afforded the
craftsman a measure of independence and status over the
husbandman and his relative artlessness. The craftsman came
to Virginia a freeman "under papers", a contract which, by
comparison with the legal tenets of indentured servitude,
denoted voluntary choice in emigration. He demanded not
only an eventual betterment of his condition, but constant
contentment as well; only then could he deliver the extra-

ordinary skills pent up within him. He thus took bold initiative and presented the terms of his contract: he in no way would perform purely manual labor in the stifling fields; he himself would choose the master for whom he would work; finally, he would spell out the furnishings, tools, and other appurtenances necessary to his lifestyle. The craftsman also enjoyed a higher degree of status than other laborers due to the young men and boys who served apprenticeships under him. In such arrangements the craftsman technically held the position of "master", and thus possessed a degree of respected authority. Upon his discharge, the skilled craftsman was granted several arable acres of land; he subsequently achieved full status as a citizen and property owner in addition to his previously acquired status as "freeman" (Talpalar 1968:83-85).

The economy of seventeenth century Virginia was capital - intensive. Yet it was also a system of scarcity in which a minority of individuals initially possessed or were gradually able to develop the means to undertake substantial profit ventures. The members of this minority, whose names were synonymous with good birth, prestigious education, membership in the clergy, and other noted achievements, formed the social and governing elite, while the status of commonalty freemen and indentured servants was defined on the degree to which they were economically dependent upon the gentry. It was thus the melding of a peculiar New World economic system with traditional customs

which comprised the basis for the conical social organ-
ization of Tidewater Virginia. At the apex of the cone were
those who exercised supreme "liberality" in thought,
countenance, and manner; these were the individuals whose
names were preceded by the general honorific of "gentleman",
the prestige of which afforded many of them the more specific
titles of "Honorable" and "esquire". Not far below them
were those who, through any number of dignified achieve-
ments, were regarded by the community at large and in
public and legal documents as worthy of dignified rank.
The last visible group was the "middling sort", comprised
of leaseholders, fully independent yet small farmers,
skilled craftsmen, and minor entrepeneurs. Members of the
first two categories comprised the subgroup known as the
yeomanry and, although they are usually not denoted by term
or title in documentary records, their names are occasionally
followed by the designation of "yeoman" (Bruce 1907:114). A
much less reliable indicator of this faction is the term
"planter", for it was used with great freedom during the
second half of the century in reference to all those
possessed of land (Bruce 1907:111). Skilled craftsmen, on
the other hand, were careful in legal papers to note their
special pursuits by using terms such as "cooper" or
"carpenter" (Bruce 1907:112-113). Although certain
constituents of the middling class eventually acquired
membership into the next higher rank, these were few and
far between; the majority appear to have fostered a life-

long pride in their chosen lifestyle.

Finally, at the bottom of the conical arrangement one might expect, at least in modern terms, the existence of a lower class. However, as Mackey (1965) and Brown and Brown (1964:46-54) have aptly demonstrated, Virginia throughout its colonial history was characterized by the relative absence of a poor class, and, in fact, enacted strictly enforced laws to preclude such an undesirable development. The few so designated in documents as "poor" were almost without exception the sick, lame, or very aged, but not those able to work. It is also tempting to perceive of the indentured servant as a lower class affiliate, yet there never seems to have been a fixed distinction between the bondsman and the freeman farmer (Talpalar 1968:82). This was probably owing to the temporary nature of servitude and the promise of upward mobility.

The capital - based social organization which had characterized Virginia since its founding did not persist into the eighteenth century. It was instead supplanted by a social structure founded upon the newly resurrected feudal values of the Restoration. The primary figure in this extension of Restoration ideology to Virginia was Sir William Berkeley who, together with a growing coalition of traditional loyalists, set the wheels of revolution in motion during the last four decades of the century. It was not, however, until the issuance of the Code of 1705 that social change was finalized, and the liquidation of pre -

Restoration sociology complete. The result was twofold: on one hand the new system abolished the former economy of graduated income and wealth complete with its independent farmers, and commercial and entrepreneurial ideologies; on the other hand, it reinstated the ancient economic system of enormous landed estates organized as proprietaries and patterned after the manors of England. In essence, social mobility had been supplanted by social stratification, the latter of which would dominate Virginia's social organization throughout the eighteenth century (Talpalar 1968: 110-158).

Those most adversely affected by the new social order were the members of the farming class. Whereas under the capital - intensive system of pre - Restoration Virginia there was a chance for upward mobility and increased prosperity through the fee simple form of land ownership, the newly established entail proprietary system had no use for the small leaseholding farmer (Talpalar 1968:151). Consequently, eighteenth century Virginia was characterized by a growing body of permanent tenants who were relatively impoverished compared to their "middling" counterparts of the seventeenth century.

Seventeenth century social distinctions and the terms which denoted them passed largely intact into the eighteenth century life of the colony. There were, however, some changes of note. The term "planter", for instance, came to sharply define members of the middling sort who, through

hard labor in the fields, were not worthy of membership
in the gentlemanly ranks (Isaac 1982:16). In addition,
there appeared above and beyond the small entrepreneurs of
the seventeenth century a growing body of merchants,
especially in developing towns. Such individuals, denoted
by the terms "merchant" or "merch^{t}", were often possessed
of respectable substance but were not worthy of the title
"gentleman". It has been agreeably argued that the poorest
of these men fell within the bounds of the middle class
(Brown and Brown 1964:42-43), while others rose to respect-
able social prominence. The final and most significant
alteration in eighteenth century social organization was
the adoption of negro slavery. The most lasting and
prominent effects of this move were that "It created an
aversion to labor among whites, it definitely set off the
white man as the master in society, and it did create a
lower class -- the slaves -- which could be exploited by
the master race" (Brown and Brown 1964:77).

CHAPTER III

THE FORM AND COMPLEXITY OF FUNERARY TREATMENT

Any attempts at a formal analysis of colonial
gravestones in Tidewater Virginia must take into account
monuments in use in England prior to and during the same
period. The justification for this is two-pronged. First,
of the myriad of conventions which characterize a society,
burial customs are the most resistant to change. It is
thus expected that tombstones in colonial Virginia would be
similar in form to those in use in England. Second, the
Tidewater area of Virginia was plagued throughout the entire
colonial period by a dearth of local stone. Thus, unlike
New England -- where an abundance of local materials allowed
for the development of an indigenous stonecarving tradition
(Forbes 1927:5-20) -- Virginia and its inhabitants were
forced to import their gravestones from elsewhere. And
that elsewhere, as revealed in historical documents and
other sources, was England.

Three forms of historical data can be used to verify
England as the source of gravestones in colonial Virginia.
The first of these -- Public Records Office Accounts of
Imports and Exports to Virginia and Maryland -- reveals that
fifteen tombstones were shipped to Virginia and Maryland

-39-

between 1697 and 1729. Further study of these accounts by

Crowell (1979:1   ntinued exportation of

gravestones to ~Shipment~   d between 1729 and the

time of the Rev(~/~

    Wills also ~Stress~   o the importation of

English tombston   ', for example, requested

the following fo: ... his 1756 will:

> Item I desire my executors will send to
> London for a neat Marble Tombstone and
> have it placed over his body at the charge
> of my estate he departed this life at
> Beverly Park the 21st of Aprill 1722 new
> Stile and lies buried there (VMHB 1914:
> 300).

Another more striking example is found in the will of John

Custis, a Bruton parishioner. This esteemed gentleman

requested the following of his executor:

> do lay out and expend as soon as possible
> after my decease out of my estate the sum
> of one hundred pounds sterling, money of
> Great Britain to buy a handsome tombstone
> of the most durable stone that can be
> purchased for pillars very decent and
> handsome to lay over my dead body engraved
> on the tombstone my coat of arms which
> are three parrots and my will is that the
> following inscription may also be
> handsomely engraved on said stone Under
> this marble stone lays the body of the
> Honorable John Custis Esqr of the City
> of Williamsburgh and the Parish of Bruton
> formerly of Hungars Parish on the Eastern
> Shoar of Virginia and the County of
> Northampton the place of his Nativity
> aged years and yet lived but seven years
> which was the space of time he kept a
> Batchelor's house at Arlington on the
> Eastern Shoar of Virginia This inscription
> put on the stone by his own positive
> orders (PR 1749).

In addition to the examples cited above, numerous other will

entries from the Tidewater find the testator requesting a tombstone from England. These include the wills of Richard Cole (Bruce 1907:109), William Sherwood (WMQ 1908:270), and Sarah Yardley (WMQ 1896:170).

The final type of data which testifies to importation takes the form of the name and origin of the carver being inscribed into the stone. Two examples of this were observed in the Tidewater. The first appears on the John Custis stone, mentioned above, upon which is inscribed "Wm Colley, Mason, in Fenchurch Street London, Fecit". The second instance occurs on an unidentified stone in Gloucester County. It is signed "William Throop, Norfolk, England" (Crowell 1979:74).

The monuments being manufactured in England throughout the colonial period appear to have served three major functions. First, they denoted the precise area of physical interment. Second, and as precursors to the markers of New England, they carried messages concerning accepted ideologies which were communicated to the observer through symbolic elements. In Burgess's view, carved gravemarkers of the Post – Reformation period in England reflect three main themes: Mortality, Resurrection, and the Means of Salvation (Burgess 1963:165-166). Mortality is represented in "...simple charnel imagery such as skull and bones, the tools of the sexton, and the hourglass, sundial and candle". Symbols of Resurrection take the form of cherub imagery, while the theme of Means of Salvation is reflected in the

symbolism of Faith, Hope and Charity, and depictions of the

Final Judgement. In the colonial Tidewater, the sentiments

of Mortality and Resurrection are minimally conveyed through

the occasional use of skull and crossbones and cherub

imagery, but, to the author's knowledge, symbolism expressive

of the Means of Salvation is largely non-existent.

Finally, the primary function of English memorials was

to indicate the social status of the deceased. This last

function is made especially clear in John Weever's 1631

volume entitled <u>Ancient Fvnerall Monvments</u>. In this

description of the proper methods and prescriptions of

English burial customs during the medieval period, Weever

wrote that:

> Sepulchres fhould bee made according to
> the qualitie and degree of the perfon
> deceased that by the Tombe eueryone might
> bee difcerned of what rank hee was
> liuing: for monvments anfwerable to men's
> worth, ftates and places, have always
> been allowed, and ftately fepulchres
> for base fellowes have always lien open
> to bitter jefts (Weever 1631:10).

Weever did not stop at this, however. He later discussed

the various social classes and the appropriate form of

monument associated with each:

> It was the ufe and costome of reuerend
> antiquitie to interre perfons of the
> rvsticke or plebeian fort in Chriftian
> buriall without any further remembrance
> of them either by tombe, graueftone or
> epitaph...Perfons of the meaner fort
> of Gentrie were interred with a flat
> grauestone comprehending the name of the
> defunct, the yeare and day of his
> deceafe with other particulars which was
> engrauen on said ftone or vpon fome

> plate And gentlemen, which were of more
> eminencie had their effigies or a
> Representation cut or carved vpon a Terme
> or Pedeftall as it were of a Pillar
> raifed fomewhat aboue the ground....
> Noblemen, Princes and Kings had (as it
> befitteth them as fome of them haue at
> this day) their Tombes or Sepulchres
> raifed aloft aboue the ground to note
> the excellence of their ftate and
> dignitie....The materials of which were
> alabafter, rich marble, touch ravce,
> porphery, polisht braffe or copper
> (Weever 1631:10).

It is clear from Weever's discourse that English
monuments in use during medieval times were visible
indicators of social class. This visibility was expressed
through increasing size, height, and elaboration of memorials
in association with the social position of the deceased.
Further, it does not seem to have been a common experience
for someone to cross monumental barriers; as Allan Ludwig
comments, "the social rules surrounding burial in England...
were as strict in death as they were confining in life"
(Ludwig 1966:55).

John Weever chose to write about tombstones in use well
before his time, yet the monuments which Weever would have
considered too recent for analysis also exhibited marked
degrees of complexity in their form and construction. In
his 1963 volume entitled English Churchyard Memorials
Frederick Burgess classified the types of gravemarkers in
use in Post - Reformation England. These were the headstone,
coped stone, coffin - stone, ledger, body stone, chest - tomb,
bale - tomb, pedestal - tomb, and table - tomb (Burgess 1963:

112-140). Of these the headstone, chest - tomb, ledger, and,
to a lesser extent, table - tomb are especially pertinent
because they comprised the dominant forms utilized in
colonial Tidewater Virginia. A brief description of these
tombstone types in addition to another form (the obelisk --
which was not discussed by Burgess) will follow, in order
of lesser to greater complexity.

The simplest type of stone marker found in Tidewater
Virginia is the headstone -- a relatively small monument
placed upright into the soil at the head of the deceased
(Figure 2). The ledger (Figure 3) is a considerably larger
edifice which had its origins in the medieval period; these
stones during that time were either completely flat or
slightly coped and were often placed over coffins, or were
situated in the garth or church floors. They were almost
without exception devoid of inscriptions yet, interestingly,
were adorned with bas - reliefs showing the insignia or tools
characteristic of the deceased's livelihood or profession
(Burgess 1963:104). By Post - Reformation times, the ledger
was most often found in the churchyard -- either placed
flush to the ground, or placed upon a very low supporting
base. It was, however, a form which was still used within
the church (Batsford 1916:11-12). It was also at this time
that ledgers -- both within and without the church -- were
decorated with vivid heraldic imagery (Batsford 1916:11-12;
Burgess 1963:128). It has been suggested that the high
quality and precision of this heraldic carving indicates

FIGURE 2

HEADSTONE

FIGURE 3

LEDGER

that artisans were working under the guidance of official
Heralds (Burgess 1963:128).

The chest - tomb also had its beginnings during the
medieval period when it served as a base for horizontally
placed human effigies made of stone or brass (Burgess 1963:
109). It was not until the Post - Reformation era, however,
that the standard form of the chest - tomb came into vogue.
Its overall form consisted generally of two major components:
a rectangular base or box, and a covering slabstone or
ledger (Figure 4). The box typically consisted of four
separate slabs erected and joined vertically upon a large
stone plinth; in the more elaborate cases, the corners were
often fitted with pilasters or balusters, creating a visual
effect of corner supports with decorative paneling in -
between. Both of these variations on the general type were
used in colonial Tidewater Virginia. Although the chest -
tomb in England was occasionally placed within the church,
it functioned most usually as a "yard tomb" due to the
greater open spaces which the churchyard afforded these
megaliths. It is suspected that for similar reasons the
chest - tomb is without exception found in churchyards and
private burying grounds in Tidewater Virginia.

The table - tomb, of which a single example exists in
the study area, consists of a ledger situated atop four to
six vertical stone columns, blocks, or legs (Figure 5). It
appears to have had its origin in the northern counties of
England during the early part of the seventeenth century

FIGURE 4

CHEST - TOMB

FIGURE 5

TABLE - TOMB

(Burgess 1963:137). Finally, the obelisk was a slender, tall, tapering monument usually fashioned of marble. It was usually placed upon a cubeiform pedestal crafted from the same material (Figure 6). Although Burgess does not discuss the use of this style in England, it is clear that it certainly was since the David Bray obelisk (Bruton Church - yard) was imported from that country (Bruton Parish Church 1976:91). It is worth noting, however, that only two examples of this type are found in the Tidewater.

It is clear from the above descriptions that tombstones in use in Post - Reformation England and colonial Tidewater Virginia exhibited marked degrees of complexity in their form and construction. However, two additional types of funerary treatment may be added to this hierarchy. The first hearkens back to John Weever's description of the treatment of the "rvsticke or plebeian fort". The interment of such individuals "without any further remembrance of them either by tombe, grauestone, or epitaph" suggests that large numbers of people were interred in unmarked graves or, as others have suggested, received wooden grave rayles. Burgess argues that the paucity of headstones in England dating from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries indicates that the majority of smaller gravemarkers were made of wood. Further, he provides more tangible evidence in that (1) many wooden markers dating from this period still survive, especially in the rural areas, and (2) Georgian topographical engravings very graphically depict wooden memorials within

FIGURE 6

OBELISK

churchyards. Concerning the latter, the standard form depicted is a rail held between two vertical posts (Burgess 1963:116). To date, no documentary or archaeological evidence has been discovered to verify either the manufacture or use of wooden markers in Tidewater Virginia; we do, however, receive some consolation from the fact that three intact examples -- in the English style -- have been found: two from Charleston, South Carolina, and one from rural South Carolina, all dating from the eighteenth century (Parker 1985). In addition, documents depicting wooden gravemarkers have been found for both South Carolina and Georgia (Parker 1985). The absence of a gravemarker, or use of a wooden one, would represent the simplest forms of funerary treatment and complexity.

The most sophisticated form of funerary treatment was burial within the church itself. This method of interment originated in ancient times, and appears to have reached full social acceptance during the reign of Gregory the Great (530 - 604 A.D.). The motive behind burial within the body of the church stemmed from a seventh century belief that the soul's chances of entrance into the heavenly realms were greatly increased by the number of masses chanted above it. It thus became proper to aid the deceased by placing him within the church proper, or in an attached yard, the latter of which later developed into the bona fide church-yard. From the time of the Cuthberts (ca. 700 A.D.) well into the Post - Reformation period, burial in the church

seems to have been restricted to those of rank (Ludwig 1966: 53-54).

In England, the massive abbeys and cathedrals allowed for the erection of massive effigies and other pseudo-representations of the deceased, often cut in the round. In a more conservative fashion, and as previously mentioned, ledgers were placed in the floor of the church to mark the resting place of the deceased. Virginians of the colonial period attempted to mimic the differing loci of England; as Meade (1966:194) described it, "...the old church...and the College chapel were...the Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's of London, where the great ones were interred". The problem was that the relatively small sizes of the Virginia church and chapel structures precluded the erection of megalithic monuments within them, and necessitated the use of the more conservative ledger. A letter from Robert Carter Nicholas to Henry, fifth Duke of Beaufort concerning the burial of Lord Botetourt in the College chapel will illustrate this dilemma:

> The Monument cannot be conveniently
> erected over the Grave, as it would
> spoil two principal Pews & incommode the
> Chapel considerably in other respects.
> If it is proposed to have it in the form
> of a Pyramid, it can be placed
> conveniently in no part, except at the
> Bottom of the isle fronting the Pulpit,
> where it would appear to advantage, if
> the Dimensions should not be thought too
> much confined; the Isle itself is about
> ten feet wide; there must be a Passage
> left on each side of the monument at
> least two feet & an half, so that the
> width of the monument, which will form

the Front can be no more than five feet.
A flat monument may be fixt still more
commodiously in the side of the wall
nearly opposite to the Grave (TQM 1921:
115).

Judging from the above example, it is not unreasonable
to assume that the ledger was used in Virginia church
burials because it was the form most efficiently incorporated
into the diminutive architecture of the church or chapel
building. As a result, the use of he ledger in the church
burial situation   physical function
rather than any k.   ithstanding, the fact
that a significant   ch or chapel floor had
to be dismantled o   n replaced, is where
the greater complex   lies. The
tremendous cost to l   incurred by the upheaval
is made clear when comparing rates for burial in Bruton
Parish Church and its adjoining churchyard. The charges
were "...for burial in the chancel 1,000 pounds of tobacco
or 5 pounds payable to the minister...for digging a grave 10
pounds of tobacco payable to the sexton" (Tyler 1894:172).

In review it is undeniable that the mortuary conventions
practiced in Post - Reformation England were transferred to
the New World setting of Virginia. The presence or absence
of any correlation between funerary treatment and social
status, however, is still in question. It is expected that
an age - old relationship of this nature would form part of
the "cultural baggage" of the colonials; however, it shall
be the prime endeavor of the next chapter to investigate

such a premise. The hierarchy of funerary treatment to be
implemented in Chapter IV is hereby presented, based on
lesser to greater complexity in general form and construc-
tion. The types are as follows: (1) absence of gravemarker;
(2) headstone; (3) churchyard ledger; (4) table - tomb;
(5) chest - tomb; (6) obelisk; (7) church or chapel burial.
As there was only one table - tomb and only two obelisks
located in the study area, the author quantified these along
with chest - tombs.

Beyond the primary focus on complexity of form, colonial
Tidewater tombstones possess additional conveyors of status.
One such attribute, the coat of arms, appeared by 1500 on
English gravestones as a symbol of both family pride,
ancient lineage, and status (Youings 1984:115). In Virginia
this tradition continued (Figure 7), and it was not an
uncommon request in wills that the testator's coat of arms
should be inscribed into the tombstone. An example of this
is found in the previously cited will of John Custis, in
which Custis commands his executor to arrange for engraving
"on the tombstone my coat of arms which are three parrots".
The appearance of a coat of arms upon the gravestone of a
deceased male relates directly to the individual's
gentlemanly status during life. The use of the symbol thus
sets such individuals apart from those who were not entitled
to claim the same. In the case of a woman who had been
married during life, Bruce (1907:108) has argued that
armorial bearings of father or husband were employed in an

FIGURE 7

COAT OF ARMS

indifferent fashion. A careful examination by the present
author, however, reveals that in nearly all such cases, the
father's coat of arms was impaled by that of the husband,
the latter thus forming the secondary component of the final
image.

In addition to coats of arms, honorifics and other
titles were used on tombstones, and carried the same legal
precision conveyed by identical terms on paper. Such terms
are invaluable sources of information pertaining to the
status of the deceased, especially in the absence of printed
documents. As revealed on gravestones of females, a woman's
social position appears to have been dependent solely upon
birth or marriage (Crowell 1979:24). If the individual in
question was truly a person of inherited status, she was
usually listed as the daughter of a bona fide gentleman.
The following provides an example:

><div style="text-align:center">

Here lies interred the body of
MRS. SARAH WORMELY,
First wife of Ralph Wormely, of the
County of Middlesex, Esq.,
She was the daughter of Edmund Berkeley, Esq.,
of this county,
She departed this life there y^e 2d day Dec., 1741,
Aged 26 years.

</div>

By comparison, a woman married to a gentleman, but not
herself the daughter of gentility, is listed merely as the
wife of a gentleman. In such instances it is common that
no mention is made of her parents. From both examples, it
is clear that the status representation of women on grave-
stones was based directly upon the quality and title of

male family members. Casual observation shows this also to hold true in relation to the form and complexity of the monuments themselves.

Epitaphs also convey valuable information concerning the social life and position of the deceased. The use and nature of such inscriptions derives from England, a fact which is made very clear in the writing of John Weever:

> ...now an Epitaph is a superscription
> (either in verse or prose) or an astrict
> pithie Diagram writ, carved, or engraven,
> upon the tombe grave or sepulchre of the
> defunct briefly declaring (and that
> sometimes with a kinde of commiseration)
> the name, the age, the deserts, the
> dignities, the state, the praises both
> of body and minde, the good or bad
> fortunes in the life, and the manner and
> time of death of the persons therein
> interred (1631:8).

An idea of "the deserts, the dignities" and "the state" which can be gleaned from an epitaph are evident on the tombstone of Edward Hill, who died in 1700. From the inscription we learn that Hill was an Esquire, an Honorable Councell of State, Colonel and Commander - in - chief of both Charles and Surry Counties, Judge of the Admiralty, and a Treasurer of Virginia. In yet other examples the occupation of the deceased may be discerned; Mr. William Chamberlayne, for example, is described on his gravestone as "Late of this Parish Merch^{t}".

Despite the changing prerequisites for admission into gentility in England, proof of ancient lineage continued to command attention and high prestige in Virginia. It was

thus not uncommon for those descended from "blue of blood"

to reiterate and thus verify their ancestry within the body

of an epitaph. Thus the inscription on the William

Chamberlayne stone affirms that the deceased was

"...Descended of an ancient & Worthy Family in the County of

Hereford", while Philip Lightfoot in his epitaph is described

as being "...descended from an Ancient Family in England

Which came over to Virginia in a genteel and Honble

Character". A final example of a gentleman's tombstone

citing ancient lineage is that of Major Lewis Burwell:

> To the lasting memory of Major Lewis Burwell
> Of the County of Gloucester in Virginia,
> Gentleman, who descended from the
> Ancient family of the Burwells, of the
> Counties of Bedford and Northampton,
> In England, nothing more worthy in his
> Birth than virtuous in his life, exchanged
> This life for a better on the 19th day of
> November in the 33d year of his age A.D. 1658

To summarize, coats of arms, honorifics, and epitaphs

provide valuable information concerning the social life and

status of the deceased. Such information, along with the

written word, will play a vital role in determining the

presence, absence, or degree of correlation between social

status and stone form. Complexity in form and construction

of colonial Tidewater funerary treatment is another crucial

issue in this analysis. In England, there was a rigid

relationship between social class and the form of burial

treatment chosen, and it would appear inarguable that

colonial Virginians were of the same mindset. Assumptions

not based on empirical evidence, however, are temptingly

dangerous, and Chapter IV will be directly concerned with the testing of this hypothesis. With this clearly in mind, let us move on to the discussion section of this essay.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

It is the purpose of this chapter to examine any
correlations between variables of the human community
(social status, sex, age) and the complexity and form of
funerary treatment. Appendices A, B, and C comprise the
major source of data used in this analysis, yet additional
primary sources are considered to better elucidate the
arguments presented herein.

In exploring a potential relationship between the
funerary complexity of marked adult burials and social
status, it was deemed necessary to evaluate the form of
interment as a function of the prestige level of the
deceased. Based on data presented in Table 1, there seems
to be a higher incidence of church burial among individuals
entitled to armorial bearings. In addition, there is a
greater likelihood for adults of that social grouping, when
compared to members of the class next below them, to have
their graves marked with chest - tombs. By comparison, those
of high respect in the community, yet who are not entitled
to bear arms, are characterized by a much lower incidence
of church burial, and appear much more likely to have
received a churchyard ledger rather than the more complex
chest - tomb. Finally, those whose names were unadorned

TABLE 1

FUNERARY TREATMENT OF ADULTS
AS A FUNCTION OF SOCIAL STATUS

	Church	Chest-tomb	Churchyard Ledger	Headstone	Total
Those entitled to coats of arms	14 (13.7%)	43 (42.1%)	44 (43.1%)	1 (1%)	102
Those of high community status, not entitled to coats of arms	3 (9.7%)	8 (25.8%)	20 (64.5%)	0 (0%)	31
Absence of term, title, or honorific	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	9 (34.6%)	17 (65.3%)	26
Totals	17	51	73	18	n = 159

either by term, title, or honorific were more apt to receive the simplest form of stone monument -- the headstone.

If social status and funerary treatment are indeed interrelated, this can be determined using the chi - square test of independence (Thomas 1976:277-279):

Null Hypothesis: The two variables, social status and type of funerary treatment, are independent.

Test Hypothesis: The two variables, social status and type of funerary treatment, are dependent.

Since the calculated value of chi - square is $x^2 = 100.35$, which is far greater than the tabulated value of $x^2_{0.001} = 22.457$, $df = 6$, the null hypothesis must be rejected. It is thus assumed that the two variables are dependent.

An assessment of the strength of the association can be performed using the following correlation coefficient:

$$C = \sqrt{\frac{x^2}{n + x^2}} = \sqrt{\frac{100.35}{159 + 100.35}} = \sqrt{.3869} = .6220$$

The adjusted value of C when $r = 3$ is: $C \max = \sqrt{\frac{r - 1}{r}}$

$$C \max = \sqrt{\frac{2}{3}} = .8164$$

$$C \text{ adj} = \frac{C}{C \max} = \frac{.6220}{.8164} = .76$$

This high value for C adj indicates a very strong association between adult social status and the type of funerary treatment implemented; in essence, it verifies that the significance of the chi - square test is not biased by

sample size.

That there is no statistically significant differentia-
tion in funerary treatment based on the sex of the deceased
is obvious through a casual comparison of Tables 2 and 3.
Males and females, considered separately, reveal very
similar distributions of interment type as a function of
social status. Such a situation is not surprising when one
realizes that the status of an adult woman in colonial
Virginia was based primarily upon the prestige of her father,
or, secondarily, upon the status of the head of her house-
hold. That a woman's status rested upon birth or marriage
is made very clear within gravestone inscriptions, in which
the female in question is always clearly subordinated to
and dependent upon the degree of prestige of father and/or
husband. As a result, men and women were both commemorated
with standard funerary forms indicative of overall household
status.

To this point, the analysis of the relationship between
the social status of adults and the form and complexity of
funerary treatment has focused on marked burials. Another
form of data, unmarked burials, may lend further insight to
the issue at hand. Parish registers were viewed at the
outset as providing the best potential source of information
on those interred without the benefit of any form of grave
memorial; problems, however, were soon to be encountered.
Many of the registers falling within the bounds of the study
area were no longer extant, having ill-weathered the

TABLE 2

FUNERARY TREATMENT OF ADULT MALES
AS A FUNCTION OF SOCIAL STATUS

	Church	Chest-tomb	Churchyard Ledger	Headstone	Total
Those entitled to coats of arms	10 (15.3%)	28 (43%)	27 (41.5%)	0 (0%)	65
Those of high community status, not entitled to coats of arms	2 (10.5%)	4 (21%)	13 (68.4%)	0 (0%)	19
Absence of term, title, or honorific	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	7 (36.8%)	12 (63.1%)	19
Totals	12	32	47	12	n = 103

TABLE 3

FUNERARY TREATMENT OF ADULT FEMALES
AS A FUNCTION OF SOCIAL STATUS

	Church	Chest-tomb	Churchyard Ledger	Headstone	Total
Those entitled to coats of arms	4 (10.8%)	15 (40.5%)	17 (45.9%)	1 (2.7%)	37
Those of high community status, not entitled to coats of arms	1 (8.3%)	4 (33.3%)	7 (58.3%)	0 (0%)	12
Absence of term, title, or honorific	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (28.5%)	5 (71.4%)	7
Totals	5	19	26	6	n = 56

vicissitudes of time, neglect, and combustion. Still others
were intact, but there recorders did not see fit to incor-
porate the legal terms, titles, and honorifics indicative
of status. There was, however, one intact register which
was deemed ideal for analysis, quantification, and
interpretation; this was the register of Bruton and Middleton
parishes, James City County (Chappelear 1966).

The Bruton and Middleton parish register offers
information which is useful for four major reasons. First,
it allows for a comparative analysis of status not only as
it relates to marked interments, but in terms of the absence
of markers as well. Second, the entries in this particular
document observe the strict social and legal connotations
made clear by the presence or absence of terms, titles, and
honorifics. It is thus possible to identify the members of
specific social classes within the body of this document.
Third, the register of Bruton and Middleton parishes offers,
in numerical terms, a sample which is both large and
manageable enough to be implemented as a reliable represen-
tation of the greater study area of this work. Finally, the
register encompasses a wide temporal range, exhibiting
entries of deaths and burials from 1662 to 1751.

Table 4 represents a tabulation of deaths recorded in
the Bruton and Middleton parish register in terms of social
status and treatment of the deceased. The most telling
observation to be made from these figures is that those
denoted as servants, and those whose names are not preceded

TABLE 4

FUNERARY TREATMENT OF ADULTS
LISTED IN THE BRUTON – MIDDLETON PARISH REGISTER

	Church	Chest-tomb	Churchyard Ledger	Head-stone	No Marker	Total
Those entitled to coats of arms	5 (17.2%)	7 (24.1%)	7 (24.1%)	0 (0%)	10 (34.4%)	29
Those of high community status, not entitled to coats of arms	1 (.8%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	111 (99.1%)	112
Absence of term, title, or honorific	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	500 (100%)	500
Servants	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	116 (100%)	116
Totals	6	7	7	0	737	n = 757

by terms of prestige, combine to form a group whose members were not commemorated "either by tomb, gravestone or epitaph". Indeed, no markers of any kind were found in the field to honor these individuals. Although a bias may exist in this sample due to natural wear and neglect of tombstones outside the church, it is difficult to conceive of a combined attrition rate which would account for the large number of unmarked graves accorded to those of low social prestige.

In a relative sense, the remaining data presented in Table 4 is also of key interest. It is evident, for example, that the frequency of unmarked graves decreases proportionately in relation to increasing social prestige. Hence, those not entitled to coats of arms but of recognized community status are much more likely to have unmarked graves than those individuals entitled to armorial bearings. In essence, if a gravestone was chosen to mark a grave, its form rested statistically upon the status of the deceased. Nevertheless, information evident in the register of Bruton and Middleton parishes indicates that not everyone in the two upper classes enjoyed the privilege of having a grave - stone erected over them at death.

It is clear thus far that there was an undeniable correlation between social status and funerary treatment in colonial Tidewater Virginia. This practice of interring the dead in a manner commensurate with their social station appears to have formed a part of the cultural baggage or

mindset of the colonials; it was the proper method of
handling death -- a method which had persisted since time
immemorial in England. Yet who was responsible for deciding
the type of funerary treatment which an individual would
receive? In some cases it was the soon - to - be - deceased
himself; Sir John Randolph, for instance, explicitly
requested interment in the College Chapel in his will. His
request was carried out. As Horvath (1976) has discussed,
however, the treatment of the dead was most often placed in
the hands of the executor of the deceased. This administra-
tor could be a friend, or one of many different family
members. The variable nature of the person appointed to the
role of executor, however, poses some food for thought
concerning the nature of funerary treatment chosen. The
main issue, of course, is whether or not the executor felt
committed enough to the deceased to provide a form of
funerary treatment commensurate with the latter's social
status. Although it could be argued that an attempt to
quantify emotional variables in this case would be both
foolhardy and next to impossible, perhaps some patterns can
be discovered.

Table 5 presents data denoting the social status of the
deceased, type of funerary treatment, and the relationship
of the executor. In looking at the two cases of those below
the level of gentility, nothing unexpected is observed.
Henry Bowcock, a Williamsburg tavern keeper of the middling
class, was memorialized by a small headstone purchased by

TABLE 5

ROLE OF THE EXECUTOR
IN THE FORM OF FUNERARY TREATMENT CHOSEN

Name	Armorial Bearings	Funerary Treatment	Relationship of Executor
Richard Kemp, Esq.	yes	ledger	nephew
William Blackburne, Gent.	yes	ledger	wife
John Mann, Gent.	yes	ledger	wife
Mary Mann	yes	ledger	son
William Sherwood, Gent.	yes	ledger	friend
Joseph Bridger, Esq.	yes	ledger	wife
Benjamin Harrison, Esq.	yes	chest-tomb	son
Governor Edward Nott	yes	chest-tomb	General Assembly
Nathaniel Burwell	yes	chest-tomb	son
William Byrd I	yes	chest-tomb	son
William Byrd II	yes	obelisk	son
Lewis Burwell	yes	chest-tomb	sons
Robert "King" Carter	yes	chest-tomb	son
Colonel David Bray	yes	chest-tomb	wife and son
David Bray, Esq.	yes	obelisk	wife
Edward Barradall, Esq.	yes	chest-tomb	sisters
Mary Purdie	no	ledger	husband
Henry Bowcock	no	headstone	wife

his wife.   Mary Purdie, who held some social prestige by

way of her husband -- Alexander, printer of the Virginia

Gazette -- was commemorated by him with a churchyard ledger.

Treatment of each of these individuals is commensurate with

their social status; further, the choice of memorial in both

cases is not at odds with the statistical patterning

determined previously for the adult populace as a whole.

Although the combined sample is a minute one, it is clear

that these two executors each purchased gravemarkers that

accurately reflect the place of the deceased within the

larger social framework.

A more telling pattern arises in relation to the

individuals in Table 5 who are entitled to coats of arms.

Those who were commemorated with churchyard ledgers had as

executors a nephew, a friend, a son, and three wives.

Conversely, those who were commemorated with chest - tombs

and obelisks -- two of the funerary forms most indicative of

gentility -- had sons as executors in more than half the

cases. This pattern indicates that sons may have actively

sought to memorialize fathers with a form of funerary

treatment in line with their high social status. In

Rehoboth, Massachusetts, Horvath discovered a similar pattern

in that patriarchs received larger stones when they were

procured and erected by their sons rather than by a more

removed party such as a son - in - law. He even observed that

wives or daughters were often prone to purchase a gravestone

which fell short of the status of the deceased (Horvath 1976:

48).

Inarguably, sons had more of a direct involvement in their father's social status than did female and affinal relatives; they were bound to the deceased not only by surname but by the high level of social status transmitted to them at birth. It is, in addition, not unlikely that sons chose sophisticated gravestone types so as to reinforce their own inherited status, and to better illuminate the pride and lineage of the family in general. Despite the apparent logic of these ideas, however, they cannot be forwarded as generally conclusive for two reasons. First and foremost, the body of data assembled concerning executors is rather small. Secondarily, there are individuals who were memorialized with chest - tombs and obelisks by a wife and son, a wife, two sisters, and the General Assembly. Clearly, these varying groups of executors were just as willing to accurately reflect the gentle status of the deceased as were sons. Nonetheless, the possibility that a group of purchasers -- in this case sons -- might be more likely to arrange sophisticated forms of funerary treatment for fathers, may suggest the presence of a bias that has been heretofore unrecognized by prehistorians seeking to establish objective correlations between social status and funerary treatment.

In examining the marked graves of dependent children (aged 16 and under), the role of the gravestone purchaser again is of vital interest. It can be safely assumed that

in most, if not all, cases the parents of dependent children
were solely responsible for the type of funerary treatment
chosen. Further, since the parents of dependents adopted
a familial concern with the status of the deceased, it may
be hypothesized that the funerary treatment of dependents
should reflect the social status of the household. In order
to test this hypothesis, it was deemed necessary to search
for correlations between the household status of the
deceased and the form of funerary treatment. Table 6
represents a synthesis of data on dependent children
gleaned from Appendix C. What is immediately apparent from
this graphic is that those children from households entitled
to coats of arms were much more likely to receive some form
of marked burial than were members of the classes below them.
Of the marked interments quantified, 88% belonged to children
of armorial families, 4% were associated with dependents of
families who enjoyed some community prestige, and 8% marked
the graves of children whose parents were not entitled to
terms or titles of prestige. Moreover, it is clear in a
more than cursory way that the types of interment chosen for
dependents reflect the pattern established for the adult
segment of the populace. Those of families entitled to
coats of arms had predominantly church and chest - tomb
interments, while the single representative from the next
class down was commemorated with a churchyard ledger.
Finally, the two dependents from families of middling status
were memorialized with less complex headstones. From this

TABLE 6

FUNERARY TREATMENT OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN
AS A FUNCTION OF HOUSEHOLD STATUS

	Church	Chest-tomb	Churchyard Ledger	Headstone	Total
Those entitled to coats of arms	10 (45.4%)	5 (22.7%)	6 (27.2%)	1 (4.5%)	22
Those of high community status, not entitled to coats of arms	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1
Absence of term, title, or honorific	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (100%)	2
Totals	10	5	7	3	n = 25

analysis, it is clear that the hypothesis holds true: the funerary treatment accorded dependents is reflective of their household's social status. In this, the key factor was the willingness of parents to accurately depict the deceased's status, as a member of a particular household, through pertinent forms of funerary treatment. These findings are again in accordance with those of Horvath (1976).

The above stated hypothesis is further substantiated when unmarked graves are taken into consideration. Table 7 is a compilation of those individuals in the Bruton and Middleton parish register who are explicitly identified as dependents. Of nine children, only one received any type of funerary treatment: this was Sarah Blair, "Infant of Mr. Jno Blair, Auditor", who was afforded a prestigious church burial. Her father, of course, was entitled to a coat of arms and was thus a member of the upper class. By way of comparison, the remaining eight dependents, whose parents' names were neither preceded nor followed by terms of prestige, did not enjoy any form of funereal treatment at death.

TABLE 7

FUNERARY TREATMENT OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN
LISTED IN THE BRUTON - MIDDLETON PARISH REGISTER

Name	Register Entry	Funerary Treatment
Jane Roberts	"ye bast. born dau. of Anne Roberts"	none
Mary Bartlott	"ye base bastard child of Robert Bartlott"	none
Raymond Morris	"the base born son of Sara Morris"	none
----- Harris	"son of John and Mary Harris"	none
----- Spence	"child of Eliza Spence, Servt to Frances Sharp"	none
Edward Burrish	"child of Edward Burrish"	none
Elizabeth Bryan	"child Daughter of Henry Bryan"	none
John Long	"Infant son of John Long"	none
Sarah Blair	"Infant of Mr Jno Blair, Auditor"	church

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Documentary and formal analysis has revealed a
correlation between form and complexity of funerary treat -
ment and social status of the deceased in Tidewater Virginia.
Those adults of families and households entitled to coats of
arms were more likely to receive burial within the church or
beneath elaborate chest - tombs than were members of the
social class situated next below them. Conversely, those
of somewhat recognized community prestige -- achieved either
through dignified careers in the professions, military, or
clergy, or through the accumulation of wealth and substance
-- were less often commemorated by church and chest - tomb
interment, and were more often memorialized with the simpler
churchyard ledger. The lower segment of society of
society -- leaseholders, fully independent yet small farmers,
skilled craftsmen, and minor entrepreneurs -- occasionally
received ledgers, but, in terms of marked burials, they most
often were commemorated with simple headstones. Certainly,
as was demonstrated, there was no social class whose members
were completely immune from the total absence of a grave -
marker. However, as was verified by data from the Bruton
and Middleton parish register, those of the lowest class
were predominantly buried without benefit of "tombe, grave-

stone, or epitaph". This tendency was seen to decrease in direct relation to increasing levels of status, and members of families entitled to coat armor were the least likely to have unmarked graves.

Taken as a whole, the above findings quantitatively verify Crowell's (1979) hypothesis of a bona fide relationship between social station and type of funerary treatment in the Tidewater. The intensive examination of this hypothesis was one of the major goals of this work. In addition, the results of this study appear to confirm the assumptions made by prehistorians that (1) there can be an observable relationship between mortuary paraphenalia and social station, and (2) varying degrees of complexity in funerary treatment are indicative of the form of social organization. There has, however, emerged in this analysis a variable which prehistorians have either been unable or unwilling to isolate: this is the variable of the person responsible for the type of funerary treatment chosen. Stemming from the present analysis of executors of those entitled to coat armor, two distinct categories of purchasers were noted. Members of the first group were purchasers of churchyard ledgers; they were three wives, a friend, a nephew, and a son. Conversely, the group which chose the more complex and prestigious chest - tombs and obelisks was made up predominantly of sons. Although, as previously stated, this is a rather small sample, it would thus appear as though there is a greater tendency for

consanguinal relatives to provide more elaborate forms of funerary treatment than affinal relatives. This hypothesis is further substantiated by the analysis of dependent children. In most if not all cases it was deemed reasonable to assume that parents were responsible for the treatment of deceased dependents. The result of this situation was that the treatment of children explicitly reflected the relative social status of the household. In this instance the parents -- both related consanguineously to the deceased -- adopted a very understandable commitment and vested interest in the form of funerary treatment which their child would receive. A variance from such commitment might be expected, however, if someone other than the parents were responsible for interment.

The point of the above observations is that they call into question the assumption that the members of social groups feel equally responsible in accurately reflecting an individual's status at death. Nevertheless, the small sample of executors available for study should signal a note of caution. Moreover, within the compiled sample there was a significant number of affinal executors who also chose to accurately depict the deceased's high status through the most complex forms of memorial treatment. For these reasons, and in line with the statistical correlation previously established for adults, it must be assumed that the majority of purchasers, whatever their relation to the deceased, upheld the traditional relationship between

funerary treatment and social status.

The findings from Tidewater Virginia are by no means representative of the whole of colonial America. They are, in fact, at odds with the overall results of Horvath's (1976) work in southeastern Massachusetts. Horvath concluded that, in general, funerary treatment was not indicative of social status in Rehoboth. In contrast, in colonial Tidewater Virginia there was a direct correlation between the form and complexity of funereal treatment and the social station of the deceased. Notwithstanding, by incorporating these two studies into a holistic viewpoint, it is possible to elucidate certain of the dynamic processes that help to determine the sensitivity of mortuary paraphenalia to social status and organization. One important factor is a traditionally - based desire to represent social status through the complexity of funerary treatment. This practice was strongly maintained throughout the colonial period in Virginia but was abandoned by New Englanders at the outset, even though the latter did have a high degree of social stratification. For unlike New England, where the population had emigrated toward the consummation of religious and social variation, the inhabitants of Virginia generally represented and practiced the dominant social, religious, and political conventions operating in England. They were, in essence, a body reflective of the English majority, not the minority (Bruce 1907:251).

A second major factor which appears to influence the

sensitivity of gravemarkers to social status and organization is the availability of local raw materials. In the Tide-water area, the dearth of local stone and the necessity and cost of importation probably reinforced the conception and use of monuments as status symbols (Crowell 1979:16). Conversely, the great abundance of local stone in New England meant that nearly everyone could afford to have a gravestone. Consequently, New Englanders utilized alternative material possessions as reflectors of social class, including house size and type, and items such as display ceramics.

In conclusion, there are numerous insights which both prehistorians and students of colonial mortuary customs can glean from a holistic comparison of this nature. Primary among these is that the willingness for members of a given society to perpetuate traditional norms concerning funerary treatment and social status varies from region to region. In Virginia, where the social framework generally reflected that of England, there was a deliberate attempt to continue the traditional mortuary conventions which had existed since time immemorial. By way of comparison, the early colonizers of New England were social and religious dissidents who did not see fit to transplant age-old mortuary customs to the New World. Similar variations could also have characterized prehistoric populations, and prehistorians studying mortuary treatment should take this into consideration. In addition, there will have to be a greater effort to examine both the

availability of status objects, and the role of the person responsible for the type of funerary treatment in future prehistoric mortuary analyses. This will call for a much heavier focus upon ethnographic and ethnohistorical research than has hitherto been employed.

INTRODUCTION TO APPENDICES A, B, AND C

In the Appendices which follow, all information has been taken directly from gravestone inscriptions with the exception of those entries which are footnoted. For the calculations and groupings of data in Chapter IV, entries in these Appendices were used only if the specific or general age of the individual could be ascertained. As far as the author is aware, all colonial period gravestones now extant in Tidewater Virginia appear in Appendices A, B, and C.

Several abbreviations occur throughout both the Appendices and the Notes which directly follow them. These are presently decoded for the reader's benefit:

```
BP.........Bruton Parish Church
J..........Church at Jamestown
SP.........St. Peter's Church
SPL........St. Paul's Church
OB.........Old Blandford Church
W..........Westover
WP.........Ware Parish Church
B..........Bellefield
A..........Abingdon Church
D..........Denbigh
CM.........Christ Church, Middlesex Co.
CL.........Christ Church, Lancaster Co.
G..........Grace Church
WA.........Waverley
WM.........William and Mary Chapel
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T..........Travis Family Burying Ground

PF.........Pembroke Farm

TF.........Temple Farm

TP.........Travis's Point

FMT........Four Mile Tree

TR.........Trinity Church

S..........Sandy Point

SL.........St. Luke's Church

H..........Highgate

WMQ........William and Mary Quarterly

VMHB.......Virginia Magazine of History and
           Biography

APPENDIX A. GRAVESTONE AND DOCUMENTARY DATA: ADULT MALES

Name	Status Designation	Funerary Treatment	Armorial Bearings	Year of Death	Age
Robert Rae	merchant; son of Robert Rae, Esq. in Scotland	Chest-tomb^{BP}	yes	1753	30
Philip Ludwell	Sometimes Auditor; councillor	Ledger^{J}	yes	1720	54
William Harris	---	Headstone^{SPL}	no	1687/8	35
Samuel Gordon	M^{r}; son of David Gordon, Esq., in the Stewartry of Kirk-cudbright	Ledger^{OB}	yes	1771	54
Edward Nott	Excellency; Governor	Chest-tomb^{BP}	yes	1706	49
Edward Barradall	Armiger (Esq.)	Chest-tomb^{BP}	yes	1743	39
Thomas Ludwell	Esq.	Ledger^{BP}	yes	1678	?
Francis Page	Capt.; Eldest son of Colonel John Page, Esq.	Ledger^{BP}	yes	1692	35
John Yuille	merchant; son of Thomas Yuille	Ledger^{BP}	yes	1746	27
John Collett	M^{r}.	Ledger^{BP}	yes	1749	52
James Bray	---	Chest-tomb^{BP}	yes	1690	?

Name	Status Designation	Funerary Treatment	Armorial Bearings	Year of Death	Age
Thomas Hornsby	M[r].; Merchant	Chest – tomb[BP]	no	1772	70
John Lang	---	Headstone[BP]	no	1734	27
Henry Bowcock	Innkeeper[1]	Headstone[BP]	no	1730	?
James Blair	A.M.; Honorable; Reverend	Chest – tomb[J]	yes[2]	1743	88
William Cocke	Doctor; Councilman and Sec'ty of State	Church[BP]	yes[3]	1720	48
James Nicolson	Steward of William and Mary College	Chest – tomb[BP]	no	1773	62
Joseph Scrivener	M[r].	Chest – tomb[BP]	no	1772	50
Thomas Thorp	Cap[t]; Nephew of Maj. Otho Thorp	Ledger[BP]	yes[4]	1693	48
James Whaley	---	Chest – tomb[BP]	yes	1701	50
Walter Aston	Lieutenant Collonel	Ledger[W]	yes[5]	1656	49
Thomas Todd	Cap[t]; Sen.	Ledger[WP]	no	1724/5	64
James Clack	son of William and Mary Clack; minister	Ledger[WP]	no	1723	45
John Richards	M[r]; late rector	Church[WP]	yes	1735	46

APPENDIX A: (Continued)

Name	Status Designation	Funerary Treatment	Armorial Bearings	Year of Death	Age
William Poythress	Colonel; son of M[r] John Poythress	Ledger[OB]	no	1763	68
Alexander Ross	Gentleman	Ledger[SPL]	yes[6]	1760	44
Edward Digges	Esq.	Ledger[B]	yes[7]	1691	55
Mann Page	Hon.; Esq.	Chest-tomb[A]	yes	1730	40
Edward Digges	Esq; son of Dudley Digges, Knt & Bart Master of the Rolls; Gentleman	Chest-tomb[B]	yes[8]	1674/5	55
Cole Digges	Esq; Honorable	Chest-tomb[D]	yes[9]	1744	53
Benjamin Harrison	Esquire[10]	Chest-tomb[W]	yes[11]	1710	37
Charles Anderson	Reverend	Ledger[W]	no	1718	49
Bartholomew Yates	M[r]; Reverend	Chest-tomb[CM]	no	1734	57
John Wormeley	Esq.	Chest-tomb[CM]	yes[12]	1726	37
David Miles	M[r].	Ledger[CL]	no	1674	40
John Carter	Esq.	Chest-tomb[CL]	yes[13]	1669	?
Robert Carter	---	Chest-tomb[CL]	yes	1732	69

APPENDIX A: (Continued)

Name	Status Designation	Funerary Treatment	Armorial Bearings	Year of Death	Age
Nathaniel Burwell	Major; eldest son of Major Lewis Burwell	Chest-tomb[A]	yes	1721	41
Lewis Burwell	Major; gentleman	Chest-tomb[A]	yes	1658	33
Thomas Nelson	Gentleman	Chest-tomb[G]	yes	1745	68
Edward Digges	Colonel; son of Hon. Col. Edward Digges, Esq.	Chest-tomb[B]	yes[14]	1744	53
Edward Porters	Merch[t]	Ledger[WP]	no	169?	?
Richard Edwards	Dr.	Ledger[WA]	no	1721	?
Mordecai Cooke	son of John and Ann Cooke	Ledger[WP]	yes[15]	1751	43
Christopher Todd	Capt.	Ledger[WP]	no	1743	53
John Mann	Gent.	Ledger[A]	yes[16]	1694	63
William Byrd I	Esq; Hon.	Chest-tomb[W]	yes	1701	52
Norborne Berkeley	Baron	Church[WM]	yes[17]	1770	53
John Randolph	Sir; Knight	Church[WM]	yes[18]	1736/7	44
Theodoric Bland	Esq.	Ledger[W]	yes	1671	41

Name	Status Designation	Funerary Treatment	Armorial Bearings	Year of Death	Age
William Perry	Capt; Councillor	Ledger[W]	no	1637	?
William Nelson	Hon; Esq.	Ledger[G]	yes	1772	61
Richard Weir	Merchant	Headstone[WC]	no	1748	?
Philip Lightfoot	Hon.; Esq.	Ledger[J]	yes	1748	59
William Chamberlayn	Mr; Mercht	Church[SP]	yes[19]	1736	36
John Grymes	Mr.	Chest-tomb[CM]	yes[20]	1709	69
John Grymes	Esq.	Chest-tomb[CM]	yes[21]	1748	57
John Champion	planter[22]	Ledger[T]	no	1700	40
Edward Travis	---	Ledger[T]	no	1700	adult
John Neville	Esqr.	Ledger[PF]	yes[22]	1697	53
John Gough	Rev.; Late minister	Ledger[J]	no	1683/4	?
Henry Chichely	Knight[23]	Church[CM]	yes[24]	?	?
John Brown	Dr.	Ledger[BP]	no	1726	?
Samuel Timson	Mr.	Church[BP]	yes	?	?
Henry Hacker	Mr.	Church[BP]	no	1742	54

APPENDIX A: (Continued)

Name	Status Designation	Funerary Treatment	Armorial Bearings	Year of Death	Age
Edmund Jenings	Hon.; Esq.	Church[BP]	yes[25]	1727	68
R. P.	---	Ledger[BP]	no	1730	32
William Gooch	Major	Ledger[TF]	yes	1655	29
Buckner Stith	son of William Stith	Ledger[BP]	yes[26]	1766	19
John Woods	---	Headstone[WP]	no	1769	56
Nathaniel Bacon	Esq.	Ledger[BP]	yes	1692	73
Orlando Jones	M[r]; son of M[r]. Rowland Jones; sometimes Minister	Church[BP]	no	1719	38
John Taylor	Merchant	Ledger[SPL]	yes	1744	51
George Yeardley	Knight; Governor	Church[J]	yes	?	?
James Grinley	---	Headstone[BP]	no	1763	20
John Mackie	son of Patrick Mackie, mercht & Late Provost in Scotland	Ledger[OB]	no	1730	19
Lewis Burwell	Honorable	Chest - tomb[A]	yes	1710	?
William Byrd II	Hono.; Esquire	Obelisk[W]	yes	1744	70

APPENDIX A: (Continued)

Name	Status Designation	Funerary Treatment	Armorial Bearings	Year of Death	Age
Richard Yarborough	---	Headstone[OB]	no	1702	87
Daniel Parke	Gent.[27]	Church[BP,28]	yes[29]	1679	?
Francis Fauquier	Esq.; Hon.	Church[BP]	yes	1768	65
John Ambler	Barrister at Law; Esq.	Chest – tomb[J]	yes[30]	1766	31
Matthew Rothbrey	Merchant	Ledger[SPL]	no	1772	?
Joseph Bridger	Hon; Esquire	Ledger[SL]	no	1686	58
Michael Archer	Gent.	Chest – tomb[BP]	yes[31]	1726	46
Robert Crooks	Merchant	Headstone[SPL]	no	1771	33
Abraham Archer	---	Headstone[G]	no	1752	60
Rowland Jones	Reverend	Ledger[BP]	no	1688	48
William Blackburne	Captain; Gent.	Ledger[A]	yes	1714	61
David Bray	Esq.	Obelisk[BP]	yes	1731	32
John Herbert	son of John Herbert, apothecary	Ledger[OB]	yes	1704	46
Jeffrey Flower	Mr.	Table – tomb[A]	yes	1726	38

APPENDIX A: (Continued)

Name	Status Designation	Funerary Treatment	Armorial Bearings	Year of Death	Age
Hugh Orr	hammer man	Ledger^{BP}	no	1764	54
George Read	Col.; Esq.	Ledger^{G}	yes[32]	1674	66
Daniel White	---	Ledger^{SPL}	no	1756	25
William Sherwood	Gent.[33]	Ledger^{J}	yes[34]	1697	?
David Lang	shipmaster; son of William Lang in Innerkip	Headstone^{OB}	no	1762	31
Matthew Page	Col.; Esq.	Chest – tomb^{A}	yes	1703	45
John Page	Col.; Esq.	Ledger^{BP}	yes	1691/2	69
Dudley Digges	Gentleman	Chest – tomb^{B}	yes	1710	47
David Bray	Honorable	Chest – tomb^{BP}	yes	1717	52
William Langborn	---	Ledger^{SP}	yes	1766	63

APPENDIX B. GRAVESTONE AND DOCUMENTARY DATA: ADULT FEMALES

Name	Status Designation	Funerary Treatment	Armorial Bearings	Year of Death	Age
Elizabeth Timson	wife of Mr. John Timson	Ledger[TP]	yes[35]	1735	22
Alice Myles	dau. of John Myles, Gent; wife of Mr. George Jordan	Headstone[FMT]	yes[36]	1650	?
Ann Willis	wife of Colonel Francis Willis; dau. of Edward Rich, Gent.	Church[WP]	yes[37]	1727	32
Christian Monro	relict of Revd Mr. John Monro	Church[BP]	no	1725	60
Martha Jones	wife of M[r]. Orlando Jones; dau. of M[r]. Gideon Macon	Ledger[BP]	no	?	?
Lucy Dixon	wife of Rev. John Dixon	Ledger[TR]	no	1769	41
Evelyn Byrd	dau. of Hon. William Byrd, Esq.	Chest – tomb[W]	yes[38]	1737	29
Elizabeth Lightfoot	wife of Mr. Francis Lightfoot, Gent.	Ledger[S]	yes	1727	34
Elizabeth Harrison	relict of Benj. Harrison; dau. of Colonel Lewis Burwell	Chest – tomb[W]	yes	1734	57

Name	Status Designation	Funerary Treatment	Armorial Bearings	Year of Death	Age
Mary Byrd	wife of late William Byrd, Esq.; dau. of Horsemanden, Esq.	Chest-tomb[W]	yes[39]	1699	47
Catherine Walker	wife of John Walker; dau. of Revd. Bartholomew Yates	Chest-tomb[CM]	no	1730	33
Betty Carter	dau. of Thos. Landon, Esq.; Second wife of Robert Carter, Esq.	Chest-tomb[CL]	yes	1710	36
Judith Carter	dau. of Hon. John Armistead, Esq.; wife of Robert Carter, Esq.	Chest-tomb[CL]	yes	1699	?
Mary Carter	wife of Charles Carter of Corotoman	Chest-tomb[CL]	yes[40]	1770	34
Isabella Booth	dau. of Mr. Thomas Booth; wife of Rev Mr John Fox	Church[WP]	yes	1742	38
Elizabeth Martiau	wife of George Read, Esq.	Ledger[G]	yes[41]	1696	71
Judith Greenhow	wife of John Greenhow	Chest-tomb[BP]	no	1765	29

APPENDIX B: (Continued)

Name	Status Designation	Funerary Treatment	Armorial Bearings	Year of Death	Age
Susannah Digges	dau. of William Cole, Armiger; wife of Hon. Dudley Digges, Esq.	Chest – tomb[B]	yes[42]	1708	34
Abigail Burwell	wife of Maj. Lewis Burwell, Gent.; dau. of the Hon. Nathaniel Bacon	Chest – tomb[A]	yes	1692	36
Ann Burgess	wife of Reverend Henry John Burgess	Chest – tomb[BP]	no	1771	?
Susannah travis	wife of Edward Travis; dau. of John Hutchings, Merch	Ledger[T]	no	1761	33
Margaret Keith	---	Headstone[BP]	no	1733	?
Ann Randall	---	Ledger[SL]	no	1696	?
Mary Bryan	dau. of Patrick and Anne Bryan	Headstone[SPL]	no	1756	?
Mary Scott	wife of Richard Scott	Headstone[SPL]	no	1752	21
Sarah Poythress	Daughter of Collonel Francis Eppes	Ledger[OB]	yes[43]	1750	48

APPENDIX B: (Continued)

Name	Status Designation	Funerary Treatment	Armorial Bearings	Year of Death	Age
Mary Page	wife of Hon. Matthew Page, Esq.	Chest-tomb[A]	yes	1707	36
Catherine Thorp	relict of Capt Thomas Thorp	Ledger[BP]	yes[44]	1695	43
Margaret Brown	wife to Doctor John Brown	Ledger[BP]	no	1720	36
Mary Purdie	wife of Alex[r] Purdie, printer	Ledger[BP]	no	1772	27
Ann Charlton	wife of George Charlton	Headstone[BP]	no	1744	?
Catherine Wormeley	Honorable Lady Madame	Church[CM]	yes[45]	?	?
Mary Page	wife of Capt. Francis Page; dau. of Edward Digges, Esq.	Ledger[BP]	yes	1690	32
Catherine Washington	wife of Maj. John Washington; dau. of Coll Henry Whiting	Ledger[H]	yes[46]	1743	49
Elizabeth Washington	Daughter of John and Catherine Washington	Ledger[H]	yes	1736	20

APPENDIX B: (Continued)

Name	Status Designation	Funerary Treatment	Armorial Bearings	Year of Death	Age
Amy Richards	wife of John Richards, minister of this parish	Church[WP]	yes[47]	1725	40
Ann Cooke	wife of M^r John Cooke; dau. of Capt Thomas Todd	Ledger[WP]	no	1720	38
Lucy Burwell	wife of Major Lewis Burwell; dau. of Captain Robert Higinson	Ledger[A]	yes	1675	?
Elizabeth Edwards	Dau. of Col. Benj. Harrison of Wakefield[48]; wife of Capt Edwards	Ledger[J]	yes[49]	1757	17
Margaret Pugh	wife of Edward Pugh	Ledger[SPL]	no	1752	52
Judith Page	wife of Mann Page, Esq.; dau of Ralph Wormeley, Gent.	Chest-tomb[A]	yes[50]	1716	?
Joanna Edwards	wife of Dr. Richard Edwards	Ledger[WP]	no	1722?	53
Sarah Timson	wife of Samuel Timson; dau. of Thomas & Ann Thornton	Ledger[WP]	yes[51]	1763	21

APPENDIX B: (Continued)

Name	Status Designation	Funerary Treatment	Armorial Bearings	Year of Death	Age
Elizabeth Cooke	wife of Mr. Mordecai Cooke; dau. of Francis and Mary Whiting	Ledger^{WP}	yes[52]	1762	49
Mary Mann	Gentlewoman	Ledger^{A}	yes	1703/4	56
Millicent Jones	Wife of Churchill Jones	Headstone^{BP}	no	1757	24
Alice Page	wife to John page of ye County of York	Ledger^{BP}	yes	1698	73
Elizabeth Page	wife of John Page, Gent; dau. of Capt Francis Page	Chest – tomb^{BP}	yes	1702	20
Frances Custis	Daughter of Daniel Park, Esq.	Ledger^{BP}	yes[53]	1714/5	29
Ann Frank	wife of Graham Frank; dau. of Revd Mr. Theod^{s} Staige	Chest – tomb^{BP}	no	1759	28
Alice Page	wife of Mann Page, Esq.; dau. of Hon. John Grymes, Esq.	Ledger^{A}	yes[54]	1746	23

APPENDIX B: (Continued)

Name	Status Designation	Funerary Treatment	Armorial Bearings	Year of Death	Age
Sarah Wormeley	wife of Ralph Wormeley, Esq.; dau. of Edmund Berkeley, Esq.	Chest – tomb[CM]	yes[55]	1741	26
Alice Grymes	wife of John Grymes, Esq.; dau. of Laurence Townley	Chest – tomb[CM]	yes[56]	1710	?
Lucy Grymes	Relict of the Honorable John Grymes, Esq.; Dau. of Honorable Philip Ludwell, Esq.	Chest – tomb[CM]	yes[57]	1749	52
Sarah Blair	wife of Mr. James Blair, Commisary of Va.; dau. of Col. Benjamin Harrison	Chest – tomb[J]	yes[58]	1713	35
Hannah Ludwell	Relict of the Hon. Philip Ludwell, Esq.	Ledger[J]	yes[59]	1731	52
Mary Knight	Wife of John Knight	Ledger[J]	no	1732/3	59

APPENDIX C. GRAVESTONE AND DOCUMENTARY DATA: DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Name	Status of Male Parent	Funerary Treatment	Age at Death
Lewis Burwell	Lewis Burwell, Esq. (gentleman)	Chest-tomb[A]	15
Joseph Littledale	Joseph Littledale, Mercht (middling)	Headstone[OB]	16
Edward Dyer	No terms or titles for parents (middling)	Headstone[BP]	1 year, 7 mos.
Wm Tayloe Page	Mann Page, Esq. (gentleman)	Ledger[A]	young child
Francis Lightfoot	William Lightfoot (gentleman)	Headstone[S]	9 mos.
Tayloe Page	Mann Page, Esq. (gentleman)	Ledger[A]	5
John Grymes	Philip Grymes, Esq. (gentleman)	Chest-tomb[CM]	15 mos.
Infant Wormeley	Ralph Wormeley, Esq. (gentleman)	Chest-tomb[CM]	4
John Wormeley	Ralph Wormeley, Esq. (gentleman)	Chest-tomb[CM]	2
Daniel Park-Custis	Daniel Parke Custis (gentleman)	Ledger[BP]	2
James Blair	John Blair, Esq. (gentleman)	Church[BP]	10

APPENDIX C: (Continued)

Name	Status of Male Parent	Funerary Treatment	Age at Death
Archibald Blair	John Blair, Esq. (gentleman)	Church[BP]	9 mos.
William Timson	John Timson (gentleman)	Church[BP]	2
Anna Maria Timson	John Timson (gentleman)	Church[BP]	2
Ann Willis	dau. of Ann Willis (household entitled to bear arms)	Church[WP]	7 days
Mary Blair	John Blair, Esq. (gentleman)	Church[BP]	2
Sarah Blair	John Blair, Esq. (gentleman)	Church[BP]	3 mos.
Frances Chamber-layne	William Chamberlayne (gentleman)	Ledger[SP]	30 days
Mary Burwell	Lewis Burwell (gentleman)	Chest-tomb[A]	1
Ursula Beverly	William Byrd II (gentleman)	Ledger[J]	16
Elizabeth Page	Matthew Page (gentleman)	Ledger[A]	3
Frances Todd	Capt Thomas Todd	Ledger[WP]	11
Mary Booth	Rev. Mr. John Fox (gentleman)	Church[WP]	4

APPENDIX C: (Continued)

Name	Status of Male Parent	Funerary Treatment	Age at Death
Susannah Booth	Rev. Mr. John Fox (gentleman)	Church^{WP}	3
Anne Blair	John Blair, Esq. (gentleman)	Church^{BP}	3

FOOTNOTES FOR APPENDICES

1. *Tyler's Quarterly Magazine*, "A Famous Tavern Keeper",
    TQM 4 (1922) 30.

2. William Armstrong Crozier, ed., *Virginia Heraldica*
    (Baltimore, 1965) 13.

3. *Ibid*, 23; Lyon G. Tyler, "Coats - of - arms in Virginia"
    William and Mary Quarterly (Series 1), 1 (1892) 115.

4. Crozier, *Virginia Heraldica*, 61.

5. Lyon G. Tyler, "Old Tombstones in Charles City County",
    WMQ (Series 1), 4 (1896) 149.

6. Ross's title of "gentleman" meant that he was entitled
    to bear arms.

7. Tyler, "Coats - of - arms", 1:116.

8. *Ibid*.

9. *Ibid*.

10. Lyon G. Tyler, "Notes", WMQ (Series 1), 3 (1894) 244-
    245.

11. Crozier, *Virginia Heraldica*, 22.

12. *Ibid*; Tyler, "Coats - of - arms", 1:119.

13. Crozier, *Virginia Heraldica*, 97.

14. Tyler, "Coats - of - arms", 1:116.

15. Crozier, *Virginia Heraldica*, 30.

16. Mann's title of "gentleman" meant that he was entitled
    to bear arms.

17. Tyler, "Coats - of - arms", 114.

18. Although I could find no references to the Randolph
    arms, it is highly unlikely that a knight would not
    have possessed them.

19. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, "Virginia Gleanings in England", VMHB 26 (1918) 146-148.

20. VMHB, "Genealogy: Grimes of Brandon & C.", VMHB 27 (1919) 184-186.

21. Ibid.

22. Lyon G. Tyler, "Coats-of-arms in Virginia", WMQ (Series 1), 2 (1893) 139-140.

23. Bishop William Meade, Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia (Baltimore, 1966) 372.

24. VMHB, "Genealogy: The Wormeley Family", VMHB 36 (1928) 98-101.

25. Crozier, Virginia Heraldica, 26.

26. Tyler, "Coats-of-arms", 118.

27. Meade, Old Churches, 1:180.

28. Ibid.

29. Tyler, "Coats-of-arms", 118.

30. Ibid, 114; Crozier, Virginia Heraldica, 103.

31. Archer's title of "gentleman" meant that he was entitled to bear arms.

32. Crozier, Virginia Heraldica, 95.

33. Virginia Historical Society, Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, (Richmond, 1977) 2:380.

34. Sherwood's title of "gentleman" meant that he was entitled to bear arms.

35. Crozier, Virginia Heraldica, 45.

36. The head of the Myles household was a "gentleman", thus entitling all family members to bear arms.

37. Crozier, Virginia Heraldica, 49-50.

38. Ibid, 103-104.

39. *Ibid*; *VMHB*, "Historical and Genealogical Notes and Queries", *VMHB* 15 (1908) 317.

40. Tyler, "Coats - of - arms", 115.

41. Crozier, *Virginia Heraldica*, 95.

42. Tyler, "Coats - of - arms", 115.

43. Lyon G. Tyler "Coats - of - arms in Virginia", *WMQ* (Series 1), 4 (1896) 270.

44. Crozier, *Virginia Heraldica*, 61.

45. *Ibid*, 83-84.

46. *Ibid*, 59.

47. *Ibid*, 31.

48. *VMHB*, "Genealogy", *VMHB* 31 (1923) 283.

49. Tyler, "Coats - of - arms", 1:117.

50. *Ibid*, 118; Crozier, *Virginia Heraldica*, 83-84.

51. Crozier, *Virginia Heraldica*, 45, 99.

52. *Ibid*, 30.

53. Tyler, "Coats - of - arms", 1:118.

54. *VMHB*, "Grimes", 184-186; Crozier, *Virginia Heraldica*, 45-46.

55. Tyler, "Coats - of - arms", 114.

56. *VMHB*, "Grimes", 184-186.

57. Tyler, "Coats - of - arms", 117.

58. Crozier, *Virginia Heraldica*, 102-103.

59. Tyler, "Coats - of - arms", 117.

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