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## Class Negotiation and Accoutrement Use: Pistol Ownership in York County, Virginia, 1634-1729

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**CLASS NEGOTIATION AND ACCOUTREMENT USE**

**Pistol Ownership  
in  
York County, Virginia: 1634-1729**

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**A Thesis**

**Presented to**

**The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology**

**The College of William and Mary in Virginia**

**In Partial Fulfillment**

**Of the Requirements for the Degree of**

**Master of Arts**

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**by**

**Jeremy Loren Nienow**

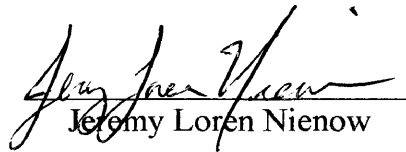
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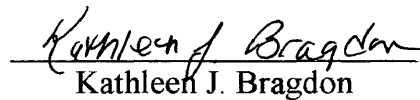
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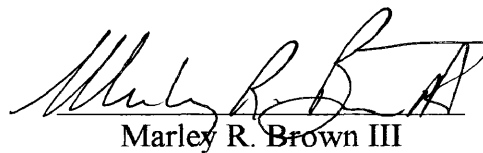
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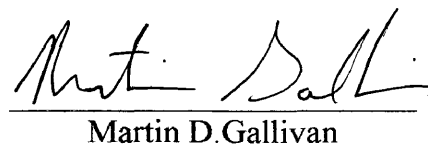
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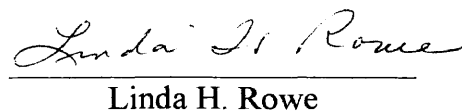
  
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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis grew out of an initial interest in material culture rather than work concentrating on class formation or negotiation. My orientation was not in traditional historical or anthropological inquiry, but archaeological experience with firearms and gunflints in the French Old Northwest during undergraduate work at the University of Wisconsin ~ La Crosse.

As a graduate student, I became acquainted with the historical anthropology of Tidewater Virginia and took an interest in more encompassing questions of colonial consumerism, social ritual, and demographics. I have combined these interests with my current writing about social power and pistol ownership in York County, Virginia.

I owe a deep debt of gratitude to several people on my defense committee. Dr. Martin Gallivan whose interests in statistics and understanding of Marxist orientation, was key to the development of this text. Historian Linda Rowe's deep understanding of York County history, as well as possessing a keen editorial mind, brought much of the text together. I also owe a large amount of thanks to Dr. Kathleen Bragdon and Dr. Marley Brown for their continuing insights into anthropological theory and elite studies in colonial Virginia.

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## ABSTRACT

Recent historical and anthropological scholarship has emphasized a relational perspective of New World societal creation and legitimization. Researchers have explored geographical, cultural, and ideological origins of colonial society with respect to specific regions, behaviors, and unifying characteristics. Class analysis has also resurfaced, examining the effects by which elite and near-elite classes legitimize and maintain their positions within society.

This study examines near-elite and elite classes in the colonial Chesapeake by identifying collective, interconnected, core elements including social behaviors, values, and activities central to Tidewater society. Through objects encapsulating the ideology behind these core elements, class members elevated and maintained their unequal position and affected societal-wide ideals. The primary evidence for this thesis is York County, Virginia's probate inventories and court records recorded between 1634 and 1729. The primary category of material culture studied is the colonial pistol. Arguments advanced in this study are evaluated through exploratory analysis of quantitative data and inferential statistics.

This study hypothesizes that publicly available and perceivable accoutrements, specifically pistols, operated as extensions of elite and near-elite group ideology in the negotiation of class authority and power. Of particular importance in this negotiation were near-elite society members who may have used pistols in enforcement capacities closely associated with participation in three elite class core elements: dominance of economic production, expressions of civic virtue through public office, and public risk-taking. Examination of this symbolically potent object and its owners allows for analysis of elite and near-elite class negotiation in colonial York County. Study results demonstrate that near-elite class members did own more pistols than the general, qualifying public, and that as a whole, pistol owners belong to higher echelons of colonial Chesapeake society.



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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION AND CULTURAL/HISTORICAL CONTEXT

#### *A Land of Opportunity and Uncertainty*

Economic and ideological forces continually shaped Virginia's colonial history. Early settlement began not only to establish English New World claims, but also as an economic enterprise that attracted stockholders wanting investment profits without ever leaving England. However, when the Virginia Company failed, the colony was forced to re-invent itself with a single cash crop, tobacco. As Jack Greene states in *Pursuits of Happiness*, "Oriented primarily toward the production of tobacco for European markets and deeply materialistic, Virginia was a highly exploitive, labor-intensive, and sharply differentiated society"(Greene 1988:12).

Harsh living conditions, an uncertain economy, and unstable social and political organization, created a complex mid-seventeenth century environment. In the colony, men outnumbered women three to one and nine of every ten individuals were English. The majority of the population was also under thirty and arrived as indentured servants (Greene 1988:7-27). In the hopes of obtaining land, independence, and economic opportunity, servants came to the region at rates approaching 2,000 individuals per year through the first half of the seventeenth century.

Among those who did not arrive as servants were the younger sons of British gentry and/or urban rich. These, primarily near-elites, left England because they lacked sufficient means to sustain themselves in the style to which they were accustomed. This problem arose through English law traditionally granting titles and lands to first-born sons. By the sixteenth century, eldest sons were living long enough to have sons themselves, thus putting access to family lands out of reach for their younger brothers. This created a social and economic quandary for the English upper classes (Bailyn 1959: 98, 107-112).

Even with the greater availability of land for those immigrating to Virginia, defining one's social position by acreage alone was problematic. Economic bust and boom cycles continued to shape and reshape the landscape, as both small farmers and plantation holders in turn felt the effects of late seventeenth century hardships and labor market shifts (Kulikoff 1986: 30-44). Brown notes that by the early eighteenth century within the Tidewater region, two-thirds of the planters held 200 acres or less, and nine out of ten held less than 500 acres, creating a kind of "Economic Democracy" (Brown and Brown 1964:12). In York County Virginia, the study location for this thesis, much of the land was initially acquired by the end of the seventeenth century, and over time these tracts tended to be broken into smaller and smaller parcels.

Virginia's land largess combined with an unstable social pyramid encouraged its new society to create social hierarchies that went beyond mere wealth categories. Several groups of elites and near-elites sought to establish themselves as the top of

the colonial social pyramid from 1607 to the end of the century. Two distinct factional combinations of elites/near-elites operated in the colony after the end of the company period, and struggled with differing ideologies for negotiated class status. The first group sought power through individual material gain, with social and political power granted after the fact. Bernard Bailyn describes this group as, “tough, unsentimental, quick-tempered, crudely ambitious men concerned with profits and increased landholdings, not the grace of life” (Bailyn 1959:95).

The second group appeared perhaps twenty years after the first. This group, through a series of heated engagements with the previous group, eventually came to be recognized as the elite leaders of eighteenth century Virginia. These individuals also used material gain for status, but incorporated other, more traditional, politically-oriented means of ascension. Bailyn writes of this group as “neither hardhanded pioneers nor dilettante romantics, but ambitious younger sons of middle-class families who knew well enough what gentility was and sought it as a specific objective” (Bailyn 1959:100).

Disenfranchised members of England’s near-elite and elite classes operating in the colonial Chesapeake were able to manipulate widely held social views and negotiate class status with themselves in top echelons. Although several questions surround Virginian efforts to form a coherent society during the seventeenth century, trans-Atlantic cultural re-creation by formative elite classes could be viewed as an eventual stabilizing force in the Chesapeake (Rozbicki 1999:31). This thesis hypothesizes that publicly available and perceivable accoutrements, specifically

pistols, operated as extensions of generally held elite and near-elite group ideology for negotiation of class authority and power.

### *Early Upper Class Immigration and Re-Creation*

Waterhouse, in his study of elite class formation in South Carolina notes similar basic characteristics in those who originally came to that colony in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. In South Carolina a large number of colonists from the first decades of settlement came not only from England but Barbados as well. He states that “One group of men likely to leave Barbados were those sons and grandsons of the earliest settlers who were forced out by the newcomers arriving in the 1640’s and 1650’s. Deprived of opportunity, expropriated from their land, and excluded from political office, these members of the old families had good reason to seek more favorable circumstances elsewhere” (Waterhouse 1989:10).

In trying to refine further the origins of the Chesapeake elite class, authors such as David Fisher have maintained that the immigration of English elite from specific regions in England gave the Chesapeake its particular traits that in some ways still characterize it today. Fisher in his book *Albion’s Seed: Four British Folkways in America* argues that the Virginia Tidewater was settled by a specific group of immigrants, primarily between 1640-1675: at least 75 percent indentured servants, three-fourths from the south and west of England between London and Bristol, and led “by an Anglican elite, many of whom were younger sons of armorial

families” (Fisher 1989:207-256; 1991:261). Furthermore, these elites were considered to be “Cavaliers” or Royalists in political orientation and social thinking.

The term Cavalier refers specifically to men who fought on the side of the Stuart family during the English Civil War. These men and their families believed in an ordered, hierarchical, universe over which God monarchically presided with the king or queen appointed as his divine ruler on earth (Sanderson 1989:53). Fisher’s use of this elite paradigm maintains that an early elite class shaped the Chesapeake (Fisher 1989:896).

Challenges to Fisher’s work in *Albion’s Seed* regarding the Chesapeake are threefold: 1) the majority of the immigrating elite class were not Royalists; 2) the majority of immigrants did not come from a definable region in England and did not have a definable set of characteristics, and 3) “Only by ignoring the impact of thousands of immigrants from England’s commercial classes and by overlooking the social and cultural contributions of tens of thousands of poor whites and African slaves is he able to argue for the cultural dominance of gentry families in Virginia” (Green 1991; Anderson 1991; Horn 1991:244-45).

Fisher has vigorously defended his assertion that geographic origins of Chesapeake colonists can be identified (Fisher 1991). Even if portions of Fisher’s research are inaccurate concerning some details of the elite group that emigrated from England, he rightly maintains, that an elite class made the passage. That elite group did affect the colonial social hierarchy and contained some Cavalier class characteristics.

The term Cavalier has often been attached to Chesapeake gentry from early works hoping to illuminate this group (Goodwin 1894) to modern day reporters giving a southern genteel flavor to descriptions of our founding fathers (Ellis 2000:34). Although colonial Tidewater elite may not have all held true to the original stance of the Cavalier, Maud Goodwin succinctly pulls the strings together in this phrase, “The men who settled the Southern Colonies, Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas, were Cavaliers; not necessarily in blood, or even in loyalty to the Stuart cause, but Cavalier in sympathies, in the general view of life, in virtues and vices.” (Goodwin 1894:7).

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, increasingly legitimized social, political, and economic hierarchies were forming in the Chesapeake. New order and structure were being brought to bear with the establishment of planned capitals in Virginia and Maryland. As these institutions continued to stabilize, populations boomed, and other institutions, including slavery, gained societal footholds. Throughout this period, classes could not be solely separated by economic status due to early economy equalizing effects. Because of this, those who strove to become the new elite class took actions to re-create social structure using colony-specific status indicators.

The re-created elite classes were only first or second-generation colonials, and in the words of Michal Rozbicki in *The Complete Colonial Gentleman*, “still needed to be forged as gentry by acquiring appropriate cultural capital.” (1998:38). Although several generation of leaders had been operating in the colonies, many consisted of

only first or second generation leaders before they were challenged or left the colony for other pursuits (Bailyn 1959). Those who hoped for long term authority needed “a means of translating a particular set of values into action, a mechanism for expressing a loose but deeply felt bundle of ideas and assumptions about the nature of society” (Breen 1980:151). This would eventually legitimize their position in society and give them tangible, defined, status and authority.

Breen associates three *central elements* within the gentry’ class: Competitiveness, individualism, and materialism (Breen 1980:151). These central elements are more in line with Bailyn’s leadership group of the 1630’s and 40’s. Fisher delineates two additional characteristics: personal obligation, and honor (Fisher 1991:288). Taking these ideological concepts, combining them with traditional elite activities and elements observable in the archaeological record reflecting the goals of Bailyn’s group of eventual eighteenth century leaders, three general attributes appear central to colonial Chesapeake elite self-definition. These attributes are then testable against patterns of material culture. Together, these publicly held social, political, and economic concepts allowed the elite and near-elite classes to not only define and defend their relational positions, but also make the system’s inherent inequalities seem natural.

The first is land and slave ownership in combination with the consumer trappings of gentility such as fine china, furniture and dwellings. Although standards of material wealth changed throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, this category uses means of production and consumer choice/wealth models for class



definition. A second attribute involves participation in, and monopolization of, religious, political, and social positions. This is actualized in exclusionary positions including court justices, vestrymen, and county sheriffs in combination with elite military service, specifically the mounted militia. This category uses functional coordination of power and perceived public evaluation associated with civic participation for class definition. Third is a general attitude of risk-taking, be it economic involvement in horse racing or other high stakes gambling, or personal engagement in the public rituals, which included dueling. This category again relies heavily on public perceived symbolic power for class definition.

Each category, in turn, depends upon accoutrements to impart implied elite and near-elite class dominance. These items once classified as only functional, are now recast as symbolic manifestations of ideology. Furthermore they function to reproduce unequal distribution of resources, while naturalizing the overall societal structure (Leone 1996:373).

One colonial accoutrement, the pistol, can be associated with each of the above elite and near-elite class negotiable status categories in the Chesapeake. Furthermore, it is usable by near-elites to gain access to higher levels of authority. Pistols are often a requirement for both symbolic and functional colonial duties and activities, represent a potent extension of potency and authority, and are used as the primary cultural item examined in this paper.

### *Pistols in Virginia*

*The Oxford English Dictionary* defines a pistol as a small, hand-held firearm (Pearsall and Trumble 1996:1104). The term pistol, as applied to firearms, is thought to have come from several sources. These range between its reputed town of origin, *Pistola*; the caliber of the arm, which was to have equaled a *pistole*, a coin of the early fifteenth century; or from the word *pistallo*, meaning pommel (Pollard 1973:27). Regardless of the uncertainty of its origin, early pistols were being manufactured by the fourteenth century. By Virginia's period of increased settlement in the second quarter of the 1600s, the pistol had evolved into a relatively reliable, if not entirely accurate, close range weapon.

The military pistol was a standard accoutrement of the cavalry or horse trooper. It was a heavy weapon with a barrel of about one foot in length and a metal butt ornament that doubled as a club. The civilian pistol was similar to the military one in its technical aspects; however, it was made in a number of different sizes for use both as a holstered "horse" pistol or a smaller "traveling" pistol held in a case (Hogg 1979:18-19).

Pistols were widely available for purchase within colonial Virginia by the eighteenth century. They could be purchased directly from a local gunsmith or locally based merchants. Individual owners, who for reasons including debt, migration, or owner death, also advertised pistols for sale. Advertisements printed in the *Virginia Gazette* throughout the colonial period record pistols for sale from all of

the above sources. Furthermore, individuals could order pistols directly from England through personal agents.

Further sources of pistol documentation come from colonial probate inventories. A probate inventory is an itemized list and evaluation of a deceased individual's portable property, as well as financial assets and debts. Inventories were done to satisfy English Common Law, which was intended to protect the property rights of heirs. The values of the items were usually stated in the currency of the day, which changed throughout colonial and early federal times from pounds of tobacco, to pounds sterling, to Virginia currency, to American dollars. Inventory appraisers swore on oath to these values.

Executors were named by will, or the court appointed estate administrators when a person died intestate. They were usually given between 30 days and 90 days to return to court with an inventory, although it occasionally took several years for the inventory to be recorded in the courts records by the court clerk. This study uses probate inventories from York County, Virginia, as its primary documentary source of period information and class evidence.

### *York County, Virginia*

Long before the 1781 British surrender at Yorktown, York County's history began in the 1620s and 1630s with early European settlement. By 1634, the region was listed among the eight original Virginia shires, or counties, under the name of Charles River, changed to York in 1643 (Figure 1). York County was originally

FIGURE 1

York County Virginia (bottom center) circa 1751.



From *A Map of the Inhabited Part of Virginia Containing the Whole Province of Maryland...* Drawn by Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, 1751. Original: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

much larger than its present size, having two counties cut from it in 1651 and 1654, and then four more created by 1720. Its courthouse moved several times until settling permanently in Yorktown in 1698. York County was a natural immigration port, especially after the settlement of Yorktown in 1691. Dozens of well-known families in Virginian colonial history settled in the county, including the Holloway, Calthrope, Owen, Powell, Matthews, Hansford, and Van Doverage (Faison) families.

For the colonial period, York County is well documented. First, no town within the county had its own court of record. Jurisdiction fell entirely under the county court, allowing for central records collection. Second, York County included half of the Virginian capital, Williamsburg, which moved from Jamestown at the end of the seventeenth century. The county included the north half of Williamsburg, along a somewhat irregular divide at the Duke of Gloucester Street, whereas James City County included the south half of the capital. Furthermore, York County does not suffer the problem of being a “burned county”, that is, a county whose records were lost when the current capital, Richmond, burned during the Civil War. As an important social and political region, as well as for its surviving document base, York County is an excellent candidate for research into colonial American culture.

Probate inventories from York County and the valuable information they impart for this period create the framework upon which the above three, briefly defined, central elements of elite definition rest. Before examining these and their relation to the pistol in greater detail, a further explanation of elite studies within anthropology and history is required.

CHAPTER II.  
ELITE THEORY IN HISTORICAL ANTHROPOLOGY  
AND THE FOCUS ON IDEOLOGY

*Origins of and Oppositions to Elite Theory*

Anthropology, history, and the other social sciences have embraced elite studies as a major arena in which to incorporate theoretical perspectives including functionalism, structuralism, symbolic approaches, and middle range theory. Furthermore, specific studies of gender, race, authority, architecture, landscape, identity, and material culture have examined actions of elite classes in attempting to bring definition and meaning to class establishment, maintenance, and even conflict. At the heart of this work is an understanding that, although perhaps not inevitable, an elite class does traditionally top most historic or modern, state societies. This study does not deny this fact, however, three divergent points may be argued. First, within this upper echelon of elite domination, in the case of the colonial Chesapeake, there exists definite room for negotiation.

Second, when the utmost positions are otherwise unavailable for attainment, as is the case during the colonial period where extreme elite position was held only in England, lower positions become highly important and increase attempts at group cohesion and standards of social ascension by lower, near-elite individuals.

Finally, although strict use of the elite paradigm would argue that elites arise from a select few individuals with extraordinary talents, skills, or abilities, this thesis contends that this may not be the case. Although those who socially advanced in the colonial Chesapeake did certainly have a degree of ability or talent, it was their use of publicly held social tenants and manipulation of society accepted class elements, which propelled them to dominance.

Included within this approach is the knowledge that studying the near-elite and elite classes in any time-period is important in addressing issues of peace and war, ethnic and gender roles, human rights, poverty and wealth (Moyers and Wagstaffe 1987:3). Whether the elite class is examined at the local, national, or global level, they must be acknowledged as major participants in society. Karl Marx wrote in *The German Ideology* that “The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e., the class which is the ruling *material* force of society, is at the same time its ruling *intellectual* force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the idea of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it.” (Arthur 1972:64).

The writings of Marx and his understanding of social transformation are what drive much of the work in elite class studies today. Marx is credited with introducing the perspective that ideology is a mode for penetrating the consciousness of the individual or even an entire class and uncovering the foundations or motives that underlie their actions (Giddens 1979:166).

Marx and other writers espousing democratic utopianism stood in direct opposition to writers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who were advocating the “party-line” of elite theory or the elite paradigm. Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941), Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923) and Robert Michels (1876-1936) are considered to be the field’s classic authors and although they were primarily political in nature, their work is still used today.

Their main premise was that within any stable society having reached at least the minimum levels of state formation, anywhere in human history, there exists a dominating, distinct, governing elite or ruling class, defined as a small number of persons in which social and political power are concentrated. This class was inevitable, created by superior organizing capabilities, a difference in talents, or situations where a small cohesive group with similar interests pursues its own goals over the necessities of others (Burton and Higley 1987:220). However, it is the understanding of this author that there are several deeper layers to this paradigm, and that other, publicly created and understood elements, are also in effect.

Classical theorists sorted citizens of modern states into only two classes, elite and non-elite. Although Marx did not directly disagree with this dichotomy, Marxism and modern critics’ opposition to elite theory rests in dismantling not the “how” of elite class dominance, but rather the ideological “why”. This thesis will draw heavily on the concept of ideology in connection with the socially constructed definition of the elite class in colonial Virginia.



*Elite Studies in Anthropology and History*

Much of the anthropological work done on class relations in the last twenty years can be classified into three general models that can then be expanded from local and regional understandings into global perspectives. The first model associates class and status with material wealth. This can be accomplished by either associating a value with prestige items contained in assemblages, calculating rough price-equivalents to specific material goods, or by identifying control of the means necessary in obtaining wealth (Wurst and Fitts 1999:2). This model is followed in creating prices for material objects such as historic ceramics (Spencer-Wood 1987; Miller 1991) and by direct or calculated analysis of estate values (Bell 1999; Carr and Walsh 1980 & 1994), or it can be used quite broadly in the case of Paytner (1985), Smith (1976), and Mouer (1987).

Robert Paytner's "Surplus Flow between Frontiers and Homelands" outlines several types of elites, dependency, development, regional and homeland determined by analyzing the production and distribution of surplus, i.e. wealth (Paynter 1985: 175-178). Carol A. Smith's "Exchange Systems and the Spatial Distribution of Elites" focuses on pre-industrial societies and examines stratification as a result of differential access to the means of exchange. Mouer's "Everything in its place...: Locational models and notions of the elite in Virginia, 1660-1865," predicts the relative status of individuals in given areas derived from the work of individuals including Smith, which are then tested against architectural, biographical and material evidence. All three of these authors rely heavily on Marxists perspectives concerning

means of production and wealth in defining social position. Further studies developed along spatial lines encompassing more global elite structures have also been done, including Orser (1988; 1996), Dell (1998) and Armstrong (1990).

There are several critiques of this method. First using specific material wealth equivalents can be viewed as “a gradational view that sees class as a static, unchanging classification of reified persons and social roles” (Wurst and Fitts 1999:2). Looking at broader applications, problems can occur in examining class mobility and definition and attempting to include those individuals who control only small means of production, but are nonetheless independent, or a merchant or middleman class that is only loosely tied to means of production. Although this model contains issues that could potentially compromise its value, it remains a working model applicable to both prehistoric and historic assemblages, and when used effectively can advance beyond a single snapshot in time, to give a view of the changing, global situation.

The second approach is a relational view of class and social power through construction of concepts based on dominance and resistance (Paynter and McGuire 1991). Issues of class conflict, whether physical or symbolic, are extremely relevant to this relational view of class definition. However, it is important to point out that the presence of class does not necessarily mean class conflict (Warner, Meker, and Eells 1960:9). This perspective can be closely associated with the first model, and Paynter (1986) does use surplus flow models to examine this relationship. Another interesting approach within this model is the identification of emulation or resistance

by defined lower classes with the dominant culture/class (Mrozowski 1991). Again, specific assemblages can be used (Ferguson 1991) as well as more general acceptance or rejection of material constraints based on class rhetoric (Recknor and Brighton 1999). This connection to class specific ideology leads to the third and most important model in class definition.

This third approach, which builds upon ideas of dominance and resistance, is the use and manipulation of class specific ideologies (Beaudry, Cook, and Mrozowski 1991). LouAnn Wurst, in her article "Employees Must Be of Moral and Temperate Habits: Rural and Urban Elite Ideologies," defines ideology as a subset of culture involved in power relations which members of different classes can use to dominate other classes (Wurst 1991:125-127). Conflict between ideologies can arise, when differing elite ideological structures vie for economic control. One study that typifies this model is Mark Leone's (1996) "Interpreting Ideology in Historical Archaeology: Using the Rules of Perspective in the William Paca Garden in Annapolis, Maryland."

Leone's critical approach to ideology is based largely in the work of Shanks and Tilley (1982:129-154). The main premise of his article is that elite ideology takes social relations and makes them appear resident in nature and history. Socially accepted class ideology makes these relationship necessary and works to mask the elite classes purposeful manipulation of societal beliefs to create and maintain their position (Leone 1996: 372-373). Furthermore time and past precedent are also used, "for in the kind of society which looks to history as a guide for actions taken in the present, a continuum with the past may be made to appear inevitable when it is

actually arbitrary” (Leone 1996:372). This symbolic and purposeful use of socially held views of both past and present actions forms the basis for my own perspective.

These three perspectives are relevant and useful in obtaining a more tangible definition of elite classes, especially advanced concepts concentrating on the ideological “whys” within class definition and maintenance. The studies above concentrate on concepts of power and inequality, as well as group acceptance or rejection of class ideologies, which are crucial to this thesis’s theoretical perspective. Furthermore, because historical anthropology also utilizes the documentary record as seen in several of the above studies, it is necessary for my perspective to incorporate both anthropological/historical archaeological and historical approaches.

Several historians have applied interesting perspectives to the topic of class development and relation. Examining historical documents to glean insights into societal thought concerning the elite class, several authors have found social values and activities that added to overall status, whether this was on city/county/colony, or core/periphery levels (Rozbicki 1998; Breen 1980:148-163; Green 1992:208-235; Rowe 1989). These authors have each brought forth elements central to a more detailed understanding of elite classes.

Rozbicki has concentrated on relational views between the elite class of England and the new-elite of the colonies. These new-elite classes often based their position and actions on traditional arguments maintained by their English counterparts. This connection between old and new establishes a direct line of precedence just as Leone’s elite class attempts. Rozbicki notes that after their

formative period which began in the late seventeenth century, the elite class emerged and “its members’ institutional positions and functions usually interlocked and overlapped.” (Rozbicki 1998:33).

Breen’s work examines risk-taking actions including gambling and horseracing. He maintains that again in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, changes in colonial labor markets forced powerful gentlemen to evolve new public actions in which to express previously maintained values (Breen 1980:148). I would contend that along with betting and risking one’s financial fortunes, elites also used other socially acceptable, risk-taking activities, such as dueling, to further cement their position. Although some of these actions may differ quite dramatically with views held by the English elite class, they nonetheless are effective tools for the colonial elite classes because they represent social ideas newly formed by our unique colonial society.

Green also uses a socially meaningful ideal, that of virtue, to examine elite actions in the colonies. He maintains that civic participation in England was an essential qualification for one to possess civic virtue. Furthermore, coupled with this virtue was individual independence. As the elite class evolved in colonial America, it embraced these concepts to reason with the rest of society that they were in fact destined to dominate the colonies. However, notions of virtue did not mirror one another across the Atlantic. During the colonial period, instead of seeing virtue as only occupationally specific, the elite class in the colonies connected it to birth, education, social status, occupation, and fortune (Green 1992: 221).

Finally, Linda Rowe's thesis shows that the near-elite and elite classes used traditional concepts including public office holding, to demonstrate their necessity as a governing social body. Green and Rowe's civic concept can be embodied in the idea of co-ordination. Co-ordination, or societal maintenance through common service, is derived from the concept that as society increases in complexity, it must co-ordinate efforts of all members into common enterprises necessary for cultural preservation, which leads to evaluation and ranking of individual positions and behaviors (Warner, Meeker, and Eells 1960:8-11). These positional enterprises include military, civic and religious duties dependent on their individual emphasis in that culture. Each of these works relate how publicly advanced, class-specific ideology can have decidedly powerful meaning within colonial society.

*Elite Definition: A Multidisciplinary Approach*

In order to understand the different social, political, and economic necessities of colonial class structure, an understanding encompassing ideas pulled from several different disciplines and perspectives is needed. This thesis uses the foundation of the Marxist/Elite paradigms as an organizing principle and layers concepts pulled from both anthropological and historical authors to perceive a group of central elements necessary for colonial Chesapeake elite and near-elite class examination. It does not necessarily support a strict reading of the elite paradigm.

I maintain that in order to be considered part of the elite class, an individual was expected to serve at the high levels of government, maintain a particular lifestyle,

obtain levels of measurable wealth, and act accordingly in public arenas. Furthermore, the elite class used its position to gain and maintain control over all of the above standards through continued dominance and interconnection of these concepts. Finally, in order to show outwardly their connection to and definition within the elite class, individuals needed to possess items that publicly displayed their class affiliation. This would include near-elites wanting to increase their own position within society.

In order to test this hypothesis, one should be able to recognize a material accoutrement(s) attached to these central elements. This accoutrement(s) should be able to express symbolic meaning in several if not all of the elements, successfully showing their interconnected nature. Finally, one should be able to examine statistically owners of this object(s) and see if they are part of the above outlined near-elite/elite classes. The chosen accoutrement for this examination is the pistol. After more completely defining the central elements of the elite class and their relationship to the pistol, the remainder of the work applies several statistical tests to see if pistol owners in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries from York County dominated these central elements.

## CHAPTER III

### CENTRAL ELEMENTS OF THE ELITE CLASSES

#### *Elite Consumerism: Land, Slaves, and Fine Wares*

The elite perspective in colonial York County, was primarily based on the acquisition of large labor pools. This allowed the elite class to increase their control over the means of production, land and slaves, and allowed for participation in other activities including leisure pursuits and civic/religious offices. It also provided the means to obtain more non-essential objects and higher quality goods traditionally indicative of their status and economic well-being.

The primary requirement for increasing economic capital was land. Land was needed to grow staple and cash crops, house a growing slave population, and a prerequisite for obtaining crucial court and parish positions. Land further enhanced its owner's status through improvements to houses and their associated household goods (Sweeny 1994), raising horses for sport (Sturna 1994), and foods for personal or commercial consumption, and through social/ritual activities such as hunting.

Hunting, traditionally the sport of kings and the elite from Medieval times (Gies and Gies 1974:125-246), was in the early years of colonial expansion an activity of a large portion of the entire population with wild foods accounting for as much as forty percent of household meat consumed (Miller 1988:183). Huge tracts of



unclaimed or undeveloped lands, few well-established domesticated animals, and an unprecedented (at least in the eyes of colonial immigrants) bio-diversity, afforded wild game at table or for sale to an ever-increasing Chesapeake population. However, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, hunting was evolving into an elite pastime once again, as areas of land were granted to specific individuals giving them full rights to any and all fish, fowl and wild game found there. Coupled with this was an already shrinking wild game population, causing officials to impose seasonal restrictions on hunting and to enforce stiff penalties for poaching on private lands, further bringing hunting into the restrictive hands of the elite (Manning-Sterling 1994:49-51).

Ownership of slaves was as necessary as ownership of land for maintenance of an elite class in the colonial Chesapeake. Even though slavery had been introduced in the first quarter of the 1600s, it was not until the last quarter of the century that they began to steadily replace indentured servants as the primary labor force, comprising nearly half the labor pool by the 1760s (Greene 1988:82-83). Slavery involved higher initial expense versus indentured servants, but as slave mortality rates decreased and fertility rates increased, long-term monetary gains and relatively low maintenance costs, justified the initial costs (Kulikoff 1977). Slavery further granted wealthy planters continued increase in their own leisure time, creating more opportunity for enhancement of their position. Although slavery became a key point of contention between colonial and English elite classes, it was indispensable to the economic base of colonial gentry (Rozbicki 1998:111-118).

Defining oneself through material possessions has been an ever-growing passion of Americans from the first colonists right through to the modern day. Colonial Chesapeake gentry had disposable income to put toward consumer goods commensurate with their position in society. Beyond the must-haves of land, livestock, ever-larger houses and more slaves (Bell 1999:1,4-5), there were luxuries that the elite made a point of acquiring. Lois Green Carr and Lorena Walsh in their work on consumer behavior in the colonial Chesapeake call these items “amenities” and Carr and Walsh’s statistical indexes included such items as linens, fine earthenwares, spices, books, wigs, watches, and pictures (1994, 1980).

The elite class gathered together in ever-tightening circles to entertain each other at social events such as dances and dinners. These events called for fine linens, matching sets of china, glassware, flatware and fine foods in addition to the required tables, matching chairs, lighting and house servants or slaves. Kevin Sweeny in his article on lifestyles of the colonial elite states “For members of prominent families, sets of goods encouraged a cultivated individuation...a vision of a traditional, hierarchical order with its social and political elite.” (1994:8).

During a somewhat less culturally refined seventeenth century and into the more orderly eighteenth century, customs of representing wealth and position by wearing expensive fabrics, garments, hats and shoes along with their necessary jewelry, silver buckles, pins, buttons, swords, and wigs still held sway among American colonists (Calvert 1994:255; Sands 1999). Although a revolution in consumerism struck the colonies in the 1730s with the large-scale increase in

consumer goods reaching the colonies from abroad, materialism remained a primary component of elite positioning and social identity (Breen 1994).

Colonial pistols were manufactured in a number of differing qualities and values dependant upon pistol type and embellishment. Several of these variations are evident upon examination of York County probate inventories. Object descriptors within probate inventories have been successfully used to delineate variation in function and meaning by past archaeologists (Beaudry 1988). Pistol descriptions in the York County probate inventories reveal differences in pistol types (double fixed, small, pocket, French), condition (old, unfixed, neat) and quality (brass, brass barreled, plain, silver mounted). Examination of pistol accoutrements such as cases, holsters, hangers, or the catchall, “furniture,” can also reveal quality and status differences. One object in particular often listed on the same line or very close to pistols in probate inventories was the sword.

Swords were a common symbol of military rank and worn in public as potent symbols of authority. Swords recorded alongside pistols in inventories also varied according to consumer might with such high-end descriptors as “silver hilted” or “ivory handled.” Although not the primary status object examined in this thesis, the sword could also have been a class obtained accoutrement directly tied to status.

Pistols also denoted buying power when considered in connection with military service. Two levels of militia involvement were available to citizens; service in the foot or horse troopers. Differences between these units can be gleaned from their respective names; however, a difference in armaments and therefore

participation costs was also involved. A member of the foot militia had to provide himself with “a firelock, muskett or fusee well fixed, a good sword and cartouch box, and six charges of powder.” (Hening 1810:III,363) This meant that a foot soldier was only required to have one gun, ammunition, something to hold ammunition, and a sword.

Horse troopers, however, were required to equip themselves with a “good serviceable horse, a good saddle, holsters, brest plate and crouper, a case of good pistols, well fixed, a sword and double cartouch box.” (Hening 1810:III,335) This meant that the financial outlay by a member of the mounted militia was much higher than that for a foot soldier. Law required militia service, but why choose to invest such a large sum, when a less expensive alternative was available? The very fact that a man could afford to be a member of this group placed him above other militia participants and could outwardly display either his membership in the elite class, or perhaps his desire to join it.

Although not as important to the elite class in the colonial Chesapeake as land, slaves, or fine china, the pistol was nonetheless a valued consumer good and necessary material object containing functional as well as symbolic power. Furthermore, they were a tangible expression of near-elite and elite consumerism and were a capable accoutrement in class negotiation.

*And the Noble shall serve: Public Offices, Religious Offices, and the Military*

A central element of an elite lifestyle in colonial Virginia was attainment of civic virtue obtained through civic participation (Rozbicki 1998:29; Pocock 1985). This virtue in the eighteenth century meant a “willingness of the individual to sacrifice his private interest for the good of the community” (Wood 1969:53). Tied to civic virtue was the colonial concept of honor. Honor, for thousands of years a social value held dear by the upper classes, is defined as nobleness of mind, adherence to what is right or to a conventional standard of conduct (Pearsall and Trumble 1996:679).

As far back as the Greek philosopher Aristotle (388-324 B.C.) who wrote “It is the man who benefits the community who receives what it has to give, namely honour,” civic duty and honor have gone hand in hand in Western culture (Thomson 1953:230). In the colonies honor was sought with no less zeal, and it was a man’s actions within society, not just his economic position, which precipitated this ideological class tenet. In the words of Wyatt-Brown, honor “is the moral property of all who belong within the community, one that determines the community’s own membership” (Wyatt-Brown 1982:xv).

For the colonial period, Jack Greene best sums the relationship between civic virtue and the social elite, “If civic participation was an essential qualification for the achievement of virtue...virtue was attainable only by men of independent property, preferably in land, whose independent holdings permitted them to cultivate the intensely autonomous behavior that alone could preserve the polity in a stable and

uncorrupted state.” (Greene 1992:210). Through skillful management of their estates, Chesapeake elite had time to devote to their community in four principle areas: civic offices, the militia, the church, and extra-governmental positions.

Linda Rowe’s graduate thesis examining the interconnected civic lives of urban York County elite delineates three levels, or circles, of civic offices (Rowe 1989:11-36). The highest of these circles included such positions as municipal magistrates and mayors, county justices of the peace, sheriffs, and coroners. Although, many offices at this level were held at the pleasure of the crown, members of the community were nominated by local peers and positions such as county justice were usually held for life. Offices such as sheriff and coroner were rotated yearly among the justice pool, in essence sealing the circle of high offices to an elite few.

Most high-level officeholders received their positions because of their social, political, and economic connections and clout. Because they were willing to make decisions and take responsibility for civic work, their position within society was continually reaffirmed in the eyes of the public. At the end of an individual’s tenure in office, positions were often filled by one of the former occupant’s sons, or perhaps nephews. For county offices, little previous experience or special training in the law was needed, only age requirements and the requisite ‘stake in society’ (mainly land) needed to be met (Rowe 1989:1-28).

The middling ranks of public offices were those primarily of enforcement: deputy sheriffs, constables, highway surveyors, surveyors of streets and landings, bailiffs, tobacco inspectors and jailers. The enforcement positions were delegated by

court principles to carry out their orders and enforce their decisions. Service was traditionally one or two years, and these offices allowed for a very direct relationship with the public. Many individuals that participated in this level of office did so repeatedly, and often it too became a family occupation. Repeated service brought increased social standing and access to higher elite's favor, privilege, and positions (Rowe 1989:28-29). This can be viewed as the most tangible way near-elites could gain and maintain their own social standing within this hierarchy.

Not directly part of the enforcement group but at the highest of the middling offices, were professional county clerks, their deputies and deputy attorneys of the King (prosecutors). These positions wielded a considerable amount of power in the courts. The clerks were not directly answerable to county justices and could determine which cases came before the court and how quickly and smoothly court days ran.

The lowest level of public duty was service on grand and petit juries. Jurors were conscripted and usually came from the middling ranks of society, often men who had already seen service as enforcement officers. Even within this level of service there was room for taking on greater amounts of responsibility. Jurors could become jury foremen, or be appointed to the constabulary or other middle level positions. For the most part, it was the yearly work of many of these middling and low-level, near-elites that served as the backbone of local government (Rowe 1989:30)

Another form of required public service was the militia. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, every white male between the ages of 16 and 60 had to serve in his respective county's militia. Military service could be in the form of foot or horse "trooping." In 1723 the age limits for military duty were changed to range between 21 and 60. Certain colonial officials, ministers, clerks, schoolmasters, constables, professors, and students of the College of William and Mary were exempt from militia service (Goodwin 1959:1).

Although the law allowed certain officials to decline military service, militia service as officers, and the aforementioned horse troopers, was often desired and included in elite concepts of civic virtue and honor. A rudimentary militia was formed by the Virginia general assembly in 1624 composed of nearly every adult male, including servants, in the colony (Shea 1983:41,76).

After several years of poor readiness, an inability to successfully handle Native American up risings, and a general level of economic difficulty in maintaining militia units, the Virginia government began to change militia formation in the 1650's and continued to refine the organization through the end of the century (Shea, 1983:76-135). One of the most substantial changes was the removal of servants from the general militia, and the formation of two general levels of service. These were the organized troops of dragoon (horse) and the infantry, both of which were composed of the ablest of landowners and freemen who could sufficiently arm themselves.

During the colonial period, the king commissioned and promoted officers on the recommendation of the county justices with the governor issuing commissions



accordingly (Brent Tarter, Personal Communication 2000). Studies have found that without exception, those who held the top ranks in the local militias were gentry or near-gentry. Even lower ranks such as sergeants tended to be near-elite of some substance and local influence (Jim Watkinson, Personal Communication 2000). By the end of the seventeenth century, civil and economic exclusionary practices were leading to the complete emergence and domination of an elite militia in the colonies.

Militia service suggests that closely linked with honor in the colonial Tidewater was a concentrated level of militancy. In elite terms, militancy was part of the aforementioned Cavalier mentality handed down through time from the honorable, militant knights of the Middle Ages (Bruce 1979:161). Aristotle described honor as being “desired by the eminent and awarded as the meed of victory in the most glorious contests” (Thomson 1953:104). Although militancy has been viewed as part of a more deeply seated culture of violence in the American South, in this thesis it is used to denote a willingness to serve in the military, a general readiness to fight, or having a combative nature.

A third avenue open to civic-minded elites was religious service. The main avenue for lay service in the Church of England in Virginia was through the parochial system. Until it was disestablished in 1786, every county in the Virginian colony had one or more parishes, which were both religious and civic units of government. The two principle positions in which the laity served were as vestrymen and churchwardens.

Vestry membership consisted of twelve men plus the parish minister. These members usually served for life and were self-perpetuating. Vestries conducted all the business of the parish including church construction and repair, minister selection, election of churchwardens, and support for the “deserving poor” among the parish residents. Members of the vestry were without exception from the elite class. Chief among their yearly duties was the apportioning of the parish tax levied on tithables in the parish: all males over sixteen, and all female slaves over sixteen. This tax covered church construction and repair, ministers’ salaries, and poor relief (Upton 1997:6).

Churchwardens were the enforcement officers of the vestry and operated in much the same fashion as other middle ranking civic enforcers, although they were in the same elite standing as the other vestrymen. Churchwardens were elected from among existing vestrymen for one to several years depending on the parish. Their duties included collection of the parish levies, identifying parishioners in need or informing on them, and presenting to the county court grand jury persons accused of bastardry, failure to attend parish services once a month, and other breeches of moral laws (Upton 1997:7).

Finally, another avenue of civic service, available to high office holders were certain extra-governmental offices. These offices included the board of visitors at the College of William and Mary and, later in the eighteenth century, the court of directors for the Public Hospital. The number of these positions was limited and

service in these positions came from among the highest ranks of the social and political hierarchy (Rowe 1989:23-28).

The relationship of pistols to this series of elite governmental and social service obviously lies primarily with the militia and enforcement offices. Pistols, as has been noted previously in this chapter, were required for the mounted militia. Pistols were holstered on the saddle, usually known as a trooping saddle, and not worn on the hip, simply because they were too large and unwieldy at this time. Similarly, the pistol, like the sword became a badge of military rank as it still is in modern armies. Civic enforcement offices would also have made use of pistols and swords both as a means of showing the seriousness of their offices and also as a practical weapon in bringing offenders to the courts and maintaining law and order. Imbedded within both the militia and several of enforcement offices was an inherent risk to one's life. This willingness to risk life and limb for maintenance of social prerogatives further elevates one's position and comes heavily into play in the third element of elite class definition.

### *Risk Taking Within Elite Circles: Gambling and Dueling*

A third arena in which Chesapeake elite could outwardly display their social standing were activities involving personal risk. Two different activities are key examples of social action qualifying societal position: gambling and dueling. Gentlemen spent a good deal of their time gambling in the late seventeenth and all across the eighteenth centuries. Although gambling in and of itself was not an

activity reserved specifically for the elite, high stakes gambling became the distinguishing characteristic of elite culture (Breen 1980:149). Games of chance and skill, such as cards, dice, billiards or backgammon, were common gentry pastimes and their probate records bear this out (Struna 1994). Betting on political or personal activities of other members of their class was also popular, but horse racing was by far the most popular and most public gambling spectacle.

Breen has gone so far as to relate the horse race in colonial culture to Geertz's interpretation of the Balinese cockfight in its scope of public/political significance (Breen 1980:155; Geertz 1973:412-454). Interestingly, cockfighting was also a prized gambling activity of the colonial elite class. Horseracing not only involved raising the necessary quarter horses which required sufficient land, time, and money, it also required a willingness to risk large amounts of income on the outcome of a single race. This particular gambling event still draws large Virginian crowds today.

Dueling is a formal, pre-arranged, combative action between two persons armed with deadly weapons and is usually witnessed by at least two others, traditionally called seconds. History has glorified and recorded this ritual as the highest members of society practiced it. The art of dueling is a direct descendent of the chivalric practice of judicial combat, or trial by combat, a right granted by society and believed to be sanctioned by God (Stevens 1940:1; Millingen 1841:II, 1). The practice grew throughout the late Middle Ages and spread in Europe from France, to Italy, and to England. The primary reason for dueling during this period was for the defense of one's personal or family honor. As the practice advanced through time, it

became more regimented and prescriptive as manuals including *The British Code of Duel* and *The Art of Duelling* were created as references to the laws of honor and a gentlemen's character. Dueling was a credible, outward, action that socially manifested the participant's belief in the value of honor.

In Virginia, the colonial elite class had little difficulty in combining their unique form of civic honor, which focused on community justice, with dueling (Ross 1999:5). Although the act of dueling did not become the staple of southern histories until after 1800, historians and researchers have still been able to find numerous accounts of "affairs of honor" (Baird 1999a). These included challenges, near duels and actual duels where shots were fired. For the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, ten such affairs of honor have been recorded, with others certain to be discovered. What is interesting to note about these actions is that three involved military personnel, all involved individuals of elite class status, and two even involved Virginia governors. Elite individuals including Thomas Ludwell, governors Berkeley and Nicholson, and Nathaniel Bacon all participated in duels before 1730, beginning the elite tradition which went on to include Hamilton vs. Burr and Barron vs. Decatur.

This social action was reserved specifically for the upper classes. Dueling and the code of honor were specifically designed to divide society into two classes, those who were capable of honor and those who were not; therefore restriction of this social action to the upper class was demanded (Bryson 1935:15). A gentleman would never accept a duel from one beneath his station in life and only civilized persons of equal

stature were deemed acceptable opponents (Williams 1980:26). Furthermore, those not of the elite class were barred from dueling, not because of the violence, but because of its symbolic class association.

Just as dueling was directly associated with honor, it was also heavily influenced by an individual's militancy, defined as a willingness to fight or a combative nature, in other words, the most antagonistic of the social strategies for self-enhancement (Wyatt-Brown 1982:350). Although dueling was seen as a proper forum for resolving matters of personal integrity, one still had to have the necessary character to follow through with a potentially deadly encounter. What is important to understand is that few duels ever came to blood loss or death before the American Revolution. Duels were fought as symbolic resolutions to matters of honor and, although they could result in death, often were for public display, not necessarily deadly violence (Ross 1999:24-5).

The relationship of the pistol to dueling is an obvious one. As personal weaponry continued to advance, the pistol became the duelist's logical tool. The pistol, just as its predecessor the sword, was capable of being used single-handedly and was intended for close quarters. It became the dueler's weapon of choice in the eighteenth century, and by its end and the early nineteenth century, dueling pistols were being produced. These pistols were quite fashionable and seen by some as a required part of a gentleman's accoutrements, even if they were never used (Wilkinson-Latham 1977:44).

Because these pistols had to have a high level of accuracy, and attempted to eliminate misfires to the greatest degree possible, they are a high example of the gunsmith's art. Pistol locks were fitted with spring triggers responding to the slightest pressure. This worked both to insure a quick shot, and inversely, throw off an opponent not used to the sensitive trigger. Interestingly, these pistols usually lacked any superfluous decoration. Handles were scored for a secure grip, not silver or brass plated. Similarly, while the inside of the barrel was carefully polished, the outside was browned or blued to give it a dull color. All this was done to remove as many distractions as possible for the duelists (Hogg 1979:22-23). A single moment's hesitation due to the glare of the sun could be deadly. Dueling pistols were both functional weapons and material status symbols as is evident from the numerous pairs still in existence today (Dixon 1971).

#### *Elite Definition and a Means for Testing Accoutrement Use*

Land and slave ownership; political, military, and religious service; and high stakes gambling and dueling are all characteristics that when combined with strong cultural undercurrents of honor, militancy, individualism, and competitiveness, interlock to provide standards for being an elite within colonial York County. Once dominance in one arena is achieved, it allowed ease of access to further forms of definition. Together, a cyclical, self-sustaining class was established using newly created colonial, social concepts in combination with previously held notions of gentry status to legitimate and maintain a viable elite class in the colonial

Chesapeake. At the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, these creole elite and near-elite were separating and defining themselves into a new hierarchy.

The pistol was ideal for colonial Virginian's to use in this effort. Pistols could be purchased in varying economic brackets, and were effective in conveying social rank similar to the effect of owning fine china, furniture, or clothing. Pistols were required of mounted militia members, positions sought by gentry. Along with their cases, holsters, caps, and other associated accoutrements, pistols were part of a larger material requirement for upper-end military service. This amount of equipment was significantly greater than that required of foot militia, a clear distinction between the haves and have-nots. Horse troopers could also associate themselves with historically honor-filled elite class members, such as knights of the Middle Ages.

In a similar vein, civic offices that enforced directives handed down from a primarily unseen elite-controlled state and church were effectively manned and maintained by colonial elite and near-elite classes. Finally, dueling was an effective, combative ritual conducted to defend one's honor and prove one's personal level of competitiveness and combativeness. As pistols replaced the sword for dueling during the seventeenth century, the pistol took on yet another symbolic attribute actively cultivated by the Virginian elite class.

Based on the arguments outlined above, this study's central hypothesis is that the pistol is a necessary tool of class negotiation in York County, Virginia. When broken down into the three *central elements* assumed to be operating within the elite



class, consumerism, service, and risk-taking, secondary, more specific hypotheses become apparent. First, those having higher levels of wealth, i.e. the elite and near-elite classes, will likely have more pistols than the overall population. Second, those having more access to colonial means of production (land and slaves) will logically own more pistols than the general population. Third, those serving in colonial society (civic, military, religious) will probably have more pistols than the rest of the population. Fourth, those who engage in more risk-oriented activities will also likely have more pistols than everyone else.

For this study, the “general population,” consists of people within colonial culture who were free and able to impact society in tangible terms, namely adult, white men. Although women, slaves, and other minorities were influential in negotiating several different aspects of colonial society, they did not serve in military, civic, and religious positions. Women traditionally owned less land than men and were usually excluded from risk-taking activities. Therefore, this study focuses its attention on white males.

This study uses probate inventories for collection of relevant data. Colonial probate inventories provide researchers with specific information linking objects to the people who owned them. Because of the methods used to create probate inventories, the study group narrows again to white males in York County who were included in the probating process.

## CHAPTER IV

### SAMPLING, PROBATE INVENTORIES, AND STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

#### *Statistics and Methodology*

The use of statistics in anthropology and archaeology has increased substantially during the past 50 years. Beginning with processual or New Archaeology in the 1960s and continuing through the more recent integration of advanced technologies and computer-based analysis, archaeologists have drawn from both exploratory data analysis (Tukey 1977, Drennan 1996) and inferential statistics (Thomas 1986). Upon generation, the data set for this study was first examined using exploratory data analysis. Trends identified in the sample data were then evaluated using inferential statistics to test hypotheses tailored to anthropological questions (Norusis 1999; Drennan 1996; Thomas 1986).

The statistical sample considered in this study was generated using transcribed York County probate inventories collected by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's Department of Historical Research. The inventories were initially collected under Grants RS-00033-80-1604 and RO-20869085 from the National Endowment for the Humanities to help the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation examine York County's population, including the towns of Williamsburg and

Yorktown. Roughly 700 probate inventories dated between 1634 and 1729 were collected.

For this study, inventories found to contain pistols (n=127) were photocopied and analyzed. Inventories containing terminology for pistols during the time period, specifically “troopers arms” and “horse arms” were also included. Inventories that included phrases that may allude to pistols such as “small gun” or a “pair of guns” were not included.

After creating the pistol subset, a sufficiently large, stratified random sample of probate inventories for the entire period was created. This sample was selected by breaking the probate inventories into five-year intervals. The percentage of probate inventories that occur in each five-year period was determined, and a random number table was used to select that specific percentage of cases from each stratum.

The random sample included only male probate inventories. Only two females’ probate inventories were found to have pistols after initial research, and several of the database indicators are gender sensitive. Probate inventories that included pistols and were therefore already in the pistol sample were still kept in this group in order to generate a truly random sample. Within this subset, 20 probate inventories (20.4%) included pistols. Those probate inventories determined to be part of the random sample (n=98) were then photocopied and included in the analysis.

In effect, my analysis involves two sets of comparisons. The first uses the random sample of York County probate inventories to compare with York County probate inventories listing pistols (n=98 and n=127). The second uses the York

County random sample with the pistol-owing individuals (n=20) removed and the remainder compared with York County probate inventories listing pistols (n=78 and n=127). The first examines pistol owners against the general York County population, whereas the second examines pistol owners against non-pistol owners within the York County population. In turn, the population in these samples is thought to represent classes in the colonial period.

The database was constructed using 18 separate variables for each probated individual, however, only those in bold were used for exploratory data analysis (See Appendixes A and B):

Year born either known or approximated

Year the inventory was recorded by the county clerk

Estate value recorded on the probate inventory

**Recalculated inventory value (to remove inflation and equalize values)**

**Land owned or leased**

Occupation known, not including planter

**Number of servants listed**

**Number of slaves listed**

**Civic offices held or duties performed**

**Religious offices held or duties performed**

Number of pairs of pistols owned

Number of single pistols owned

Associated pistol accoutrements (holsters or cases)

**Presence or absence of objects associated with horse trooping**

**Presence or absence of swords**

**Number of other guns listed in probate inventory**

Other gun accoutrements owned (such as powder, bullet molds, or shot)

Variables from the database that could not be determined from examining the probate inventories alone, including birth year, land owned or leased, occupation, and offices/duties, were collected from index card files on each individual, compiled by the Historical Research Department at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. When possible, the remaining variables were also examined against Colonial Williamsburg Foundation records to maintain consistency in recording and as a means of double-checking the data.

#### *Probate Inventories and Statistical Assumptions*

Colonial probate inventories can provide researchers with significant information linking objects and the people who owned them. Through close analysis, historians, anthropologists, and archaeologists are able to examine a wide spectrum of issues including wealth and material consumption (Carr and Walsh 1980), agriculture (Bowen 1978; McMahon 1981; Bell 1999), and past cultural worldview interpretation (Beaudry 1988; Bellesiles 1996; Brown 1972). However, some assumptions must be maintained when using probate inventories.

It was assumed that those white males of qualifying age for civic, military, or religious service, who had something to be probated, were in fact probated. This is the case for the majority of the individuals during this period. However, all estates were not inventoried even though laws in many of the colonies required probating (Brumfield 1983:3; Main 1975:91-92). Poor whites and free blacks often had little

property worth inventorying, and slaves had no estates. Larger estates that were considered to be completely solvent, typically over 1,000 pounds in value, by law could avoid inventorying, however many of the wealthiest (and solvent) Virginians' estates were inventoried (Rowe, Personal Communication, 2000).

Additionally, critics have challenged that those estates that were probated do not represent a good cross-section of colonial Chesapeake society. This can be the case, as there was bias toward older, white males who had accumulated more wealth and property. A second assumption of this paper is that the individuals over-represented in the probate-inventoried population are most likely to be near-elite and/or elite class members. As I have compared pistol owners to a random sample of individuals whose belongings were probated, this problem is fairly minimal.

Although probate inventories are flawed in several areas, this study has attempted to account for this by incorporating data from other court records and by studying those members of society who were most likely to be represented by probate inventories. Furthermore, although they manifest some weaknesses as historical data, probate inventories remain one of the best sources for object-oriented information from the colonial period.

### *Statistical Analysis of the Two Subsets*

Before more complicated inferential statistics were conducted, exploratory data analysis (EDA) was conducted in order to identify specific trends and differences for each subset. Sex, year born, numbers of single and pair pistols owned, and

numbers of pistol accoutrements and gun accoutrements owned were not included in this basic EDA (see appendixes for additional information). Occupation, other than planter, was also not included in EDA because occupation could only be determined when it was recorded in a person's court records. This resulted in a disproportionate number of occupations directly associated with the court, such as attorneys, jailers, or those needing licenses such as tavern keepers.

### Recalculated Estate Value

The recalculated estate value indicator uses the estate value as calculated from the probate inventory, and then applies an economic deflator to standardize all the estate values to a 1700-1709 valuation (Harris 1988). The majority of estate values were totaled in pounds sterling, and then converted to a decimal number. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation estate values were used when inventories had been originally valued in pounds of tobacco. Because some probate inventories were not appraised by the inventory taker, the size for the two subsets is 75 for the random subset, and 105 for the pistol subset.

EDA was conducted on both data sets to proportionally associate inventories with traditional lower, middle, and upper classes. Carr and Walsh's (1980:87) class/wealth estate ranges of 0-50£, 51-225£, and 226£ and above, yielded the results shown in Figures 2 and 3. The wealth breakdowns between each set showed considerable disparity between pistol owners and non-owners. In examining wealth ranges for pistol owners, it appears that those who owned pistols during this time

period were concentrated in the middle and upper estate values. Those not owning pistols were concentrated in the middle and lower estate values. Using these wealth ranges to determine the class of a probated individual, it could be argued that pistol owners were more likely to be part of society's near-elite to elite classes, especially when almost half of the examined pistol owners fell into the highest wealth category.

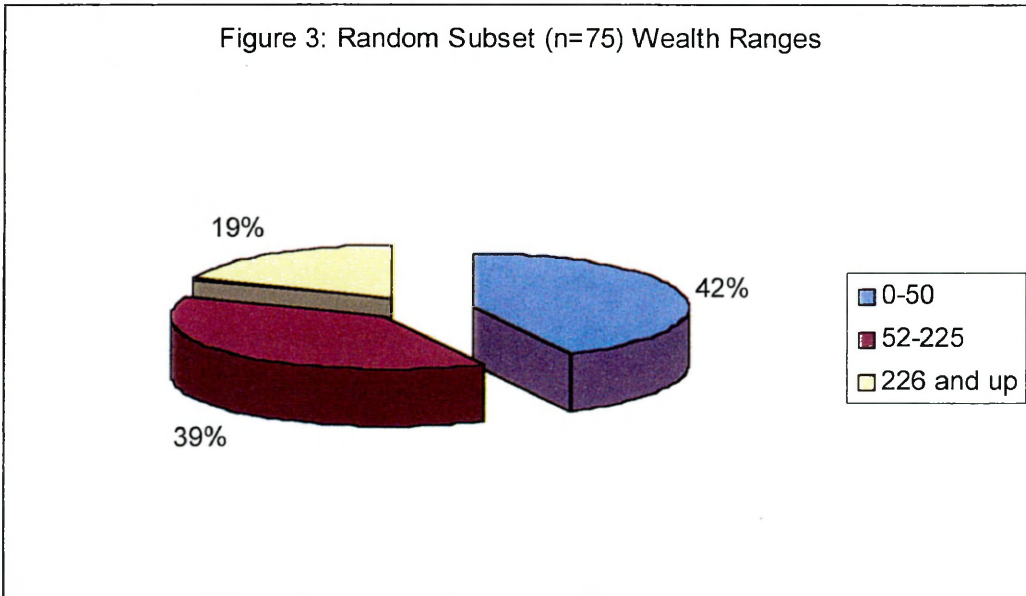
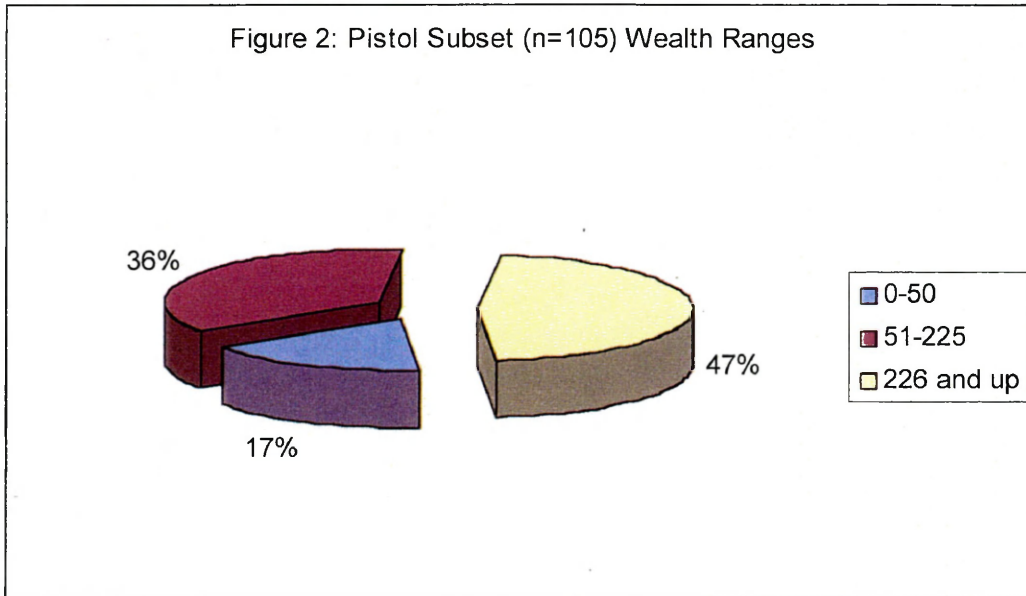
Continuing the EDA process, detailed histograms can be generated for each group (Figures 4 & 5). Both histograms are positively skewed, showing that large numbers of colonial probate inventories were centered near the beginning or lower end of the spectrum, and that as the estate value increases, the number of individuals decreases. However, these histograms do show inherent difference in estate values and the presences of different status levels or classes. Upon examining the histograms, it is apparent that the pistol subset's mean and 5% trimmed mean (251.33 vs. the random subset's 104.65) are almost twice that of the random subset, demonstrating that recalculated estate values for the pistol subset have a tendency to center higher than those of the random subset. Similarly, the calculated median for the pistol subset was 207.97 and 63.73 for the random subset. Again, this statistic shows that the basic estate values for the pistol subset center much higher than those of the random subset.

Finally, inferential statistics are used to determine if there is a statistically significant difference between the subsets, in other words, if the two samples come from different populations, interpreted in this study as classes. The null hypothesis for this test states that there is no statistical difference between the two subsets,



FIGURES 2 AND 3

PISTOL AND NON-PISTOL SUBSET WEALTH RANGE EDA



FIGURES 4 AND 5

PISTOL AND NON-PISTOL ESTATE VALUE EDA

Figure 4: Pistol Subset Histogram EDA

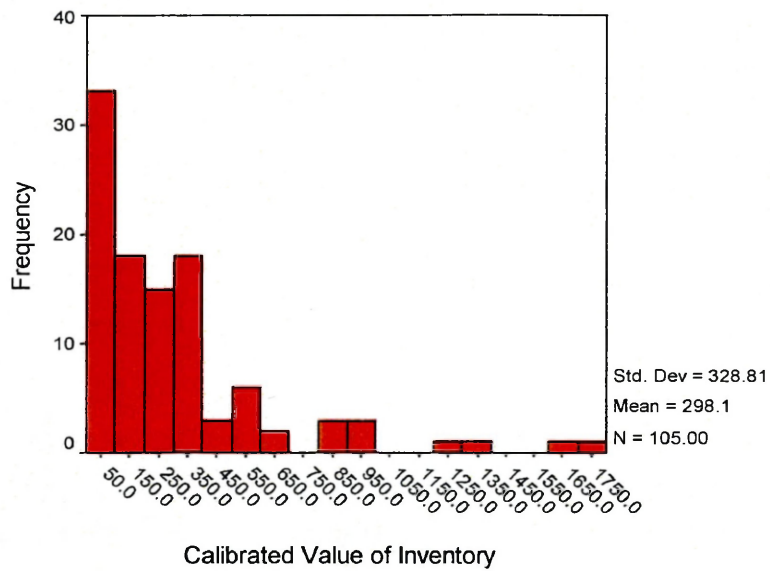
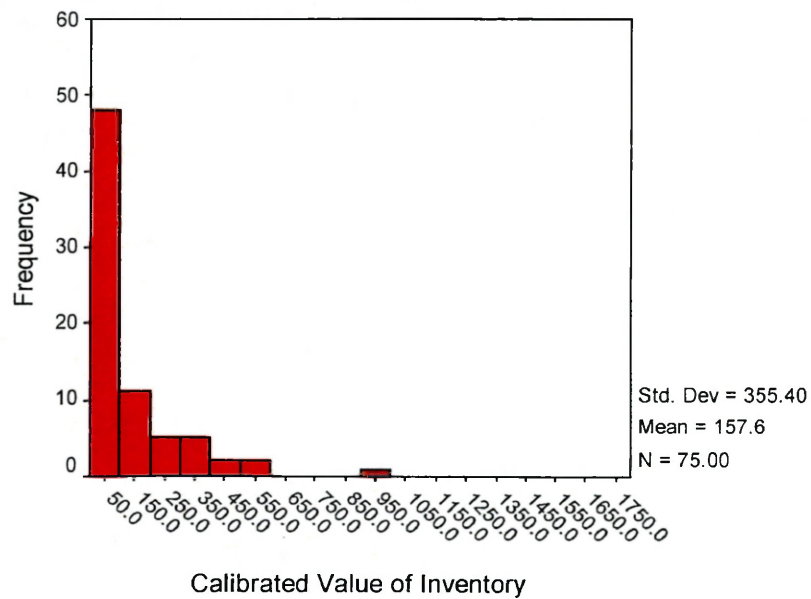


Figure 5: Random Subset Histogram EDA



while the alternative hypothesis states that there is a statistical difference between the subsets. Prior to inferential statistics testing, data used from the two sets was transformed to approach a more normal distribution. A two-tailed independent t-test with an alpha rejection level of 0.05 indicated that there is a statistically significant difference in mean estate values between the pistol and random subsets ( $t = 4.219$ ,  $df = 111.398$ ,  $p < .001$ ). The results of this inferential test allow for 99.9% confidence that the two subsets come from separate populations. This result allows for the interpretation that, based on standardized economic wealth ranges, pistol owners in the colonial Tidewater belonged to near-elite and elite social classes in greater numbers than those who did not own pistols.

#### Land Owned or Leased

The land owned or leased indicator was calculated by examining index-card files for each individual and recording land transactions. Total maximum acreage held at one time was calculated and simplified to be either more or less than 500 acres, a significant amount in colonial Tidewater Virginia. In a very few cases, specific mention of land was made in an individual's probate inventory. This was also included in this indicator. This indicator should be viewed more as the presence or absence of land owned or leased, not as an exact measure of individual acreage ownership.

The results of EDA are shown in Figure 6. For the random subset, 92 cases were sufficiently complete for EDA inclusion while 118 cases were available from

the pistol subset. Based on the EDA viewable in this figure, pistol owners for this period were more likely to own or lease land, including values over 500 acres. However, land lease or ownership appears important for the entire York County qualifying population.

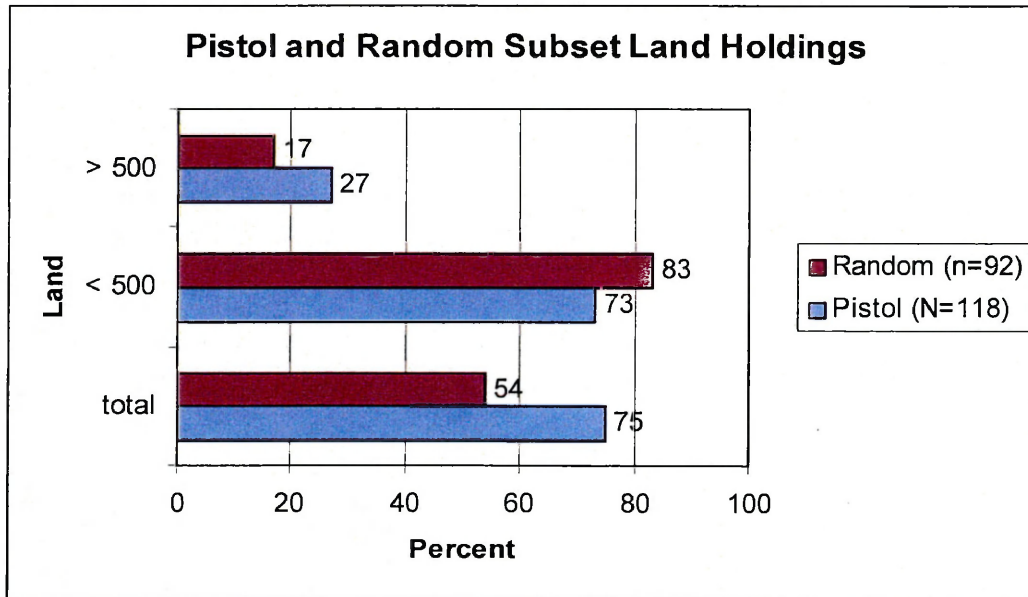
In using inferential statistics, here only those in the random group who did not own pistols were included in the comparison. The purpose of this was to better test pistol versus non-pistol ownership as it related to land ownership. A two-tailed, chi-squared test for independence, using an alpha rejection level of 0.05, indicated that pistol and land ownership were related in a non-random fashion (chi sq. = 6.962, df = 1, n = 196, p = .008). The results of the test show that it is very likely that pistol ownership and land ownership are related. Because land ownership was extremely important to the primary means of production for this time period, and those owning pistols held more land, pistols are again tied to those with more wealth, and therefore more social status, within colonial Tidewater society.

### Number of Servants

Servants were also listed in probate inventories, although they were not owned in perpetuity as were slaves. Servants were contracted to serve a number of crops or years, and a value was attached to this time/labor. Because servants listed in probate a period means of production. Although numbers for this group decrease and are never high during the entire period, this does not indicate low numbers of servants employed, but rather a change in servant status from indentured to wage

FIGURE 6

PISTOL AND NON-PISTOL SUBSET LAND OWNERSHIP EDA



earner. Once an individual could purchase slaves, servants were effectively replaced and it is assumed that once they became hired versus “owned,” they were no longer included in an inventory probate. All pistol subset cases and 96 of the 98 random subset cases were usable for this statistic. As seen in the two histograms, each subsets contained less than 25% probate inventories listing servants. (Figures 7 & 8).

Although both groups’ numbers and percentages are similar, there are slight differences in the average number of servants listed. The mean for the pistol owners is 0.51, while the random subset is only 0.36, and if the trimmed mean for each is used the values are 0.23 and 0.20. Those who owned pistols were slightly more likely to have more servants than the random subset. This would make sense if it is assumed that pistol owners belonged to a social class with more wealth and more need of servants as part of the means of production or as representations of purchasing/paying power.

### Number of Slaves

Probate inventories as well as Colonial Williamsburg Foundation research files were used to calculate the number of slaves held in York County by probated individuals. Ninety-six random and 127 pistol subset individuals were available from each subset for this indicator (Figures 9 & 10). Slave ownership contrasted sharply by a margin of over 2:1, with 36% of the random and 74% of the pistol subset individuals owning slaves. Similarly, mean subset numbers, 5.8 for the pistol group

FIGURES 7 AND 8

PISTOL AND NON-PISTOL SUBSET SERVANT EDA

Figure 7: Pistol Subset Servant Histogram

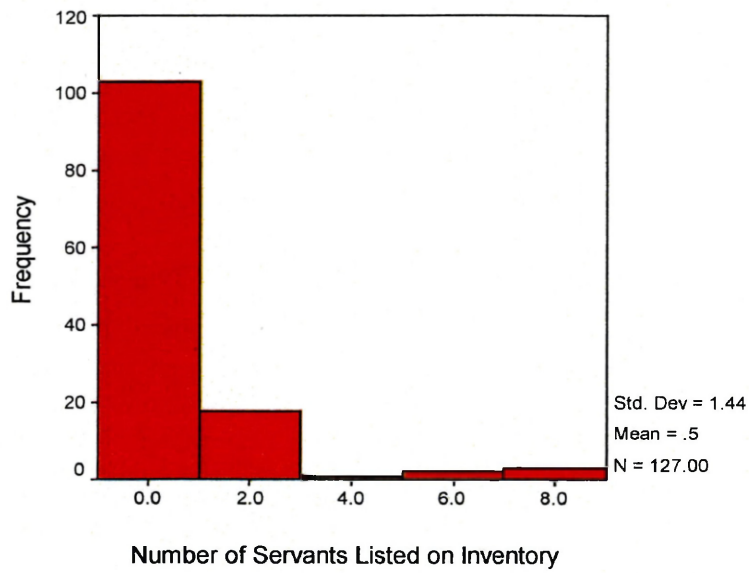
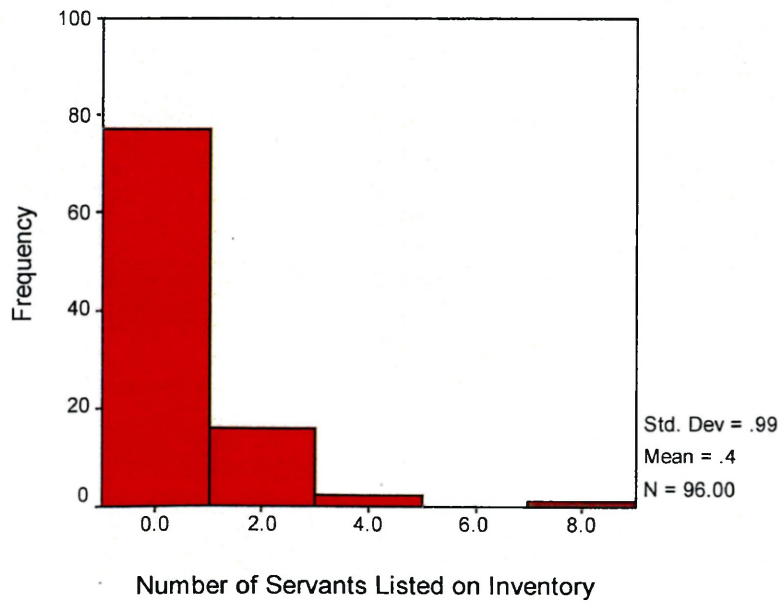


Figure 8: Random Subset Servant Histogram



and only 2.8 for the random group, show that not only were pistol owners more likely to own slaves, they owned them in higher numbers than the general population. Clearly there is a relationship between pistol ownership and slave ownership in York County.

The same inferential statistics used for the wealth indicator are again used to determine if there is a statistically significant difference between the subsets. Prior to inferential statistics testing, data used from the two sets was transformed to approach a more normal distribution. A two-tailed independent t-test with an alpha rejection level of 0.05 indicated that there is a statistically significant difference in mean estate values between the pistol and random subsets ( $t = 2.822$ ,  $df 199$ ,  $p = .005$ ).

Again, the test shows that the mean difference between the two subsets is statistically significant. It is very likely that these two means come from different populations. The result of this test allows for the interpretation that pistol owners owned larger numbers of slaves than non-pistol owners in the colonial Tidewater. Because slaves were integral to the large-scale production of cash crops during this period, a primary avenue to wealth, pistol owners belonged to higher social classes.

### Civic Offices

Several different levels of civic service were open to qualifying members of York County's population. These have been divided in this study into civic circles, with civic circle one representing highest service levels and three representing the lowest. Civic circle one included justices, sheriffs, coroners, burgesses, and College



FIGURES 9 AND 10

PISTOL AND NON-PISTOL SUBSET SLAVE EDA

Figure 9: Pistol Subset Slave Ownership EDA

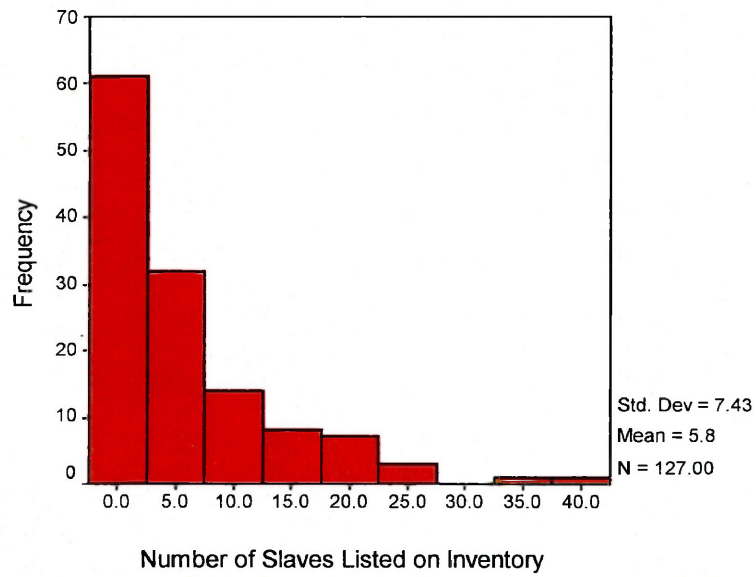
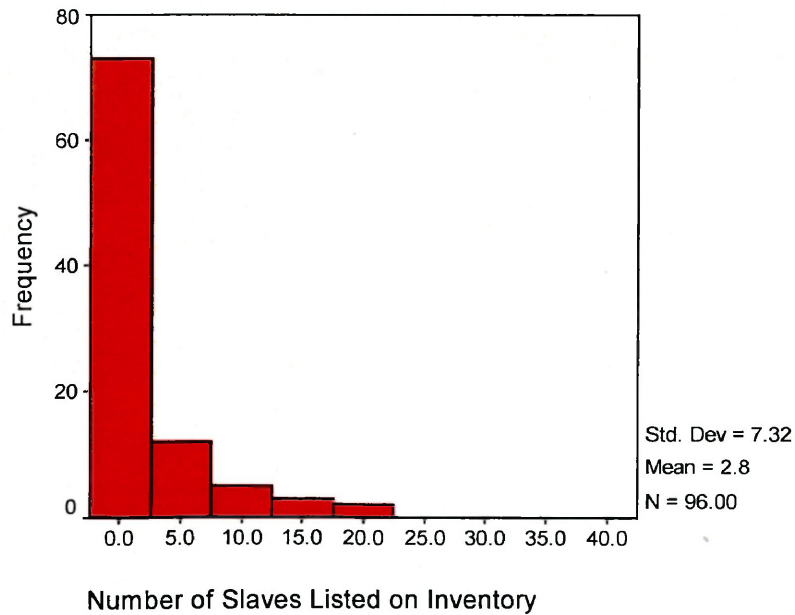


Figure 10: Random Subset Slave Ownership EDA



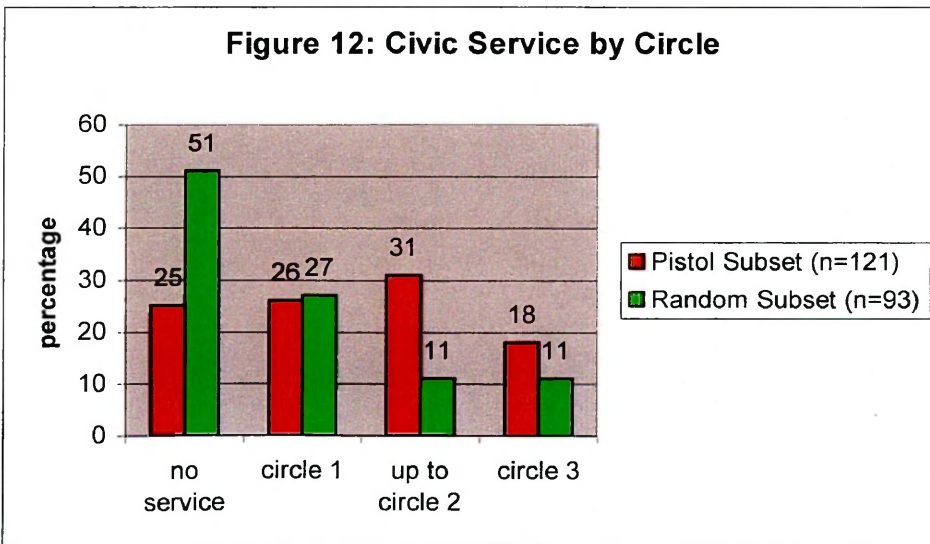
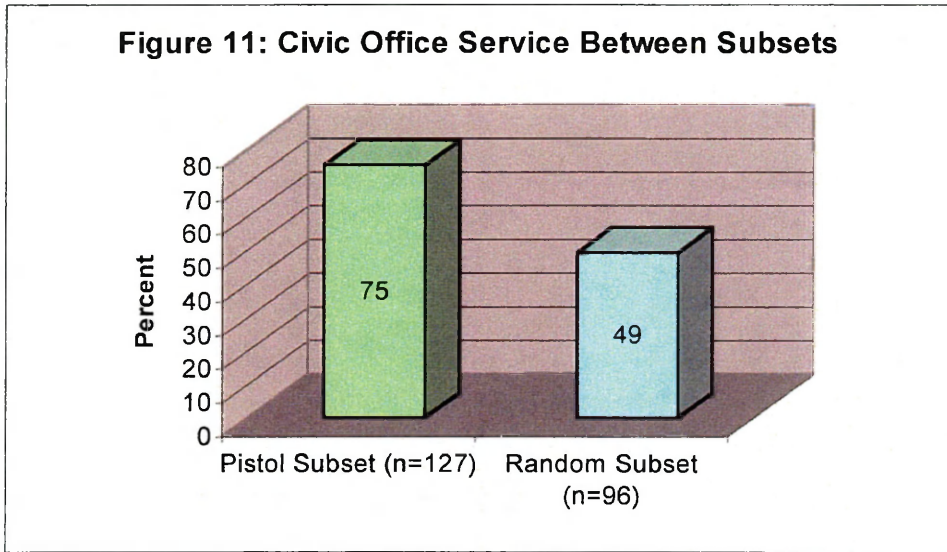
of William & Mary trustees, for example. Civic circle two included many of the enforcement officers such as constables, under or subsheriffs, surveyors of lands, roads, or highways, tobacco tellers, and leather sealers. Civic circle three included those primarily associated only with actual court sessions such as jurors and jury foremen.

Looking at EDA in Figure 11, 49% of the individuals (n=93) within the random subset held one level of civic office or another, whereas 75% of the individuals (n=121) within the pistol subset held civic offices from circles one through three. When pistol owners are removed from the random subset (n=73) only 45% held civic office. This EDA shows that pistol owners were more likely to hold civic offices versus the general population, and even more likely to hold a civic office than non-pistol owners.

When each subset is broken down by civic circle obtained, more intriguing data is revealed (Figure 12). The percentages of individuals serving only at civic circle one are relatively equal, however, of those serving up to civic circle two, the enforcement level, the numbers are quite different. When pistol owners are removed from the random sample only 9% serve in the enforcement circle, verses the 31% in the pistol subset. In the highest offices, pistol owners also had a slight advantage, however from this EDA pistol owners were much more likely to serve in an enforcement capacity. As noted in chapter three, those serving in the middling levels of civic office gained access to higher offices and their favors, as well as creating duties which, over time, often became associated with particular families.

FIGURES 11 AND 12

PISTOL AND NON-PISTOL SUBSET CIVIC OFFICE EDA



Testing these results with inferential statistics involves the use of the chi-square test of independence, similar to what was done with the land/pistol relationship. Here the relationship between pistols and civic service circle two for pistol and non-pistol owners is examined. Again this is a two-tailed test with an alpha rejection level of 0.05. The results of the test (chi sq. = 11.072, df = 1, n = 193, p = .001) show it is extremely likely that pistol ownership and civic two service are related in a non-random fashion.

Those who wanted to serve in duties considered of some importance within colonial Tidewater society, or possibly advance to higher positions, may have needed to own or have access to pistols. This is especially true for the near-elite who were serving just below the highest levels of service in the enforcement circle. These enforcement officers, using the pistol as a potent symbol of their position and authority were purposely engaged in negotiating their status, both with the public, and with the elite class above them.

### Religious Offices

Two religious offices were open to church laity, vestryman and churchwarden (chosen from among the twelve vestrymen). Vestrymen were the financial and duty decision-makers of the parishes, and the churchwardens were guardians of the parishioners' moral behavior. Only seven (8%) of the 93 cases useable from the random subset had either of these duties, with six being churchwardens in addition to being vestrymen, and one having been only a vestryman. However, of the 121

qualifying cases from the pistol subset, 28 (23%) individuals held either office, with 23 having served as both vestryman and churchwarden, and five just as vestrymen (Figure 13).

Similar to the numbers seen with the secular offices held, those owning pistols appear more likely to have held a religious office during their lives versus the general, qualifying, York County population. If we remove those pistol owners from the random subset the number is further reduced to five individuals (7%) of the 73 useable cases. Furthermore, the two removed each had served in both capacities.

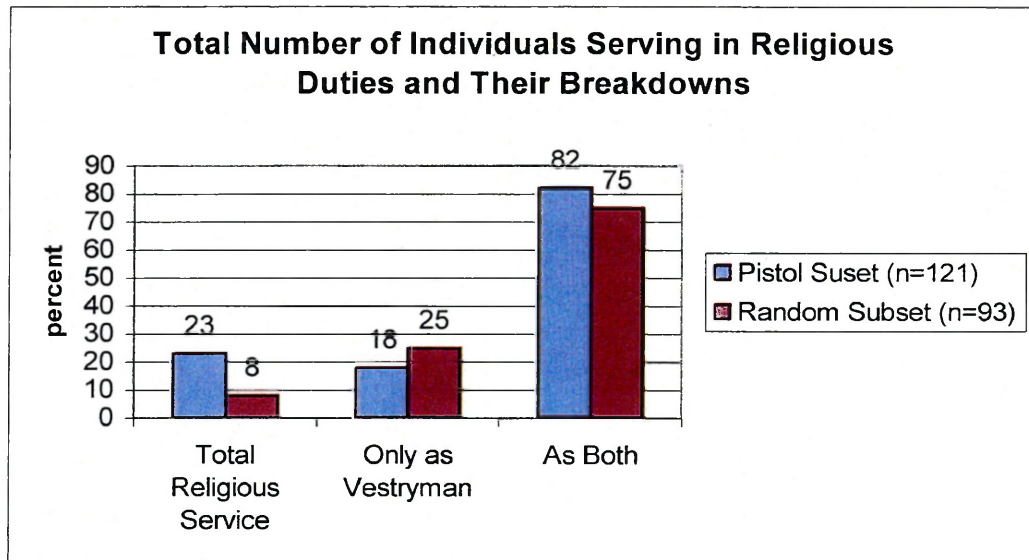
Churchwardens in both groups far outnumber vestrymen, however, individuals were more likely to be churchwardens if they owned a pistol. Churchwardens, as noted previously, were very active in the community, collecting parish taxes and physically maintaining public morality. Although churchwardens were not arresting officers, this equating of enforcement officials with pistol holders is very similar to those statistics shown with the civic office indicator.

Two separate questions can each be answered with inferential statistics. The first question deals with whether or not religious office holding and pistols are related, and the second question asks whether or not service as a churchwarden and pistols are related, both in a non-random fashion.

Both of these questions can be answered using the chi-squared statistic. Again, the null hypothesis in each test states that there is no relationship between the two variables, or if there is, it is the result of the vagaries of sampling. The

FIGURE 13

PISTOL AND NON-PISTOL SUBSET RELIGIOUS OFFICE EDA



alternative hypothesis in each test states that the two variables are related in a non-random sample, and this relationship is not the result of sampling error.

Both tests only use members of the random sample subset that do not possess pistols. Again each test uses an alpha rejection level of 0.05. The first test, involving religious service and pistols, had the following results (chi-sq.= 8.287, df=1, n =196, p =.004). The second test relating religious service as a churchwarden or religious enforcement officer and pistols had the following result (chi-sq. = 6.740, df = 1, n =196, p = .009). In the case of both of these inferential tests their rejection levels were well below the 0.05 alpha rejection level, and rejection of the null hypothesis is warranted.

The above inferential tests show it is very likely that pistols and religious office holding are related in a non-random fashion. Elite and near-elite class domination of these offices argue for the importance of pistol ownership to these groups. Although churchwardens and vestrymen were technically both part of the same level of religious service, churchwardens, with their increased public duties, may have more heavily relied upon pistols as a symbol of authority. With further research, it may be possible to highlight those serving primarily as churchwardens. In line with this thesis, however, it could be argued that churchwardens were more closely associated with the near-elite in the colonial Chesapeake and publicly used pistols to again symbolically and physically represent authority, and help to negotiate higher status for their owners.

### Presence or Absence of Trooping Equipment

Other than pistols, several additional items were required of the mounted militia, or horse troopers, including a breastplate, carbine, cartouch box, sword, and horse. Because some militia members may not have possessed their pistols at the time of their deaths, additional trooper items in the probate inventories for both subsets were analyzed for this indicator. Persons owning breastplates, carbines, and trooper's saddles in the absence of pistols were totaled, and added to pistol owners having similar equipment listed. Because cartouch boxes, horses, and swords could be used in conjunction with other activities, they were not considered when appearing singly as sufficient evidence to classify the owner as a horse trooper.

The sample sizes were 98 for the random subset and 125 for the pistol subset with the results of EDA shown in Figure 14. Only 13% of the random sample, versus the pistol group's 48%, possessed any portion of the necessary equipment for trooping. When pistols owners are removed from the random subset only five individuals possess the necessary equipment. This EDA shows rather strongly that pistol ownership was a vital component for membership in the more elite of the two types of citizen militias. In line with arguments made in the beginning of this study, class members serving in the mounted militia were most likely from the elite class, or perhaps individuals within the near-elite class, hoping to increase their position.

The inferential chi squared statistic is again used to examine the relationship between these two variables. The null and alternative hypotheses are the same as before, only with new variables. Again, only individuals who owned pistols are



compared with those in the random subset who did not. This two-tailed test with an alpha rejection level of 0.05 had the following results (chi sq.= 42.199, df=1, n= 204, p <.001). It is extremely likely that pistol ownership and trooping equipment ownership are related in a non-random fashion.

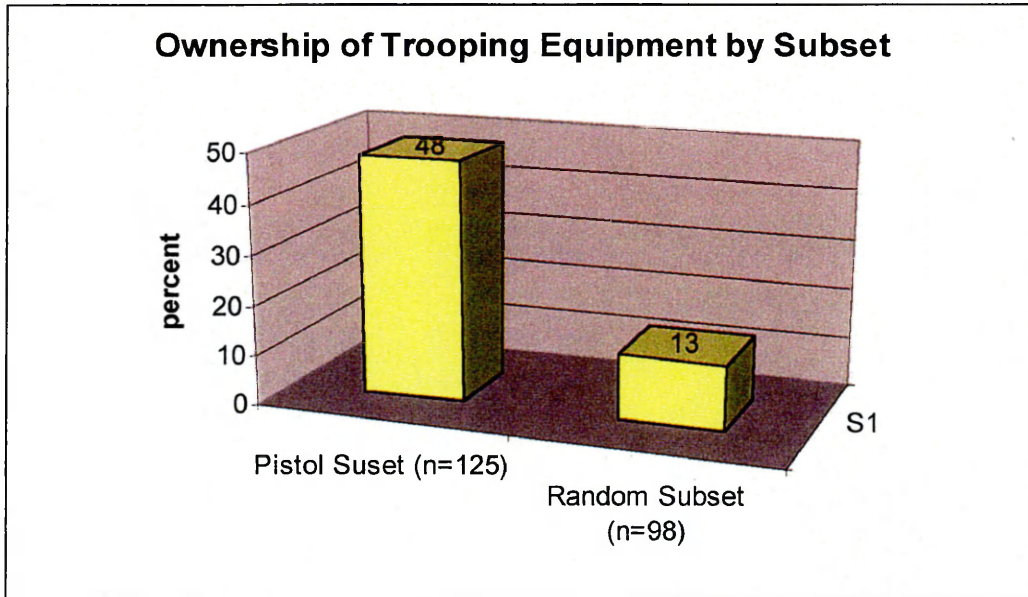
Although this seems to be an obvious equation, it also shows that although 48% of pistol owners were likely to have been militia members, 52% had pistols but not the necessary trooping accoutrements. How can this be interpreted? Pistols owners could use them for other activities including personal protection in sparsely settled areas. However, in view of the conclusions of this study, pistols could also have been used as status symbols, or for other activities relating directly to social status. The identified pattern raises important questions regarding the role of the pistol in elite status definition and opens avenues to other study areas.

#### Presence or Absence of Swords

The presence or absence of swords for each case in the two subsets was calculated using each individual's probate inventory, and recording whether or not they included swords or their equivalents such as sabers, rapiers, or backswords. Again all of the pistol subset (n=125) and all but one of the random subset (n=97) qualified for this indicator. Within the pistol subset 64% had swords while only 30% of the random subset had swords (Figure 15). When those cases having pistols were removed from the random subset, of the remaining 77 cases, 21% had swords recorded.

FIGURE 14

PISTOL AND NON-PISTOL SUBSET HORSE TROOPING EDA



As discussed previously in the text, swords were a requirement of certain types of military service, were an acceptable accoutrement to dress, and used in duels before pistols became the weapon of choice. This statistic shows that pistol owners were twice as likely to have swords. Swords are items associated with the upper class and those who owned them were either elites or individuals closely emulating them.

The inferential chi squared statistic again effectively examines the relationship between pistols and swords. The null and alternative hypotheses are the same as before, only with new variables of sword and pistol. Again, only individuals who owned pistols are compared with those in the random subset who did not. This two-tailed test with an alpha rejection level of 0.05 had the following results (chi sq.= 39.072, df=1, n=204 , p <.001).

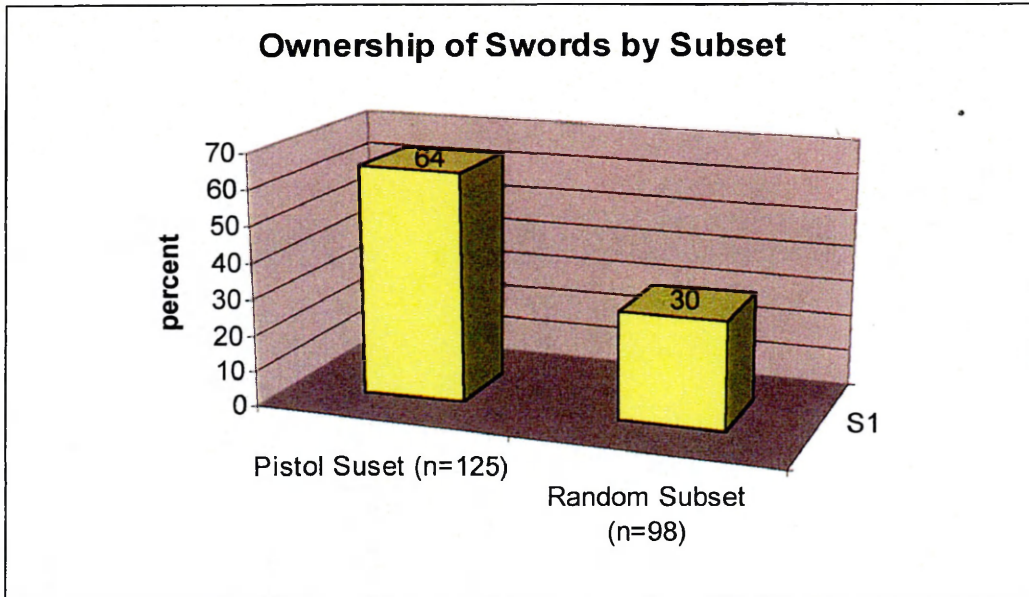
As with previous tests, it is extremely likely that pistol ownership and sword ownership are related in a non-random fashion, and both are likely to have been associated with the elite and near-elite classes in colonial Virginia. It would be worth examining at a later date the relationship between sword ownership and elite status in greater depth in order to determine whether the same statistical trends appear in the documentary record.

#### Other Firearms Owned

Gun ownership beyond pistols was also noted in this study. The entire pistol subset and all but one of the random subset was useable for this indicator. Firearms that were noted within this indicator include rifles, muskets, carbines, fowling pieces,

FIGURE 15

PISTOL AND NON-PISTOL SUBSET SWORD OWNERSHIP EDA



and the catch-all probate inventory word, “guns.” The number of guns per person was also noted, and pistols were not included in this total. Within the random subset, 54% of the cases included firearms. The pistol subset contained 76% cases where other firearms were included, beyond pistols. Looking at the means for both groups, 0.9 for random subset and 1.6 for pistol subset, the pistol subset also owned a higher number of firearms per person (Figures 16 & 17). If the trimmed mean is used, the numbers are altered to 0.8 for the random subset and 1.4 for the pistol subset, a large distance between the means.

This statistical evidence suggests that pistol owners owned more additional weapons than the random population sample, and that they also owned higher percentages of firearms per individual. Inferential statistics were used to determine if there is a statistically significant difference between the subsets, in other words, if the two samples come from different populations, again interpreted in this study as classes. Prior to inferential statistics testing, data used from the two sets was transformed to approach a more normal distribution. A two-tailed independent t-test with an alpha rejection level of 0.05 indicated that there is a statistically significant difference in firearms owned between the pistol and random subsets ( $t = 4.490$ ,  $df = 200$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

The results of this inferential test allow for 99.9% confidence that the two subsets come from two separate populations. Pistol owners in the colonial Tidewater were more likely to have owned other weapons than those who did not own pistols. This could be due to the fact that pistol owners were more confident in their use of

FIGURES 16 AND 17

PISTOL AND NON-PISTOL SUBSET FIREARM OWNERSHIP EDA

Figure 16: Pistol Subset Other Firearms Owned

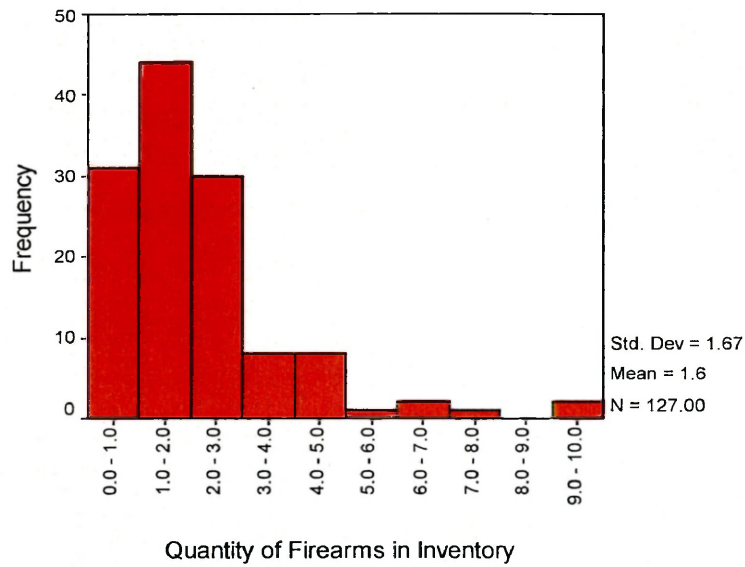
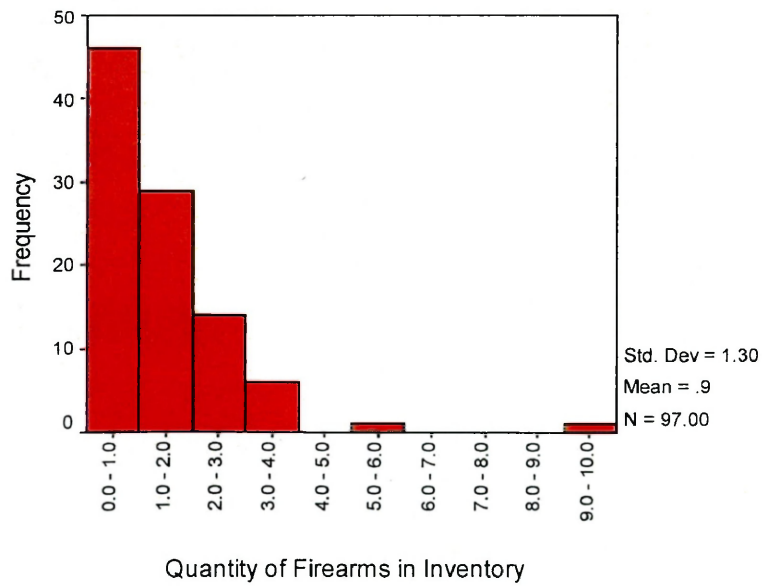


Figure 17: Random Subset Other Firearms Owned



other firearms, were in the military and required other weapons, such as carbines or muskets for service, or because they lived in areas where more weapons were needed. All of the above arguments tie into the concept of a militant, combative, upper classes who recognized the value of weapons for status within society.

### *Examining the Larger Picture*

When the statistical indicators are examined and the pistol subset is viewed in relation to the general population subset, several trends in the data become apparent (Table 1).

- ◆ Pistol owners tend to own estates with greater values.
- ◆ Pistol owners owned or leased slightly more land and in larger amounts.
- ◆ Pistol owners employed similar numbers of servants for the period.
- ◆ Pistol owners owned more slaves.
- ◆ Pistol owners held more civic offices and in specific more enforcement positions.
- ◆ Pistol owners held more religious offices and in specific churchwarden positions.
- ◆ Pistol owners participated in the mounted militia in much higher numbers.
- ◆ Pistol owners owned more swords and other firearms.

Based on the above statistical work in each of the constructed indicators, two trends are clear. First, several of the indicators are interconnected, which leads to a select percentage of the population dominating each indicator. Not surprisingly, when the top cases are examined, a small group of the same people surfaces.

TABLE 1  
 COMPILATION OF EDA EXAMINED IN STUDY

	Subset with Pistol Ownership		Subset of General Population	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
<b>Recalculated Inventory Value (in pounds):</b>	(n=105)		(n=75)	
Estate Range 0-50:	18	17	32	42
Estate Range 51-225:	38	36	29	39
Estate Range 226 and above:	49	47	14	19
<b>Land Owned or Leased:</b>	(n=118)		(n=92)	
General Lease or Ownership:	89	75	50	54
Less than 500 acres:	86	73	76	83
More than 500 acres:	32	27	16	17
<b>Inventories that Included Servants:</b>	(n=127)		(n=96)	
	24	19	19	20
<b>Inventories that Included Slaves:</b>	(n=127)		(n=96)	
	94	74	35	36
<b>Holding Civic Office:</b>	(n=121)		(n=93)	
Holding No Office:	30	25	47	51
Holding Lowest Level:	31	26	26	27
Holding Enforcement Level:	38	31	10	11
Holding Highest Level:	22	18	10	11
<b>Holding Religious Position:</b>	(n=121)		(n=93)	
Holding Either Position:	28	23	7	8
Holding Only Vestryman Position:	5	18	1	25
Holding Vestryman and Churchwarden Positions:	23	82	6	75
<b>Inventories that Included other Horse Trooping equipment:</b>	(n=125)		(n=98)	
	60	48	13	13
<b>Inventories that Included Swords:</b>	(n=125)		(n=98)	
	75	64	29	30
<b>Inventories that Included Other Firearms:</b>	(n=127)		(n=97)	
	97	76	52	54



Colonial society during this period allowed a small number of individuals to dominate means of production and wealth accumulation through acquisition of ever increasing amounts of land and slaves. In the process, this dominance conferred the ability to spend their leisure time in civic activities that maintain dominance. Colonial elites also spent more of their disposable income on display and demonstrating to the public their willingness and ability to be reckless. As dominance of these areas cements, they in turn allow for further accumulation of wealth and investment in land and slaves. Finally, a complete circle of authority is established which publicly legitimates and maintains the elite class's position.

Second, although pistol owners are conclusively part of a larger elite class when only basic estate value is considered, when other indicators including civic, military, and religious service are examined it becomes apparent that pistols are more closely associated with a near-elite class in the Chesapeake. These near-elite were participating in enforcement offices allowing operation within a much large public sphere of authority. Once sufficient levels of power were conferred on them from above, the near-elite class actively maintained and legitimated their own positions within society, which included the use of pistols as a valuable tool in that negotiation. Although the empirical data from this study does not directly support pure elite theory, it does show that some standards for class participation were being used, and upper class members were actively tightening their circles of power and influence.

When owners of pistols are compared to a random cross section of probated individuals in York County, they are found to have more land, slaves, and material

wealth. Similarly, they are found to hold positions of power and public authority in both civic and religious arenas. Finally, pistol owners are shown to participate at elite levels within the militia, own other items of symbolic public power such as swords, and in general are more likely to possess additional firearms. Statistical analysis indicates that pistols are material objects deeply associated with the upper classes of the colonial Chesapeake. They allow for participation in elite and near-elite dominated activities including dueling and horse trooping, and can publicly represent class material and symbolic power.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

Examining an elite class in the colonial Chesapeake requires both an encompassing theoretical perspective and sophisticated methods of data collection and analysis. By understanding elite and near-elite class ideological concepts and activities, an interconnected class model is obtainable. This definition would not be complete without recognizing the importance of elite, near-elite, and non-elite interaction. The elite classes depended on societal cooperation and ideological belief for their activities to remain symbolically potent.

Three general interconnected categories are part of the requirements for consideration in colonial upper classes. The first was ownership of the means of production in the colonial Chesapeake, namely land and slaves, in combination with conspicuous consumption of material goods. The second was monopolization of religious, political, and social position in combination with high-end military service. The third was engagement in economically and sometimes physically risky leisure activities such as gambling and dueling. Inside each of these categories are societal concepts of honor, virtue, and militancy. Studying probate inventories from colonial York County, Virginia, in combination with other historical documents, reveals

information concerning these categories and individual items owned by class members. These objects are themselves necessary for societal class negotiation.

Pistols, either as requirements for class specific activity or as symbolic implements, were present within several categories. There is a coherent relationship between pistol ownership and several of the arenas in which the elite class used its power and position to dominate, i.e. means of production (land and slaves), civic offices, and the upper reaches of the military. Pistols were also important tools for those in near-elite positions to further legitimize and maintain their own status in relation to the general public and other upper class members. The pistol was linked directly to the second civic circle “enforcement” positions within society, with attachment to the courts, religion, and the military. This should come as no surprise given the long-standing association of weapons with authority, and one of the major goals of this work has been an attempt to highlight near-elite activities against a Marxist/Elite paradigm background.

Although pistol ownership was not a requirement of obtaining entrance to the elite or near-elite in the colonial Chesapeake, this study does show that publicly available and perceivable accoutrements, specifically pistols, operated as extensions of generally held elite and near-elite ideology for negotiation of class authority and power.

There are however two points within this study open to criticism. No indicator in the data set was identified as reflective of, risk-taking in colonial society. Although there is an implied level of risk-taking in military and enforcement

positions, a more direct risk-taking action needs to be examined. Perhaps probate inventories could be studied again for gambling accoutrements, racehorses, cocks for fighting, etc. Dueling and affairs of honor are certainly considered heavily symbolic risk-taking activities, however, dueling pistols are not recorded specifically in any probate inventories for this period, nor any other in York County history.

Secondly, probate inventories are flawed in several areas. However, this study has attempted to account for these by incorporating data from other court records and by studying those members of society who are were most likely to be represented by probate inventories. Although they have been criticized on several fronts, probate inventories remain one of the best sources for object-oriented information for the colonial period.

#### *Continued Further Study*

The issue of a colonial gun culture in the Chesapeake has an obvious connection to the above work. It has been argued that the current American gun culture did not have roots in the colonial period. Some scholars believe that because of low numbers of available firearms, insufficient training and skill, and a general restriction of weapons to a select few, our modern gun culture could not begin until after the colonial period (Bellesiles 1996:426-38; Bellesiles 2000:70-110) . However, this thesis shows that those who did have pistols were more likely to own other firearms in some quantity. If pistols are firearms associated with the elite and near-

elite in colonial America, their symbolic power does create a viable gun culture, centered not on large quantities of guns, but what they meant in society.

The time period for this thesis ends as a new consumer revolution is beginning in the colonies. This new period in colonial American history raises several questions directly related to this study. When greater numbers and price ranges for consumer goods, including pistols, are introduced to a social structure which equates power in status consumption, how do these new, cheaper goods, affect that system? If pistol ownership allows greater participation in near-elite and elite activities, and their possession was a possible class marker, then did those in the lower levels of society purchase them to physically or symbolically gain access to higher classes? Or did the pistol lose its symbolic power of elite class definition?

Furthermore, toward the end of the eighteenth century, the capital of Virginia was moved from Williamsburg (half of which was in York County) to Richmond. Because some categories for inclusion within the elite class, such as governmental office holding, moved with the capital, was a limited, elite, gap created for the near-elite in York County and Williamsburg to fill? Did this move change the core/periphery status of those members of the elite class that chose to stay in an area no longer defined as the center of political activity? Even before the capital was moved, was it possible to see core/periphery shifts in elite class within York County?

Looking the nineteenth century, we can continue to examine additional disappearance of traditional class markers, with the end of the militia, and later the end of slavery. What new status categories come to bear on society? Did underlying

concepts of honor, virtue, and militancy take on new physical manifestation in society? To what degree did traditional categories, and their associated accoutrements, of the elite class become truly embedded in American culture and unchanging with the passage of time?

Returning to the period studied in this thesis, pistols were a common part of colonial life. They could be purchased in a number of different venues, and were a necessary tool for both personal protection, military service, and in class negotiation. Pistols were just one of the many material objects members of colonial Tidewater society could use to publicly display their position. Pistols are well-documented, and in some cases even well-preserved cultural objects, and deserve continued study in the future.

APPENDIX A

PROBATE INVENTORIES FOR THE PISTOL SUBSET



Name (underline means little information known)	Sex	Year Born	Year P.I. reported	Estate value	Recal value	Military Rank held	Land owned bold = <500
Stephen Gill	m	-	1653	342.64	181.70	Captain	<b>X</b>
John Broadnax	m	-	1657	-	-	Major	X
<u>John Gosling</u>	m	-	1658	124.73	80.08	-	-
Thomas Lublow	m	by 1644	1661	1314.61	843.99	Lt. Colonel	X
John Heyward	m	-	1661	100.44	64.48	-	-
<u>John Hubberd</u>	m	-	1668	1119.80	765.98	-	-
John Thomas	m	by 1624	1666	327.57	219.64	-	<b>X</b>
Matthew Hubberd	m	by 1634	1667	755.10	506.28	-	<b>X</b>
Gabriel Jones	m	1647	1671	31.50	22.06	-	X
Jonathan Newell	m	1626	1672	1350.49	945.59	-	<b>X</b>
Paul Johnson	m	-	1672	36.96	25.88	-	-
Robert Wakton	m	-	1674	-	-	-	-
Anthony Melton	m	-	1675	101.88	73.02	-	-
Nicholas Toop	m	-	1679	119.56	87.42	-	X
Richard Awborne	m	-	1682	75.80	56.70	-	X
Robert Cobbs	m	1627	1683	364.23	272.61	-	-
John Shelly	m	by 1634	1689	-	-	-	-
John Tiplady	m	by 1652	1689	170.09	132.93	Captain	<b>X</b>
Nicholas Rawlins	m	-	1691	11.70	9.31	-	X
Robert Bouth	m	ca 1647	1691	484.38	386.24	-	<b>X</b>
Edward Jones	m	-	1692	473.11	377.25	-	-
Edmund Cobbs (S. of RC)	m	-	1693	321.48	256.34	-	X
John Underhill	m	1663	1693	44.75	35.68	-	<b>X</b>
Martin Gardner	m	-	1692	109.44	87.27	-	<b>X</b>
Henry Lee	m	1645	1694	410.51	333.97	-	X
John Nickson	m	ca 1638	1694	252.36	205.31	-	X
Elisha Stanton	m	-	1694	-	-	-	X
John Stanup	m	by 1636	1694	213.95	174.06	Captain	<b>X</b>
Ralph Graves	m	1654	1694	-	-	-	-
Christopher Calthorpe	m	1672	1694	8.35	6.79	-	-
Katherine Thorpe	f	-	1695	-	-	-	-
Peter Temple	m	by 1644	1695	18.78	15.28	Captain	<b>X</b>
James Harrison	m	by 1667	1695	-	-	-	-
John Cosby	m	by 1657	1696	-	-	-	-
Joseph Stroud	m	by 1666	1697	23.25	-	-	-
Abraham Mitchell	m	by 1663	1697	52.98	43.97	-	-
John Wooding	m	-	1698	106.60	-	-	-
John Gardner	m	-	1698	-	-	-	-
John Alston	m	-	1698	39.19	-	-	-
George Rayes	m	-	1699	67.6	56.12	-	-
Robert Leightenhouse	m	by 1662	1701	91.06	77.10	-	X
James Whaley	m	1650	1701	791.89	670.47	-	X
Alexander Young	m	by 1655	1701	147.67	125.03	-	X
Arthur Dickinson	m	ca. 1660	1702	395.07	334.49	-	X
Cope Doyley	m	1660	1702	2061.54	1745.44	-	-
Charles Hansford	m	ca. 1650	1702	267.84	226.77	Captain	X

Samuel Thomkins	m	1659	1703	50.38	42.66	Lieutenant	X
Joseph Man	m	by 1680	1704	665.26	576.58	-	-
Joseph Ring	m	1645	1704	1522.70	1319.73	-	X
Thomas Collier	m	by 1670	1705	472.51	409.52	-	X
Richard Dixon	m	ca. 1662	1706	496.64	430.44	-	X
Morgan Baptist	m	by 1653	1706	210.00	182.00	-	X
Richard Stanup	m	-	1707	77.27	68.55	-	X
Armiger Wade	m	by 1643	1708	594.49	527.40	-	X
William Handsford	m	ca. 1675	1709	434.32	385.31	-	X
Henry Dyer	m	by 1673	1711	36.37	32.92	-	X
Abraham Martin	m	ca. 1678	1711	31.82	28.79	-	X
Thomas Ballard	m	by 1651	1711	598.80	542.00	Cpt./Col./Lt. Col	X
Joseph Chermeson	m	by 1667	1712	286.98	259.73	-	X
Henry Hayward	m	1651	1712	1036.58	938.17	-	X
Thomas Whitby	m	by 1683	1712	232.62	210.53	-	-
John Wyth	m	by 1663	1712	338.19	306.08	-	X
Robert Read	m	by 1651	1713	978.70	903.65	-	X
John Clark	m	1665	1713	62.11	57.35	-	X
Ralph Hubbard	m	by 1662	1714	70.00	64.63	-	X
William Eaton	m	-	1714	-	-	-	X
Thomas Woodfield	m	by 1683	1715	19.70	18.18	-	X
Thomas Pinkett	m	by 1672	1715	128.55	118.69	-	X
Ralph Bee	m	by 1680	1716	71.08	67.18	-	X
Richard Grimes	m	by 1692	1717	122.98	116.24	-	-
Elizabeth Brooke	f	by 1685	1717	242.45	229.16	-	X
John Moss	m	by 1674	1717	260.03	245.78	-	X
Robert Hay	m	1663	1717	191.92	181.40	-	X
<u>John Moreland</u>	m		1717	19.43	18.37		
John Marott	m	ca 1677	1717	911.65	861.67	-	X
Nathaniel Crawley	m	by 1676	1717	307.31	290.46	-	X
Andrew Elmsey	m	by 1688	1718	347.94	328.87	-	-
John Parsons	m	1664	1718	549.31	519.20	-	X
John Tomer	m	by 1662	1718	325.62	307.77	-	X
Thomas Burnham	m	by 1673	1718	196.01	185.26	-	X
William Row	m	by 1683	1718	361.20	341.40	-	X
William Brown	m	by 1688	1718	93.94	88.79	-	-
Richard Jobie	m	by 1685	1718	70.67	66.80	-	-
William Mallicote	m	by 1685	1718	35.32	33.38	-	-
Ambrose Cobbs	m	by 1669	1718	-	-	-	X
Florence Mackarty	m	by 1678	1718	494.45	467.34	-	X
William Timson	m	1678	1719	875.79	827.78	Captain	X
Orlando Jones	m	1681	1719	731.31	691.22	-	X
James Goodwin	m	by 1693	1719	375.83	355.23	-	X
Thomas Roberts Jr.	m	1671	1719	220.10	208.62	-	X
John Clark	m	1693	1720	28.78	27.84	-	-
Richard Kendall	m	by 1672	1720	393.55	380.76	-	X
Charles Powers	m	by 1680	1720	75.10	72.63	-	X
John Smith	m	by 1672	1720	172.30	166.70	Captain	X

Giles Tavenor	m	1673	1720	-	-	-	X
Thomas Hansford	m	by 1676	1720	106.85	103.38	-	X
John Power	m	by 1685	1720	332.30	321.53	-	X
James Hubbard	m	ca. 1687	1720	394.40	381.60	-	X
Henry Hayward Jr.	m	1679	1721	1247.30	1206.75	-	X
John Laton	m	by 1668	1721	41.00	39.67	-	X
William Jackson	m	1684	1721	-	-	-	X
Philip Dedman	m	1670	1721	157.45	152.33	-	X
Charles Collier	m	by 1677	1722	251.27	243.10	-	X
George Gilbert	m	by 1687	1724	168.03	163.98	-	X
John Daniel	m	1670	1724	213.11	207.97	-	X
Joseph Walker	m	by 1679	1724	1709.11	1667.91	-	X
James Newman	m	1703	1725	13.06	12.75	-	-
Robert Cobbs Sr.	m	by 1669	1727	55.90	-	-	X
William Sheldon	m	1670	1727	-	-	Captain	X
Ely Calthorpe	m	1680	1727	554.50	549.01	-	-
John Gibbons	m	by 1677	1727	341.48	338.10	was officer/rank u	X
John Moss	m	by 1701	1727	116.55	115.39	-	X
James Backhurst	m	by 1682	1727	229.40	227.10	-	-
James Sclater	m	1697	1727	278.17	275.42	-	X
<u>Florence Mackarty</u>	m		1727	122.92	121.70		
Edward Miller	m	-	1727	309.36	306.30	-	X
Benjamin Buck	m	-	1727	197.99	196.03	-	X
John Harris	m	-	1727	139.21	137.83	-	-
Thomas Toomer	m	by 1697	1727	98.50	97.52	-	X
James Shields	m	by 1681	1727	-	-	-	X
Edmund Sweny	m	-	1728	380.60	376.83	-	X
Thomas Buck Jr.	m	1682	1728	109.90	108.81	-	X
John Davis	m	by 1690	1728	-	-	-	-
Adduston Rogers	m	by 1676	1728	45.87	45.42	-	X
William Lee	m	ca. 1676	1729	-	-	-	X
John Chisman	m	1683	1729	330.75	327.48	-	X
<u>Edmond Curtis</u>	m	BM	1729	400.12	396.16		

Name (underline means little information known)	Occupation Listed	Live Stock	Number of Servants Listed	Number of Slaves listed
Stephen Gill	-	X	7	0
John Broadnax	-	-	0	0
<u>John Gosling</u>		X	0	0
Thomas Lublow	Attorney	X	6	18
John Heyward		X	0	0
<u>John Hubberd</u>	Merchant	X	8	0
John Thomas	-	X	6	0
Matthew Hubberd	Attorney	X	7	0
Gabriel Jones	-	X	0	0
Jonathan Newell	Attorney/Merchant	X	2	7
Paul Johnson	-	-	0	0
Robert Wakton	-	X	0	0
Anthony Melton	-	X	0	0
Nicholas Toop	-	X	0	0
Richard Awborne	Attorney	-	1	0
Robert Cobbs	-	X	4	2
John Shelly	-	X	0	0
John Tiplady	-	X	0	4
Nicholas Rawlins	-	X	0	0
Robert Bouth	Attorney	X	0	7
Edward Jones	Attorney/Merchant	X	0	7
Edmund Cobbs (S. of RC)	Attorney	X	0	8
John Underhill	-	X	0	0
Martin Gardner	Attorney	X	0	1
Henry Lee	-	X	0	3
John Nickson	-	X	0	1
Elisha Stanton	-	X	0	0
John Stanup	-	X	1	4
Ralph Graves	-	X	2	1
Christopher Calthorpe	-	X	0	0
Katherine Thorpe	Merchant	X	0	22
Peter Temple	Attorney	-	0	1
James Harrison	-	X	0	1
John Cosby	-	X	0	6
Joseph Stroud	-	X	0	0
Abraham Mitchell	-	X	0	0
John Wooding	-	X	0	5
John Gardner	-	-	0	0
John Alston	-	X	0	0
George Rayes	-	-	1	0
Robert Leightenhouse	Attorney	-	1	0
James Whaley	Attorney	X	2	16
Alexander Young	Cooper/Tavernkeeper	X	2	0
Arthur Dickinson	-	X	0	6
Cope Doyley	Minister	X	1	6
Charles Hansford	Attorney	X	2	4

Samuel Thomkins	-	X	0	0
Joseph Man	Tavernkeeper	X	0	2
Joseph Ring	Merchant/Attorney/Tavernkeeper	X	0	27
Thomas Collier	Attorney	X	0	10
Richard Dixon	-	X	0	14
Morgan Baptist	-	X	0	4
Richard Stanup	-	X	0	1
Armiger Wade	-	X	0	15
William Handsford	-	X	0	10
Henry Dyer	Wheelwright/Attorney	X	0	0
Abraham Martin	Cordwinder	X	0	0
Thomas Ballard	Attorney	X	0	18
Joseph Chermeson	Tavernkeeper/Attorney	X	1	1
Henry Hayward	-	X	0	21
Thomas Whitby	Carpenter/Attorney	X	0	5
John Wyth	Royal Messenger/Attorney	X	0	11
Robert Read	Attorney/Tavernkeeper	X	2	23
John Clark	-	X	0	0
Ralph Hubbard	-	X	0	1
William Eaton	-	X	0	1
Thomas Woodfield	Bricklayer	-	0	0
Thomas Pinkett	Miller	X	0	5
Ralph Bee	-	X	0	1
Richard Grimes	Tavernkeeper	X	0	2
Elizabeth Brooke	Tavernkeeper	-	0	1
John Moss	-	X	0	8
Robert Hay	-	X	0	4
<u>John Moreland</u>		X	0	0
John Marott	Tavernkeeper	X	2	10
Nathaniel Crawley	Attorney	X	1	5
Andrew Elmsey	Tavernkeeper	-	0	4
John Parsons	-	X	0	14
John Tomer	-	X	0	16
Thomas Burnham	-	X	0	5
William Row	Attorney	X	0	9
William Brown	-	X	0	0
Richard Jobie	Bricklayer	X	0	2
William Mallicote	-	X	0	0
Ambrose Cobbs	-	X	0	12
Florence Mackarty	-	X	0	7
William Timson	-	X	1	18
Orlando Jones	Attorney	X	2	19
James Goodwin	-	X	0	6
Thomas Roberts Jr.	-	X	0	3
John Clark	-	X	0	0
Richard Kendall		X	0	6
Charles Powers		X	0	1
John Smith		X	0	3

Giles Tavenor		X	0	1
Thomas Hansford	-	X	0	2
John Power	-	X	0	10
James Hubbard	Attorney	X	0	9
Henry Hayward Jr.	Merchant	X	0	27
John Laton	-	X	0	1
William Jackson	-	X	0	1
Philip Dedman	-	X	0	2
Charles Collier	-	X	0	8
George Gilbert	-	X	0	5
John Daniel	-	X	0	5
Joseph Walker	Attorney/Merchant	X	2	38
James Newman	-	-	0	0
Robert Cobbs Sr.	-	X	0	20
William Sheldon	Attorney	X	0	33
Ely Calthorpe	-	X	0	5
John Gibbons	Attorney/Jailor/TavernKeeper	X	1	9
John Moss	-	X	0	3
James Backhurst	-	X	0	4
James Sclater	-	X	0	6
<u>Florence Mackarty</u>	-	X	0	2
Edward Miller	-	X	0	9
Benjamin Buck	-	X	0	5
John Harris	-	X	0	2
Thomas Toomer	-	X	0	1
James Shields	Tavernkeeper/Keeper of the Jail	X	0	15
Edmund Sweny	-	X	0	5
Thomas Buck Jr.	-	X	0	1
John Davis	Tavernkeeper	X	0	5
Adduston Rogers	-	X	0	2
William Lee	Carpenter	X	0	13
John Chisman	-	X	0	10
<u>Edmond Curtis</u>		X	0	16

Name ( <u>underline</u> means little information known)	Religious / Social Offices Held or duties performed
Stephen Gill	Justice
John Broadnax	-
<u>John Gosling</u>	-
Thomas Lublow	Justice
John Heyward	-
<u>John Hubberd</u>	
John Thomas	Juror
Matthew Hubberd	Justice, Commissioner
Gabriel Jones	Juror
Jonathan Newell	Juror
Paul Johnson	Juror
Robert Wakton	-
Anthony Melton	Juror
Nicholas Toop	Juror
Richard Awborne	Juror, Foremen, Commissioner, Clerk of Court, Highways Surveyor
Robert Cobbs	Juror, Justice, High Sheriff, Churchwarden
John Shelly	Juror
John Tiplady	Juror, Justice
Nicholas Rawlins	-
Robert Bouth	Juror, Churchwarden, Justice
Edward Jones	Justice
Edmund Cobbs (S. of RC)	Juror, Foremen, Churchwarden, Justice
John Underhill	Juror, Churchwarden
Martin Gardner	Justice, Sheriff
Henry Lee	Juror, Foremen, Highway Surveyor
John Nickson	Juror, Constable, Highway Surveyor
Elisha Stanton	Juror
John Stanup	Juror, Foremen
Ralph Graves	Juror
Christopher Calthorpe	-
Katherine Thorpe	-
Peter Temple	-
James Harrison	-
John Cosby	Highway Surveyor
Joseph Stroud	-
Abraham Mitchell	Juror
John Wooding	Juror
John Gardner	-
John Alston	-
George Rayes	-
Robert Leightenhouse	Juror, Foremen
James Whaley	Juror, Foremen, Churchwarden, Justice
Alexander Young	-
Arthur Dickinson	Juror, Constable
Cope Doyley	-
Charles Hansford	Juror, Highway Surveyor, Justice

Samuel Thomkins	Juror, Constable
Joseph Man	-
Joseph Ring	Coroner, Justice
Thomas Collier	Juror, Constable
Richard Dixon	Juror, Churchwarden, Vestrymen
Morgan Baptist	Juror, Vestrymen
Richard Stanup	Juror
Armiger Wade	Juror, Foremen, Constable, Churchwarden, Vestrymen
William Handsford	Juror, Foremen, Constable, Churchwarden
Henry Dyer	Juror, Constable
Abraham Martin	Headborough?
Thomas Ballard	Juror, Foremen, County Clerk, Sheriff, Burgess, Justice
Joseph Chermeson	Juror
Henry Hayward	Juror, Foremen, Churchwarden, Vestrymen
Thomas Whitby	Juror
John Wyth	Juror, Foremen, Constable, Churchwarden
Robert Read	Churchwarden, Vestrymen, Sheriff, Justice
John Clark	-
Ralph Hubbard	Juror
William Eaton	Juror, Undersheriff
Thomas Woodfield	Juror
Thomas Pinkett	Juror
Ralph Bee	Constable
Richard Grimes	-
Elizabeth Brooke	-
John Moss	Juror, Constable, Churchwarden
Robert Hay	Juror, Surveyor of Highways
<u>John Moreland</u>	
John Marott	Constable
Nathaniel Crawley	Juror, Undersheriff, Churchwarden
Andrew Elmsey	-
John Parsons	Surveyor of Highways, Vestrymen
John Tomer	Juror, Churchwarden, Vestrymen
Thomas Burnham	Juror, Constable, Churchwarden
William Row	Juror, Constable
William Brown	Juror, Constable
Richard Jobie	-
William Mallicote	-
Ambrose Cobbs	Juror, Foremen, Vestrymen
Florence Mackarty	Juror, Constable
William Timson	Churchwarden, Sheriff, Justice
Orlando Jones	Juror, Foremen, Burgess (Student at William & Mary)
James Goodwin	Juror
Thomas Roberts Jr.	Juror, Constable
John Clark	-
Richard Kendall	Juror, Foremen, Surveyor of Highways, Churchwarden, Vestrymen
Charles Powers	-
John Smith	Coroner, Member Board of Visitors, one of the founders of W&M



Giles Tavenor	Juror
Thomas Hansford	Juror, Constable
John Power	-
James Hubbard	Juror, Foremen, Constable, Surveyor of Highways, Churchwarden
Henry Hayward Jr.	Juror, Foremen, Constable, S. of Highways, C.warden, Sheriff, Justice, V. men
John Laton	Juror, Constable
William Jackson	Juror, Constable
Philip Dedman	Juror, Constable
Charles Collier	Juror, Constable, Churchwarden, Vestrymen
George Gilbert	Juror
John Daniel	Juror, Constable
Joseph Walker	Juror, Foremen, Sheriff, Justice
James Newman	-
Robert Cobbs Sr.	Juror, Constable, Surveyor of Highways
William Sheldon	Juror, Foremen, Constable, S. of Highways, U.sheriff, C.warden, Sheriff, Justice
Ely Calthorpe	-
John Gibbons	Juror, Constable, Agent of the public storehouse, Undersheriff, Sheriff
John Moss	-
James Backhurst	Juror
James Sclater	-
<u>Florence Mackarty</u>	
Edward Miller	-
Benjamin Buck	Juror
John Harris	Constable
Thomas Toomer	Juror
James Shields	Juror
Edmund Sweny	Juror, Foremen, S. of Roads, Headborough, S. of Highways, C.warden, Tobacco Teller
Thomas Buck Jr.	-
John Davis	Juror
Adduston Rogers	Juror, Surveyor of Highways, Churchwarden, Vestrymen
William Lee	Juror, Foremen, Tobacco Teller, Vestrymen
John Chisman	Juror, Surveyor of Highways, Churchwarden
<u>Edmond Curtis</u>	

Name (underline means little information known)	Pistol Pairs	Single Pistols	Associated Acutrements	Includes Troop	Includes Sword	Includes other guns	gun powder parts,shot
Stephen Gill	-	1	-	X	X		9 -
John Broadnax		1	case	-	X		-
<u>John Gosling</u>		1	case	-	-		-
Thomas Lublow	-	2	-	-	X		4 -
John Heyward		1	holster/case	-	X		3 -
<u>John Hubberd</u>	-	2	-	-	-		2 gun barrels
John Thomas	-	1	-	-	-		9 javelin
Matthew Hubberd		1	-	-	X		6 -
Gabriel Jones	-	2	-	-	-		2 -
Jonathan Newell		2	1 holster/case	-	X		6 80 lbs. Goose shot
Paul Johnson		1	holster	-	X		-
Robert Wakton	-	1	-	-	-		1 2 lbs. Of shot
Anthony Melton	-	1	-	-	-		1 -
Nicholas Toop		1	holster	-	X		-
Richard Awborne		1	-	X	X		1 -
Robert Cobbs		1	1 holster	-	X		2 barrel/lock/powder/shot
John Shelly	-	1	-	-	-		1 -
John Tiplady		1	holster	-	X		2 -
Nicholas Rawlins	-	2	-	-	X		1 -
Robert Bouth		1	holster	X	X		5 -
Edward Jones		1	-	-	-		2 -
Edmund Cobbs (S. of RC)		1	holster	X	X		3 -
John Underhill		1	holster	X	X		1 -
Martin Gardner		1	holster	X	X		1 -
Henry Lee		1	holster	X	X		2 -
John Nickson		1	holster	X	X		1 -
Elisha Stanton		1	holster	X	X		1 -
John Stanup		1	holster	X	X		3 -
Ralph Graves		1	holster	X	X		2 -
Christopher Calthorpe		1	holster	X	X		2 -
Katherine Thorpe		1	holster	X	X		2 shot and bullets
Peter Temple		1	-	X	-		1 -
James Harrison		1	holster	X	-		1 -
John Cosby		1	holster	-	X		2 -
Joseph Stroud	-	1	-	-	X		1 piece of a gun
Abraham Mitchell		1	holster	X	-		-
John Wooding		1	holster	X	X		1 -
John Gardner		1	holster	X	-		1 -
John Alston		1	holster	X	X		1 -
George Rayes		1	-	-	-		2 parcell shot/powder
Robert Leightenhouse	-	1	-	-	-		1 -
James Whaley		1	holster	-	-		2 -
Alexander Young		1	holster	X	X		2 -
Arthur Dickinson		1	holster	X	X		2 -
Cope Doyley	-	1	-	-	-		-
Charles Hansford		1	holster	X	X		3 -

Samuel Thomkins	1	-	holster / case	-	X	2	-
Joseph Man	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Joseph Ring	1	3	-	X	X	7	400 flints
Thomas Collier	1	-	holster	-	X	1	-
Richard Dixon	1	-	holster	X	X	4	-
Morgan Baptist	-	-	-	X	-	-	-
Richard Stanup	1	-	holster	X	X	1	-
Armiger Wade	-	-	-	-	X	2	-
William Handsford	1	-	holster	X	X	2	-
Henry Dyer	-	5	holster	-	X	1	-
Abraham Martin	1	-	holster	-	-	-	-
Thomas Ballard	3	-	holster	X	X	2	-
Joseph Chermeson	1	-	holster	X	X	-	-
Henry Hayward	-	-	-	X	-	1	molds/ powder/bullets/shot
Thomas Whitby	2	-	-	X	-	1	-
John Wyth	-	1	holster	-	X	-	-
Robert Read	1	-	holster	-	X	2	-
John Clark	1	-	holster	X	X	2	-
Ralph Hubbard	1	-	holster	X	X	-	-
William Eaton	-	-	-	X	X	1	-
Thomas Woodfield	1	-	holster	-	X	-	-
Thomas Pinkett	-	-	-	X	-	1	-
Ralph Bee	1	-	holster	-	X	-	-
Richard Grimes	1	-	holster	-	X	-	-
Elizabeth Brooke	1	-	holster	X	-	1	-
John Moss	1	-	holster	-	-	1	-
Robert Hay	1	-	holster	-	X	3	-
<u>John Moreland</u>	1	-	holster	X	-	3	bullet molds
John Marott		1	-	-	X	2	-
Nathaniel Crawley	1	-	holster	X	X	1	-
Andrew Elmsey	1	-	holster	X	X	1	-
John Parsons	1	-	holster / case	-	X	4	-
John Tomer	1	-	holster	X	-	1	-
Thomas Burnham	1	-	holster	-	X	4	-
William Row	1	-	holster	-	-	1	-
William Brown	-	-	-	X	-	2	-
Richard Jobie	1	-	holster	X	X	-	-
William Mallicote	1	-	holster	X	X	1	-
Ambrose Cobbs	1	-	holster	-	X	1	-
Florence Mackarty	1	-	holster	X	X	1	-
William Timson	1	-	holster	X	X	2	-
Orlando Jones	1	-	holster	-	-	-	-
James Goodwin	2	-	holster	-	-	-	-
Thomas Roberts Jr.	-	2	-	-	X	1	barrel and lock
John Clark	1	-	holster	-	-	-	-
Richard Kendall	-	2	-	-	-	2	powder
Charles Powers	1	-	holster/case	-	-	2	shot
John Smith	1	-	holster	-	X	4	new gun lock

Giles Tavenor	1	-	holster	-	X	3	-
Thomas Hansford	1	-	holster/case	-	X	-	
John Power	1	-	holster	X	X	2	-
James Hubbard	1	-	holster	X	X	2	bullet molds
Henry Hayward Jr.	1	-	holster	-	-	2	powder/shot
John Laton	1	-	-	-	X	-	
William Jackson	-	-	-	X	-	1	-
Philip Dedman	-	-	-	X	X	1	-
Charles Collier	1	-	holster	-	X	-	
George Gilbert	1	-	holster	-	-	2	-
John Daniel	1	-	holster	-	X	-	
Joseph Walker	2	-	-	-	-	2	-
James Newman	1	-	holster/case	X	X	-	
Robert Cobbs Sr.	2	-	holster	X	X	1	powder/shot
William Sheldon	-	-	-	X	-	3	powder/shot
Ely Calthorpe	1	-	-	-	X	1	-
John Gibbons	1	-	holster	X	X	1	barrel
John Moss	1	-	-	X	-	-	
James Backhurst	1	-	holster	-	-	4	-
James Sclater	1	-	-	X	X	1	-
<u>Florence Mackarty</u>	1	-	-	-	X	-	
Edward Miller	1	-	holster	X	X	1	-
Benjamin Buck	1	-	holster	X	X	1	-
John Harris	1	-	holster	-	-	2	-
Thomas Toomer	1	-	holster	-	-	-	
James Shields	1	-	holster	-	X	-	
Edmund Sweny	1	-	holster/case	-	-	-	
Thomas Buck Jr.	-	-	-	X	-	1	-
John Davis	-	-	-	X	-	1	powder/shot
Adduston Rogers	1	-	holster	X	X	1	-
William Lee	1	-	holster	-	X	4	-
John Chisman	1	-	holster	-	X	-	
<u>Edmond Curtis</u>	1	-	case	-	X	4	-

**APPENDIX B**

**PROBATE INVENTORIES FOR THE GENERAL POPULATION SUBSET**

Name (underline means little information known)	Sex	Year Born	Year P.I. reported	Estate value	Recal value	Military Rank held	Land owned bold = <500
Joseph Ham	m	by 1617	1639	102.88	65.6	-	X
Richard Winne	m	-	1645	2.3	1.53	-	-
Thomas Broughden	m	-	1646	39.54	20.14	-	X
Robert Langham	m	-	1648	26.14	13.32	-	-
Henry Pamtry	m	-	1648	-	-	-	-
Stephen Gill	m	-	1653	342.64	181.70	Captain	<b>X</b>
<u>John Gosling</u>	m	-	1658	124.73	80.08	-	-
Martin Westerlake	m	-	1658	-	-	-	X
<b>Stephen Page</b>	m	BM	1658	72.1	46.28	-	-
John Claxton Jr.	m	-	1659	-	-	-	X
James Tate	m	by 1638	1665	25.75	17.27	-	-
John Fleete	m	by 1631	1667	-	-	-	X
Ralph Graves	m	by 1633	1667	193.49	129.74	-	<b>X</b>
Richard Watkins	m	by 1629	1669	-	-	-	X
Roger Long	m	by 1642	1670	163.98	112.16	-	-
Paul Johnson	m	-	1672	36.96	25.88	-	-
Francis Hadden	m	-	1674	98.56	69.01	-	X
Anthony Melton	m	-	1675	101.88	73.02	-	-
Edward Phelps	m	by 1652	1678	704.07	514.79	-	-
Andrew Winter	m	-	1679	20.6	15.06	-	-
Nicholas Toop	m	-	1679	119.56	87.42	-	X
John Phipps	m	by 1654	1679	-	-	-	-
John Youngman	m	-	1680	-	-	-	-
Thomas Crow	m	by 1660	1681	-	-	-	-
William Fellows	m	by 1651	1682	38.8	29.04	-	-
James Wilkins	m	by 1640	1684	-	-	-	X
Thomas Plat	m	by 1644	1687	78.31	59.99	-	-
John March	m	-	1687	75.79	58.06	-	-
Anthony Butts	m	by 1653	1688	63.2	49.39	-	-
John Tiplady	m	by 1652	1689	170.09	132.93	Captain	<b>X</b>
Robert Bouth	m	ca 1647	1691	484.38	386.24	-	<b>X</b>
Thomas Spelman	m	-	1691	61.75	49.24	-	-
Richard Appling	m	1658	1694	-	-	-	X
George Burley	m	1651	1694	-	-	-	X
Edward Evans	m	-	1694	-	-	-	-
<b>James Hubert</b>	m	BM	1694	-	-	-	-
James Archer	m	by 1656	1697	-	-	-	X
Robert Dobbs	m	-	1697	34.18	28.37	-	X
John Gardner	m	-	1698	-	-	-	-
George Rayes	m	-	1699	67.6	56.12	-	-
Lewis Burton	m	1640	1701	21.73	18.4	-	-
John Goodwin	m	1656	1701	378.95	320.84	Captain	X
Robert Leightenhouse	m	by 1662	1701	91.06	77.10	-	X
<b>Henry Watkins</b>	m	by 1667	1701	25.26	21.39	-	-
Alexander Young	m	by 1655	1701	147.67	125.03	-	X
Ambrose Cobbs	m	-	1702	-	-	-	-
William Paterson	m	ca.1657	1703	116.66	101.11	-	<b>X</b>

<b>William Cobbs</b>	m	BM	1705	98.84	85.66		
William Aylward	m	by 1673	1707	35.6	31.6	-	-
William Garro	m	1670	1708	30.49	27.05	-	X
Thomas Barbar	m	by 1683	1709	36.9	32.7	-	-
Thomas Rogers	m	by 1686	1709	8.98	7.57	-	-
Thomas Ballard	m	by 1651	1711	598.80	542.00	Cpt./Col./Lt. Col	X
Thomas Hill	m	by 1669	1711	155.43	140.67	-	X
Abraham Martin	m	ca. 1678	1711	31.82	28.79	-	X
Henry Hayward	m	1651	1712	1036.58	938.17	-	X
Joseph Frith	m	1656	1712	70.42	63.73	-	X
John Cosby	m	by 1678	1714	78.28	72.27	-	-
<b>Thomas Roberts</b>	m		1714	-	-	-	
Thomas Pinkett	m	by 1672	1715	128.55	118.69	-	X
Thomas Woodfield	m	by 1683	1715	19.70	18.18	-	X
William Buckner	m	-	1716	-	-	Cpt./Major	X
Richard Grimes	m	by 1692	1717	122.98	116.24	-	-
John Moss	m	by 1674	1717	260.03	245.78	-	X
Thomas Nutting	m	by 1657	1717	425.23	401.92	Captain	X
Thomas Watkins	m	by 1695	1717	9.89	9.35	-	-
James Burwell	m	ca. 1689	1718	3043.31	2876.49	-	X
Jerome Ham	m	by 1666	1718	1.43	1.35	-	X
Richard Sclater	m	by 1681	1718	253.21	239.33	-	X
William Wise	m	-	1718	436.23	412.31	-	X
William Evans	m	1690	1719	4.12	3.89	-	X
Thomas Roberts Jr.	m	1671	1719	220.10	208.62	-	X
Basil Wagstaff	m	ca. 1671	1719	-	-	Lieutenant	X
John Brathwaite	m	by 1696	1720	107.37	103.88	-	-
James Bennett	m	1668	1720	20.79	20.11	-	X
Henry Freeman	m	1675	1720	42.22	40.85	-	-
Phillip Moody	m	by 1657	1720	358.79	347.12	-	X
John Morris	m	by 1672	1720	25.3	24.48	-	X
John Power	m	by 1685	1720	332.30	321.53	-	X
Barth Valentine	m	-	1720	34.6	33.48	-	-
Dennis White	m	1695	1721	4.88	4.72	-	-
John Thebo	m	-	1721	-	-	-	X
Henry Gill	m	by 1686	1721	-	-	-	X
Philip Dedman	m	1670	1721	157.45	152.33	-	X
William Tavernor	m	by 1639	1722	93	89.98	-	X
<b>Richard Page</b>	m	BM	1722	55.91	54.09	-	
Edward Worley	m	by 1687	1724	50	48.8	-	X
James Newman	m	1703	1725	13.06	12.75	-	-
Thomas Barbar	m	by 1698	1727	215.2	213.1	-	-
James Bradshaw	m	-	1727	9.86	9.73	-	-
John Drewry	m	1673	1727	20.98	20.77	-	X
John Gibbons	m	by 1677	1727	341.48	338.10	rank unknown	X
Daniel Powers	m	by 1703	1727	7.8	7.77	-	-
James Falconer	m	by 1704	1728	283.8	280.99	-	-
Henry Borrodell	m	by 1680	1729	75.86	75.11	-	

Ben Clifton	m	1682	1729	-	-	-	X
Joseph Stacy	m	1690	1729	28.71	28.43	-	X
James Parson	m	1702	1728	-	-	-	X



Name (underline means little information known)	Occupation Listed	Live Stock	Number of Servants Listed	Number of Slaves listed
Joseph Ham	-	X	1	0
Richard Winne	-	-	0	0
Thomas Broughden	Attorney	X	0	0
Robert Langham	-	X	0	0
Henry Pamtry	-	-	2	0
Stephen Gill	-	X	7	0
<u>John Gosling</u>	-	X	0	0
Martin Westerlake	Attorney	X	0	0
<b>Stephen Page</b>	-	X	0	0
John Claxton Jr.	-	X	0	0
James Tate	-	X	0	0
John Fleete	Attorney/Tavernkeeper	X	0	0
Ralph Graves	Attorney	X	2	1
Richard Watkins	Builder	X	0	0
Roger Long	-	-	0	1
Paul Johnson	-	-	0	0
Francis Hadden	Doctor	X	2	0
Anthony Melton	-	X	0	0
Edward Phelps	Attorney/Merchant/Sailor	-	0	0
Andrew Winter	Doctor	-	0	0
Nicholas Toop	-	X	0	0
John Phipps	-	-	0	0
John Youngman	-	X	0	0
Thomas Crow	-	-	0	0
William Fellows	Woodmonger	-	0	2
James Wilkins	-	X	0	0
Thomas Plat	-	X	0	0
John March	-	X	1	0
Anthony Butts	-	X	0	0
John Tiplady	-	X	0	4
Robert Bouth	Attorney	X	0	7
Thomas Spelman	-	X	0	0
Richard Appling	-	X	0	0
George Burley	-	X	0	0
Edward Evans	Servant	X	0	0
<b>James Hubert</b>		X	0	4
James Archer	Attorney/Ship Captain	X	1	4
Robert Dobbs	-	X	0	0
John Gardner	-	-	0	0
George Rayes	-	-	1	0
Lewis Burton	-	X	0	0
John Goodwin	Attorney	X	0	8
Robert Leightenhouse	Attorney	-	1	0
<b>Henry Watkins</b>	Attorney			0
Alexander Young	Cooper/Tavernkeeper	X	2	0
Ambrose Cobbs	-	X	0	0
William Paterson	Attorney/Tavernkeeper	X	2	0

<b>William Cobbs</b>		X	0	0
William Aylward	Attorney	-	0	1
William Garro	Servant	X	1	0
Thomas Barbar	-	X	0	0
Thomas Rogers	-	X	0	0
Thomas Ballard	Attorney	X	0	18
Thomas Hill	-	X	0	4
Abraham Martin	Cordwinder	X	0	0
Henry Hayward	-	X	0	21
Joseph Frith	Royal Messenger	X	0	0
John Cosby	-	X	1	1
<b>Thomas Roberts</b>		-	0	0
Thomas Pinkett	Miller	X	0	5
Thomas Woodfield	Bricklayer	-	0	0
William Buckner	Attorney	X	0	17
Richard Grimes	Tavernkeeper	X	0	2
John Moss	-	X	0	8
Thomas Nutting	Attorney	X	0	11
Thomas Watkins	-	X	0	0
James Burwell	-	X	3	59
Jerome Ham	Attorney	-	0	0
Richard Sclater	-	X	1	0
William Wise	Agent/Attorney	X	0	5
William Evans	Blacksmith	-	0	0
Thomas Roberts Jr.	-	X	0	3
Basil Wagstaff	-	X	0	5
John Brathwaite	-	X	0	4
James Bennett	-	X	0	0
Henry Freeman	-	X	0	0
Phillip Moody	Doctor/Attorney	X	0	9
John Morris	-	X	0	0
John Power	-	X	0	10
Barth Valentine	-	X	1	0
Dennis White	-	X	0	0
John Thebo	-	-	0	0
Henry Gill	Tavernkeeper	-	4	1
Philip Dedman	-	X	0	2
William Tavernor	-	X	0	0
<b>Richard Page</b>		X	0	1
Edward Worley		X	0	0
James Newman		-	0	0
Thomas Barbar	-	X	0	5
James Bradshaw	-	-	0	0
John Drewry	Wheelwright	X	0	0
John Gibbons	Attorney/Jailor/TK	X	1	17
Daniel Powers	-	-	0	0
James Falconer	Minister	X	1	16
Henry Borrodell	-	X	0	1

Ben Clifton	Tavernkeeper	X	0	4
Joseph Stacy	-	X	0	2
James Parson	-	X	0	2

Name (underline means little information known)	Religious / Social Offices Held or duties performed	Pistol Pairs
Joseph Ham	-	-
Richard Winne	-	-
Thomas Broughden	-	-
Robert Langham	-	-
Henry Pamtry	-	-
Stephen Gill	Justice	-
<u>John Gosling</u>	-	1
Martin Westerlake	-	-
<b>Stephen Page</b>		-
John Claxton Jr.	-	-
James Tate	Juror	-
John Fleete	-	-
Ralph Graves	Juror	-
Richard Watkins	Juror	-
Roger Long	-	-
Paul Johnson	Juror	1
Francis Hadden	-	-
Anthony Melton	Juror	-
Edward Phelps	-	-
Andrew Winter	-	-
Nicholas Toop	Juror	1
John Phipps	-	-
John Youngman	-	-
Thomas Crow	-	-
William Fellows	-	-
James Wilkins	Juror	-
Thomas Plat	Juror	-
John March	Juror	-
Anthony Butts	Juror	-
John Tiplady	Juror, Justice	1
Robert Bouth	Juror, Churchwarden, Justice	1
Thomas Spelman	Juror	-
Richard Appling	Juror, Tryer and Sealer of Leather	-
George Burley	Juror	-
Edward Evans	-	-
<b>James Hubert</b>		-
James Archer	Sheriff, Justice	-
Robert Dobbs	Juror	-
John Gardner	-	1
George Rayes	-	1
Lewis Burton	-	-
John Goodwin	Juror, Foremen, Churchwarden, Justice	-
Robert Leightenhouse	Juror, Foremen	-
<b>Henry Watkins</b>	Deputy clerk of courts	
Alexander Young	-	1
Ambrose Cobbs	-	-
William Paterson	Juror	-

<b>William Cobbs</b>		
William Aylward	-	
William Garro	-	
Thomas Barbar	-	-
Thomas Rogers	-	-
Thomas Ballard	Juror, Foremen, Clerk of Court, Sheriff, Burgess, Justice	3
Thomas Hill	Juror, Constable	-
Abraham Martin	Headborough?	1
Henry Hayward	Juror, Foremen, Churchwarden, Vestrymen	
Joseph Frith	Juror	-
John Cosby	-	-
<b>Thomas Roberts</b>		
Thomas Pinkett	Juror	
Thomas Woodfield	Juror	1
William Buckner	Dpt L Surveyor, L Surveyor, Justice, Sheriff, Coroner, Truste W&M	-
Richard Grimes	-	1
John Moss	Juror, Constable, Churchwarden	1
Thomas Nutting	Juror, Sheriff, Coroner, Justice, Vestrymen	-
Thomas Watkins	-	-
James Burwell	Justice, Burgess	-
Jerome Ham	Juror, Foremen	-
Richard Sclater	Juror, Land Surveyor	-
William Wise	Juror, Foremen, Surveyor of Highways, Constable, Baliff	-
William Evans	-	
Thomas Roberts Jr.	Juror, Constable	
Basil Wagstaff	Surveyor of Roads	
John Brathwaite	-	
James Bennett	Juror	-
Henry Freeman	-	-
Phillip Moody	Juror, Foremen, Churchwarden, Justice	-
John Morris	-	-
John Power	-	1
Barth Valentine	-	-
Dennis White	-	-
John Thebo	-	
Henry Gill	-	
Philip Dedman	Juror, Constable	
William Tavernor	Surveyor of Highway	-
<b>Richard Page</b>		
Edward Worley	Juror	-
James Newman	-	1
Thomas Barbar	-	-
James Bradshaw	-	-
John Drewry	Juror	-
John Gibbons	Juror, Constable, Agent public storehouse, Undersheriff, Sheriff	1
Daniel Powers	-	-
James Falconer	-	-
Henry Borrodell		

Ben Clifton  
Joseph Stacy  
James Parson

Juror, Churchwarden  
Constable  
-

Name (underline means little information known)	Single Pistols	Associated Acutrements	Includes Troop	Includes Sword	Includes other guns	gun powder parts,shot
Joseph Ham	-	-	-	-		1 shotbag
Richard Winne	-	-	-	-		-
Thomas Broughden	-	-	-	-		-
Robert Langham	-	-	-	-		-
Henry Pamtry	-	-	-	-		1 -
Stephen Gill		1 -	X	X		9 -
<u>John Gosling</u>	-	case	-	-		lb. powder, 3 lbs pistol bullets
Martin Westerlake	-	-	-	-		-
<b>Stephen Page</b>	-	-	-	X		2 -
John Claxton Jr.	-	-	-	-		2 7 1/2 pounds shot
James Tate	-	-	-	-		1 -
John Fleete	-	-	-	-		-
Ralph Graves	-	-	-	-		powder and shot
Richard Watkins	-	-	-	-		3 -
Roger Long	-	-	-	-		2 -
Paul Johnson	-	holster	-	X		-
Francis Hadden	-	-	-	-		2 -
Anthony Melton		1 -	-	-		1 -
Edward Phelps	-	-	-	-		109 pounds of shot
Andrew Winter	-	-	-	-		-
Nicholas Toop	-	holster	-	X		-
John Phipps	-	-	-	-		gun lock, pr. Gun molds
John Youngman	-	-	-	-		-
Thomas Crow	-	-	-	-		1 -
William Fellows	-	-	-	-		-
James Wilkins	-	-	-	-		-
Thomas Plat	-	-	-	-		2 -
John March	-	-	-	-		1 -
Anthony Butts	-	-	-	-		1 -
John Tiplady	-	holster	-	X		2 -
Robert Bouth	-	holster	X	X		5 -
Thomas Spelman	-	-	-	-		1 -
Richard Appling	-	-	-	-		-
George Burley	-	-	-	X		1 -
Edward Evans	-	-	-	-		-
<b>James Hubert</b>	-	-	-	-		-
James Archer	-	-	-	-		1 -
Robert Dobbs	-	-	-	-		1 -
John Gardner	-	holster	X	-		1 -
George Rayes	-	-	-	-		2 parcell of shot and powder
Lewis Burton	-	-	-	-		-
John Goodwin	-	-	-	-		-
Robert Leightenhouse		1 -	-	-		1 -
<b>Henry Watkins</b>						
Alexander Young	-	holster	X	X		2 -
Ambrose Cobbs	-	-	-	-		-
William Paterson	-	-	-	-		3 16 lbs powder, 7 lbs shot

<b>William Cobbs</b>	-		X	2 -
William Aylward	-		-	-
William Garro	-		-	-
Thomas Barbar	-	-	-	-
Thomas Rogers	-	-	-	-
Thomas Ballard	holster	X	X	2 -
Thomas Hill	-	-	X	3 bullet molds
Abraham Martin	holster	-	-	-
Henry Hayward		X		1 bullet molds/powder/bullets/shot
Joseph Frith	-	-		3 -
John Cosby	-	-		1 -
<b>Thomas Roberts</b>	-	-		-
Thomas Pinkett		X		1 -
Thomas Woodfield	holster		X	-
William Buckner	-		-	-
Richard Grimes	holster		X	-
John Moss	holster			1 -
Thomas Nutting	-		-	1 -
Thomas Watkins	-		X	-
James Burwell	-		-	3 -
Jerome Ham	-		X	-
Richard Sclater	-		X	1 -
William Wise	-	-	-	-
William Evans	-	-	-	1 -
Thomas Roberts Jr.	2		X	1 barrel and lock
Basil Wagstaff	-	-	X	1 -
John Brathwaite	-	-	-	3 -
James Bennett	-	-	-	-
Henry Freeman	-	-	-	-
Phillip Moody	-	-	X	-
John Morris	-	-	-	1 -
John Power	holster	X	X	2 -
Barth Valentine	-	-	-	-
Dennis White	-	-	-	-
John Thebo	-	-	-	-
Henry Gill				1 -
Philip Dedman		X	X	1 -
William Tavernor		-	-	2 -
<b>Richard Page</b>	-	-	-	-
Edward Worley	-	-	X	2 -
James Newman	holster/case	X	X	-
Thomas Barbar	-	-	X	-
James Bradshaw	-	-	-	-
John Drewry	-	-	X	1 -
John Gibbons	holster	X	X	1 barrel
Daniel Powers	-	-	-	-
James Falconer	-	-	-	-
Henry Borrodell			X	2 -



Ben Clifton	-	-	1 -
Joseph Stacy	-	X	1 -
James Parson	-	-	-

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## VITA

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