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## The Not-So-Public History of Colonial Williamsburg's Port Resident-Ferrykeepers: Interpreting the Moody Family of Capitol Landing, 1715-1781

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The Not-So-Public History of Colonial Williamsburg's  
Port Resident-Ferrykeepers: Interpreting the Moody Family of Capitol Landing,  
1715-1781

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A Thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty  
of The College of William and Mary in Candidacy for the Degree of  
Master of Arts

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## APPROVAL PAGE

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

Master of Arts



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Approved by the Committee, April 2013




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## ABSTRACT

Representing one of eighteenth-century Williamsburg's few known families of port resident-landowners and port workers, the Moody Family of Capitol Landing has not received as much interpretation in Williamsburg's scholarship or public history venues as the family's social histories and civic contributions deserve. As members of a small but essential segment of the city's port residential workforce located to the northeast of town on Queen's Creek, the Moodys of Capitol Landing are unique for being perhaps the best-known, best-documented, and longest-standing group of landowning port residents who both lived and worked in one of Williamsburg's ports from at least 1715 to approximately 1775. This three-generational family group, represented chiefly by Giles Moody, his son Matthew Moody, Sr., and Matthew, Sr.'s sons, Philip and Matthew Moody, Jr., were Capitol Landing's sole ferrykeepers and most enduring tavernkeepers – roles which helped to establish, settle, and maintain the port and family itself. The Moodys also held minor- to mid-level officeholding positions in York County government, were tradesmen and planters, and actively participated in a variety of community affairs in and around Capitol Landing, Williamsburg, and the surrounding counties during their sixty-plus years at the port.

Residing on the geographical periphery of Williamsburg's urban core, amidst a port society likely inhabited by many highly transient, lower to lower-middling class, marginalized, and often unidentifiable port residents, workers, and visitors, the Moodys are notable amongst Capitol Landing's port residents for being extensively documented in the York County Records and a variety of other sources. The Moodys' records reveal evidence supporting a theory about which prior scholarship could only speculate; namely, that some of Williamsburg's port inhabitants did indeed sustain long-term residency at the ports, and in the process, were also able to become active participants and contributors in a variety of port, city, and county affairs and community networks. Indeed, though the family lived along the city's periphery in a highly transient zone, they were not peripheral or marginalized members of its society or culture, and they likely had the effect of providing a helpful measure of on-site social, infrastructural, and community stability in and around Capitol Landing throughout their lifetimes.

This thesis seeks to fill a gap in Williamsburg's social history and public history scholarship by exploring the Moodys' long-term residency and participation in the port's and city's urban settlement and expansion, public transportation infrastructure, commercial export inspection, law enforcement, and other community affairs over the course of the city's 81-year reign. This study concludes with brief suggestions for ways in which this research may be practically applied and interpreted to present-day Williamsburg's public audiences at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and at the city's former eighteenth-century port sites of Capitol Landing and College Landing.

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**THE NOT-SO-PUBLIC HISTORY OF  
COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG'S PORT-RESIDENT FERRYKEEPERS:  
INTERPRETING THE MOODY FAMILY OF CAPITOL LANDING, 1715-1781**

## INTRODUCTION

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Virginia's colonists and visitors were keenly aware and reliant upon their need for waterborne transportation within the maritime and terrestrial landscape in which they lived.<sup>1</sup> Much of Virginia's coastal plain is riddled with tidal and non-tidal wetlands, creeks, and rivers that connect to the Chesapeake Bay and Atlantic Ocean (Figure 1). Waterborne and overland linkages to the outside world were essential to the building, maintenance, and communications between the far-flung peoples, economies, and cultural landscapes of a growing overseas and intercolonial empire.<sup>2</sup> From the earliest years of the colony, settlers and lawmakers placed great importance upon having convenient access to roads and waterways, ports or landing sites, watercraft, and all manner of waterfront workers and transportation providers to ensure that Virginia's daily maritime transportation and trade needs would be met. In response to these basic infrastructural needs, public transportation legislation was gradually enacted throughout the region to assist with the efficient operation of waterborne and overland transportation, commercial trade, communication, and exchange in and out of the colony.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For a broad cultural landscape history of the Chesapeake region over time, see Robert S. Grumet, *Bay, Plain, and Piedmont: A Landscape History of the Chesapeake Heartland From 1.3 Billion Years Ago to 2000* (Annapolis: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2000), accessed 12 January 2013, <http://archive.chesapeakebay.net/pubs/gateways/plainandpiedmont/index.htm> and [http://www.chesapeakebay.net/content/publications/cbp\\_19653.pdf](http://www.chesapeakebay.net/content/publications/cbp_19653.pdf)

<sup>2</sup> Virginia's waterways conveyed British and colonial-built vessels in and around the colony, carrying locally produced tobacco and other raw exports directly to London and its outports, or to English colonies around British North America and the West Indies. Commodities were then distributed to markets around Europe and the Mediterranean, and vessels returned to Virginia with a variety of manufactured goods, luxury items, and other supplies to meet the colonists' needs and growing consumer desires. Men, women, and children (free, indentured, imprisoned, and enslaved) also traveled back and forth via these same maritime transportation channels, along with news and communication in various forms.

<sup>3</sup> For general reading on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century maritime transportation and commerce in Virginia and the colonial Chesapeake, a few helpful sources to begin with are: Arthur Middleton, *Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era* (Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson,



**Figure 1.** “A Mapp of Virginia discovered to ye hills, and in its latt. From 35 deg. & ½ near Florida to 41 deg. Bounds of New England,” by John Ferrar, 1667. This seventeenth-century map of Virginia depicts in generalized fashion the abundant water resources of the region, including the major rivers that empty into the Chesapeake Bay, as well as minor rivers, creeks, and waterways. (*Source:* Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, Washington, D.C., Call #G3880 1667.F3; LOC catalog # 2002623131).

In 1705, six years after the founding of Virginia’s colonial capitol at Williamsburg, colonial lawmakers began laying the groundwork for the building and development of the city’s two new port sites – their port lots, public warehouses and port landing facilities, and public ferry operations – located at the heads of two navigable

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1953); April Lee Hatfield, *Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); and Pete Wrike, “Virginia’s Maritime Economy – Late Colonial Period,” *The Colonial Williamsburg Interpreter*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (Summer/Fall 2005).

creeks on the borders of the city.<sup>4</sup> Though little physical evidence remains above-ground today marking their existence, these two small municipal ports hosted active port communities that supported the city's waterborne transportation and trade functions in various ways. Capitol Landing (formally known as Queen Mary's Port), was possibly the busier of the two port communities.<sup>5</sup> It was located on Queen's Creek to the northeast of the city, which connected with the York River and the closest deep-water port at Yorktown, just twelve miles downriver. Its sister port, College Landing (also known as Princess Anne's Port), was located on College Creek to the southwest of town, whose headwaters emptied into the James River. For at least sixty years, these port sites served as places of residence, work, business, and recreation, as well as places of arrival, departure, and relaxation for visitors and travelers passing in and out of the city during Williamsburg's heyday as Virginia's colonial capitol.

Perhaps the most universally-patronized form of public water transportation in colonial Virginia at this time was the colony's publicly regulated ferry system. Public ferries were operated by licensed ferry keepers who generally resided at the sites of the ferries they managed, two of which were at Capitol Landing and College Landing in Williamsburg. The services of these water transportation providers, in addition to other civic functions and private roles they performed in their local communities, were

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<sup>4</sup> William W. Hening, ed., "Chap. XLII: An act for establishing ports and towns," in *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature, in the year 1619*, Vol. III (Philadelphia: Thomas Desilver, 1823), 404-419; see also William W. Hening, ed., "Chap. XLIII: An Act Continuing the Act directing the building the Capitol and the city of Williamsburg; with additions," *The Statutes at Large*, Vol. III, 419-432. Further discussion regarding the 1699 and 1705 acts (directing the establishment of Williamsburg's ports and ferries) are presented in Chapter 2.

<sup>5</sup> John Williams, Inspector General of the Royal Customs Service, wrote a 1770 report indicating that a large percentage of Williamsburg's imported goods arrived in the city via the York River, carried up Queen's Creek to Capitol Landing (or overland from Yorktown). He stated that "...there is a water carriage from York River within  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile of Williamsburg...at least  $\frac{7}{8}$  of the goods imported for Williamsburg are brought by way of York river and the residue in small craft from Norfolk" (see John Williams, ed., "The Royal Customs Service in the Chesapeake, 1770: The Reports of John Williams, Inspector General," in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, ed. Joseph R. Frese, Vol. 81, No. 3 [July 1973]: 18).

necessary to both local residents and visitors alike. Throughout Virginia and the North American colonies, many colonial ferrykeepers appear to have been long-term residents and active citizens of the communities in which they lived. Sometimes ferry businesses even remained in the same family for generations.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, wherever ferry travel existed, ferrykeepers' social networks likely extended not only to their immediate neighbors, but also to a wide variety of area residents, governmental officials, and travelers passing through the town or adjoining regions in which they served. These qualities are represented in the records of Williamsburg's ferrykeepers as well, where the city's only-known resident ferrykeepers, the Moody Family – specifically Giles Moody, his son Matthew Moody, Sr., and Matthew, Sr.'s sons Philip and Matthew, Jr. – lived and worked at Williamsburg's port of Capitol Landing from at least 1715 to 1775.

As port residents, year-round water transportation providers, and active citizens, many colonial ferrykeepers – the Moodys included – were relatively long-term, economically stable residents in their waterfront locales, and generally well-regarded people in their communities. Their steady presence at the ports likely provided a stabilizing influence to counteract other more highly transient, potentially lower-income, and socially marginalized port residents and visitors, such as “...seamen and dock workers involved in the shipping trade, to the runaways who seem to have flocked to the

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<sup>6</sup> With regard to ferries remaining in families for generations, historian Clara Ann Simmons states, “Ferrying could be a lucrative business. Entrepreneurs sought licenses for a specific spot and often obtained long-standing monopolies. On Virginia’s Eastern Shore, the Eyre family and their successors, the Bowdoin family, maintained a ferry from Hungar’s Creek across the bay to Norfolk, Yorktown, and Hampton from 1745 to 1824.” (Clara Ann Simmons, *Chesapeake Ferries: A Waterborne Tradition, 1636-2000* [Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2009], 15). Another ferrykeeper in northern Virginia, George Mason (famed for writing the Virginia Bill of Rights and the Virginia State Constitution) ran a public ferry on his land that had been operated by his family for many years. When he died, he willed the ferry to his son, Thomas Mason, “...with the right and benefit of keeping the ferry... Which has been vested in me and my ancestors from the first settlement of this part of the country and long before the land there was taken up or patented” (George Mason, “Will of George Mason of Gunston,” in *The Life of George Mason, 1725-1792, Vol. II*, by Kate Mason Rowland [New York: Putnam and Sons, 1892], 465; reprinted in Simmons, *Chesapeake Ferries*, 23).

landing in the hope of stowing away on a departing ship or simply becoming invisible amidst the human and commercial traffic.”<sup>7</sup> The Moodys’ more established and long-standing social, economic, and residential status in York County, in addition to other factors to be discussed in this thesis, appear to have helped them attain their ferry licenses and tavern licenses, landholdings, and other officeholding positions which were granted to various members of the family during their lifetimes.

Over the course of six decades, Giles’ and Matthew Moody, Sr.’s families participated and contributed in various ways to Williamsburg’s and York County’s settlement and urbanization, transportation infrastructure, commercial trade and agricultural economy, law enforcement, and other community affairs in and around Capitol Landing, the city, and its environs. The Moodys also performed a variety of personal roles and functions supporting a diverse social network of local landowners and residents, family, friends, business relations, and others with whom they associated over the course of their lives. Giles’ and Matthew Moody, Sr.’s long-standing residency and service at Capitol Landing, in Williamsburg, and in York County has resulted in their becoming perhaps the best-documented and best-known port resident-landowners and port-related service providers living in one of the colonial capitol’s port communities, though their identities and contributions to Capitol Landing and the greater community of Williamsburg still remain somewhat marginalized in the scholarly literature and public consciousness.

This case study endeavors to broadly present and analyze the historical context, nature, and significance of the Moody family – as port resident-landowners, ferry- and

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<sup>7</sup> Gregory J. Brown, “Phase I and II Archaeological Investigations of the Port Anne Development, Williamsburg, Virginia,” Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1986, reissued June 2001), 10.



tavernkeepers, officeholders, and active citizens in and around Capitol Landing – through their long-term residency and engagement in the urban settlement, public infrastructure, and growth of the port, Williamsburg, and York County since their earliest beginnings. The family not only assisted with various port-related transportation and trade needs in and around Capitol Landing, but also participated in other county and parish officeholding roles, agricultural activities, and community affairs that are worthy of acknowledgement in the academic scholarship, as well as in the public history settings of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and the City of Williamsburg.

Whether by accident or intention – and in spite of eighty years of research scholarship and public history interpretation dedicated to eighteenth-century Williamsburg’s landscapes, society, and cultural heritage – only a limited amount of scholarly attention has been focused upon the Moodys’ lives and activities as Capitol Landing’s best-known landowning port-resident ferrykeepers. This highlights an interesting disparity between eighteenth-century Williamsburg’s historical reality and today’s eighteenth-century research scholarship and public history interpretation, as the Moody Family – though a small group of individuals – seem to have been fairly well-known and active around the community of Williamsburg during their recorded lifetimes. Spanning over sixty years of the city’s eighty-one year reign as colonial capitol, the Moodys were an old York County family, demonstrating long-term settlement, middling to upper-middling class status, wide social connections, and active engagement in public service and local affairs. Indeed, even though the Moodys lived along the geographical periphery of Williamsburg’s urban core, they do not appear to have been peripheral to the city’s society and culture at all. Rather, the evidence suggests that the family played far

more diverse roles and functioned far more broadly at the port and in the extended regional community than historians and archaeologists have previously acknowledged.

In some regards, the lack of scholarship on local port residents is not surprising, as the volume of historical records, archival data, and archaeological evidence available regarding Williamsburg's municipal ports and port residents varies significantly. Most of College Landing's port residents and workers, lot owners, and visitors remain unknown due to the loss of nearly all of James City County's official records during the Civil War. This lack of documentary evidence about College Landing's port society – including information verifying the identities and social histories of its ferry keepers and other port residents – is a situation that is unlikely to remedy itself unless new historical documentation or archaeological evidence comes to light.<sup>8</sup> Fortunately, however, many records regarding Capitol Landing's port society still survive in fairly extensive form in the York County Records and the York County Project Master Biographical Files.<sup>9</sup> These compilations of vital records are housed in the Special Collections division of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, as well as in the Foundation's Department of Training and Historical Research. Through these records, a sizeable amount of documentation regarding Capitol Landing's lot owners and some of the port's residents are identifiable, including that of the Moody Family.

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<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, evidence about College Landing's ferry keepers and port society has been extremely difficult to research and identify due to the destruction of the James City County records during the Civil War. What is known of the county's population can only be recovered through limited and scattered miscellaneous records that still exist. Barring the discovery of new eighteenth-century court or governmental records, private papers, etc. relating to James City County or College Landing – or the recovery of new archaeological evidence at the port site itself – knowledge of the identities and activities of College Landing's waterfront workers, residents, and lot owners is likely to remain limited at best, due to the loss of so many critical documentary resources necessary for identifying these individuals.

<sup>9</sup> York County Project (and York County Project Master Biographical Files), Department of Training and Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Research and data collection done with assistance from the National Endowment for the Humanities under Grants RS-0033-80-1604 and RO-20869-85.

While these archives yielded the largest percentage of data about the Moodys, additional information about the family's members were also found in a variety of other eighteenth-century sources, such as private account books, ledgers, letter books, personal papers, newspapers, and other city, county, and colonial government records. These resources have not only revealed further details about the Moodys that were not found in the York County Project Master Biographical Files, but have also furnished more information about the nature and characteristics of Williamsburg's port landscapes, port society, and the maritime- and terrestrial-oriented activities taking place in and around these sites. That being said, while the York County Project has compiled an incredible amount of data about Williamsburg's and York County's residents which has been used in a wide variety of research studies, the depth of this historical record still remains relatively untapped in local scholarship. The Moodys – like all of Capitol Landing's port resident-workers and landowners – still await further examination, analysis, and interpretation regarding their roles, functions, and significance within the port and larger eighteenth-century Williamsburg community in which they lived and worked.

Knowledge of Capitol Landing, its public ferrykeepers, and other port residents and landowners needs to “get off the shelf,” out of the scholarly and geographical periphery, and returned to the public consciousness in a way that more actively educates the public about the historical presence and contributions of Capitol Landing's public ferry keepers, port functions and operations, and port resident life along the city's eighteenth-century working waterfronts. This study intends to do exactly that.

This thesis broadly considers one branch (representing five generations) of the Moody Family in York County, but focuses primarily upon the patriarchs of the third and

fourth generation – namely Giles Moody, the first port-resident ferrykeeper at Capitol Landing, and his son, Matthew Moody, Sr. These individuals' records provide illuminating evidence of the Moody Family's long-term participation in the port's, Williamsburg's, and York County's urban growth and development from approximately 1715 to 1775, which encompasses approximately three-quarters of the entire time span of Capitol Landing's documented activity during Williamsburg's colonial period. Information relating to the fifth generation of Moodys – represented by Matthew Sr.'s sons, Philip and Matthew Moody, Jr. – will also be presented, though mainly in the context of their adulthood in the decade before Matthew Sr.'s death in 1775 and during the Revolutionary period afterward through 1781.

This research study is organized into five main chapters. **Chapter One** presents a literature review of the relevant secondary scholarship dealing with Williamsburg's ports, port residential society, and the Moody family in order to highlight some of the gaps in the scholarly literature that this thesis intends to fill. This section also discusses prior scholarly assumptions about the nature and characteristics of Williamsburg's port society and port residents that have informed this study of the Moody family at Capitol Landing.

**Chapter Two** focuses on the time period between 1699 and 1729, when Williamsburg's ports and public ferry operations were established, and Capitol Landing experienced its first phase of settlement and urban development. During this time, Giles and Mary Moody settled at the port and established its first-known public ferry operation, as well as the port's first-known and longest-lasting tavern business. This section explores the Moodys' early York County settlement, their socio-economic status, and other opportunities that presumably made it possible for Giles and Mary Moody to obtain

their ferry- and tavernkeeping licenses, early officeholding positions, and begin building a stable foundation upon which their family, Capitol Landing, and the local community could grow in later years. Based on limited data available, this chapter also attempts to generally reconstruct various aspects of the Moodys' ferry- and tavernkeeping operation at Capitol Landing.

**Chapter Three** addresses the time frame from 1729 to 1763, when Capitol Landing rose to its commercial height as an official tobacco inspection station and when Matthew Moody experienced his most active and prosperous years at the port and in the local community. This chapter briefly discusses Matthew, Sr.'s continuation of the family's ferry- and tavernkeeping operation during this time, and presents a broad overview of Matthew, Sr.'s additional occupational and community activities as a landowner, officeholder, and citizen-at-large in and around Capitol Landing. In the latter years of this period, the city's population growth also increased to the point of needing to annex new city lands – namely, the “Moody Subdivision” – which Matthew Moody, Sr. made available to the city and sold off to individual buyers through 1763.

**Chapter Four** considers the pre-war and Revolutionary years of 1763 to 1781, when evidence of changes in Matthew Moody, Sr.'s work-related activity, level of wealth, and standard of living seem to coincide with the mounting economic, socio-cultural, and political tensions that affected Williamsburg and the colony after the Seven Years' War ended, and prior to the American Revolution. This section also introduces Matthew, Sr.'s sons – particularly Philip Moody and Matthew Moody, Jr. – largely through the context of the roles and activities they pursued as adults in and around Capitol Landing during this period, and considers the fate of the Moody family's port lots

and landholdings, port-related business operations, and other affairs from the time of Matthew, Sr.'s death in 1775 to the close of the Revolutionary War in 1783. Finally, this chapter concludes with discussion of various internal and external forces occurring in and around Williamsburg and Virginia between 1750 and 1783 that may have led to the eventual decline of the Moody family's long-standing legacy as port residents, landowners, and active citizens at Capitol Landing.

**Chapter Five** of this study discusses the increasing importance of public history venues like museums and historic sites for teaching American history to the public, and reviews the current state of public history interpretation and programming in Williamsburg as it relates to the Moody Family and to the city's eighteenth-century ports of Capitol Landing and College Landing. This section also presents a few concept proposals outlining ways in which the Moody Family and Williamsburg's port communities may be publicly interpreted at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and at the former port landscapes of Capitol Landing and College Landing in the future.

Finally, this thesis **concludes** with recommendations for further research on the Moody Family, Capitol Landing, and other port landowners and residents, and notes how this study of the Moodys trends with a burgeoning area of research scholarship, historic preservation, and public interpretation focusing on historic waterfronts, maritime society, and waterfront work around the world.

**CHAPTER ONE: LITERATURE REVIEW  
OF PUBLIC HISTORY SCHOLARSHIP ON WILLIAMSBURG'S PORTS,  
PORT RESIDENTS, AND THE MOODY FAMILY OF CAPITOL LANDING**

The small body of scholarship currently available about Williamsburg's ports, port residents, and the Moody Family of Capitol Landing has primarily been concentrated in the less-publicly accessible realm of "gray literature," generally taking the form of unpublished documentation in articles, archaeological site report assessments, and historical research reports produced in-house by private and public research organizations, institutions, and individuals professionally involved in Virginia's historical, archaeological, and cultural resource management fields.<sup>10</sup>

Historical and archaeological gray literature, though it comprises a large percentage of the scholarship produced in the public history and contract archaeology professions, still receives significantly less attention, peer review, and dissemination amongst academics, public historians, and the lay public than scholarship produced for traditional academic and popular audiences.<sup>11</sup> As public historians and archaeologists acknowledge, "...The problem with these reports is that few people see or have access to them due to the limited numbers that are printed and their rare appearance in libraries."<sup>12</sup> This causes a serious disconnect between the public history scholarship that has been

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<sup>10</sup> The National Park Service's definition of "gray literature" is defined as "...unpublished documentation that is printed in limited numbers and is rarely cataloged in libraries. For archeology, it is mainly technical reports of archeological investigations that are most often associated with cultural resources management assessment and fieldwork. Thus, it is relatively inaccessible to researchers, other archeologists, and the public." (Terry S. Childs and Eileen Corcoran, "Glossary – Gray Literature," *Managing Archeological Collections: Technical Assistance*, Archeology and Ethnography Program, National Park Service, 2000, [http://www.nps.gov/archeology/collections/glossary.htm#gray\\_literature](http://www.nps.gov/archeology/collections/glossary.htm#gray_literature) (accessed 28 December 2012).

<sup>11</sup> Beverly A. Bastian and Randolph Bergstrom, "Reviewing Gray Literature: Drawing Public History's Most Applied Works out of the Shadows," *The Public Historian*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Spring, 1993): 63-64.

<sup>12</sup> Terry S. Childs and Eileen Corcoran, "Chapter 2: Introduction to Curation: Brief History of U.S. Archeology and Curation – From the '70s to Today," *Managing Archeological Collections: Technical Assistance*, Archeology and Ethnography Program, National Park Service, 2000, [http://www.nps.gov/archeology/collections/intro\\_cur03.htm](http://www.nps.gov/archeology/collections/intro_cur03.htm) (accessed 28 December 2012).

produced at the local, state, and national level and its ability to cross over not only to other public history professionals and academics, but also into the public sphere – where this extensive and highly informative body of literature may be able to effect its broadest and most important impacts by advancing history education and awareness amongst the general public.

Since the first research report of Williamsburg's ports was generated in 1930 by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, gray literature comprises the largest body of scholarship available on the topics of Williamsburg's ports, port residents, and the Moody Family of Capitol Landing. In general, these studies on Williamsburg's ports and port residents appear to have fulfilled essentially three main purposes: (1) to support private in-house museum research initiatives of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; (2) to support research and archaeology projects initiated by local, state, or federal public works projects; or (3) to support cultural resource management (CRM) assessment and fieldwork projects, especially in the realm of "salvage archaeology," that have been required in advance of building or redevelopment initiatives proposed in or around the historic boundaries of Williamsburg's former eighteenth-century port community sites.

Over the past eighty years, this research has contributed to the development of a slow but steadily emerging portrait of the ports' natural environment, built landscapes, port-related activities, landownership, and port society. Furthermore, the historical research trends and inquiries circulating in the fields of academia, public history, and historic preservation during this time are also interesting to ponder in light of the scholarship being produced on these topics. Therefore, in light of the fact that the gray literature produced on Williamsburg's ports, port residents, and the Moody Family has



not received much attention in terms of a synthesized historiography or analytical review of the existing scholarship, this chapter intends to address this problem more fully. The following analysis will provide a selective historiography of the noteworthy public history gray literature that has been produced over the past eighty years relating to Williamsburg's two ports at Capitol Landing and College Landing, as well as of the Moody Family. It will highlight the scholarship that is most relevant to this thesis study on the topics of Capitol Landing, its port residents and landowners, and the Moody Family members who lived and worked at the port throughout the eighteenth century.

The first study to draw attention to the existence of Capitol Landing was written in 1930 by historian Helen Bullock of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.<sup>13</sup> While internal memos citing the reason for its generation have not been found, the date of this report indicates that it was written just as the new "Colonial Williamsburg Restoration" efforts were getting underway in the early 1930s through the efforts of Rev. Goodwin and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Its short length (nine pages) and very general nature indicates that it was most likely intended to serve merely as a brief topical overview of Williamsburg's ports at College Landing and Capitol Landing, in order to provide a foundation of data to build upon in the absence of any prior research on these landscapes. It outlines the basic informational details of the city's port communities, their legislative origins and functional purposes, and a brief assortment of activities that occurred at the city's two port sites between 1699 and 1780. Bullock does not mention the ports' residents or ferry keepers, however. As an early research exercise, the importance of this research report resides chiefly in its status as the first study of its kind about

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<sup>13</sup> Helen D. Bullock, "College and Capitol Landings," Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series, RR-51 (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1930).

Williamsburg's ports. It also retains institutional value as an early artifact of Colonial Williamsburg's historical research efforts during the Restoration.

In 1951, a second and more extensive study was undertaken by Mary Stephenson, also a research historian at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.<sup>14</sup> Stephenson's research report was the first attempt to compile a listing (though not comprehensive) of Capitol Landing's eighteenth-century port lot owners – providing their names, port lot numbers, and related primary source references, including mention of some of the port's residents like the Moodys. This report helped focus my attention on Capitol Landing as a maritime cultural landscape whose records might allow closer examination of port residents and waterborne transportation providers who lived and worked at this site.<sup>15</sup> In addition, Stephenson listed a sizeable number of the area's landowners along Queen's Creek and Capitol Landing Road, which helped to identify members of the landowning or residential population surrounding the Moodys and suggested potential contacts or social networking connections within the surrounding neighborhood. While Stephenson's study was the first to reference Giles Moody and Matthew Moody, Sr. as ferry keepers at Capitol Landing, the report did not elaborate upon the Moodys' experiences or activities as ferry- and tavernkeepers, port residents, or citizens, or provide much further

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<sup>14</sup> Mary A. Stephenson, "Queen Mary's Port (Capitol Landing), Princess Anne's Port (College Landing), 1699-1800," Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Report Series (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1951).

<sup>15</sup> In 2007, this thesis research began with the development of an extensive database compilation of all known port residents and lotowners at Capitol Landing, in an attempt to identify port-related or maritime-oriented workers who may have been living at the port in the eighteenth century. In 2008, an intern in the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's Digital History Center also compiled an in-house, unpublished MS Excel spreadsheet database outlining the chronological chain-of-ownership and tenancy of all of Capitol Landing's port lots, including all known lotowners, residents, and potential residents at the port. At the present time, however, it does not appear as though the CWF's Digital History Center has pursued any further analysis or publication of this research data – though the development of more extensive social histories of Capitol Landing's lotowners and residents are still needed.

information or analysis about any other port lot owners, workers, or residents, for that matter.

Two archaeological studies undertaken on eighteenth-century College Landing – one produced by Carter Hudgins in 1977 and the other by Gregory Brown in 1986 – represent the first archaeological excavations undertaken on Williamsburg’s port sites.<sup>16</sup> These site reports also reflect the first scholarly attempts to provide a more in-depth analysis of the social, cultural, and economic characteristics of Williamsburg’s port society and port residents. In the 1960s and 1970s, a new wave of historical research emphasizing the social history of ordinary people swept academia and the public history profession. New research questions pertaining to class, race, status, gender, power, and identity began to find their way into the public history scholarship of research historians and archaeologists working at museums, historical sites, and in cultural resource management. Furthermore, “concern about historic preservation issues and the management of cultural resources, including archaeological resources, led to the passage of various laws. Implementation of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 led to the development of what is now known as contract or cultural resources management (CRM) archaeology”<sup>17</sup> – which also led to the production of a large

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<sup>16</sup> Carter L. Hudgins, “Historical Archaeology and Salvage Archaeological Excavations at College Landing: An Interim Report” (Richmond: Virginia Research Center for Archaeology, 1977); Gregory J. Brown, “Phase I and II Archaeological Investigations of the Port Anne Development, Williamsburg, Virginia,” Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series, RR-306 (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1986, reissued June 2001).

<sup>17</sup> Terry S. Childs and Eileen Corcoran, “Chapter 2: Introduction to Curation: Brief History of U.S. Archeology and Curation – From the ‘70s to Today,” *Managing Archeological Collections: Technical Assistance*, Archeology and Ethnography Program, National Park Service, 2000, [http://www.nps.gov/archeology/collections/intro\\_cur03.htm](http://www.nps.gov/archeology/collections/intro_cur03.htm) (accessed 28 December 2012).

percentage of the scholarship discussed here that relates to Williamsburg's ports and port residents.<sup>18</sup>

Though somewhat speculative in nature due to limited time, funding, available archival data, and archaeological material recovered during research and excavation, Hudgins' and Brown's site interpretations and archival research led them to some assumptions about Williamsburg's port residents at College Landing (and by extrapolation, at Capitol Landing) that have remained relatively undiscussed in the scholarship ever since. Carter Hudgins' 1977 archaeological site report, "Historical Archaeology and Salvage Archaeological Excavations at College Landing: An Interim Report," stated that "the inhabitants of this community were transient, opportunistically mobile individuals. Attuned to the commercial shipping that gave them their livelihoods, these residents were little more permanent than the ships and crew that called at the port."<sup>19</sup> Nearly ten years later, Greg Brown's 1986 site report, "Phase I and II Archaeological Investigations of the Port Anne Development, Williamsburg, Virginia," built upon Hudgins' ideas but also offered some noteworthy additions and subtle distinctions not mentioned in the previous study, stating: "...it would appear that most of those actually living at the Landing were of the lower to lower-middle class,"<sup>20</sup> whose "jobs and income" demanded their presence at the ports and whose position on the

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<sup>18</sup> Not surprisingly, a proliferation of CRM archaeology was generated across the nation in response to these new federal requirements, spawning a new wave of archaeological and historical research studies in Williamsburg and across Virginia as well. Much of the research scholarship presented in this literature review has been produced by contract archaeologists and consulting historians working on salvage archaeological projects mandated by the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966; the remaining scholarship was conducted in response to research needs and projects generated in-house by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation itself, and likely influenced by new trends and emphases in historical research (such as social history and ethnohistory) that stem from academia.

<sup>19</sup> Hudgins, "Historical Archaeology and Salvage Archaeological Excavations at College Landing: An Interim Report," 26.

<sup>20</sup> Brown, "Phase I and II Archaeological Investigations of the Port Anne Development," 8-9.

geographical periphery of town “...probably provided a social separation as well, giving them a community identity different from the city-dwellers.”<sup>21</sup>

Perhaps the most intriguing concept that Greg Brown’s prior statements logically build up to is the notion that despite a potentially high degree of transiency at the port, some people may have “built and maintained homes near the landing, indicating some degree of stability.”<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, Brown stated that:

*...Ties to the neighborhood community, and to the larger social entity that made up Williamsburg, are to a great extent a function of permanency. A fully transient society, of course, would not be expected to maintain a powerful community identity, whereas a stable, immobile society would establish strong and lasting bonds in the community.*<sup>23</sup>

These statements not only reveal some of the conceptual springboards from which this thesis draws inspiration, but also hint at the greater potential and significance of the Moody Family for future study.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Brown, “Phase I and II Archaeological Investigations of the Port Anne Development,” 8. Here Brown states that “most” (but perhaps not *all*) of the ports’ residents were of a lower socio-economic class, which suggests (through omission) that at least *some* of the individuals living at the port may have been different; specifically, that some were capable of maintaining a higher level of wealth and social status in spite of the possibility that lower-income residents prevailed in greater numbers around them at the port. Furthermore, though Brown states that “most” individuals may have lived at the port because their “jobs and income” required it, perhaps not *all* port residents’ jobs and economic security were entirely dependent upon port-related activities. Indeed, some port residents may also have had other jobs and sources of income beyond what they obtained at the ports alone, as well as other reasons and incentives (beyond just economic ones) for living there. Brown’s study is significant not only for what he *does* say, but also for what he does *not* say; and by reading between the lines and considering the omissions – namely, the questions or assumptions that have not been adequately tested or explored about Williamsburg’s known port resident population – further questions and avenues for deeper study become apparent.

<sup>22</sup> Brown, 10. The concept that some of Williamsburg’s port residents may have demonstrated or represented “stability” at the port by being able to “build or maintain homes near the landing” is intriguing. Are there any other ways in which individuals’ “stability” might be represented – not only through residential and geographical permanency, but also through other social, cultural, economic, and political means? Finally, would not the presence of “stable,” longer-term, home-owning (or long-term renting) residents in a port community also be important, considering that much of the ports’ remaining residential population might be largely transient, of lower economic means, and potentially marginalized from society? Though these questions go beyond the current scope of this thesis, these inquiries illustrate why further study of Williamsburg’s landowning port resident-workers is so important, and why Brown’s statements about Williamsburg’s port residents bear significant implications for further research.

<sup>23</sup> Brown, 10.

<sup>24</sup> Though a full exploration and analysis of the connections between the Moody’s’ residential permanency and their formation of neighborhood ties and community identity goes beyond the current scope of this

In 1998, Cathy Hellier and Julie Richter, also historians at Colonial Williamsburg, produced two research studies focusing on the urban population demographics, lot ownership and settlement, and developing urbanization of Williamsburg, Yorktown, and York County. These reports were part of a larger research project submitted by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation to the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), entitled “Urbanization in the Tidewater South, Part II: The Growth and Development of Williamsburg and Yorktown.”<sup>25</sup> Hellier’s article, “The Character and Direction of Urban Expansion in Williamsburg,”<sup>26</sup> in addition to Richter’s report on “Lot Ownership in Colonial Yorktown and Williamsburg,”<sup>27</sup> were based on research findings gleaned from the York County Project Master Biographical Files (a research initiative undertaken by Colonial Williamsburg with NEH grant support).<sup>28</sup> These studies provided useful demographic summaries about a number of Capitol Landing’s lot owners – some of whom were also port residents, including Giles and Matthew Moody, Sr. – and noted basic information such as the names, place of birth, years of residency, occupations, lot usage history (if known), dates of lot ownership, and chain-of-title information associated with each port lot and lot owner. These studies also briefly discussed these individuals in the context of their involvement in Williamsburg’s settlement and landownership, population growth, and urban expansion during the

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thesis, a few of Brown’s ideas are supported by evidence from this Moody study. These ideas (in addition to suggestions for further study related to these concepts) will be discussed in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

<sup>25</sup> Peter V. Bergstrom, et al., “Urbanization in the Tidewater South, Part II: The Growth and Development of Williamsburg and Yorktown” (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 199– ).

<sup>26</sup> Cathleene B. Hellier, “Ch. VI: The Character and Direction of Urban Expansion in Williamsburg,” in “Urbanization in the Tidewater South, Part II: The Growth and Development of Williamsburg and Yorktown” by Peter V. Bergstrom, et al. (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 199– ).

<sup>27</sup> Julie Richter, “Chapter VII: Lot Ownership in Colonial Yorktown and Williamsburg,” in “Urbanization in the Tidewater South, Part II: The Growth and Development of Williamsburg and Yorktown” by Peter V. Bergstrom, et. al. (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 199– ).

<sup>28</sup> Final report to the National Endowment for the Humanities, Project #RO-20869-85 (summing up research results funded by NEH grant support).

eighteenth century. Detailed discussions of individual port residents, their occupational activities, civic roles, and other contributions in and around Capitol Landing were not undertaken, however, as these concerns were outside the scope of these research studies.

Similarly, the 1998 Colonial Williamsburg research publication entitled “*Upon the Palisado*” and *Other Stories of Place from Bruton Heights* also discussed Matthew Moody, Sr.’s landholdings, specifically with regard to Moody’s subdivision of lands that he annexed to the city beginning in 1759.<sup>29</sup> Chapter Seven of this book, entitled “The Moody Subdivision,” pertains to the landownership and urban development of a large land tract off Capitol Landing Road in Williamsburg, which once comprised part of an 80-acre parcel belonging to Matthew Moody, Sr. (where the Foundation’s Bruton Heights Educational Center now sits today). This study, in addition to the prior urbanization studies by Hellier and Richter, includes brief discussions of the Moodys regarding their landholdings at the port and on Capitol Landing Road. It also provides insightful information and evidence for use in evaluating the Moody Family’s activities as resident landowners, real estate buyers and sellers, and as local citizens interacting with other residents and landowners along the Capitol Landing Road corridor. This Moody Subdivision study presented little further analysis, however, regarding the various reasons that may have motivated the purchase, usage, and sales of Matthew, Sr.’s landholdings or his involvement in this city annexation project. It also did not elaborate upon any details

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<sup>29</sup> Cathleene Hellier, “Chapter 7: The Moody Subdivision,” in “*Upon the Palisado*” and *Other Stories of Place from Bruton Heights*, by John Metz, Jennifer Jones, Dwayne Pickett, and David Muraca. Colonial Williamsburg Research Publications, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation (Richmond, VA: Dietz Press, 1998), 99-114. This “Moody Subdivision” article by Hellier is an abridged version of a longer article written for an earlier publication in 1992. See David Muraca and Cathleene Hellier, “Archaeological Testing at Bruton Heights,” Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1992).

regarding other aspects of the Moodys' (or other port residents') lifestyles, port-related activities, or civic affairs via their landownership and residency at Capitol Landing.

In late 1991 and early 1992, historical archaeologists Cara Harbecke and John Metz of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation conducted the first archaeological survey at Capitol Landing. This contract archaeology project was commissioned by the Mahone family and took place on their private landholdings which included part of the former Capitol Landing site. Essentially comprised of site surveying and shovel testing, this report generated little new data or analysis about Capitol Landing or its potential occupants, as limited material evidence was recovered.<sup>30</sup> More information was revealed in 1994, however, when independent historian Martha McCartney produced an extensive historical report on Capitol Landing for the Mahone family. This unpublished research report, simply entitled "Queen Mary's Port (Capitol Landing)," compiled perhaps the most comprehensive overview to date of primary source material relevant to the port's legislative history, activities, people, material culture, and vernacular landscape.<sup>31</sup> McCartney also produced a listing of the port's landowners from 1790 (approximately when Mary Stephenson's list of lotowners ended) through 1956, which is very useful for anyone wishing to study the port's landownership from the early Republic period through

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<sup>30</sup> Cara Harbecke and John Metz, "Phase I Archaeological Testing at Capitol Landing," Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Report Series (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1992), 4-5, 18. Harbecke and Metz performed a preliminary Phase I archaeological survey of Capitol Landing and identified a total of nine sites. Four historic-period sites were found on the privately owned parcel belonging to Margaret Mahone Whitten, located east of Capitol Landing Road and adjacent to Queen's Creek. They speculated that one site in particular may have been an early eighteenth-century tavern site that was occupied throughout the century, possibly belonging to Giles Moody and his family. Unfortunately, artifact concentrations were light, and this study did not delve into any new discussion about the Moody family beyond the brief details offered in Mary Stephenson's 1951 historical report. Therefore, though this research report offered few new insights or data about the Moodys, it merits mention as the first archaeological study undertaken at Capitol Landing, and also for its brief references to the Moody Family in the context of their portside residency and functional presence there as ferrykeepers and tavernkeepers.

<sup>31</sup> Martha W. McCartney, "Queen Mary's Port (Capitol Landing)," unpublished research report document dated January 11, 1994, received from Martha McCartney in 2007.



the present. Nevertheless, while eighteenth-century port residents and landowners such as the Moodys are briefly mentioned, the report does not attempt to present a more extensive discussion of the nature of their settlement, port-related occupations or business interests, civic or governmental appointments, or other community affairs and contributions in and around Capitol Landing.<sup>32</sup>

In the late 2000s, however, the tide shifted again and a new contract archaeology project was undertaken at Capitol Landing that brought renewed focus to the port and its residents, particularly the Moodys. Between December 2009 and April 2010, the James River Institute for Archaeology (JRIA) completed an extensive Phase I and II archaeological study of a private 30-acre tract owned by the Mahone family (part of which was surveyed by Harbecke and Metz in 1991). Located along the western border of the former Capitol Landing site, JRIA researchers believe that this land tract comprises a portion of a former landholding immediately adjacent to the port that once belonged to Matthew Moody, Sr.<sup>33</sup>

This lengthy archaeological report, required in advance of a possible new residential subdivision (proposed for development on this site by the Mahone family), reflects the results of the first archaeological work to be carried out at Capitol Landing in fifteen years, as well as the most extensive excavations to be done at the site to date. These excavations uncovered new material evidence relating to the early history and

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<sup>32</sup> It seems likely that the research scope, funding, and time considerations of this privately contracted study did not permit (or perhaps require) a more detailed investigation and analysis of the port's residents and landowners themselves. This may also be the case with Capitol Landing's prior archaeological reports and historical research studies (also privately contracted), and may partly explain why the social histories of the Moodys (and other port landowners, residents, and workers) have not been examined as closely in this and previous scholarship.

<sup>33</sup> Matthew Laird, Nicholas Lucchetti, and Anthony Smith, "Phase I and Phase II Archaeological Investigations at the Mahone Property at Capitol Landing (44WB0005/137-0056), Williamsburg, Virginia" (Williamsburg: James River Institute for Archaeology, Inc., 2010).

settlement of the port and Williamsburg, and revealed new documentary evidence about Capitol Landing's history, landscape, and landownership that has informed this research study. Outside of this thesis, this report also represents the first research scholarship in a long while to begin focusing renewed attention on Williamsburg's port residents, and Matthew Moody, Sr. and his family in particular. By virtue of Matthew, Sr.'s status as perhaps the best-known eighteenth-century landholder (and possible resident) of this 30-acre land parcel under investigation, this JRIA study is noteworthy for re-opening a scholarly dialogue into the presence and interactions of Matthew Moody, Sr. and his family as port residents, landowners, and ferry- and tavern keepers at Capitol Landing. It still leaves many topics undiscussed and open for further investigation, however.

Unfortunately, JRIA's excavations did not turn up any material remains or site features that could be directly linked with Matthew Moody, Sr. or the Moody Family, though it was hoped that a house (or possibly even the tavern) owned by the Moodys might have been located on the site. Therefore, many questions and details about the Moodys' material culture, lifestyles, and daily activities that might have been revealed by new archaeological evidence will continue to remain unanswered (or speculative at best) for the time being. All the same, this JRIA report deserves special recognition for (literally) breaking new ground and reopening topics relating to Capitol Landing's port community, its port residents and port-related functions, and the longstanding presence and civic involvements of the Moody Family in and around Capitol Landing and Williamsburg. Perhaps most importantly, it underscores the Moodys' value as subjects worthy of further study, as much of their story still remains to be told.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> A number of additional articles, monographs, and research publications not mentioned here do make brief reference to various members of the Moody Family, especially Matthew Moody, Sr., in isolated

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contexts, though these references are generally limited to brief mention of various activities, civic affairs, or social relationships in which the Moodys were known to be involved. It is important to note that none of these miscellaneous studies were produced with the intention of developing more extensive examinations of the Moodys' social histories or civic contributions in general. They do not attempt to explore the Moodys in a broader context, e.g. through the lens of their portside residential location, interactions, and contributions in and around Capitol Landing, or via their primary positioning and long-term presence as resident-landowners and port workers at Capitol Landing. For brief reference to Matthew Moody, Sr.'s land ownership and involvement in the urbanization of Williamsburg and York County (in addition to the reports already mentioned in this literature review), see also Robert Hunter, Jr., Patricia Samford, and Marley R. Brown III, "Phase II Archaeological Testing of the Proposed Second Street Extension, York County and Williamsburg, Virginia" (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1984), 41-44. Reference to Matthew Moody, Sr.'s slave ownership may be found in Thad W. Tate, *The Negro in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1965), 31, 43, and 75; see also Julie Richter, unpublished research notes document, "Matthew1 Moody, Tavernkeeper, Queen Mary's Port, 1734 to 1768," shared with the author in a personal meeting on September 9, 2008; regarding the slaves of Matthew Moody, Jr., see Julie Richter, unpublished research notes document, "Matthew2 Moody, Tavern Keeper, Burwell's Ferry, 1766 to 1769; Queen Mary's Port, 1769 to 1770; and Queen Mary's Port, 1774," shared with the author in a personal meeting on September 9, 2008. For references to Matthew Moody, Sr. and his wife Anne's relationship to gentry planter John Custis IV and his slave boy Jack (with further suggestions about the Moodys' possible sentiments toward slaves), see Josephine Zuppan, *The Letterbook of John Custis IV of Williamsburg, 1717-1742* (Lanham, MD: Madison House Publishers, 2004), 189; also Josephine Zuppan, "The John Custis Letterbook, 1724 to 1734" (MA Thesis, The College of William & Mary, 1978), 34, 38; also Jo Zuppan, "John Custis of Williamsburg, 1678-1749," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 90, No. 2 (April 1982): 196-197; also Jan Ellen Lewis and Peter S. Onuf, eds., *Sally Hemings and Thomas Jefferson: History, Memory, and Civic Culture* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 52-55, 78-79; also Michael Sobel, *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 152, 286; also Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 355. For the most extensive reporting on Philip Moody's activities in Revolutionary Williamsburg, see Noel Poirier, "The Williamsburg Public Armory: A Historical Study, Block 10, Building 22F," Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series – 1695 [Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2003]; accessed February 3, 2013, <http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/View/index.cfm?doc=ResearchReports\RR1695.xml>). With regard to Matthew Moody, Sr. and his family's other occupational contributions and geographical interactions as portside tavernkeepers, ferrykeepers, port residents, officeholders, planters, and tradesmen, brief references do exist in the scholarship but are either not extensive, significant, or relevant enough in nature to currently warrant mention in this literature review. References to these topics and their associated scholarship have been reserved for discussion in later chapters of this thesis as relevant and necessary.

**CHAPTER TWO:  
GILES MOODY AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF  
WILLIAMSBURG’S PORTS, FERRY SERVICE, AND THE  
MOODYS OF CAPITOL LANDING, 1699-1729**

In May 1699, as Virginia’s legislators deliberated upon the location for a new colonial capitol, a student from the Royal College of William and Mary gave a speech to this group of “notable men,” emphasizing a number of “principal advantages” related to transportation and trade that rendered the inland settlement of Middle Plantation as geographically suitable for the “situation of a Town:”<sup>35</sup>

*Here is the greatest conveniency of easy access for great numbers of people both by land and water of any in the whole Country. First, I say, by land, For all people will own it to be already the greatest thorough-fair in Virginia, Nature having so contrivd it that by reason of two deep unfordable Creeks, which extend themselves from James and York Rivers, and almost meet at this place, all passengers in going up or down this most populous part of the Country must travel through this pass, and the roads leading to it from all points of the Compass, are so good and Level that Coaches and waggons of the greatest burden have an easy and delightsome passage. Then by water where is there ever another place in the whole Country that opens so conveniently to two such great Rivers, the most populous, the most rich, and the most frequented by shipping in the whole Country.*<sup>36</sup>

In addition to the area’s well-suited overland travel accessibility, roads, and geographical conditions, Middle Plantation’s two inland creeks – namely Queen’s Creek (which connected to the York River) and Archer’s Hope Creek (or “College Creek,” which flowed into the James River) – were noted specifically for their “water conveniency.” These “two deep unfordable Creeks,” connecting “to two...great Rivers, the most

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<sup>35</sup> Anonymous, 1 May 1699, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, London; quoted in “Speeches of Students of the College of William and Mary Delivered May 1, 1699,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Second Series, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Oct 1930): 329.

<sup>36</sup> Anonymous, 1 May 1699, “Speeches of Students of the College of William and Mary...,” 330.

populous, the most rich, and the most frequented by shipping in the whole Country,”<sup>37</sup> were considered to be valuable environmental assets and essential to the growth of the College or a future colonial capitol:

*...these Creeks are really so deep & bold already that all the great and urgent occasions of any City may be very well served by Vessells that can sail in them. For can't provisions, fewal, and other commodities of the Country that are to be there expended, be as easily brought in sloops & shallops as in great ships. And is it not likewise all the trade we have with Barbadoes, New England, Pensilvania, Carolina, or any other parts of America, drove by such small Vessells as can come up those Creeks? For Vessells of great burthen where's the harm if they ride at 3 or 4 miles distance from the Town, so long as they can load and unload by the help of Lighters and Flatts, & other such conveniencies.*<sup>38</sup>

Though these creeks were not navigable to the largest of vessel traffic, their depths could still accommodate the six- to seven-foot drafts<sup>39</sup> of many coastwise sailing vessels that were chiefly engaged in the colony's coastwise intercolonial trade, as well as smaller watercraft adapted to shallower-water conditions.

While many of Virginia's colonists derived a certain percentage of their profits from agricultural employments, producing tobacco, grains, foodstuffs, and other bulk goods for sale at home or abroad – and others pursued trades, crafts, mercantile activities, and other more urban-oriented services in pursuit of economic gain – the colony's integrated Tidewater landscape also allowed some people to build or supplement their income through various forms of waterborne or maritime-related service or activity. With the creation of a new capitol city, it was expected that overland and waterborne transportation, commercial trade, and population would increase, bringing a variety of merchants, tradesmen, and service personnel to the city. In accordance with this rising

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<sup>37</sup> Anonymous, 1 May 1699, “Speeches of Students of the College of William and Mary...,” 330-332.

<sup>38</sup> Anonymous, 1 May 1699, “Speeches of Students of the College of William and Mary...,” 330-331.

<sup>39</sup> Anonymous, 1 May 1699, “Speeches of Students of the College of William and Mary...,” 330.

tide of activity, colonists also anticipated that local water transportation providers would arrive and increase in number – people such as ferrymen, boatmen, and watermen:

*...a Town maintains a much greater number of people when the water carriage cannot be wholly managed by great ships. How many thousands live by Barges, Hoyes, Sloops, flatts, smacks, and boats, and all the other small craft upon the River of Thames? And with such help they can load or unload the greatest ships as fast as the seamen can handle their tackle to hoist things in and out.*<sup>40</sup>

In time, a number of individuals – people like the Moody Family – did indeed arrive to work and settle in the town to provide “water carriage” and other transportation and trade services in and around the city’s future port sites. They joined the ranks of other early landowners and residents whose presence and contributions supported the ports’ and Williamsburg’s urban settlement and expansion, waterborne transportation and commercial trade, and community growth and stability in the ensuing years. Indeed, this manuscript’s reference to the city’s need for future water transportation providers is noteworthy. It provides perhaps the earliest-known indication of the value that local residents placed upon having access to the waterborne services of local water transportation providers in the future colonial capitol – services which the Moody Family pursued in the form of ferrykeeping, and which eventually led the Moodys to become perhaps the earliest, best-known, longest-standing, and most recognizable water transportation providers, tavernkeepers, and port residents living along Williamsburg’s municipal waterfront.

A few key items of legislation enacted soon thereafter in 1699 and 1705 provide telling evidence of how this W&M student’s ideas also reflected the sentiments of Virginia’s colonial legislators, particularly with respect to Williamsburg’s future

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<sup>40</sup> Anonymous, 1 May 1699, “Speeches of Students of the College of William and Mary...,” 331.

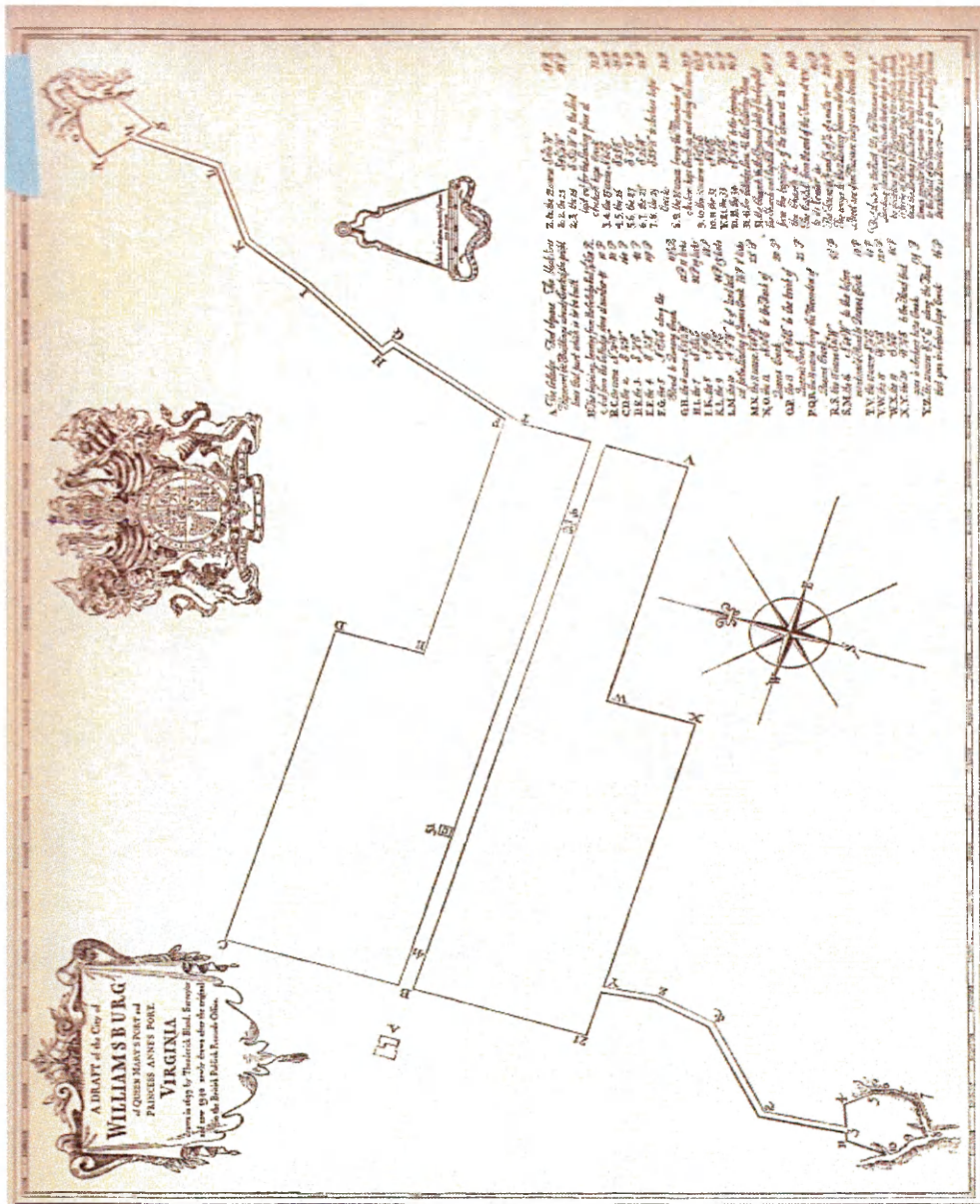
transportation needs. On June 7, 1699, the Virginia Assembly passed “An Act Directing the Building the Capitoll and the City of Williamsburg.” This legislation officially established the capitol city of Williamsburg on the site of Middle Plantation, and ordered the surveying, settlement, and development of two new port communities on its nearby creeks.<sup>41</sup> “Queen Mary’s Port” (commonly known as “Capitol Landing”) was located on Queen’s Creek, a mile to the northeast of the Capitol building. “Princess Anne’s Port” (informally known as “College Landing”) was located on College Creek, a mile to the southwest beyond the College (Figure 2).

This Act also provides early evidence that Governor Nicholson, the colony’s General Assembly, and Williamsburg’s “founding fathers” understood the intrinsic importance that ports and waterways, maritime transportation, and port services would provide for the development of the new city’s urban infrastructure and growth over time. Among other things, this act stated that “a sufficient quantity of land at each port or landing shall be left in common” for the use of the city’s inhabitants and visitors, and lots would be laid out at the ports that “shall not exceed sixty foot square.”<sup>42</sup> (Figure 3) Burgesses were also appointed as city trustees and tasked with the responsibility of facilitation and oversight of port-related affairs throughout Williamsburg’s reign as colonial capitol.

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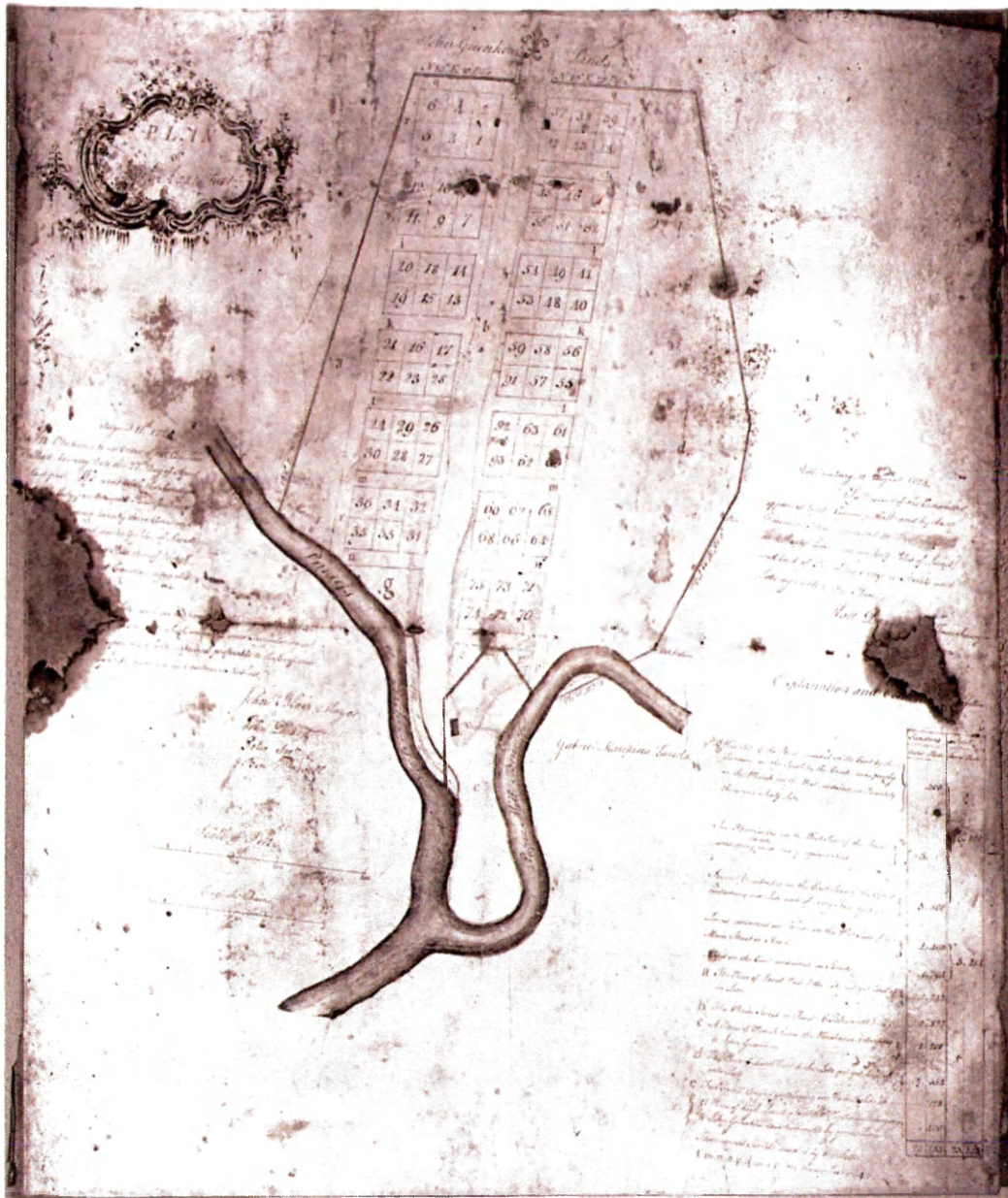
<sup>41</sup> William W. Hening, ed., “An Act Directing the Building the Capitoll and the City of Williamsburg,” in *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature, in the year 1619*, Vol. III (Philadelphia: Thomas Desilver, 1823), 197. See also the 1705 addendum to this act in Hening, “Chap. XLIII: An Act Continuing the Act directing the building the Capitol and the city of Williamsburg; with additions,” *The Statutes at Large*, Vol. III, 419-432; also Hening, “Chap. XLII: An act for establishing ports and towns,” *The Statutes at Large*, Vol. III, 404-419. For further discussion of these acts and their implementation in Williamsburg, see Hellier, “Ch. VI: The Character and Direction of Urban Expansion in Williamsburg,” 1-4.

<sup>42</sup> Hening, *The Statutes at Large*, Vol. III, 427. The port land “left in common” for the public is a reference to the port’s landing commons itself, where vessels and other watercraft (like the Moody’s’ ferryboats) might load and unload.



**Figure 2.** “A Draft of the City of Williamsburg and Queen Mary’s Port and Princess Anne’s Port in Virginia,” 1699, by Theodorick Bland; redrawn in 1940 by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. This map of Williamsburg depicts the town’s proposed layout prior to its development. The outlines of the city, the roads leading to the capitol’s port sites, and the port communities’ boundaries are clearly defined. (Source: Rutherford Goodwin, *A Brief & True Report Concerning Williamsburg In Virginia: Being an Account of the most important Occurrences in that Place from its first Beginning to the present Time* [Richmond: August Dietz and Son, 1941]: 16, foldout map; original in The National Archives/British Public Records Office, Reference # MR 1/2067).





**Figure 3.** “Plan of Princess Anne Port” by Matthew Davenport, August 11, 1774. This is the only surviving visual example of what Williamsburg’s ports may have looked like, as Capitol Landing’s plat has not been found. While College Landing was laid out into 72 port lots (evidenced in the 6-block clusters of port lots above), Capitol Landing only had 68 port lots, which may have been represented in the form of 4-block clusters. (Source: John Reps, *Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland* [Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1972]:178; original in the Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia).

Williamsburg's creeks and port landscapes, port landowners and residents, port-related transportation and trade affairs, and port-related service providers were all perceived as necessary components of a maritime-oriented support network supporting the city's growth. Indeed, the city's urban expansion, commercial and economic development, colonial judiciary responsibilities, and prominence in cultural and political affairs in the years leading up to the American Revolution would not have developed as quickly or successfully if the ports' facilities, transportation and trade services, and port-related service providers had not been present and functioning properly to support these civic and colonial objectives.

After Williamsburg's formal establishment in 1699, new landholdings and economic prospects began to slowly emerge in these areas over the next few decades of the colonial capitol's growth. Though informal, private water transportation activities were undoubtedly already occurring on Williamsburg's inland waterways of Queen's Creek and College Creek, provisions for officially licensed public ferry services were enacted a few years later in October 1705, when the Assembly's "An Act for the Regulation and Settlement of Ferries and for the Dispatch of Public Expresses" was passed.<sup>43</sup> This act designated both Capitol Landing and College Landing as authorized ferry sites for the city and licensed ferry keepers to "dispatch...public affairs" and transport residents, visitors, and their goods back and forth from Williamsburg's creeks to landing sites across the York and James Rivers respectively.<sup>44</sup> Among other stipulations, it also regulated ferry rates and service requirements, and made special provisions for ferry keepers who chose to operate a tavern. Scholars speculate that the licensed ferry

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<sup>43</sup> Hening, "An Act for the Regulation and Settlement of Ferries; and for the Dispatch of Public Expresses," *The Statutes at Large*, Vol. III, 469-476.

<sup>44</sup> Hening, *The Statutes at Large*, Vol. III, 469-476.

services at Capitol Landing and College Landing may have begun as early as 1706,<sup>45</sup> but the first definitive evidence of a ferry license being issued in the city occurred on March 21, 1715.<sup>46</sup> On this date, Giles Moody was formally granted the York County license to operate the public ferry at Capitol Landing, and one of Williamsburg's earliest and longest-standing families officially entered the annals of the ports' and colonial capitol's growth and development.

### **The Early Settlement and Growth of the Moody Family at Capitol Landing: Giles and Mary Moody, 1715-1729**

Though the first entry for Giles Moody in the York County Records is dated May of 1714 – nearly a year prior to receiving the ferry license at Capitol Landing on Queen's Creek – his residence in York County preceded this date by at least 22 years. Even more significantly, the Moody family's presence in York County extended back two generations before Giles' birth, representing nearly 75 years of settlement and activity in the area prior to his arrival at Capitol Landing. This is important because it demonstrates the Moody family's long-standing establishment and involvement in the early settlement of York County prior to Giles' first documented activity and settlement in Williamsburg at Capitol Landing in 1715. The Moodys' early settlement, socio-economic status, reputation, and familiarity in York County prior to 1715 provided compelling opportunities and advantages that likely influenced Giles' (and his descendants') ability to settle down and contribute in various ways to Capitol Landing's

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<sup>45</sup> See Mary Stephenson, "Queen Mary's Port (Capitol Landing), Princess Anne's Port (College Landing), 1699-1800," Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1951), 3; see also William P. Palmer, Sherwin McRae, Raleigh E. Colston, and Henry W. Flournoy, eds., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts, 1652-1781, Preserved in the Capitol at Richmond*, Vol. I (Richmond: R.F. Walker, 1875): 108.

<sup>46</sup> York County Records, DOW(14)400.

and Williamsburg's growth, development, and stability through the remainder of the eighteenth century. The following section provides a brief overview of the family's early history to illustrate these points.

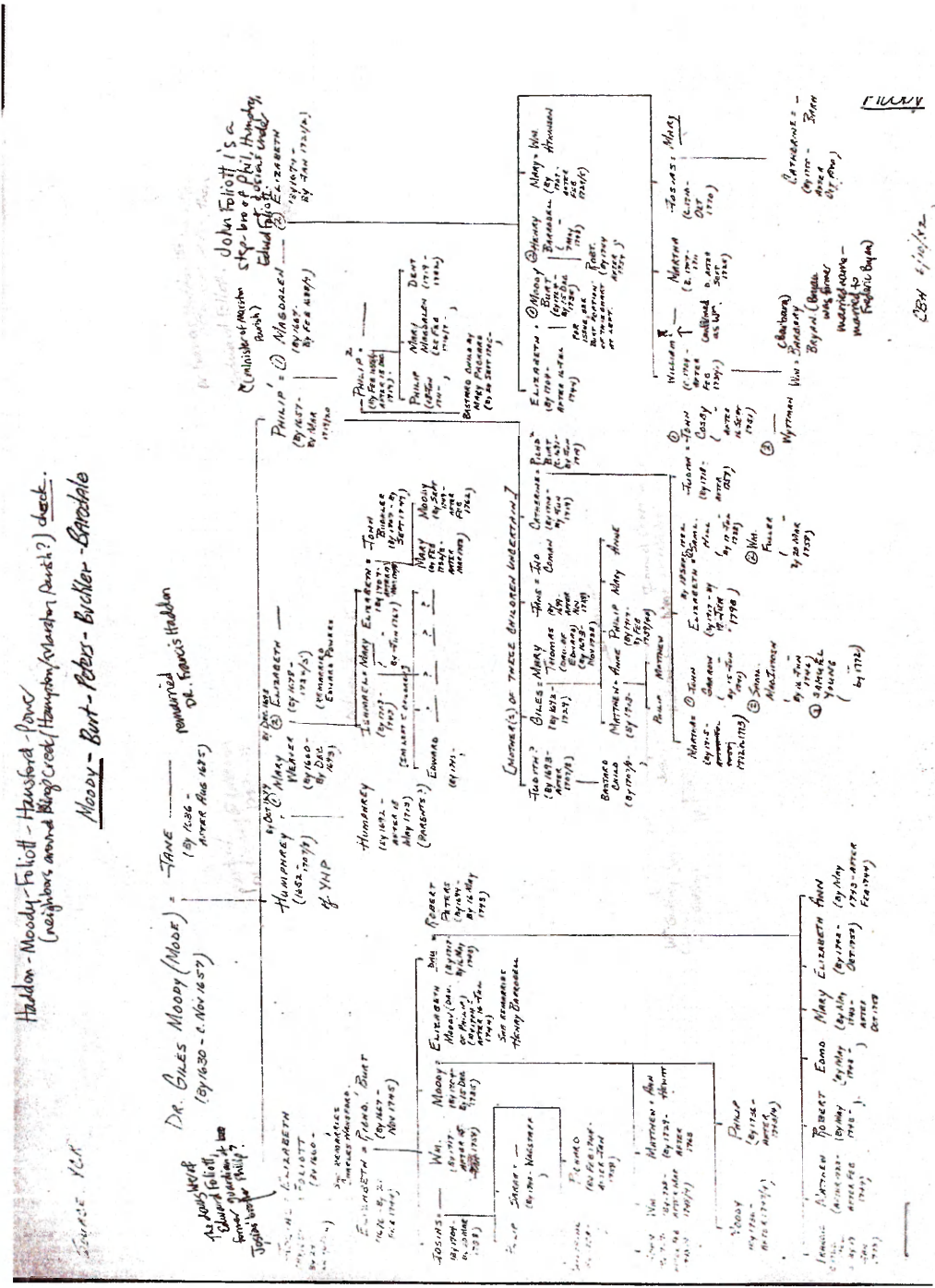
### **Giles Moody, Native Son: Introducing the Moody Family of York County, 1650s-1715**

Giles Moody was presumably born in the Yorkhampton Parish region of York County sometime prior to 1693, to Philip Moody and an unknown mother.<sup>47</sup> Giles' father, Philip, a York County resident, was the third son of Dr. Giles Mode, who was the first-known member of the Moody Family to settle in York County in the seventeenth century. (Figure 4) Possibly of Dutch origin,<sup>48</sup> Giles' grandfather Dr. Mode petitioned

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<sup>47</sup> For further discussion regarding Giles' potential birthplace, see footnote #54 in this thesis. In genealogical terms, Giles Moody is referenced as "Giles2" to denote his birth order within the Moody Family lineage (he is the second "Giles" to be born in the Moody line and is a descendant of Dr. Giles Mode, denoted as "Giles1 Moody," who is the first "Giles" and the first-generation founding patriarch of the Moody Family in York County). For the purposes of this thesis, however, Giles2 will be referred to as "Giles Moody," and Dr. Giles1 Mode (Moody) will be referred to as "Dr. Giles Mode" hereafter. Similarly, Giles Moody's father, Philip Moody, is referenced in genealogical terms as "Philip1" to denote his birth order within the Moody Family lineage (he is the first "Philip" born under Dr. Giles Mode). For the remainder of this chapter, Philip1 will be referred to as "Philip" (not to be confused with his descendants in later chapters, e.g. "Philip2" of the third generation, or "Philip4" of the fifth generation). To see the genealogical chart of the Moody Family, please see Figure 4 in this thesis.

<sup>48</sup> Though definitive evidence proving Dr. Giles Mode's nationality or place of birth has not yet been found, Giles Mode's probate inventory reflects books written in Dutch (none in English), as well as a horse named "Hans." These details, though certainly inconclusive, are still suggestive of a possible former residency in Holland, either as a native-born resident or immigrant to the country. Past scholarship has suggested that the Moodys were French (presumably with their name anglicized to "Moody" from the French pronunciation and spelling of "Modé"), though direct evidence supporting this assertion has not been found (see Lyon G. Tyler, ed., "The Medical Men of Virginia," *The William & Mary Quarterly*, Vol. XIX, No. 3 (January 1911), 150; also Lyon G. Tyler, ed., "History of York County in the Seventeenth Century: Beginnings of Settlement," *Tyler's Quarterly Historical & Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (April 1920), 268). If "Mode" was a French surname, however, Giles Mode (and possibly his wife or family) may have been of French Huguenot extraction and living in Holland – a theory which would support having both a French surname and a Dutch reading fluency, as there was indeed a sizeable French Huguenot community living in Holland during the seventeenth century. If Giles Mode did indeed emigrate to Virginia from Holland – and if he received any formal training as a doctor – then it is also possible that he attended the medical school at Leiden, though evidence confirming this supposition has not yet been found.



**Figure 4.** “Genealogical chart of the Moody Family: Moody-Burt-Peters-Buckler-Barodale.” The family lineage of Philip1 Moody and Giles2 Moody is depicted to the far right of the chart. (Source: Department of Training and Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; unpublished York County Project research document, dated June 18, 1982, received from CWF historian Linda Rowe).

the House of Burgesses for the legal right to become a “denizacon,” or denizen,<sup>49</sup> of Virginia on March 20<sup>th</sup>, 1655:

...Upon the petition of Dr. *Gyles Moody & John Mitchell* & other strangers – Inhabitants of this Country, *It is ordered* that the aforesaid persons be made denisons to purchase & hold any lands & Priviledges here (offices & publick employment excepted) *Provided* that Capt. *Nico Martn* enjoy & hold all offices and employments he having obtained his Denizacon in *England*, *Nevertheles* all Children of such strangers within Limited or any other shall upon suite by them made Obtaine Denizacon.<sup>50</sup>

Despite his position as a recent “stranger” and “denizen” of York County, Dr. Mode appears to have been socially well-regarded, financially stable, and politically influential in the community. Both he and his son Philip (Giles’ father) were appointed justices of the York County Court, which were positions usually accorded to natural-born English citizens of higher wealth and social status in the community.<sup>51</sup> Dr. Mode and Philip were also practicing “doctors” in and around Yorktown and York County, as was Dr. Francis

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<sup>49</sup> A “denizen” (or “denizacon,” as spelled in the *Journal of the House of Burgesses*) is defined in *Blackstone’s Commentaries on the Laws of England* as the following: “A DENIZEN is an alien born, but who has obtained ex donatione regis letters patent to make him an English subject: a high and incommunicable branch of the royal prerogative. A denizen is in a kind of middle state between an alien, and natural-born subject, and partakes of both of them. He may take lands by purchase or devise, which an alien may not; but cannot take by inheritance: for his parent, through whom he must claim, being an alien had no inheritable blood, and therefore could convey none to the son. And, upon a like defect of hereditary blood, the issue of a denizen, born before denization, cannot inherit to him; but his issue born after, may. A denizen is not excused from paying the alien’s duty, and some other mercantile burthens. And no denizen can be of the privy council, or either house of parliament, or have any office of trust, civil or military, or be capable of any grant from the crown.” (See Sir William Blackstone, “Ch. 10: Of People, Whether Aliens, Denizens or Natives,” in *Blackstone’s Commentaries on the Laws of England*, Bk. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1765-1769), 362, accessed January 10, 2013, [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th\\_century/blackstone\\_bk1ch10.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/blackstone_bk1ch10.asp)).

<sup>50</sup> Henry R. McIlwaine and John P. Kennedy, eds., “Some of the Proceedings of the 1654/55 Session,” *Journal of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1619-1775*, Vol. 1 (Richmond: The Colonial Press, 1905), 95.

<sup>51</sup> Dr. Giles Mode may have been living in Virginia long enough – or was perhaps of high enough social standing, wealth, and landholdings – to somehow obtain legal permission to hold public office as a York County justice. He was first recorded as a York County justice on 4 June 1655 (see York County Records, DOW(1)154) – just three months after he filed a petition to become a “denizen” of the colony. (Captain Nicholas Martian, who also applied for “denizen” status at the same time as Mode, may have transported Mode to Virginia, possibly by way of England).

Haddon.<sup>52</sup> After Giles Mode's death, Haddon married Jane Mode, Dr. Mode's widow, and became Philip's legal guardian. All three men owned plantation lands, slaves, and indentured servants, and their probate inventories reflect further evidence of their wealth, standard of living, and status through the type and number of rooms listed in their houses, books denoting their literacy and education, and through the form, number, and value of their material goods – including the presence of expensive luxury items affordable to the upper-middling class.<sup>53</sup>

Therefore, judging from the socio-economic and political status of both his grandfather and father, Giles seems to have been born into a family of upper-middling class wealth and social standing. As the second son of Philip and the third of ten children, Giles was presumably raised in Yorkhampton Parish, where he likely grew up helping his father operate the family's plantation lands and other businesses.<sup>54</sup> Giles'

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<sup>52</sup> "Doctors" in Virginia were not usually certified doctors. Historian Lyon G. Tyler states, "...As to the professions: The Physicians appear to have been chiefly apprentices attracted to Virginia by the lack of any restrictions on the practice of medicine. The regularly graduated man was probably the exception....Among the more prominent men of the medical profession during this century were Dr. Giles Mode...[and] Dr. Francis Haddon." (See Lyon G. Tyler, ed., "History of York County in the Seventeenth Century: Beginnings of Settlement," 268). Similar to Dr. Giles Mode, it is possible that Dr. Francis Haddon may have also been of Dutch extraction, a former resident of Holland, or received some medical training in Leiden. Haddon had a "Dutch Almanack" listed in his probate inventory (see York County Records, DOW(5)99, dated 12 December 1674), as well as some books written in English and Latin. Another possibility is that he was not Dutch or fluent in Dutch – perhaps of English or Scottish extraction instead – but inherited the Dutch Almanack from Dr. Giles Mode's estate upon marrying Dr. Giles Mode's widow Jane. He may also have learned how to speak and read Dutch for other reasons, independent of these variables.

<sup>53</sup> For the probate inventory of Dr. Giles Mode (presented as a room-by-room inventory), see York County Records, DOW(3)23 (for years 1657-1662); for inventory of Dr. Francis Haddon, see York County Records, DOW(5)99; and for inventory of Dr. Philip Moody, see York County Records, OW(15)607-608.

<sup>54</sup> Giles Moody's older brother, "Philip2" (born to Philip Moody's first wife Magdalen), appears to have been baptized in the Abingdon Parish Register in Gloucester County, perhaps where her family resided, or where Philip Moody began his married life. If Giles' mother was also Magdalen, it is possible that Giles was born in Abingdon Parish and Gloucester County as well – though no direct evidence (such as parish registry records) have been found to substantiate his mother's identity or his birthplace with any certainty. (For reference to Philip2's birth in Abingdon Parish, see "Phillip1 Moody" Linker's Sheets, unpublished research document produced in conjunction with the York County Project Master Biographical Files, dated June 10, 1982, pg. #YCBW #3B; on file in the Department of Training and Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation). Otherwise, prior to 1693 (the latest possible year of Giles' birth), the York County Records of Giles' father Philip seem to indicate that Philip (and presumably young Giles) lived in

grandfather, Dr. Giles Mode, also had two elder sons, Josias and Humphrey Moody, whose descendants grew to be quite numerous in later years. Giles probably had a lot of exposure to this large extended family network of uncles, aunts, cousins, and siblings who lived nearby around Yorktown and the Hampton Parish region of York County. His family's long-standing York County settlement history and landholdings, officeholdings, upper-middling class wealth, and higher social status in the community likely helped Giles establish himself in Williamsburg at Capitol Landing in the ensuing years, as will be discussed in the following sections of this thesis.

Giles Moody's wife and business partner, Mary [Thomas] Moody, also descended from an established family who had resided in York County along Queen's Creek since at least 1665.<sup>55</sup> The Thomas family plantation was located near Middle Plantation, on the north side of Queen's Creek near its mouth at the York River. Mary's father, Edward Thomas, appears to have been a Quaker – part of a small yet well-established group of religious dissenters that settled between Queen's Creek and Skimino Creek during the seventeenth century. Within this Quaker community, Edward Thomas was one of a few individuals who hosted Thomas Story, the famous Quaker missionary, at his home when

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Yorkhampton Parish, perhaps near Kings' Creek in the Yorktown area. Nevertheless, this reference in the Abingdon Parish Register does suggest an interesting link between the Moodys and Gloucester County, as it raises the distinct possibility that the family may have also had Gloucester-area connections and familiarity with the area that may have improved Giles Moody's chances of acquiring the Capitol Landing ferry license in later years (which traveled between Capitol Landing and Clay Bank Creek in Gloucester County).

<sup>55</sup> The first record that identifies the Thomas Family's settlement on Queen's Creek is noted in the will of John Thomas, dated 3 April 1665, probated 26 February 1665/6. The will states, "...I give & bequeath all my houses & Land whereon I now live at Queenes Creeke being two hundred & Fiftie Acres unto my three Sons James Stephen & Edward Thomas, to be equally divided among them & my wife as long as she lives a widow in my Name to enjoy the Land equally [with them] but noe longer..." (York County Records, DOW(4)55).



Story visited Virginia in 1699 and 1705.<sup>56</sup> By 1714, Giles and Mary had met and married, and Giles was given the executorship of Edward Thomas's Fish Neck Plantation in his will.<sup>57</sup> As executors of this plantation land – which was located conveniently along Queen's Creek – Giles and Mary were given permission to use and manage this landholding until Edward's grandsons reached their majority.<sup>58</sup> Perhaps most interesting, however, is that while Giles may have been appointed to this executorship due to being a close relation of the family by marriage, it seems likely that he may also have been named executor of this Queen's Creek plantation if he and Mary were already living somewhere nearby and could care for it more effectively.

It is unknown whether Giles and Mary ever lived or farmed on Thomas' Fish Neck land, as evidence of their use of the plantation has not yet been found. It seems probable, however, that by 1714 – and maybe even as late as 1717, when Giles purchased port lots at Capitol Landing – that he and his wife Mary, as well as their son Matthew Sr., were already renting and residing in a dwelling house at or near the port, or along Queen's Creek near the Thomas family (possibly even at Fish Neck Plantation). If this

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<sup>56</sup> Edward Thomas presumably lived on Queen's Creek his entire life and was living there in 1699, when the Quaker missionary Thomas Story visited his home. For reference to Thomas Story's visit to Edward Thomas' home, see Thomas Story, *A Journal of the life of Thomas Story: containing, an account of his remarkable convincement of, and embracing the principles of truth, as held by the people called Quakers; And also, of his Travels and Labours in the Service of the Gospel: With many other Occurrences and Observations* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England: Isaac Thompson and Co., 1747):153-154, 387-388.

<sup>57</sup> Giles Moody's first known entry in the York County Records occurs in tandem with his wife Mary [Thomas] Moody when they are referenced in the will of his father-in-law, Edward Thomas of Queen's Creek, dated 17 May 1714 (see York County Records, DOW(14)329).

<sup>58</sup> Edward Thomas bequeathed his Queen's Creek land to his sons John and Abraham Thomas. Apparently Edward's son, Abraham, did not survive or leave any heirs to inherit Fishneck Plantation (according to the stipulations of Edward's will). Instead, this landholding descended to Edward's grandsons, James or John Thomas, and was placed under the executorship of Giles and Mary Moody until the boys came of age. The will states: "...I give the other part of my Land being known by the Name of Fish[s] Neck bounded with Queens Creek & Archers Swamp so up to the sd Foarce line to the stooping oak....I give to my Son Abraham Thomas with all the priveledge thereto belonging to him & his heirs being maile of his body for ever....but if it should happen that my son Abraham should die without heirs then my Will is that my Son in law Giles Moody & my daughter Mary Moody to have the use of the plantation till my grandson James or John Thomas come to age" (York County Records, DOW(14)329).

were indeed the case, the Moodys would have been living near Mary's family, close to kin and social support, and the Thomas' social network of friends, family, neighbors, and acquaintances might also have been available to help the young couple establish themselves more quickly in the local community. Indeed, Giles' and Mary's likely access to pre-established, built-in social networks and community relationships – via the combined forces of the Moody and Thomas families – would have been helpful to the couple if they hoped to eventually settle in Williamsburg and begin new businesses, purchase and cultivate land, build a home, or become civically active in and around the emergent port of Capitol Landing, the capitol itself, along Queen's Creek, or nearby in York County. Though these notions are purely speculative, they seem a likely possibility.

**Giles Moody, Capitol Landing's First Known Resident:  
Public Ferrykeeper, Tavernkeeper, and Port Landowner, 1715-1729**

As one of Williamsburg's two municipal ports on the outskirts of Williamsburg's city bounds, Capitol Landing functioned as a place where merchants, planters, tradesmen and craftsmen, tavernkeepers and ferrymen, mariners, watermen, and a variety of individuals purchased lots, rented dwellings and storehouses, lived and worked, and participated in a variety of transportation, trade, shipping, and recreational activities during the eighteenth century.<sup>59</sup> Among its chief transportation functions, Capitol

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<sup>59</sup> For further reading on the history, legislation, activities, and lot ownership of Capitol Landing, see Mary A. Stephenson, "Queen Mary's Port (Capitol Landing), Princess Anne's Port (College Landing), 1699-1800," Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Report Series (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1951); also Martha W. McCartney, "Queen Mary's Port (Capitol Landing)," unpublished research report dated January 11, 1994, received from Martha McCartney in 2007; and Matthew Laird, Nicholas Lucchetti, and Anthony Smith, "Phase I and Phase II Archaeological Investigations at the Mahone Property at Capitol Landing (44WB0005/137-0056), Williamsburg, Virginia" (Williamsburg: James River Institute for Archaeology, Inc., 2010). For further reading on Capitol Landing's lotownership specifically,

Landing served as an official public ferry site – if not by 1706, then certainly by 1715 – and provided the city’s residents and visitors with public ferry access down Queen’s Creek and across the York River to Clay Bank Creek in Gloucester County.<sup>60</sup> (Figure 5) This port also provided a connective waterborne link between Williamsburg and the maritime transportation and trade of the York River and Yorktown, the Chesapeake Bay, and the greater Atlantic world during Williamsburg’s reign as colonial capitol from 1699 to 1780. Serving as the closest deep-water port to Williamsburg, Yorktown was located approximately 12 miles downriver from the mouth of Queen’s Creek, where it conveniently served the new capital as a major hub for maritime commerce and transportation activity in the Chesapeake.

### **Ferry and Tavern Licensing**

By the time that Capitol Landing’s lots were surveyed, laid off, and offered for sale in late 1714, Giles Moody recognized an opportunity to establish a social and economic foothold for himself and his family in the urban development of the new city.<sup>61</sup>

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see Cathleene B. Hellier, “Ch. VI: The Character and Direction of Urban Expansion in Williamsburg,” in “Urbanization in the Tidewater South, Part II: The Growth and Development of Williamsburg and Yorktown” by Peter V. Bergstrom, et al. (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 199–) [year unspecified]; also Julie Richter, “Chapter VII: Lot Ownership in Colonial Yorktown and Williamsburg,” in “Urbanization in the Tidewater South, Part II: The Growth and Development of Williamsburg and Yorktown” by Peter V. Bergstrom, et al. (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 199–) [year unspecified].

<sup>60</sup> Clay Bank Creek (the former name of what is presumably Aberdeen Creek today) is located just northwest of Carter’s Creek in Gloucester County (where gentry planter Mann Page I began building Rosewell, the largest plantation house in the colony, in 1725).

<sup>61</sup> When Giles Moody purchased lots at Capitol Landing, he was one of the first York County natives to purchase port lots in Williamsburg. Historian Julie Richter discusses urban lotownership in eighteenth-century Yorktown and Williamsburg (including mention of Giles and Matthew Moody, Sr. at Capitol Landing, among others), and notes that a large number of York County natives were among the earliest buyers of the first-available port lots in Yorktown, as well as in Williamsburg after its establishment in 1699 (see Julie Richter, “Chapter VII: Lot Ownership in Colonial Yorktown and Williamsburg,” 1-83).



**Figure 5.** “Virginia and Maryland as it is planted and inhabited this present year 1670,” by Augustine Herrman. This is the earliest known map denoting “Clay Banke Creek,” the approximate location of the ferry terminus from Queen Mary’s Port (Capitol Landing) to Gloucester County. “Clay Banke Cr.” is on the north side of York River, northwest of “Karter’s Creek” and across from “Queens Creek.” (Source: Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, Washington, D.C., LOC catalog # 2002623131).

He soon applied for and was granted approval on March 21, 1715 for a license to operate the first official public ferry at Capitol Landing:

*Upon pet of Giles Moody liberty is given him to keep a ferry from Queen Marys Port Wmsbg over to Claybank in Gloucester he giving sec as law directs and it is ord that he provide 1 good boat of 14ft by the keel with 2 hands to attend accord.*<sup>62</sup>

He then provided security for the license two months later with a bond, financed by his father Philip.<sup>63</sup> Securing the ferry license at Capitol Landing not only gave Giles and Mary the opportunity to begin building the foundations of a long-term business niche for themselves and their family at Capitol Landing, but also provided the young couple with the opportunity to begin saving up money so they could eventually purchase some port lots of their own. In the interim, Giles and Mary were probably renting a dwelling house in or around the immediate vicinity of the landing and the ferry. A little less than a year later, Giles was granted the first-known license for an ordinary at the port on January 16, 1716, which was permitted as a benefit accorded by law due to his licensing as the port's public ferrykeeper.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> York County Records, DOW(14)400. In the early years of Giles Moody's ferry operation, it appears as though his ferryboat was only intended for transporting people, not horses. This is evidenced by the ferry rates set in 1706, a year after the city's ferries were legislated by an Act of Assembly: "From Queen Mary's port, at Williamsburgh, to Clay bank Creek, in Gloucester County, the price for a man, two shillings and six pence." Interestingly, the city's ferry at College Landing apparently transported both people and horses at this time: "At Williamsburgh from Princess Anne Port to Hog Island, for a man, two shillings and six pence, for a man & horse, four shillings" (William Palmer, ed., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts, 1652-1781*, Vol. I., 108). By 1751, however, when Giles' son Matthew Moody, Sr. is running the ferry, the York County court required that two ferry boats be kept at Capitol Landing: "It is ordered that he constantly keep two good and sufficient boats one for the transportation of horses and the other for foot passengers and 2 good hands to attend the same and thereupon the sd Matthew Moody w/ Edward Bowcock his security entered into and ack bond according to law" (York County Records, JO(1)34).

<sup>63</sup> This record, dated 16 May 1715, states: "GM & Philip Moody his sec presented & ackn their bond for the sd Giles's well keeping a ferry in this county which bond is ordered to be recorded" (York County Records, DOW(14)414).

<sup>64</sup> This York County record, dated 16 January 1715/1716, directs Giles Moody "To keep ordinary at Queen Marys port Williamsburg, Philip Moody gent his security" (York Country Records, DOW(14)472). One month later, on 20 February 1715/1716, he posted security and bond for the ordinary with his father, Philip Moody. For the security, the record states: "Ordinary in Queen Marys port, with Philip Moody as security"

Giles' acquisition of Capitol Landing's valuable ferry- and tavernkeeping licenses was likely due to a number of factors that positively influenced the York County court's ruling in his favor. Ferrykeepers and tavernkeepers were often men (or women) of good reputation, social standing, stable economic means, and well-known families in their communities; furthermore, the attainment of these personal traits and increased wealth often came with time.<sup>65</sup> As Giles and his family had resided in York County for over sixty years, Giles' father and grandfather had become established members of the local communities around Yorktown and Yorkhampton Parish. Indeed, Giles' licenses may have been granted to him partly because of the reputation, social influence, and financial backing of his father, Philip Moody. Philip presumably had connections with gentlemen in the York County court at this time – the same court responsible for approving and issuing the county's ferry- and tavernkeeping licenses – as county records show that by December 1715 (just nine months after Giles was issued the ferry license), Philip was serving as a justice on the York County court himself.<sup>66</sup> Philip's respectable social standing as a gentleman, his appointment as a justice, as well as the financial backing he

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(York County Records, DOW)14)477). The bond record states, "Giles Moody & Phill Moody of YC are bound unto the king in the sum of 10,000 lb of tobo convenient in YC: dated 20 Feb 1715. Condition: The above bounden Giles Moody hath an order this day granted him for a lycence to keep an ordinary at his now dwelling house in YC. -G Moody & Phill Moody. Entered 20 Feb 1715" (York County Records, DOW(14)487-488).

<sup>65</sup> Women were often granted ferry licenses after their husbands, the former ferrykeepers, had died. For example, Mary Moody took over the ferry at Capitol Landing after Giles Moody's death in 1729. Janet Mitchell and Mary Gibbons each assumed their husbands' roles as ferrykeepers and co-operated the public ferry from Yorktown to Tindall's Point when both men passed away, James Mitchell in 1772, and John Gibbons in 1773 (for Janet Mitchell, see York County Records, JO2(1770-1772)496; for Mary Gibbons, see the York County Project Master Biographical File for "Gibbons, Mary" – her ferrykeeper position was first recorded on 16 November 1772, and last recorded on 21 April 1774).

<sup>66</sup> The earliest known record indicating Philip Moody's status as a York County justice is dated 19 December 1715 (York County Records, DOW(14)466), and the last record is dated 21 September 1719 (York County Records, OW(15)481). Though Giles Moody had already received his ferry license, it seems possible that Philip had relationships and influence with members of the York County Court, which helped him obtain this position later in the year. It seems likely that even if Philip Moody was not yet a member of the court when Giles received his ferry license, Philip may have still been involved in helping his son secure the ferry in some fashion.

provided as security for both of Giles's public licenses, undoubtedly helped Giles secure his positions as Capitol Landing's first publicly licensed ferrykeeper and tavernkeeper. The court's familiarity with the Moody family's taverns in Yorktown may have also contributed to Giles' success in obtaining his licenses as well.<sup>67</sup>

From a more personal standpoint, Philip may have had other reasons for helping to establish his son Giles with a ferry and tavernkeeping license. As Philip's second-eldest son, Giles may have hoped to eventually inherit some of his father's plantation lands, but perhaps Philip had already decided to bequeath the land to his two younger sons to help with their financial support after his death.<sup>68</sup> From this perspective, perhaps Philip's financial assistance with Giles' two licenses at Capitol Landing – coupled with

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<sup>67</sup> By November 1707, Giles' uncle Humphrey Moody – one of his father Philip's elder brothers – was running a tavern in the Yorktown area, where he also owned a port lot on Yorktown's port lands "under the hill." After Humphrey's death in 1709, his widow Elizabeth took over the tavern license, which she ran on her own until she married Yorktown tavernkeeper, Edward Powers, in 1714. After Edward's death in 1719, she received a tavern license again and maintained it until her death in 1729, the same year that Giles Moody died. It seems likely that Giles visited his uncle's and aunt's tavern from time to time, presumably on court days and while pursuing other business or personal affairs that took him to Yorktown. In this family tavern setting, he probably gained useful exposure to the business of tavernkeeping through direct personal and family experience. It also seems likely that Giles Moody's connections with tavernkeeping through his extended family members' tavern operation may have been looked upon with favor by the York County court, and may have also helped him receive his ferry- and tavernkeeping licenses at Capitol Landing. (For more on Elizabeth [Moody] Powers, see Ensign Edward M. Riley, "The Ordinaries of Colonial Yorktown," *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ser. Vol. 23, No. 1 (January 1943): 13-16; also see the records under "Powers, Elizabeth" or "Moody, Elizabeth" in the York County Project Master Biographical File, Dept. of Training and Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

<sup>68</sup> By the time that Philip, Sr. died, his will (dated 6 November 1719 and recorded on 21 March 1719/1720) indicates that he decided to bequeath and divide the bulk of his plantation lands amongst his younger sons, William and Josias, rather than follow the more traditional custom in which his eldest son (or sons), Philip, Jr. and Giles, would have inherited his lands (York County Records, DOW(15)577). Prior to the writing of his will, Philip, Sr. may have felt that he had already given enough money or property to Philip, Jr. and Giles (who were already adults), choosing instead to bequeath his remaining land and property to his younger children to better ensure their financial security. Nevertheless, after Philip, Sr.'s death in 1719, Giles' older brother Philip, Jr. was still given the executorship of his father's estate, plantation lands, and dwelling house to manage for William and Josias until they came of age, as well as to provide for the education of his two younger sisters (York County Records, DOW(15)577). As it turns out, both Philip, Jr. and the children's mother Elizabeth must have died soon thereafter as well, because Giles ended up becoming the legal guardian of his four younger brothers and sisters on 7 Dec 1722 (as well as becoming the executor of his father's plantation lands and estate) until his younger siblings were old enough to claim their inheritance (York County Records, OW(16)169).

his possible plans to give one of his slaves to Giles in his will – may have provided Philip with a means of furthering his son’s economic livelihood in lieu of land.<sup>69</sup> Either way, Giles still benefited from his father’s largesse, as he gained the means to become more financially stable and independent at a critical time in his life when he wanted to settle down, start his own businesses, purchase port lands, and establish his family’s future home and livelihood at Capitol Landing.

As will be seen in the following sections, the Moodys’ ferry and tavern licenses turned out to be a profitable and well-conceived move for Giles and his family. These two licensed service operations – in addition to other occupational activities, officeholding positions, and community affairs they participated in during their lifetimes – provided valuable business niche opportunities that the family was able to corner for themselves, and helped to entrench and sustain three generations of the Moodys at Capitol Landing for approximately the next sixty years.

### **The Capitol Landing Ferry, circa 1715**

Given that five years elapsed between the legislative establishment of the city’s ports in 1699 and the ports’ designation as public ferry sites in 1705 – and then another ten years passed before Giles Moody received the first official ferry license at Capitol Landing in 1715 – it seems possible that water carriage services were already being provided on Williamsburg’s creeks in some fashion during this time, and perhaps even earlier for Middle Plantation, prior to Williamsburg’s founding in 1699.<sup>70</sup> Private water

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<sup>69</sup> For the will of Philip Moody, Sr., see York County Records, DOW(15)577.

<sup>70</sup> Colonial Williamsburg historian Mary Stephenson states that the “...ferry from Queen Mary’s Port to Clay Bank Creek in Gloucester County was operating in 1706” and cited William Palmer’s *Calendar of*



transportation undoubtedly occurred between Capitol Landing and Clay Bank Creek in Gloucester County, though prior to 1715, there may not have been enough of a need or demand yet to institute an official public ferry service at the port. This may have been the case if the population was still too small between the two sites, or if public travel was too infrequent, to support enough business (and the effort of government oversight) for a publicly licensed dawn-to-dusk ferry.<sup>71</sup> Either way, when the official ferry service at Capitol Landing was finally licensed to Giles Moody in 1715, a series of legislated ferry regulations from 1705 were then enforced to establish a fixed rate and better regulate the service for future ferry travel in and out of the city.<sup>72</sup>

Among other favored qualifications, colonial ferrykeepers generally appear to have been granted licenses if they were economically stable members of the community. This was an important requirement for a ferrykeeper, especially in Virginia, because

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*Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts* as her source for this statement. Upon examination of the text cited in the *Calendar*, however, it seems open to interpretation as to whether or not the ferry from Capitol Landing was actually running yet, as the record sets what the ferry's rates will be, but does not confirm whether the ferry was already licensed and operating). While it certainly seems possible that a ferry from Capitol Landing may have been operating around 1706 (give or take a few years), we can be reasonably certain that the ferry was in operation by 1715, when Giles Moody was named as the first licensed ferry keeper at Capitol Landing (see Mary Stephenson, "Queen Mary's Port [Capitol Landing], Princess Anne's Port [College Landing], 1699-1800," Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series [Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1951], 3; see also William P. Palmer, Sherwin McRae, Raleigh E. Colston, and Henry W. Flournoy, eds., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts, 1652-1781, Preserved in the Capitol at Richmond*, Vol. I [Richmond: R.F. Walker, 1875]: 108).

<sup>71</sup> By the mid-1710s, however, the city's settlement and population growth was beginning to increase (especially through the private purchase and development of land in Williamsburg and in its ports, etc.), and travel in and out of the city was likely increasing as well. This slow start in the city's growth may explain why Giles Moody was granted Capitol Landing's public ferry license in 1715, ten years after Capitol Landing's designation as an official public ferry site by Virginia's General Assembly.

<sup>72</sup> Ferry regulations required that ferrykeepers operate their ferries from dawn to dusk, follow the fixed rates established by law, have a specific number of hands and boats available at their ferry sites, and obey a host of other rules and conditions applying to ferrykeepers and ferrymen, ferryboats, and tavern operations. For further details regarding the ferry laws specified by the General Assembly, see Hening, "An Act for the Regulation and Settlement of Ferries; and for the Dispatch of Public Expresses," *The Statutes at Large*, Vol. III, 469-476.

public ferries were privately maintained with the finances of the ferrykeepers themselves, not with the taxes of the county's citizens – as poorer, less mobile members of the population did not use ferries enough to justify their maintenance through public funds. As a result, public ferries were generally operated by ferrykeepers who could afford the expense.<sup>73</sup> Perhaps since the volume and frequency of ferry travelers was not always consistent enough to maintain a ferrykeeper solely on the profits of ferry service alone, ferrykeepers (including the Moody Family members of Capitol Landing) often held other occupations and performed other income-generating activities in addition to their work with the ferry.<sup>74</sup>

Perhaps the most commonly pursued occupation amongst colonial ferrykeepers, however, was tavernkeeping. In Virginia, tavern licenses were granted to ferrykeepers without a fee as an added benefit of operating a ferry<sup>75</sup> – perhaps not only to meet the needs of providing satisfactory food, drink, and accommodation for ferry travelers, but possibly also to provide ferrykeepers with added incentives to diligently continue in their

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<sup>73</sup> Simmons, *Chesapeake Ferries*, 11.

<sup>74</sup> Arthur Middleton, *Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era* (Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, 1953), 80. For example, the documentary records of the ferrykeepers at Yorktown also indicate that they pursued a variety of other occupations and officeholding positions – including tavernkeeping – in addition to their ferrykeeping roles. For more information about Yorktown's ferry- and tavernkeepers, see Ensign Edward M. Riley, "The Ordinaries of Colonial Yorktown," *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, 2nd Ser. Vol. 23, No. 1 (January 1943): 8-26

<sup>75</sup> William W. Hening, "An Act for the regulation and settlement of Ferries; and for the dispatch of public expresses," *The Statutes at Large*, Vol. III, 474. Tavernkeepers did not have to pay the fee for the tavern license itself, but they were still required to post the security and bond payments for the license (guaranteeing they would maintain and operate the tavern in a satisfactory manner according to the guidelines mandated by the courts), as well as pay other penalties and fees for which tavernkeepers may be charged. Furthermore, ferrykeepers in Virginia were permitted a monopoly on tavernkeeping within a five-mile radius of their ferry, unless the county courts ascertained a need for more than one tavern near a ferry location. (In a growing urban area like Williamsburg, the county courts did indeed license other tavern operations within a five-mile radius of the Capitol Landing ferry, as well as at the port itself; presumably the courts perceived a need for additional taverns even at the port). If a ferrykeeper seriously neglected his or her ferry duties, however, and the county court took away their ferry license, not only would the ferry operation be assigned to someone else, but the local tavern license might also likely revert to the new ferrykeeper.

maintenance of the ferry and their provision of ferry services, even in slack times of ferry travel.<sup>76</sup> Indeed, the longevity of ferrykeepers like the Moody Family – whose members retained a joint ferry- and tavernkeeping operation for at least six decades – suggests that these dual waterfront business licenses were valuable and advantageous to those who possessed them, and individuals were presumably inclined to keep their licenses (and maintain their businesses according to established standards) as long as they possibly could.<sup>77</sup>

With their ferry and tavern located on Capitol Landing Road (which connected Williamsburg with Capitol Landing and the plantations beyond), the Moodys serviced both water-bound and land-bound customer traffic in their ferry- and tavernkeeping operations, with a diverse clientele ranging from those visiting from across the seas to those visiting from across the street. As a water transportation and trade hub for Williamsburg – and as a small outpost of Yorktown, the city's closest deep-water port – the variety and diversity of human traffic circulating through Capitol Landing was probably quite mixed. Since Capitol Landing's public ferry ran from the landing at the head of Queen's Creek, down Queen's Creek to the mouth of the York River, and across

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<sup>76</sup> For a full listing of benefits and requirements applying to public ferrykeepers and ferries at this time (from 1705 until 1720, when additional ferries and ferry laws were enacted), see Hening, *The Statutes at Large of Virginia*, Vol. III, 469-476.

<sup>77</sup> Though the fees collected from ferry services were certainly an important element of a ferrykeeper's financial earnings, a tavern was a lucrative and valuable addition to a ferrykeeper's business operations – providing new opportunities for furthering their economic growth, social mobility, and civic involvement within their local community. Tavern profits probably also exceeded ferry profits at many locations. It seems likely that a ferrykeeper's privilege of retaining a tavern license with no licensing fee – combined with a possible business monopoly on tavernkeeping and other personal exemptions and benefits – may have provided strong incentives to many ferrykeepers to maintain their public ferries and taverns in a satisfactory manner in order to avoid losing their joint licenses. These joint licenses not only increased a ferrykeepers' money-making opportunities and customer base, but also helped them by opening the door to other opportunities that might lead to further economic advancement, improved social mobility and social status, and heightened public recognition and exposure in the local community over the long-term.

the York River to Clay Bank Creek in Gloucester,<sup>78</sup> the Moodys would have been acquainted with a variety of local residents and travelers journeying from the Gloucester County area and beyond for any number of reasons – whether to attend the capitol’s General Court and other court sessions, public days, market days, the merchant’s Exchange, to meet with other visitors or residents, or to participate in the city’s numerous other social and cultural events throughout the year.

Some of the Moodys’ out-of-town ferry customers – and by default, tavern customers – were from the ranks of the local and visiting colonial burgesses, county justices, and government officials who traveled into Williamsburg from the Clay Bank area of Gloucester County to conduct government business at the capitol, in its colonial or city courts, or to meet with other burgesses, colonial, or county officials.<sup>79</sup> Likewise, travel also commenced in the opposite direction – whether for local officials, merchants, planters, or others conducting business in the Gloucester County court, or for those visiting with planters and officeholders living in the plantation communities near the Clay Bank area of Gloucester County.<sup>80</sup> Some travelers may have come from even further

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<sup>78</sup> It is not known precisely where Capitol Landing’s ferry stopped in Gloucester County to drop off (and possibly also pick up) passengers and goods, though the earliest records cite “Clay Bank Creek” as the terminus of the Capitol Landing ferry. Though “Clay Bank Creek” is not a name used today, it seems to refer to the creek just northwest of modern-day Carter’s Creek called Aberdeen Creek. The last time “Clay Bank Creek” was cited on a map was in 1670 (see Figure 5 in this chapter) and 1719 (see Figure 9 in Appendix A). On nineteenth- and twentieth-century maps of Virginia and Gloucester County, the “Clay Bank” place name now references a waterfront neighborhood area immediately upriver from modern-day Aberdeen Creek. (See Figures 10 and 11 in Appendix A).

<sup>79</sup> It seems as though the ferry between Capitol Landing and Clay Bank Creek may have offered the most direct route between Williamsburg and the Gloucester County Courthouse, with access to Matthews County, King and Queen County, Middlesex County, and Lancaster County Courthouse, etc. from there. Official business correspondence and travelers between the Gloucester Courthouse and Clerk’s Office and Williamsburg’s courts and the Governor’s Palace may have been frequent enough to warrant having a public ferry at Capitol Landing (which was free of charge to those conducting government business in certain capacities; for more regarding ferries and the dispatch of public affairs, see Hening, *The Statutes at Large*, Vol. III, 218-222, 469-476; Vol. IV, 168-170; Vol. VI, 13-23).

<sup>80</sup> It is not certain whether the Moody Family only ferried people one-way from Capitol Landing to Clay Bank Creek, or if they also ferried travelers back from Clay Bank Creek to Capitol Landing. County courts such as Gloucester were permitted to institute additional ferries if lawmakers felt more were necessary in

away – perhaps from Middlesex, Lancaster, or Matthews County – and may have elected to take the Clay Bank ferry directly up Queen’s Creek and into the capitol, especially if they first stopped to visit with people living near Clay Bank Creek, such as the Pages at Rosewell or the Burwells at Fairfield on Carter’s Creek.<sup>81</sup> (Figure 6) Otherwise, ferry travelers had the option of taking the Cappahosic ferry (to the northwest of Clay Bank Creek, up the York River), or the Tindall’s Point ferry (downriver to the southeast and across from Yorktown) and then take overland routes into Williamsburg.<sup>82</sup>

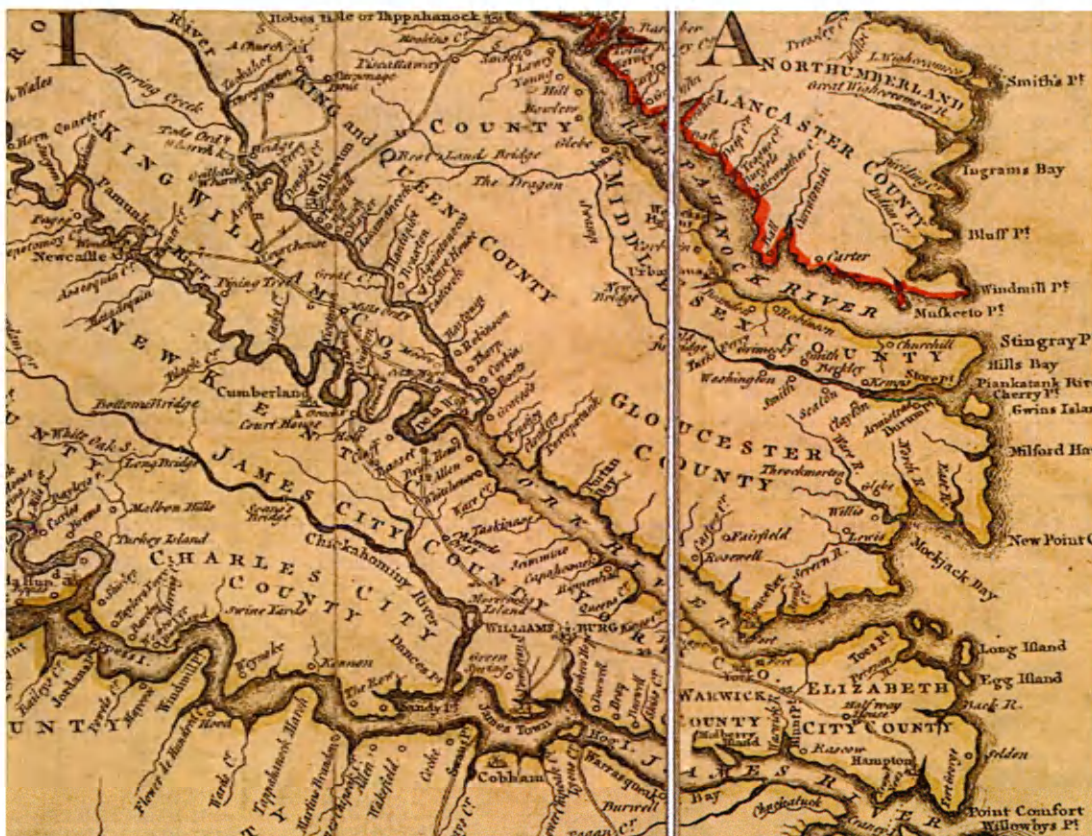
In addition to out-of-town travelers, the Moodys would have undoubtedly made the acquaintance of a number of free and enslaved watermen, oystermen, fishermen, and

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their areas, but no definitive evidence has been found yet in Hening’s *Statutes at Large*, in the Gloucester County records (many of which were burned during the Civil War), or elsewhere to indicate whether the Moodys were the sole ferrykeepers operating between these two locations, or if a separate ferrykeeper ran a ferry from Clay Bank Creek to Capitol Landing.

<sup>81</sup> The Capitol Landing Ferry to Clay Bank Creek may have provided the most direct route to the plantations immediately across the York River (such as the Page Family’s “Rosewell” and the Burwell Family’s “Fairfield” on Carter’s Creek, directly across the York River from Queen’s Creek and Capitol Landing), as well as to Abingdon Parish church, not far from Fairfield and Rosewell. The location of the Page family and other gentry planters nearby may have influenced the location of this ferry service to Clay Bank Creek.

<sup>82</sup> Decades later in 1769, a *Virginia Gazette* advertisement posted by the Cappahosic ferryman (just a few miles upriver from Queen’s Creek and Clay Bank Creek) stated that the Cappahosic ferry was the closest ferry to Williamsburg on the Gloucester County side of the river, and made no mention of a ferry service between Capitol Landing and Clay Bank Creek. This advertisement also stated that the Cappahosic ferry provided a more direct route to Williamsburg than if travelers rode the additional 18-miles overland (around Westpoint to the capitol), or if they took the Tindall’s Point ferry in Gloucester (across the York River to Yorktown) and journeyed back up to Williamsburg from there (*Virginia Gazette*, Rind, 26 January 1769, Pg. 3, Col. 1). Nevertheless, even though the Capitol Landing/Clay Bank Creek ferry was not mentioned in this ad, this does not mean that the ferry service between these two sites did not exist or was not being used. Williamsburg was still the colonial capitol of Virginia, and the Capitol Landing ferry still would have been the closest form of water transportation between Williamsburg and the Clay Bank Creek area of Gloucester (and connecting to roads leading to the Gloucester County Courthouse further inland). Rather, perhaps this evidence is indicating that the Clay Bank Creek site did not have its own independent ferrykeeper on each side of the river like the Cappahosic or Tindall’s Point ferries did, but may have been serviced by just a single ferrykeeper (the Moodys) on the opposite side of the river, which would make travel more time-consuming while waiting for the ferry to arrive. It is also possible that the Moodys had designated times each day when they traveled to Clay Bank to pick up possible customers, or they may have just waited for a summons (via a smoke signal/firepit arrangement at Clay Bank) so ferry customers could signal the family when they needed a pickup. For example, the Cappahosic ferrykeeper (on the Gloucester side of the river) was summoned via smoke signals from the opposite shore (*Virginia Gazette*, Hunter, 28 March 1751, Pg. 4, Col. 1). Historian Arthur Middleton states, “If only one [ferryboat] were in operation and the ferryman happened to be on the other side of a river, the traveler had to build a fire in order to make ‘a Smoak’ to attract the ferryman’s attention. Then two complete crossings were necessary before the impatient traveler was enabled to continue his journey.” (Middleton, *Tobacco Coast*, 81).



**Figure 6.** “A Map of the most inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole province of Maryland with part of Pensilvania, New Jersey and North Carolina” by Joshua Fry, 1755. This map depicts some of the major roads that travelers followed on their journeys to and from Williamsburg, as well as the country seats of gentry planters (marked by dots with plantation names) along the waterways. The Page family’s “Rosewell” and the Burwell family’s “Fairfield” were located on Carter’s Creek, across the York River from Queen’s Creek and Capitol Landing. (Source: Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, Washington, D.C.; call # G3880 1755. F72, LOC catalog # 74693166).

maritime-oriented laborers who visited or worked at Capitol Landing on a daily or seasonal basis over the years. While many types of water transportation providers and waterfront workers were undoubtedly present around the city’s ports and waterfronts, however, their identities and activities have proven significantly more difficult to track – not only with regard to visiting mariners and ships’ crews, but also with regard to the

area's local watermen and boatmen, who were presumably active and familiar participants around the ports and landings of the city.

This relative lack of information relating to Williamsburg's local watermen and boatmen also applies to the ferrymen who operated the Capitol Landing ferry, who were probably the Moody Family's male slaves. After Philip Moody, Sr.'s death in 1719, his son Giles inherited an adult male slave named George.<sup>83</sup> Giles also owned another male slave named Cesar, whom he likely purchased. George and Cesar were valuable additions to Giles' and Mary's business operations and livelihood, likely serving as the primary source of labor for operating the family's ferry,<sup>84</sup> in addition to assisting with the Moodys' tavern operations, plantation crops and livestock, and providing the Moodys (and themselves) with fish, oysters, and crabs from Queen's Creek and the York River.<sup>85</sup>

Local scholarship has offered only light treatment of Williamsburg's local watermen, however, which has become more understandable upon closer inspection of

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<sup>83</sup> See will of Philip Moody, dated 6 November 1719 and recorded 21 March 1719/1720 (York County Records, DOW(15)577).

<sup>84</sup> George presumably served as one of the "two hands," or ferrymen, required by Virginia law to serve on Giles Moody's ferryboat. Prior to inheriting George in 1719, however, it is possible that Giles may have served on the ferryboat himself with the help of his other male slave, Cesar, or a hired slave. It is not known when Giles purchased Cesar, but he may have owned him by the time he inherited George. (Cesar is noted for the first and only time in Giles' nuncupative will, probated 17 November 1729, York County Records, DOW(17)7-8). Giles may also have hired a white male overseer or servant to help run his ferryboat, or even employed his own son, Matthew (Sr.), in order to learn the family business.

<sup>85</sup> Giles owned a large herd of livestock (as noted in his probate inventory) by the time of his death in 1729. His livestock included "one grey gelding, 5 sows, 10 shoats (young pigs), 2 horses, a mare and colt, 17 cows, 4 steers, 1 steer (3 years old), 10 steers (2 years old), and 2 yearlings." He may have also owned chickens, because a chicken coop is included in his inventory as well (York County Records, OW(17)34-37). To review Giles' probate inventory, please see Table 1 in Appendix B of this thesis, entitled "Inventory of the Estate of Giles Moody, 16 February 1730." Historian Lorena Walsh indicates that Giles Moody was one of the "...few urban residents who owned large numbers of cattle." He likely raised the livestock to help provision his tavern, among other necessities (Lorena S. Walsh, Gregory J. Brown, Ann Smart Martin, Joanne Bowen, and Jennifer A. Jones, "Provisioning Early American Towns: The Chesapeake: A Multidisciplinary Case Study: Final Performance Report" [Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1997], 68). From time to time, Giles and Mary may have also sold surplus foodstuffs and goods to local residents, such as milk, butter, beef, hides (for tanning and leather products), as well as fish, oysters, and crabs caught by their slaves. Butter pots, damaged hides, small weights (possibly used for fishnets), and oyster tongs were listed in Giles' probate inventory after his death.

the city's eighteenth-century municipal, county, and colonial records. Quite often, only scattered and fragmentary archival evidence exists, revealing only the barest glimpses of individuals' lives. In the words of historian Cary Carson, former Vice President of Historical Research at Colonial Williamsburg, "...some people left no trace in the [documentary] records. This is likely to be the case with many blacks, some women and children, and the poor and footloose generally."<sup>86</sup> Philip Morgan's extensive research on slavery in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake and Low Countries has noted that a large percentage of watermen, boatmen, and ferrymen in the Tidewater regions were enslaved blacks, though some freemen, poorer whites, and indentured servants also rounded out the mix: (Figure 7)

*In 1730, the governor of Virginia referred to the prevalence of mixed crews, composed 'for the most part [of] Planters with Negroes and other Servants,' that manned the small Shallops which are constantly employed in the Bay and in transporting the country's commoditys from one River to another.*<sup>87</sup>

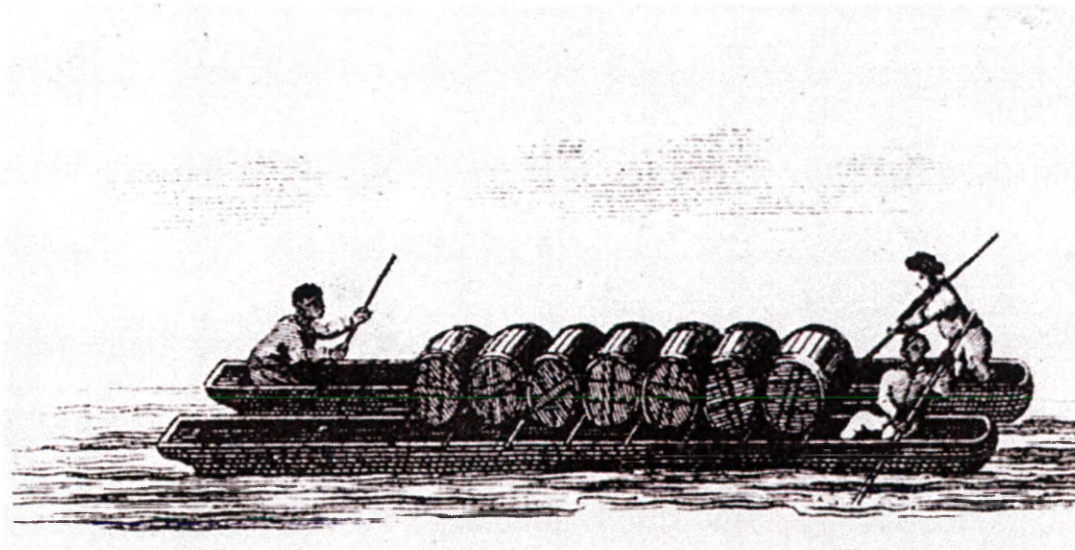
These individuals were possibly too transient, too low in social rank or economic status, or their waterborne activities were considered so commonplace that their identities and actions warranted little mention by courts or private individuals unless specific circumstances required it. Legal proceedings, financial accounts (noting money owed or collected for services, cash, or supplies), or the payments of rents, taxes, or tithables are among a few of the instances in which public officeholders or private citizens have documented the presence of these individuals. Illiteracy or the ability to only sign their

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<sup>86</sup> Cary Carson, Kevin Kelly, and Harold Gill. "Urbanization in the Tidewater South: Town and Country in York County, Virginia, 1630-1830, Part II: The Growth and Development of Williamsburg and Yorktown," (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1984), quoted in "Phase I and II Archaeological Investigations of the Port Anne Development, Williamsburg, Virginia," Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series, RR-306, by Gregory Brown (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1986), 8.

<sup>87</sup> Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Low Country* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 239.





**Figure 7.** “Conveying tobacco upon canoes,” by William Tatham, 1800. Depiction of paired canoes, ferried along a waterway by two slaves and a white overseer, transporting hogsheads of tobacco to market. According to Giles Moody’s probate inventory, his ferryboat could hold up to 12 hogsheads for transport purposes. While the Moodys’ ferryboats were probably constructed as single-hull flatboats and not in this double-canoe construction style, some public ferries in Virginia may have been built in this fashion, especially above the fall line of the James River.

(Source: William Tatham, *An Historical and Practical Essay on the Culture and Commerce of Tobacco* [London: Vernor and Hood, 1800], 55. Image reprinted in “The Reverend Robert Rose and His Marvelous Tobacco Canoes” by Nathaniel Mason Pawlett, in *Backsights: Essays in Virginia Transportation History, Volume 1: Reprints of Series One, 1972-1985*, by Ann B. Miller, ed. [Charlottesville: Virginia Center for Transportation Innovation & Research, June 2011], 138; original courtesy of the Library of Congress).

“marks” or their names further limited many people’s personal engagement with the written record.

Perhaps the most transient members of Capitol Landing’s port society to whom the Moodys were exposed were the shipmasters, ship’s officers, and free and enslaved seamen who arrived at the port in sloops, schooners, and other watercraft on a daily, weekly, and monthly basis, especially during the tobacco shipping season. Their

activities in the port varied, depending upon the nature of their work and status, among other things. Ships' officers presumably met with local merchants, planters, customs officers, and other government officials to conduct business, view goods on vessels and in the port's public and private warehouses, or discuss other matters in the port's taverns, of which the Moodys' was perhaps the best-known and best-appointed. Ships' crews also visited the port, working to unload imported goods or load export goods in and out of the port's public and private warehouses, which were destined for transportation overseas to England or Scotland, the West Indies, or other Chesapeake and North American colonial ports. Some mariners were in port just to seek recreation or interim work on land while on liberty from their ships between voyages or during the off-season. Some sailors were even on the run as deserters, having "jumped ship" due to a difficult shipmaster, trade route, or other reasons, and were looking for another vessel to hop aboard.

### **The Moodys' Tavern/Ferryhouse (1716) and Port Lots (1717)**

The long-term economic prospects of Giles' and Mary's ferry and tavern operation at Capitol Landing undoubtedly began to attain a more solid footing after May 17, 1717, when Giles was finally able to purchase four lots at the port (probably in a block), numbered 22, 23, 24, and 25.<sup>88</sup> In doing so, Giles and his wife Mary became the first of the Moody family to settle within the city bounds of Williamsburg, and the first known resident-landowners of the city's new port community at Capitol Landing.<sup>89</sup> Once

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<sup>88</sup> York County Records, DAB(3)214-216.

<sup>89</sup> The first recorded lot owner at Capitol Landing was Francis Sharp, a carpenter and ordinary keeper, who purchased lot #7 at the port on 7/8 October 1714 (document date), 15 November 1714 (recorded date). It is not clear whether 7/8 October 1714 reflects the first time that port lots became available for purchase, or if this is just when the first port lot was sold (York County Records, DAB(3)31-32). The second-known lot owner at Capitol Landing was attorney John Holloway, who purchased the port lot adjacent to lot #32 on 14 Oct 1715 (document date), recorded 21 November 1715 (YCR, DAB(3)87-89). In 1717, Giles Moody purchased four lots and became the third-known lot owner at the port.

Giles' and Mary's port lots were purchased, it seems apparent that the couple's ferry and tavern operation – in tandem with their land and residential location at Capitol Landing – anchored them once and for all at the port, and they began developing the land and their businesses in earnest.

When Giles Moody purchased his port lots, one of the conditions for the sale of port lots at this time was that buildings must be erected upon the land within two years, or else the land would revert back to the Feofees (Trustees) of Williamsburg.<sup>90</sup> The day-to-day operations of the Moodys' ferry and tavern businesses also demanded that the Moodys take quick action as well: tavern customers and ferry travelers would have needed living accommodations, food and drink, and stables and provender for their horses; not to mention that Giles and Mary would have required the same necessities for their own family, slaves, and livestock. As a result, it seems likely that Giles and Mary would have built upon the land fairly quickly so as to start benefiting from having a more permanent base of operations from which to grow, expand, and sustain themselves, rather than having to rent land or pasturage, or purchase wood and provisions (like meat, milk, produce, and tavern beverages like cider or beer) that they might be able to raise, cultivate, or produce for themselves at less cost.

Evidence relating to the construction, type and number of rooms, and goods and property of Giles Moody's house (which likely served as both his family's home and their ferry/tavern house) is available via a descriptive room-by-room inventory (compiled by appraisers after Giles Moody's death) that has survived in the York County Records

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<sup>90</sup> Giles Moody's deed for his port lots states: "...#'s 22, 23, 24, & 25 on plot of the port to have & to hold forever, but within 24 months Moody must build a house on each lot according to the specifications of the Directors of Wmsbg or as 'shall be appointed...by virtue of the trust reposed in them by Act of Assembly....,' or land reverts to the Trustees" (York County Records, DAB(3)214-216, dated 17-18 May 1717 [document date], 18 November 1717 [recorded date]).

(see Table 1, Appendix B). This probate inventory annotates not only the furnishings within each room of the tavern, but also notes the names, gender, and value of Giles' and Mary's slaves, as well as itemized listings of the family's other possessions (including "plantation utensils" and livestock on their port lots and plantation lands).

A 1716 tavern account record issued by Giles Moody to James Morris, one of Capitol Landing's neighboring plantation owners and Queen's Creek residents, is noteworthy in a number of ways.<sup>91</sup> This document provides the earliest-known evidence of a tavern operating in Williamsburg, and is the earliest-known customer record from a Williamsburg tavern account book. It also reveals evidence of the first-known tavern "club" occurring in Williamsburg.<sup>92</sup> This record shows that Giles' tavern operation was in full swing by March 1, 1716 – serving Capitol Landing's neighbors, local Williamsburg residents, and presumably travelers at the port with a range of alcoholic beverages – after posting bond and security less than two weeks earlier (see Table 2, Appendix B). It is illuminating in terms of the type and quality of drink and tavern fare that Giles and Mary Moody were serving in their tavern, as well as the reputable status and quality of the establishment as a whole. Among the customers listed on this tavern record is a Mr. "Cunningham," another tavernkeeper living in Williamsburg, who "clubbed" with James Morris at the Moodys' tavern. This raises the important point that by virtue of their occupations and business interests, the Moodys were also connected with a number of Williamsburg's and Yorktown's local tavern keepers (including their

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<sup>91</sup> Jones Family Papers, "James Morris of James City County, Carpenter, Estate Account, pre-1743," dated 1 March 1716 – 5 December 1717, pg. 75, on microfilm reel #M-1397.1, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Special Collections, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

<sup>92</sup> Patricia Ann Gibbs, "Taverns in Tidewater Virginia, 1700-1774" (MA Thesis, The College of William & Mary, 1968), 102.

tavernkeeping relatives in Yorktown), as well as ferrykeepers located nearby along the banks of the York and James Rivers, such as the ferrykeepers at Yorktown and Burwell's Ferry. The Moodys' social connections also extended to carpenters and other tradesmen and craftsmen living in and around Capitol Landing and Capitol Landing Road, as well as a variety of local merchants and planters of all classes who lived nearby or frequented the port's public warehouses, wharf and landing, taverns and businesses, and after 1730, the port's tobacco inspection stations.

### **The Civic Affairs and Officeholdings of Giles Moody, 1719-1729**

Giles Moody's officeholding positions also exposed him to a wide range of local residents and landowners through other public duties he performed. Giles' civic officeholding activities provide evidence that he was involved not only with Williamsburg's waterborne transportation via the Capitol Landing ferry, but he also participated in maintaining the port area's local overland transportation system, as well as monitoring and inspecting the area's commercial tobacco crops. Giles Moody was a York County-appointed Surveyor of Highways of the lower precincts of Bruton Parish (in and around Capitol Landing and Queen's Creek) from 1719 to 1726.<sup>93</sup> (Figure 8) He also

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<sup>93</sup> Giles Moody was appointed Surveyor of Highways on 21 December 1719 (York County Records, OW(15)519). As a surveyor of highways, Moody was responsible for keeping the highways in the lower precincts of Bruton Parish in repair, including the road to the Capitol Landing/Queen's Creek bridge. Duties included keeping Capitol Landing Road and the lower Bruton parish roads paved, leveled, filled, and widened when necessary. Surveyors also erected signposts as needed, repaired causeways and corduroy roads built across marshy areas (perhaps even at Capitol Landing), and were also responsible for maintaining local bridges (like the Capitol Landing bridge) and the port's public landing (Hening, *The Statutes at Large*, Vol. III, 392-395). It seems that Capitol Landing Road, the Queen's Creek bridge, the wooden causeway over the creek, the port landing, and the "landing hill" were special focus areas of Giles Moody's jurisdiction. Moody's long-term appointment in this office also gave him ample opportunity to become acquainted with local residents and landowners when he needed to organize work crews from amongst the local populace to repair highways in and around the areas where they lived. He was probably appointed as a Surveyor of Highways for the lower region of Bruton Parish due to his status as a nearby landowning port resident, ferrykeeper, and tavernkeeper at Capitol Landing, which provided him with close

served as a county-appointed Tobacco Teller from 1727 to 1728.<sup>94</sup> Moody's performance of these government-appointed duties in Bruton Parish – comprising the York County portion of Williamsburg, Capitol Landing Road, Capitol Landing, and the landholdings between Queen's Creek and Skimino Creek, extending to the York River – brought him more exposure and status within the local community, as well as an increased income.

From the family's portside residential location at Capitol Landing, Giles and Mary managed the ferry and tavern until Giles' death on March 31, 1729.<sup>95</sup> Giles' wife and executrix Mary then took over the family's ferrykeeping business in her husband's

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proximity and familiarity with the roads, bridges, causeways, and transportation activity occurring in and around the Capitol Landing area. In the eyes of the York County Court, Giles Moody was likely considered a good candidate for addressing the local road building and road maintenance needs in his area in a timely and satisfactory manner. Nevertheless, there were still occasions when he was called to court because he was apparently not servicing the roads properly. On 16 May 1720, Giles was presented to the York County Grand Jury for not keeping the highways in repair, though he still appears to have kept his office, as he was excused two months later on 18 July 1720. The York County Record states, "Grand Jurys Presentments. We the Grand Jury make our presentments as followeth Viz ... Giles Moody for neglecting to keep the high ways in repair. – W. Stark foreman. At a Ct. held for YC May 16<sup>th</sup> 1720. The above presentments of the Grand Jury were presented in Ct. & admitted to record" (York County Records, OW(15)618; OW(15)624; OW(15)654). Giles Moody seems to have held the position of Surveyor of Highways until 1726, nearly nine years overall. On 20 June 1726 and 18 July 1726, he was brought before the York County Grand Jury again, this time for "not keeping the Landing Hill on Queen's Creek" in repair (York County Records, OW(16)387; OW(16)396). He may have been too busy or insufficiently staffed at the ferry and tavern to be able to spare extra time away to execute his surveyor duties properly. Whatever the reason, Giles was finally replaced by William Hansford the next month, on 15 August 1726 (York County Records, OW(16)402).

<sup>94</sup> Giles' appointment as a Tobacco Teller reveals his participation in the colony's efforts to commercially regulate and "improve the staple of tobacco" in the years immediately prior to the 1730 Tobacco Inspection Act in Virginia. Giles Moody was one of "22 tobacco tellers between 1724 and 1729" in York County (Linda Rowe [Colonial Williamsburg Foundation historian], email message to author, March 28, 2013). Tobacco tellers served as a type of "viewer" or "agent," monitoring the growth and number of tobacco plants tended by planters on their plantations, checking the quality of tobacco packed in hogsheads, etc. The York County Records indicate that on 20 February 1727, Giles Moody appraised four hogsheads of tobacco belonging to Thomas Hansford (York County Records, OW(16)433; OW(16)446). He received 271 pounds of tobacco in payment for his work as a tobacco teller on 20 November 1727 (York County Records, OW(16)490), and the last mention of his tobacco teller duties was on 18 November 1728, when he was paid 331 pounds of tobacco for his work (York County Records, OW(16)553). Early tobacco inspection laws were not popular with planters, however, and all were repealed until the passage of the 1730 act. (For transcripts of these early tobacco laws, see C.G. Chamberlayne, "The Tobacco Acts of 1723 and 1729," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 20, No. 2, [April 1912]: 158-178).

<sup>95</sup> Giles Moody's date of death is recorded in the Bruton Parish Register (see John Vogt, ed., *Register for Bruton Parish, Virginia, 1662-1797* [Athens, Georgia: New Papyrus Publishing Co., 2004], 88).



**Figure 8.** “Stone-Breakers on the Road,” by George Walker, 1800. Early nineteenth-century depiction of a road crew of tithable men in Yorkshire, England, working with a Surveyor of Highways to build and maintain local roads. Road work in Colonial Virginia probably looked similar to this image of highway maintenance in England. (Source: George Walker, *The Costume of Yorkshire* [London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1814]. Image reprinted in “The Forgotten ‘Labouring Male Titheable,’” by Nathaniel Mason Pawlett, in *Backsights: Essays in Virginia Transportation History, Volume 1: Reprints of Series One, 1972-1985*, by Ann B. Miller, ed. [Charlottesville: Virginia Center for Transportation Innovation & Research, June 2011], 121).

stead.<sup>96</sup> The following year, the Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730 was passed, and Capitol Landing was designated as the site of an official tobacco inspection station.<sup>97</sup> This

<sup>96</sup> No York County record has been found of a ferry license transfer to Mary Moody, but Mary Moody is still obviously running the ferry by 17 July 1732, when another female tavernkeeper at Capitol Landing files a complaint about Mary’s maintenance of the ferry and she is called to court to testify (York County Records, (OW(17)302).

<sup>97</sup> Shortly after Giles Moody’s death in 1729, the Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730 was passed, which established official public tobacco inspection stations at ports and landing sites along the colony’s rivers, creeks, and around the Chesapeake Bay, including at Williamsburg’s Capitol Landing and College Landing. Inspection stations were operated by appointed tobacco inspectors, tasked with upholding rigorous quality control measures requiring planters to deliver their tobacco to inspection stations for

legislation ushered in a new phase of commercial importance, growth, and activity at the port, and also marked the beginning of a new phase of growth in the Moody Family as well.<sup>98</sup> By 1734, Matthew Moody, Sr. – Giles' and Mary's eldest son – was granted the port's ferry license, and he continued the tradition of his family's ferry- and tavern-keeping businesses into the second generation of Moodys at Capitol Landing.

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inspection, approval, and storage before shipping overseas. In addition to regulating and protecting the quality of the tobacco leaf shipped from Virginia (which helped merchants and planters fetch better prices for their tobacco in overseas markets), it also centralized tobacco shipping activities around the colony's tobacco inspection stations, which increased the commercial importance and volume of activity of tobacco inspection sites like Capitol Landing in Williamsburg. (For more information on the economic and political history behind the Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730, see Stacy Lorentz, "'To Do Justice to His Majesty, the Merchant and the Planter': Governor William Gooch and the Virginia Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 108, No. 4 [2000]: 345-392).

<sup>98</sup> For further discussion regarding Capitol Landing's growth and activities after 1730 (including activities associated with the port's tobacco inspection station), please refer to the research reports on Capitol Landing and College Landing mentioned in the Literature Review (Chapter One) of this thesis.



**CHAPTER THREE: MATTHEW MOODY, SR.  
AND THE GROWTH OF THE MOODY FAMILY'S ROLES, FUNCTIONS, AND  
PRESENCE AROUND CAPITOL LANDING, 1729-1763**

Though Giles Moody's eldest son, Matthew, Sr., was positioned to inherit his father's estate and property according to the legal custom of primogeniture, his mother Mary, who probably continued to work and reside in the family's tavern, retained ownership of her husband's estate until her own death in 1738 (see Table 3a and 3b, Appendix B).<sup>99</sup> Matthew Sr.'s sisters, Anne and Mary Moody, presumably continued to live in the family's tavern as well, in a chamber next to the kitchen, until they married or disappeared from the historic record.<sup>100</sup> While it is not known precisely where Giles and Mary's slaves may have lived while Giles Moody was still alive, it is possible that Phyllis, an adult woman, may have lived in the tavern house, while George and Cesar, the family's two adult male slaves, may have lived in outbuildings on the property.<sup>101</sup>

George and Cesar probably worked as ferrymen on the Moodys' ferryboat, in addition to carrying out plantation work and other labor around the port. Phyllis, on the other hand, probably worked in the family's tavern serving customers and attending to domestic duties with Mrs. Moody and her daughters. In the years immediately before and after his father's death, Matthew, Sr. and his younger brother Philip presumably both

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<sup>99</sup> For further information regarding how Giles Moody's estate was handled after his death, see Giles Moody's nuncupative will in Tables 3a and 3b in Appendix B of this thesis (from the York County Records, DOW(17)7-8; also York County Records, (OW(17)102-103). Mary Moody's death took place on or before 20 November 1738, when Matthew Moody, Sr. testified in court that he had no knowledge of his mother making a will (see York County Records, (OWI(18)458). Matthew, Sr. became the administrator of his mother's estate on the same day, and later assisted with inventorying her estate on 15 January 1738/39 (York County Records, WI(18)467).

<sup>100</sup> The living arrangements and estate inheritance of Giles' daughters, Mary and Anne Moody, are referenced in Giles Moody's nuncupative will (Tables 3a and 3b in Appendix B of this thesis, from the York County Records, (DOW(17)7-8).

<sup>101</sup> George, Cesar, and Phyllis are all referenced in Giles Moody's probate inventory. See Table 1 in Appendix B of this thesis (York County Records, (OW(17)34-37), dated 16 February 1729/1730). After Giles Moody's death, George and Cesar were inherited by Giles' children.

helped manage the family's ferry and tavern, in addition to assisting with plantation activities with their mother, sisters, and slaves. In 1732, neighboring Capitol Landing tavernkeeper, Martha Drewitt, brought a suit against Mary Moody for neglecting the ferry by not having enough hands to run it.<sup>102</sup> She petitioned the court at the same time to obtain the ferry license for herself. It seems possible that one of Mrs. Moody's enslaved ferrymen, who was bequeathed to Matthew's younger brother and sister after Giles' death, may have moved away with them, leaving the Moodys' other slaves and family members stretched thin by not having enough hands to perform all the work that needed to be done.<sup>103</sup> Another possibility is that the ferrymen were sick, unable to work, resisting their duties in some way, or otherwise missing. Whatever the reason, Mrs. Moody made suitable arrangements with the court – perhaps promising to find more people to help her operate the ferry – and the court allowed her to retain the license with the promise that she would pay “sufficient security” for keeping the ferry in good

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<sup>102</sup> Martha Drewitt's York County court record of 17 July 1732 states: “Martha Drewitt having informed this Ct that the ferry from the Capitol Landing to Gloucester County now kept by Mary Moody is neglected and that the sd Mary has not hands sufficient to maintain the same, it is ordered that the Sher. Summon the sd Mary to appear at the next Ct. to shew cause why the sd Martha may not have an order for keeping the sd ferry as the Law directs” (York County Records, (OW(17)302).

<sup>103</sup> It is possible that at least one of Mrs. Moody's enslaved ferrymen was no longer available to help her operate the ferry by 1732. According to Giles Moody's nuncupative will, Giles' slave Cesar was to be inherited by his younger son Philip, and if Philip died without heirs, then Cesar was to be given to Giles' other daughter, Anne. Furthermore, Giles' slave George was to be given “to his daughter Mary (after his wife's decease)...and if [Mary] should die without heirs, then to Matthew and his heirs” (York County Records, DOW(17)7-8). If Cesar was inherited by Philip after Giles' death in 1729, and if Philip moved out of the family's tavern and took Cesar with him (as he may have done), Mrs. Moody may have had trouble running the ferry without Cesar (who was presumably helped her operate it as one of her ferrymen). If Philip continued living at the tavern, however, then Cesar may have continued working on the Moodys' ferry as long as Philip was alive (which was until approximately 18 February 1739/40 at the latest; see York County Records, OWI[18]545). After Philip's death, his sister Anne inherited Cesar. It is not clear if Anne was still living at the family's tavern at this time, or if she married and moved away. If she continued living at the tavern until the end of her life, then Cesar may have resumed working on the ferry until he got too old, was sold, or died; otherwise he likely moved away with Anne if she got married. Mrs. Moody's slave George, however, probably stayed with her at the ferry at least until 1738 when she died; after that time, George was inherited by Matthew, Sr.'s sister, Mary, and he presumably left Capitol Landing to live with her (unless she died, in which case Matthew inherited George). It is possible that Mary may have married tavernkeeper Henry Bowcock by 1730, then tavernkeeper Henry Wetherburn by 1734 (see Lyon G. Tyler, ed., “A Famous Tavernkeeper,” *Tyler's Quarterly Historical & Genealogical Magazine* Vol. 4, No. 1 [July 1922]: 30).

order.<sup>104</sup> The ferry remained in Mary's hands until May 20, 1734, when it was finally awarded to her son, Matthew, Sr.<sup>105</sup> The family's ferry license seems to have remained securely in their possession from that time until at least the end of Matthew, Sr.'s life, as no mention of its possible transferal to anyone else was ever noted again in the York County Records.

Over his lifetime, Matthew, Sr. increased his family's landholdings, wealth, slaveholdings, and social ties around Capitol Landing, Williamsburg, and York County.<sup>106</sup> While it is not known for sure whether Matthew, Sr. ever pursued a trade, it is possible that he was trained in carpentry, as both of his sons later took up the trade, and he was included in the planning for a number of building projects at Capitol Landing over

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<sup>104</sup> Mrs. Mary Moody's York County court record states: "The mocon made by Martha Drowit to have the keeping of the ferry at the Capitol Landing in the room of Mary Moody is rejected if the sd Mary gives sufficient security in office before the last of this month for keeping the same according to law, otherwise Martha Drowit is appointed in her place, giving sufficient security." (York County Records, OW(17)313).

<sup>105</sup> York County Records, (OWI(18)116). Matthew Moody, Sr.'s petition for the ferry license was granted by the York County court: "Upon the petn of Matthew Moody it is ord that he be apptd Ferry keeper at the Capitol Landing he having given Bond and Sec accord. To law."

<sup>106</sup> By the end of his life, Matthew Moody, Sr.'s records indicate that he owned at least eight slaves, and possibly as many as ten (some of whom he probably purchased, while others are recorded as being born to his female slaves). Matthew, Sr.'s slaves presumably helped him run his ferry, tavern, and plantation lands, in addition to assisting his family with other business and personal needs. He also hired slaves from time to time, such as the slave woman Betty (belonging to Mary Morris, infant, friend of Mary Bressie; see York County Records, JO(1)209, 225-226, 235, 246; 261-262; also York County Records-Land Causes [LCS], 32-34). Evidence of Matthew, Sr.'s slaves may be found in his 1775 probate inventory, which references "Joe a Negro Man £80, Jupiter £20, Rachel £32, and Philis" (see Table 4 in Appendix B of this thesis; from York County Records, WI(22)296-297). More slaves are also referenced in his will, namely "Thomason, Cutty, and London" and "Rachel" (see Table 5 in Appendix B of this thesis; from York County Records, WI(22)292-293). Finally, some of Matthew, Sr.'s slaves are listed in the Bruton Parish Register, where his slaves' names, births, and baptism dates are recorded: specifically "Thomasin" (baptized 5 June 1748), "Negro boy Joseph" (baptized 2 October 1748), "Adult Negro Jupiter" (baptized 2 October 1748), "Issabel" (baptized 2 August 1752), and an unnamed boy "[ ] son of his slave Tomyson" (baptized 2 March 1766). Two other slaves that may have belonged to Matthew, Sr. (or else his son Matthew, Jr.) are identified as well, namely "Jeany, daughter of his slave Nellen" (baptized 3 June 1764). For records of Matthew Moody, Sr.'s slaves in the Bruton Parish Register, see John Vogt, ed., *Register for Bruton Parish, Virginia, 1662-1797* (Athens, Georgia: New Papyrus Publishing Co., 2004); see also unpublished research notes by Julie Richter, former Colonial Williamsburg Foundation historian, entitled "Matthew I Moody, Tavernkeeper, Queen Mary's Port, 1734 to 1768," received from Richter on September 9, 2008.

the years.<sup>107</sup> Matthew's first significant mid-level county-appointed officeholding position was given to him on August 15, 1737, when he was appointed York County undersheriff for Bruton Parish. While serving as the county's undersheriff from approximately 1737 to 1746,<sup>108</sup> Matthew, Sr. was given the task of executing two criminals, William Holloway and John Smith, in November of 1745, near the end of his law enforcement career. One of the men was hanged for murder, though the form of capital punishment for the other remains unknown.<sup>109</sup> It seems likely that both men were hanged at the gallows on Capitol Landing Road, just up the street from the Moodys' dwelling and businesses at Capitol Landing. Moody performed the roles of lawman (and occasional executioner) for nine years, which seems to indicate that the York County sheriff and Burgesses approved of his performance by retaining him in this office for so long. This evidence further informs our understanding of Matthew Moody, Sr. and his family, as it casts light upon Matthew, Sr.'s position in local society and represents his social status as being middling- to upper-middling in order to obtain this position. Moody's undersheriff position also indicates that he undoubtedly retained a healthy

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<sup>107</sup> Matthew, Sr. was involved in the building and maintenance projects of a number of structures at Capitol Landing, namely the rebuilding of the Capitol Landing Bridge over Queen's Creek in 1754-1756 with Christopher Ford (a local house carpenter and joiner living on Capitol Landing Road), to whom Matthew, Sr.'s eldest son, Philip Moody, was apprenticed to work (York County Records, (DAB(6)23-24); also the building of a causeway across the Queen's Creek marsh from Capitol Landing in 1756-1758 with Alexander Finnie, a tavernkeeper and Queen's Creek resident (York County Records, DAB(6)139-140). Matthew, Sr. may also have been involved in the building of a new public warehouse (and the repair of a second one) at Capitol Landing in Aug 1771, as the bidders were invited to meet at his house/tavern to discuss the project (*Virginia Gazette*, Purdie & Dixon, 29 August 1771, Pg. 3, Col. 1).

<sup>108</sup> Matthew Moody, Sr. was sworn in as York County undersheriff on 15 Aug 1737 (York County Records, (OWI(18)384) until he resigned from his post after a long nine-year tour of duty on 15 Sept 1746 (York County Records, OW(19)463).

<sup>109</sup> Matthew, Sr. presumably put these men to death as the undersheriff (though by the time he was finally paid in November 1746, he had already given up his undersheriff post in September 1746). A record in the *Virginia Gazette* lists a William Holloway as being hung for murder in November 1745. The gallows was on Capitol Landing Road. Conviction records for a John Smith in 1745/6 could not be found. (*Virginia Gazette*, Parks, 7 November 1745, Pg. 3, Col. 1). On 21 November 1746, he was paid 450 pounds of tobacco for executing these two men (York County Records, OW(19)478-479).

measure of mid-level officeholding authority, agency, and power that potentially served him well in exposing him to a wide range of people, a nice supplemental income, and further officeholding opportunities in and around Capitol Landing, Williamsburg, and the surrounding counties.<sup>110</sup>

Matthew, Sr. finally resigned from his undersheriff position in 1746, perhaps because he had taken on a second officeholding position in September of 1745 as an inspector of beef, pork, flour, pitch, tar, and turpentine for the Bruton Parish section of York County.<sup>111</sup> He held this position until at least 1752 (if not longer), in charge of inspecting the quality and packing of these foodstuffs and naval stores at plantations and at the public warehouses of Capitol Landing prior to export.<sup>112</sup> Interestingly, another ferrykeeper and tavernkeeper at Yorktown, John Gibbons, was also assigned this position at the same time. It may be that Moody's law enforcement experience – in combination with his tavernkeeping knowledge and experience with raising, processing, inspecting, and handling beef, pork, and flour in large quantities for his tavern operation – made him a good candidate for undertaking these inspection duties.<sup>113</sup> By 1745 and the 1750s, planters were starting to diversify their plantation crops and exports to a greater extent due to slumps in the tobacco market, growing demand for meat and grain products, poor soils for raising tobacco, or nutrient-depleted soils from tobacco crops. Fortunately,

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<sup>110</sup> Matthew Moody, Sr. may have remained as an under-sheriff at Capitol Landing for such a long period of time because the York County court, and possibly also officials of the General Court, may have valued his ability to supervise and monitor the activities, goods, and people flowing through Capitol Landing – which by nature of its higher rate of transiency and the presence of ships' crews and other travelers, may have been subject to a higher potential for crime or clandestine activity.

<sup>111</sup> York County Records, OW(19)395.

<sup>112</sup> The last county record that indicates Matthew, Sr.'s position as an Inspector of Beef, Pork, Flour, etc. is dated 16 September 1751 (York County Records, JO(1)476). Positions typically lasted for one year from the date of appointment, so in theory, Matthew, Sr. held this job until approximately August of 1752.

<sup>113</sup> Hening, "An Act for continuing and amending an Act, intituled, an Act, for inspecting, weighing, and stamping all pork and beef, packed in this colony...", *The Statutes at Large*, Vol. V (Richmond: W.W. Gray, 1819), 350-355. This 1745 act reflects the colony's ongoing need for the inspection and regulation of diversified goods being exported from Virginia at this time.

when tobacco fields eventually had to be rotated to new or long-fallow land, the chemical composition of the soil was now perfect for raising corn and wheat instead; and Matthew Moody's appointment to this inspector position ties in neatly with the changing economic times and new trade regulations implemented as a result of more diversified agricultural production beginning to occur around the colony at this time.<sup>114</sup>

These appointments raise questions about the reasons for why Matthew Moody, Sr. was chosen for these governmental positions. These roles may have been granted to him partly due to his family's long-term residency, landownings, and stability at the port and in Williamsburg via their ferry and tavernkeeping businesses. Matthew, Sr.'s social connections, occupational experience, geographical familiarity with upper York County, and reputation with the local community and visiting populations via his ferry- and tavernkeeping operations may have also earned him the respect and confidence of the local justices who selected him for these positions. In addition, he was probably also a strategic choice due to his daily exposure to the agricultural, commercial, trade, and transportation activities of the port, as well as the rhythms of plantation and port life that intersected at Capitol Landing and in the surrounding areas of Williamsburg, Bruton, and Yorkhampton Parishes over the years. Regardless of the reasons for why he was chosen for these positions, however, Matthew, Sr.'s governmental offices undoubtedly broadened and deepened his knowledge and connections, political experience, geographical familiarity, economic earning potential, and social networking and mobility even further than he may have been able to achieve through his primary occupational activities at

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<sup>114</sup> Hening, *Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, 350-355. Regarding tobacco slumps, diverse exports, and soil quality, see Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 47-49, 52-53, 99-101; Sister June Meredith Costin, "Shipping in Yorktown, Virginia, 1740-1744" (MA Thesis, William & Mary, 1973), 75-87; Harold Gill, "Wheat Culture in Colonial Virginia," *Agricultural History*, Vol. 52, No. 3 (July 1978): 382-383.

Capitol Landing alone. In essence, these appointments likely provided him with increased leverage and status in the Williamsburg, York County, and James City County communities that he capitalized upon to improve his and his family's opportunities.

During this time, Matthew, Sr. raised three children of his own with his first wife Anne (of whom the two eldest sons, Philip and Matthew, Jr., are the most notable).<sup>115</sup> After Anne's death, he was married a second time to a woman named Jane. It appears as though Jane, like Anne before her, also assisted with running Matthew, Sr.'s tavernkeeping operation, as she was noted in Carter Burwell's ledger books for purchasing large quantities of corn, fodder, cider, wheat, and wood in the 1760s and 1770s, presumably for use in the Moodys' tavern.<sup>116</sup> She disappeared from the records as "Jane Moody" sometime after 1767, so it is unclear whether she died or if the couple separated.<sup>117</sup> Jane was not mentioned in Matthew, Sr.'s will, and by the time of his death, it seems as though he may have fathered an illegitimate child with a woman named Elizabeth Godfrey. Her son, William Godfrey, was referred to in Matthew, Sr.'s will as

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<sup>115</sup> Matthew Moody, Sr.'s third son was Ishmael Moody, though he appears to have died not long after the death of his father Matthew, Sr. (See will of Ishmael Moody, York County Records, OB(4)152).

<sup>116</sup> "Burwell Family – Carter Burwell Ledger2, 1764-1776, 1779-1786" in Burwell Family Papers, 1738-1786, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library Special Collections, transcript folder #TR06, pp. 31-32, 43, 63, 68, 78, 95-96.

<sup>117</sup> Jane Moody seems to have been the cause of a major lawsuit brought upon Matthew Moody, Sr. (and Jane herself) in 1767 by James Pride (who also served as the York River Naval Officer at this time in Yorktown). James Pride eventually won the lawsuit, collecting £228.10.2 (plus extra costs) from Matthew Sr. for unknown charges (possibly debt?) that Pride brought against Jane Moody. At the same time, James Pride also had a second lawsuit pending against Matthew, Sr. – also because of his wife Jane – because of slanderous comments she apparently made about Pride. Matthew, Sr. lost this case as well, which cost him another £20 plus costs in court (see York County Records, OB(1765-1768)322, dated 20 July 1767; York County Records, OB(1765-1768)339, dated 17 Aug 1767; and York County Records, OB(1765-1768)395, dated 16 Nov 1767). These hefty legal fines and fees – not to mention the potential public embarrassment that these lawsuits brought upon Matthew, Sr. and his wife Jane – may have finally taken a toll on their marriage. It is not clear what Jane said to Pride that was slanderous. Around this same time, account records of gentry planter Carter Burwell identify a "Mrs. Jane Moody" as buying foodstuffs between 12 March 1764 and 16 May 1771 that appear as though they may have been intended for a tavern (see "Burwell Family – Carter Burwell Ledger2, 1764-1776, 1779-1786" reference and page numbers in the footnote above). After 1771, no further records of a "Jane Moody" have been found by this author.

“my son...born in this house.”<sup>118</sup> If William was not Matthew, Sr.’s biological son, he may have assumed unofficial guardianship over the boy regardless of paternity – whether due to affection, a charitable disposition toward the child, or any number of other reasons. Either way, William Godfrey received a small inheritance from Matthew, Sr.’s estate, so Matthew obviously felt strongly enough about his “son” (or his sense of duty toward him) to make provisions for William in his will.<sup>119</sup>

In the 1750s when Williamsburg sought to expand the city limits to accommodate more people, Matthew, Sr. elected to parcel out lots from an 81-acre land tract that he owned along Capitol Landing Road.<sup>120</sup> Approved by an Act of Assembly in 1759,<sup>121</sup> Moody sold off land to individual buyers between 1759 through the mid-1760s, many of whom were tradesmen and craftsmen. This seems to have led to a more clustered organization in trade- and craftmaking activities and social networks along Capitol Landing Road, extending to Capitol Landing and its immediate environs.<sup>122</sup> His forays here into real estate speculation seem to indicate that he attempted to capitalize on the city’s demand for land by selling off his lots when the market demand was high. These

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<sup>118</sup> See the will of Matthew Moody, Sr., in the York County Records, WI(22)292-293, dated 16 Nov 1773 (document date), 17 July 1775 (recorded date).

<sup>119</sup> Matthew Moody, Sr.’s will states: “...after all my just debts are paid I give unto my son William Godfrey the son of Elizabeth Godfrey born in my house here all the rest & remainder of my estate both real & personal of what nature or kind soever unto him & his heirs forever. I also give unto my sd son William Godfrey my gold watch.” See York County Records, WI(22)292-293, dated 16 Nov 1773 (document date), 17 July 1775 (recorded date).

<sup>120</sup> Moody purchased this land parcel from Thomas Penman on 14 August 1747 (document date), recorded on 17 August 1747 (York County Records, DAB(5)225-227).

<sup>121</sup> Hening, “An Act for enlarging the towns of Fredericksburg and Winchester, the city of Williamsburg, and town of Dumfries,” *The Statutes at Large*, Vol. VII, 316.

<sup>122</sup> Matthew Moody, Sr.’s activities with regard to the Moody Subdivision have already received extensive attention in other sources cited in this study. Therefore, this thesis only offers a light treatment of this aspect of Moody’s life. For further reading on the Moody subdivision, please see Cathleen Hellier, “Chapter 7: The Moody Subdivision,” in *Upon the Palisado” and Other Stories of Place from Bruton Heights*, by John Metz, Jennifer Jones, Dwayne Pickett, and David Muraca, Colonial Williamsburg Library Research Publications, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation (Richmond, Virginia: Dietz Press, 1998), 99-114; also Julie Richter, “Chapter VII: Lot Ownership in Colonial Yorktown and Williamsburg,” 65, 67-69.



land sales also raise the question of how Matthew Moody may have used the profits of his real estate sales. It is questionable as to why he didn't just parcel out the lots and rent the land instead of selling it, as he may have been able to recoup more income from long-term rent collection over short-term property sales. Perhaps the General Assembly or local burgesses "sweetened the deal" for him somehow in an off-the-record capacity. Perhaps he was driven by a need to pay off debts, or a general desire for more capital to fund his family's needs or his business interests. He waited nearly nine years to finally start selling off the twelve parceled lots he'd set aside for the city, so maybe the money was not an immediate priority; or perhaps the market demand still was not high enough in the early 1750s, and Matthew, Sr. decided to wait until the supply versus the demand for land promised him a more lucrative profit margin when selling his property. Either way, Matthew, Sr.'s lawsuits do seem to have increased during the late 1760s, during which time he lost a few court cases and was ordered to pay some hefty settlements.<sup>123</sup> The details of the cases are unclear, but whatever the reasons, Matthew Moody, Sr. was soon to start feeling the pinch of shrinking finances and his debts exceeding his means, if he was not experiencing it already.

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<sup>123</sup> See James Pride, plaintiff, vs. Matthew Moody, Sr. and his wife Jane, deft. for a lawsuit in which Matthew, Sr. was ordered to pay £228.10.2 for charges of slander brought against his wife Jane on 17 August 1767 (York County Records, OB(1765-1768)339); see also William Black, plaintiff, vs. Matthew Moody, Sr., deft. for a lawsuit in which Matthew, Sr. was ordered to pay £101.9.1 to Black for unspecified charges, dated 15 April 1771 (York County Records, JO-2[1770-1772]232).

**CHAPTER FOUR:  
PHILIP AND MATTHEW MOODY, JR., THE PRE-WAR AND  
REVOLUTIONARY YEARS, AND THE EVENTUAL DECLINE OF THE  
MOODY FAMILY LEGACY AT CAPITOL LANDING, 1763-1781**

In the vein of countless family businesses, two of Matthew Moody, Sr.’s sons followed in their father’s and grandfather’s footsteps and eventually continued with the family’s tavern-keeping and ferry-keeping traditions. Philip Moody, the eldest son of Matthew, Sr., was apprenticed as a house carpenter and joiner to Christopher Ford in 1753, a trade he practiced throughout his life.<sup>124</sup> During the Revolution, Philip played a significant role in Williamsburg’s war effort, where he ran the Public Carpenter’s shop for the Board of War.<sup>125</sup> Noel Poirier, one of CW’s former Historic Trades carpenters and the author of an extensive historical study on Williamsburg’s Public Armoury, states that Philip Moody was most likely the builder of the Public Armoury, in addition to numerous other military-related buildings, structures, and supplies built in Williamsburg during the Revolution (Figures 12 – 16 in Appendix A).<sup>126</sup> Poirier goes on to state:

*Philip Moody is the most significant carpenter during the revolutionary period. He undertook public works projects in Williamsburg during its stint as the capitol*

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<sup>124</sup> Ford was a well-known craftsman living near the Moodys on Capitol Landing Road, near the Capitol. Philip Moody’s apprenticeship to Christopher Ford is noted in the York County Records, (DAB(5)525).

<sup>125</sup> Philip Moody’s carpentry shop behind Wetherburn’s Tavern (on the south side of Francis Street in Williamsburg) became the official site of the state’s Public Carpentry Shop during the Revolution. Philip constructed gun carriages, wagons, tents, military barracks (presumably including the sizeable barracks off Capitol Landing Road – see Figures 13 and 15 in Appendix A of this thesis), as well as renovating other buildings for public use. He is thought to have built James Anderson’s Public Armoury in the war years, and also built other structures in Richmond after the capitol moved there from Williamsburg in 1780 (Noel Poirier, “The Williamsburg Public Armoury: A Historical Study, Block 10, Building 22F,” Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series – 1695 [Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2003]; accessed February 3, 2013, [http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/View\\_index.cfm?doc=ResearchReports\\_RR1695.xml](http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/View_index.cfm?doc=ResearchReports_RR1695.xml)); see also Garland Wood, September 12, 2011, “Who Built the Public Armoury?” in the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation blog entitled “The Reconstruction of Anderson’s Blacksmith Shop and Public Armoury;” accessed February 3, 2013, <http://whatsnew.history.org/2011/09/who-built-the-public-armoury/> ).

<sup>126</sup> For maps denoting the presence of military barracks, piquets, and other structures that Philip Moody constructed (or may have constructed) in and around Capitol Landing and Capitol Landing Road, please see Figures 12 – 16 in Appendix A of this thesis.

*of Virginia. He also served as a Superintendent of Artificers, overseeing carpentry work in Williamsburg, Richmond, Westham, Portsmouth and Yorktown. He also was responsible for the public woodworking shops at Westham and Richmond where everything from wheels to cartridge boxes were produced.*<sup>127</sup>

Philip also served as a steward at the Public Hospital, tending to the wounded during the siege of Yorktown in October 1781.<sup>128</sup> In terms of his activities at Capitol Landing, sources reveal that as late as 1777 or 1778, Philip Moody may have been managing land at Capitol Landing or even possibly living there.<sup>129</sup> It is unclear, however, whether he was running the family's tavern or the ferry at that point. By 1779, however, Philip seems to have relocated into Williamsburg from Capitol Landing,<sup>130</sup> and achieved his own measure of social, economic, and political success through various other activities he participated in around Williamsburg and the Tidewater. After the Revolution, he attained some prominence in his role as the tavernkeeper of the Raleigh Tavern and Eagle Tavern (formerly the Kings' Arms) in the 1780s and 1790s (Figures 17 and 18, Appendix A).<sup>131</sup> Philip was also the York County undersheriff or "sergeant" of Williamsburg for many years like his father,<sup>132</sup> and seems to have been a planter (of corn or wheat) as well, at

<sup>127</sup> Poirier, "The Williamsburg Public Armory: A Historical Study, Block 10, Building 22F," footnote #56.

<sup>128</sup> Taylor Stoermer, unpublished notes from "Revolutionary Trades Community" document, compiled by Taylor Stoermer, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Digital History Center; received from Linda Rowe, CWF historian, March 28, 2013.

<sup>129</sup> On 28 November 1777, Philip is referenced as having a pasture at Capitol Landing where he pastured horses, possibly for those using the Capitol Landing Ferry. Thomas Coleman placed an ad in the *Virginia Gazette* for a lost or stolen horse from Philip's pasture, and he was a frequent visitor to Williamsburg, though a resident of Gloucester County (*Virginia Gazette*, Dixon, 28 November 1777: Pg. 3, Col. 2)

<sup>130</sup> *VA Gazette*, Dixon, 16 April 1778: Pg. 2, Col. 2. Philip is said to occupy a tenement opposite the tanyard of William and Matthew Pearson on Capitol Landing Road, near the Capitol.

<sup>131</sup> Philip Moody's operation of the Raleigh Tavern is evidenced by his insurance paperwork on the property; see Mutual Assurance Policy Record, No. 126 (or No. 666), photostat #PH69, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Special Collections, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; original on microfilm at the Library of Virginia. Philip's operation of the Eagle Tavern (formerly the King's Arms) is also documented on another insurance record; see Mutual Assurance Policy record No. 125 (#1518), photostat #PH69, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Special Collections, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, original on microfilm at the Library of Virginia. (These documents are featured as Figures 17 and 18 in Appendix A of this thesis).

<sup>132</sup> York County Sheriff's Execution Book, 1789-1794, pgs. 1, 44, 71, 74, 102, 111; Manuscript #MS 43.2, John D. Rockefeller Jr., Library, Special Collections, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. The Sheriff's

least on a small scale. He was also a Master Mason in the Williamsburg Lodge of Masons from at least 1774 to 1779.<sup>133</sup>

Matthew, Sr.'s second-oldest son, Matthew, Jr., also learned the ferry- and tavernkeeping business like his brother. He seems to have been the only member of the family to receive higher schooling, having attended William & Mary for about a year in 1755.<sup>134</sup> From 1768 to 1770, he took over the lease for the ferry, tavern, and storehouse operation at Burwell's Ferry on the James River.<sup>135</sup> (Burwell's Ferry was located on the Kingsmill plantation lands of Lewis Burwell, the Upper James River District Naval Inspector during this time). He then returned to Capitol Landing where he again ran a tavern (possibly his father's) until 1774 or 1775.<sup>136</sup> He may have also managed the Capitol Landing ferry for his father during this time, but no evidence exists to confirm this one way or the other. Like his brother Philip, Matthew, Jr. pursued carpentry (as well as cabinetmaking) as additional occupations,<sup>137</sup> which he also practiced throughout his

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Execution Book notes fees Philip collected for whomever won the awards of a court decisions. It seems as though some fees were collected around York County, and others were collected in York Court.

<sup>133</sup> Williamsburg Lodge of Masons 1774–1779, Photostat #02 39, pg 41, 57. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Special Collections.

<sup>134</sup> “William and Mary Bursar Boarding Accounts, 1754-1769 [1754-1770],” pg. 34, Photostat #PH 02 48. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Special Collections.

<sup>135</sup> On April 25, 1766, Matthew Moody, Jr. advertised his removal to Burwell's Ferry on the James River (outside Williamsburg), where he began working as a ferrykeeper and tavernkeeper: WILLIAMSBURG, April 25, 1766. AS I intend immediately for Col. Burwell's ferry, this is to inform the publick that the same will be kept in good order, as likewise a house of entertainment in the genteelest manner. Any goods stored with me will be taken particular care of, at a very cheap rate; and I shall expect the storage to be paid upon delivering of the goods, to prevent disputes. –MATTHEW MOODY, Jun. N.B. I propose still to carry on my business of cabinetmaking; any Gentlemen therefore, that please to employ me, may depend upon having their work done well, expeditiously, and on reasonable terms” (*Virginia Gazette*, Purdie & Dixon, 25 April 1766: Pg. 3, Col. 1). Other advertisements posted in the *Virginia Gazette* by Matthew, Jr. (with regard to Burwell's Ferry) include: *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie & Dixon, 15 January 1767:Pg. 3, Col. 2; *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie & Dixon, 7 May 1767:Pg. 3, Col. 2; *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie & Dixon, 16 March 1769:Pg. 3, Col. 2; *Virginia Gazette*, Rind, 23 March 1769, Pg. 3, Col. 3; *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie & Dixon, 30 March 1769, Rind, Pg. 4, Col. 2; and *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie & Dixon, 7 December 1769: Pg. 4, Col. 1.

<sup>136</sup> *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie & Dixon, 22 November 1770: Pg. 2, Col. 3.

<sup>137</sup> Burwell Family -Carter Burwell Ledger2 1764-1776, 1779-1786, Pg. 109, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Special Collections, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

life. He may have learned these trades and crafts from his father Matthew, Sr., but it seems more likely that he may have been instructed by (or informally apprenticed to) his brother Philip or another master carpenter. By 1774, Matthew, Jr. was serving as a clerk for the vestry of Bruton Parish<sup>138</sup> and was also inducted as a Fellow Craftsman into the Williamsburg Lodge of Masons, where his brother Philip was also a member.<sup>139</sup>

A few months before his death in June 1775, Matthew, Sr. mortgaged 30 acres of land at Capitol Landing (seemingly adjacent to the port) for £120 to William Hornsby, a prosperous and extremely wealthy Williamsburg merchant.<sup>140</sup> The provisions of the mortgage stated that the land would be foreclosed upon if Matthew, Sr. did not repay the mortgage by December of 1775. Unfortunately, by the time of Matthew, Sr.'s death in June 1775, his personal debts seem to have exceeded the value of his estate. (This assumption is based on the £317 estate value identified in his probate inventory, versus approximately £450 of debts he still owed to others, as documented in the York County court records filed by his creditors after his death). Matthew, Sr.'s insolvency suggests that his engagement in the practice of buying or selling on credit finally caught up with him. He may have spent beyond his means (possibly in expectation of future business profits that never materialized in full), or perhaps he had difficulty collecting money owed to him by his tavern and ferry customers, or via loans and services he provided to other individuals. Moody's court records also reflect that in the last few years prior to his death, he also lost a few key legal disputes that left him responsible for paying some hefty sums that may have taxed his assets and estate to the breaking point. He carried

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<sup>138</sup> *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie & Dixon, 16 December 1773: Pg. 2, Col. 2.

<sup>139</sup> Williamsburg Lodge of Masons Minutes, 1773-1779, Photostat #PH 02 36, pg. 17, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Special Collections, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.

<sup>140</sup> York County Records, Deeds(8)491-93; York County Records, (OB(4)90).

some of these debts to his deathbed, and the payment of these court awards may have bankrupted his estate and significantly depleted whatever remained of his children's legacies.

As the eldest son and inheritor of a large portion of Matthew, Sr.'s estate, Philip seems to have lost most, if not all, of his father's landholdings at Capitol Landing due to foreclosure on the lands from his father's debts. It appears as though Philip Moody and William Russell (the sheriff of York County) were unable to pay off Matthew, Sr.'s debts to Hornsby and others without losing this portside property.<sup>141</sup> It is unclear whether Philip Moody or William Russell were ever able to collect all of the debts owed to Matthew, Sr.'s estate. Their efforts certainly must have been hampered, particularly in light of the depressed state of the Tidewater's tobacco productivity, tobacco markets, and the general economic tension experienced in Virginia, the colonies, and Great Britain as a result of imminent war. All the same, it may be that not all of Matthew, Sr.'s landholdings at Capitol Landing were lost. The four original port lots that the Moodys owned since 1715 may have remained with Philip Moody as the only inheritance he was able to salvage from the wreckage of debt collection and land foreclosure that proceeded his father's death. No further reference to port lots #23, 24, 25, or 26 have been found in the York County Records to either confirm or deny this possibility, so it remains open to question.

After 1775, no further references to a ferry or ferry keeper at Capitol Landing have been identified, so it is unclear whether the ferry license remained with the Moodys or not, or if the Capitol Landing ferry service was even still in use. Presumably, the ferry

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<sup>141</sup> As the York County sheriff, William Russell became the default executor of Matthew Moody, Sr.'s estate after Matthew, Sr.'s preferred executors declined the role (and Philip refused to accept it).

would have continued running at least until the capitol moved to Richmond in 1780, before which time people would have still traveled to the city to conduct court business and other activities. It is possible that Capitol Landing's ferry service may have been slowed or halted at times, when travel along Queen's Creek or the York River may have been too risky due to the presence of British naval and ground forces in the area.

Matthew, Sr. may have unofficially passed on the management of the tavern and ferry to Philip or Matthew, Jr. before his death, but the data remains inconclusive and no licenses or other documentation have been found to solidly support this theory. In any event, Matthew, Jr. continued working as a house carpenter on various building projects around James City County and York County,<sup>142</sup> and no clear evidence of tavern- or ferry-keeping has been associated with him after 1775.

Ishmael, the youngest of Matthew Moody, Sr.'s legitimate sons, seems to have died relatively early in his adulthood without much accumulated documentation from which to form many conclusions about his activities, other than that Ishmael seemed to have been in debt when Matthew, Sr. wrote his will, and Matthew, Sr. willed that some of Ishmael's debts be paid from the proceeds of his estate.<sup>143</sup> Matthew Moody, Sr.'s [potentially illegitimate] son William Godfrey seems to have passed out of the historical record with little fanfare and scant documentation of his activities, aside from Matthew, Sr.'s reference to him in his will.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> Burwell Family - Carter Burwell Ledger 1764-1776, 1779-1786, Pg. 109, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Special Collections, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Additional records of Matthew, Jr.'s carpentry activities continue through at least 1785, and are available for review in his York County Project Master Biographical File in the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's Department of Training and Historical Research.

<sup>143</sup> Will of Matthew Moody, Sr., dated 16 November 1773, recorded date 17 July 1775. York County Records, WI(22) 292-293.

<sup>144</sup> See will of Matthew Moody, Sr. in Table 5 of Appendix B in this thesis.

By the time that Philip and Matthew, Jr. reached adulthood, their carpentry and tavern-keeping occupations – in addition to their membership in religious, educational, and social organizations in Williamsburg – seem to have provided them with access to even larger social networks and economic opportunities. These opportunities appear to have eventually enabled them to seek their livelihoods beyond Capitol Landing, the community where their father and grandfather had established the family's businesses and planned for their family's future nearly 70 years earlier. As the third Moody generation in Williamsburg, Philip and Matthew, Jr. seem to have assimilated even more into the city's core institutions and occupational activities of Williamsburg's social and cultural landscape; in time, they slowly pulled away from Capitol Landing, and were drawn more into the city and other parts of York County or James City County. By the late 1770s, Philip and Matthew, Jr. seem to have moved into Williamsburg and Yorkhampton Parish respectively, continuing their trades of carpentry and tavern-keeping as opportunity permitted. Their family's home base and portside businesses at Capitol Landing may have been lost, but the geographical knowledge, waterfront experience, occupational training, and social networks they were exposed to through the port undoubtedly continued to serve them well for the rest of their lives.

### **Some Tentative Conclusions**

Over time, it seems as though both internal and external forces began working against the Moodys and Capitol Landing, which in earlier times had sustained their growth and development in tandem with the expansion and growth of Williamsburg. In general terms, the gradual and combined agricultural and economic crises of Tidewater



soil depletion, declining tobacco production, and market prices after 1750 slowly affected the sustainability of tobacco as a staple crop along the Peninsula – particularly along the York River and at the deep-water port of Yorktown, whose planters and merchants had banked heavily on the high production and excellent reputation of the York River region’s sweet-scented tobacco crop. Declining tobacco productivity and increasing merchant-planter debt, combined with the upheaval of impending socio-cultural and political revolution in the colonies in the 1760s and 1770s, further aggravated economic and political relations with Great Britain and fomented further turmoil in Williamsburg and across the colonies.

The slow economic decline of Yorktown after the 1750s (represented chiefly through its declining volume of tobacco exports and maritime trade) affected Williamsburg (and presumably Capitol Landing by proxy) since it served as Williamsburg’s and Capitol Landing’s closest deep-water port and major maritime trading and transportation hub. In the meantime, other shipping and trading hubs such as Richmond, Norfolk, and Baltimore further inland were rising to greater dominance in support of expanding tobacco markets to the West beyond the fall line. In addition, economic opportunities were increasing in the lower Chesapeake, Low Countries, and in the coastwise and Atlantic trade, and the volume of commercial trade and waterborne transportation began shifting toward the new tobacco lands inland of Richmond after 1780. Finally, the long-term agricultural silting of Queen’s Creek, the geographical relocation of the capitol to Richmond in 1780, the cataclysmic disruption of wartime in Williamsburg, and the destruction of the port of Yorktown in 1781 seem to have

eventually reduced Capitol Landing to a shadow of its former usefulness for Williamsburg and the larger area as a whole.

It seems likely that the decline in tobacco shipping, waterborne transportation, trade, and other port-related activities that were directly linked to Capitol Landing's port functions would have had an impact on many, if not most, of the port's lotowners, residents, and workers who depended upon the port's transportation and trade functions in some fashion for their livelihoods. Furthermore, the port was inherently linked to the governmental functions and success of Williamsburg itself, which may have eventually led to both the port's and the Moody's undoing. In other words, by the time of Matthew Moody, Sr.'s death, given the increasingly challenging set of variables that affected Williamsburg and the colony, Matthew, Sr.'s ability to make a profit at Capitol Landing may have eventually reached its limit and become too difficult for him to maintain, particularly in his "advanced age."<sup>145</sup> By that point, however, the Moodys' world was soon to be turned upside down by the impending revolution, as was Virginia's, the American colonies', and the British Empire's as well.

In retrospect, Capitol Landing's and Williamsburg's residents were not only participants in eighteenth-century Williamsburg's urban development, population expansion, and economic and political growth, but they may also have been unintentional contributors to Williamsburg's decline. The "tobacco culture" and "consumer revolution" that fueled the colonial Chesapeake's economy and social culture was hinged on a never-ending consumer demand for luxury goods and status markers; an infinitely complicated economic arrangement of credit and debt relationships that facilitated and

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<sup>145</sup> Obituary: "Died, Mr. MATTHEW MOODY, senior, in a very advanced age. Like the rest of the human race, he had foibles; but a charitable disposition towards his fellow creatures, and many other good qualities which he possessed, far eclipsed them." (*Virginia Gazette*, Pinkney, 8 June 1775: Pg. 3, Col. 3).

often unwittingly trapped colonists into spending beyond their means; and a staple-crop agricultural system that flourished as long as European markets and merchants, Virginia's soils, an exploitative slave labor system, and a gentry-driven "tobacco culture" could sustain it.<sup>146</sup> All of these factors contributed in varying ways to the build-up and escalation of environmental, social, economic, religious, and political events affecting Williamsburg – and by default, Capitol Landing – in the years leading up to and following the capitol's move to Richmond in 1780.

As a result, the Moody family's long-standing niche of ferry- and tavern-keeping at Capitol Landing – a maritime location and business operation which had provided the primary foothold for the family's economic growth and social mobility into Williamsburg society – seems to have eventually ended. Matthew Moody, Sr.'s heavy debts, the loss of some (if not all) of the family's port and plantation lands, a possible reduction in the city's and port's commercial trade and human traffic, and the final closing of Capitol Landing's tobacco inspection station sometime after 1783 likely coincided with the Moody Family's eventual departure from the port by the late 1780s.<sup>147</sup> Interestingly, the Moodys' exodus from Capitol Landing roughly parallels the timing of the port's gradual retreat into obscurity from its position of functional importance to the city.

That being said, while the port became geographically, economically, and socially marginalized by the end of the eighteenth century, the Moodys persevered despite certain odds against them and found new ways to reclaim, rebuild, and restore their lives and family legacies once again.

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<sup>146</sup> Timothy Breen, *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of the Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

<sup>147</sup> The port's last tobacco inspector was appointed on 20 Dec 1782 (H.R. McIlwaine, et al., eds., *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, Vol. III [Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1952], 197).

**CHAPTER FIVE:  
SUGGESTIONS FOR PUBLIC HISTORY INTERPRETATION OF THE  
MOODY FAMILY AND WILLIAMSBURG'S PORTS IN THE COLONIAL  
WILLIAMSBURG FOUNDATION AND CITY OF WILLIAMSBURG**

James W. Loewen's book, *Lies Across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong*, reveals much about the ways in which many Americans learn history today:

*American history as taught in most schools distorts the past and turns many students off. So where then do Americans learn about the past? From many sources, of course—historical novels, Oliver Stone movies—but surely most of all from the landscape. History is told on the landscape all across America—on monuments at the courthouse, by guides inside antebellum homes and aboard historic ships, by the names we give to places, and on roadside historical markers.*<sup>148</sup>

One of the roles of the public history profession is the critical review and evaluation of historical interpretations of our nation's past – not only in terms of the history of the printed page, whether in the form of historical manuscripts or modern scholarship – but also including interpretations of history that are created, performed, and presented for the public within the physical landscapes and cultural settings that surround us today.

Within these public narratives – intended as they are to inform us of the ordinary and extraordinary people, events, landscapes, innovations, or ideas that have shaped American experience, life, and cultural identity over time – it is sometimes possible to identify unique stories that are unknown or are not being told, or recognize existing historical interpretations that might benefit from being supplemented or replaced with perspectives that are more inclusive or accurate.

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<sup>148</sup> James W. Loewen. *Lies Across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong* (New York: The New Press, 1999), 15, excerpted from James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (New York: The New Press, 1995).

Within the richly textured public history settings and landscapes of Colonial Williamsburg and the City of Williamsburg, it is interesting to consider how the former eighteenth-century capitol's public history interpretation compares to the historical information gleaned from Williamsburg's documentary records, archaeological data, and other primary and secondary sources. What people, events, places, or ideas make themselves known within the pages of the historical record? What evidence does the physical and cultural landscape share with us, if we look closely, explore carefully, and listen patiently? Whose voices are heard, and whose faces remain unseen in the historical narratives, exhibits, visual media, material culture displays, and other public performances presented in museums, historical sites, and other public history venues? Sometimes the interpretive omissions speak more loudly than the histories that are shared, and in the process, it becomes possible to identify people, places, ideas, or events that may still remain muffled in the silence of the undiscovered, under-explored, or under-appreciated past.

In perusing the public history landscape of Williamsburg today, one may journey almost anywhere around the outskirts of the city and see evidence of the area's watery natural environment and the local population's interests and involvement in maritime-oriented business, transportation, trade, recreation, and residential living along the region's waterways. "Water and trees – trees and water. These are the features that now dominate the impressions of a traveler in Tidewater Virginia."<sup>149</sup> Many creeks, marshes, ponds, wetlands, and rivers are scattered across the landscape, and many communities – even in inland Williamsburg – are located on or near waterways where public and private

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<sup>149</sup> Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 11.

landings, waterfront facilities, and waterfront workers and business people are available to service local needs for maritime trade, transportation, recreation, subsistence, or other water-oriented activities.

Contrary to this watery landscape that borders modern-day Williamsburg and its environs today, a different perspective presents itself to the gaze of the casual observer visiting the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's reconstructed eighteenth-century Historic Area. From the vantage point of a visitor standing on Colonial Williamsburg's<sup>150</sup> Duke of Gloucester Street – or indeed, anywhere around the museum's grounds – the colonial capitol and its residents appear to have existed within a thoroughly land-locked landscape, despite the presence of two navigable creeks which harbored two municipal port communities within the city's limits. Indeed, upon closer inspection, there is little to be seen or heard around the Historic Area's physical landscape, in the Foundation's educational and interpretive programs, interpreter training materials, museums and exhibit areas, or even in its extensive website that acknowledges the presence and importance of the city's waterways, port communities, landowners, and port resident-workers who helped support the ports' and city's settlement, transportation infrastructure, commercial trade, communication, as well as a variety of other port-related and civic functions in and around Williamsburg.

Consequently, the city's modern-day residents and visitors are little exposed to any of these subjects while touring Colonial Williamsburg, and presumably remain relatively unaware of the existence of port residents like the Moody Family of Capitol Landing whose port-related, maritime-oriented occupations – in addition to other community activities – provided necessary and important functional support of the

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<sup>150</sup> Colonial Williamsburg will hereafter be referred to as "CW."

ports' and capitol's growth and development. Indeed, while the city's port society and port residents comprised a smaller, more geographically distant, and transient part of the town's population and physical landscape, some individuals – especially the long-term, landowning port resident-workers like the ferrykeeping Moody Family – were well-documented, active citizens within the ports' and Williamsburg's society, whose fixed presence at the ports likely brought a measure of social stability, on-site supervision, and functional and community support to these highly transient maritime zones.

While this problem may not be immediately noteworthy or apparent to the visiting public – especially with so many other excellent visual and auditory enticements available within CW's Historic Area to engage and excite the interest and attention of museum audiences – it should brook some concern amongst public historians. These interpretive oversights regarding the functional roles and significance of Williamsburg's port communities, port-resident workers, and the city's port-related waterborne transportation and trade activities put Colonial Williamsburg somewhat at odds with the institution's educational mission to authentically represent the people, places, landscapes, and ideas of eighteenth-century Williamsburg in the years leading up to and including the American Revolution.<sup>151</sup> The absence of this residential group and occupational workforce from the city's public history interpretation amounts to a significant omission

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<sup>151</sup> The CWF's mission statement states that "The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation operates the world's largest living history museum in Williamsburg, Virginia—the restored 18th-century capital of Britain's largest, wealthiest, and most populous outpost of empire in the New World. Here we interpret the origins of the idea of America, conceived decades before the American Revolution. The Colonial Williamsburg story of a revolutionary city tells how diverse peoples, having different and sometimes conflicting ambitions, evolved into a society that valued liberty and equality. Americans cherish these values as a birthright, even when their promise remains unfulfilled. In Colonial Williamsburg's 301-acre Historic Area stand hundreds of restored, reconstructed, and historically furnished buildings. Costumed interpreters tell the stories of the men and women of the 18th-century city—black, white, and native American, slave, indentured, and free—and the challenges they faced. In this historic place, we help the future learn from the past." Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, "Mission of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation – That the Future May Learn from the Past: A Center for History and Citizenship;" accessed March 30, 2013, <http://www.history.org/foundation/mission.cfm>

in Colonial Williamsburg’s living history programming and educational mission, and is also observable within the physical landscapes of the former historic port sites of Capitol Landing and College Landing themselves. So why aren’t these stories being told, and if they *were* to be interpreted, how might the social history narratives of people like the Moodys at Capitol Landing be incorporated into Colonial Williamsburg’s “...unforgettable story, a story as compelling as ‘the story of a patriot?’” Furthermore, in what thematic channels of Colonial Williamsburg’s current “Revolutionary City” storylines, Historic Area buildings, and *Becoming Americans* educational frameworks might these port-resident workers and their stories now find suitable anchorages?<sup>152 153</sup>

In light of these considerations – and in the hopes that this research on the Moody Family of Capitol Landing might be able to reach a larger public audience and stimulate increased public awareness, dialogue, and study regarding the city’s port resident-workers and port landscapes – the following section will present a few brief concept proposals that might be further developed and implemented within the living history presentations and public history programming of Colonial Williamsburg’s Historic Area, exhibit spaces, and multimedia venues. In addition, a few suggestions for public history interpretation and historic site designation of the former port sites at Capitol Landing and College Landing will also be briefly discussed.

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<sup>152</sup> Cary Carson, “Colonial Williamsburg and the Practice of Interpretive Planning in American History Museums,” *The Public Historian*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Summer 1998): 45

<sup>153</sup> Lloyd Dobyns, “Revolutionary City: Colonial Adventure,” *Colonial Williamsburg Journal*. (Autumn 2006); accessed March 31, 2013, [http://www.history.org/foundation/journal\\_autumn06/city.cfm](http://www.history.org/foundation/journal_autumn06/city.cfm); see also Cary Carson, ed., *Becoming Americans: Our Struggle to Be Both Free and Equal* (Williamsburg: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1998). This CW publication outlines some of the major educational frameworks and themes upon which the museum’s “Revolutionary City” storylines are based.



## **Suggestions for Public History Interpretation of the Moody Family in the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation’s Living History Programming**

Given a few recent developments taking place within the recreated landscapes and public programming of Colonial Williamsburg’s Historic Area, this section will discuss a few key ways in which the Moody Family’s social histories, functional roles, and civic contributions as long-term port residents, portside ferrykeepers and tavernkeepers, governmental officeholders, tradesmen and planters, and active citizens-at-large might be incorporated into thematically appropriate storylines and educational frameworks at the museum.

This thesis research on the Moody Family coincides nicely with the newest building effort taking place within the landscape and “Revolutionary City”-themed programming of Colonial Williamsburg’s Historic Area – namely, at the new Public Armoury next to James Anderson’s Blacksmith Shop. Though Giles Moody and Matthew Moody, Sr. (the patriarchs of the first and second generations at Capitol Landing) essentially pre-date the “Revolutionary City” time frame (1774 to 1781) that is being interpreted in Colonial Williamsburg’s public programming,<sup>154</sup> Philip Moody (the

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<sup>154</sup> Giles Moody died in 1729 and is far outside of CW’s current time frame for character-actor interpretation and programming, though Matthew, Sr. lived until June 8, 1775, so he still fits within CW’s general chronological parameters of the pre-war and Revolutionary period (approximately 1765 to 1781). One “RevCity” connection to build upon with regard to the Moodys relates to the storyline entitled “The Old Order Collapses, 1775-1776.” In the midst of escalating political events and tensions in the colonial capitol during the spring and early summer of 1775, Matthew Moody, Sr. died at Capitol Landing on June 8, 1775 at a “very advanced age.” On this same day, Williamsburg’s Lord Dunmore (the colony’s royal governor), fearing for his life, took his family and fled from the capitol to the safety of a British warship in the York River, never to return. This day marked a major turning point in the Moodys’ lives and Williamsburg’s history, and contributed to the eventual collapse of royal authority in the city and colony itself. (For records of Matthew Moody’s death, including the events of this day [and previous days] in and around the city, see the *Virginia Gazette*, Pinkney, 8 June 1775: Pg. 3, Col. 3; also *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie, 9 June 1775: Pg. 2, Col. 3). In the aftermath, Philip and Matthew, Jr.’s personal lives also connect with the “RevCity” storyline, entitled “Building a New Nation, 1779-1781.” They were not only faced with the death of their father, but also with the burden of their father’s debts, the possible loss of their inheritance

eldest son of Matthew Moody, Sr. and the leading figure of the third-generation of Moodys) is perhaps the most logical choice for presenting the Moody Family's social histories, port-related activities, and involvement in various aspects of Williamsburg's settlement, growth, maintenance, and defense from the time of Capitol Landing's earliest beginnings in 1715, to the years leading up to and including the Revolution. (As briefly mentioned in Chapter Four of this thesis, Philip Moody was heavily involved in military- and defense-related building efforts in and around Williamsburg during the Revolution, and in 1780 he was also appointed by the Board of War to run the Public Carpenter's Shop in Richmond).

At the present time, however, CW's Department of Training and Historical Research does not currently have any plans to interpret Philip Moody or "designate an actor-interpreter to portray Philip Moody" in association with the activities of the Historic Area's Public Armoury or carpenter's shop.<sup>155</sup> Nevertheless, it would be a fairly straightforward process to develop a compelling "character score" for Philip Moody if the Foundation ever decides to consider it. This first- or third-person character-actor could interpret "Revolutionary City"-themed topics at the Public Armoury or in the carpenter's shop, such as Philip's military building projects in the city and at the Armoury, as well as his upbringing and his family's residency at Capitol Landing, their portside ferry- and tavernkeeping activities and officeholdings, as well as other community affairs in which they were involved.<sup>156</sup> These stories could be developed in the context of a special public

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(including their father's landholdings, slaves, goods, port businesses, etc.), threats to life and livelihood brought on by increasing hostilities, and their wartime building and support efforts in Williamsburg.

<sup>155</sup> Linda Rowe, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation historian, email message to author, March 28, 2013.

<sup>156</sup> A number of documents discussing how "character scores" might be developed for character interpretation are available on CW's website. For more information, see CW's *Colonial Williamsburg Education Outreach e-Newsletter*, under the webpage entitled "Teaching Strategy: Historical Character Interpretation," <http://www.history.org/history/teaching/enewsletter/volume7/dec08/teachstrategy.cfm>; see

program that might be featured from time to time in the Historic Area. “Philip Moody” would serve as an excellent vehicle for promoting further interpretation of earlier generations of the Moody Family – specifically Giles Moody and Matthew Moody, Sr. – as well as interpretation of Williamsburg’s ports, Capitol Landing, its port residents, landowners, and workers, and other port-related activities and events in and around Williamsburg during the eighteenth century.<sup>157</sup>

One special program that would incorporate these ideas could be developed in either the side yard of the Public Armoury or at the carpenter’s shop, where a first-person character-actor representing Philip Moody – perhaps one of CW’s Historic Trades carpenters – could discuss the aforementioned themes while working on an eighteenth-century ferry-building project. In this way, the skills and expertise of a carpenter in the Historic Trades department might be utilized to reconstruct a ferryboat like the watercraft that might have been in service at Capitol Landing. Interestingly, this might be only the second time an eighteenth-century ferry has been reconstructed in Virginia, as well as in the United States.<sup>158</sup> In the process of building the ferryboat, the Philip Moody character

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also Bill Weldon, “Living History: A Character Study,” on CW’s webpage “Teacher Resources: Teacher Community,” <http://www.history.org/history/teaching/enewsletter/volume7/dec08/livinghistory.cfm>

<sup>157</sup> Philip Moody’s role in building the Public Armoury and other military-related structures, supplies, and vehicles for the Continental Army during the Revolution provides a direct and thematically appropriate link to further interpretation and discussion of the Moodys and their association with the newly constructed Public Armoury and CW’s “Revolutionary-City” programming in the Historic Area.

<sup>158</sup> The Amazement Square – Rightmire Children’s Museum in Lynchburg, Virginia, built a replica of an eighteenth-century ferryboat along the James River waterfront in Lynchburg where the city’s founder and ferrykeeper, John Lynch, established his ferry service in the 1750s. This ferryboat was launched on the James River in April 2007 at the “Amazing Lynch Ferry Festival,” in commemoration of the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Virginia’s founding and the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Lynchburg’s founding. See the following newspaper articles for more information: Conor Reilly, “Lynchburg’s Colonial Ferry to Cross Again,” *The News & Advance*, November 24, 2006, [http://articles.dailypress.com/2006-11-24/news/0611240187\\_1\\_ferry-site-original-ferry-edward-lynch](http://articles.dailypress.com/2006-11-24/news/0611240187_1_ferry-site-original-ferry-edward-lynch); Matt Busse, “Volunteers constructing replica of John Lynch’s ferry for festival,” *The News & Advance*, April 3, 2007, [http://www.accessmylibrary.com/coms2/summary\\_0286-30217126\\_1TM](http://www.accessmylibrary.com/coms2/summary_0286-30217126_1TM); Matt Busse, “Lynchburg’s Ferry Festival to offer rides to a lucky few,” *The News & Advance*, April 13, 2007, [http://www.timesdispatch.com/news/lynchburg-s-ferry-festival-to-offer-rides-to-a-lucky/article\\_5fc39a02-](http://www.timesdispatch.com/news/lynchburg-s-ferry-festival-to-offer-rides-to-a-lucky/article_5fc39a02-)

might engage the public by discussing ferry design and construction, answering questions, outlining the importance of water transportation and ferry travel in Williamsburg and colonial Virginia, as well as reviewing the lifestyles, significance, and contributions of the Moodys as Williamsburg's only known ferrykeepers at Capitol Landing during the eighteenth century. Discussions of Capitol Landing's port activities, the military activities that occurred in and around Queen's Creek, as well as the Moodys' involvement and support of the war effort (plus the fate of their landholdings and businesses at the port) might also be presented.

In addition, another special seasonal program could re-enact public ferryboat rides on College Creek, once the ferryboat is complete. At the "Amazing Lynch Ferry Festival" (sponsored by Amazement Square in Lynchburg, Virginia),<sup>159</sup> members of the public were invited to ride on a reconstructed eighteenth-century ferryboat in order to experience what ferry travel was like. In this case, ferryboat rides might be performed by members of Colonial Williamsburg's staff – perhaps from its Department of African American Interpretation – who might represent enslaved ferrymen. These events would be held at College Landing Park on South Henry Street (the site of Williamsburg's second port community), where an easily accessible landing is available for the launching of watercraft, as well as a parking lot with adequate parking for a number of vehicles.

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1399-5374-9878-d1377171cf06.html?mode=print; Aimee Norton, "Lynch's Ferry Ready to Float," WLS10 News Channel, April 26, 2007, <http://www.wsls.com/story/20840531/lynchs-ferry-ready-to-float>; Amazement Square -The Rightmire Children's Museum website, "Outreach Events: Amazing Lynch's Ferry Festival," <http://www.amazementsquare.com/programs.php?p=p-festival>.

<sup>159</sup> See footnote #158 for information about the "Amazing Lynch's Ferry Festival" in April 2007.

### **Interpreting Williamsburg's Port Communities and Port Resident-Workers at Capitol Landing and College Landing**

This section recommends a few remaining projects that might be undertaken to enhance the public's recognition and awareness of the location, historical significance, maritime cultural landscape features, port-related activities, and port society of Williamsburg's former eighteenth-century port communities at Capitol Landing and College Landing, as well as how some of the ports' resident-workers and families – such as the Moody Family of ferrykeepers at Capitol Landing – contributed in various ways to the long-term maintenance, upkeep, and operation of the port's functions and services.

Williamsburg's eighteenth-century port sites at Capitol Landing and College Landing are good examples of vanished Tidewater maritime landscapes, despite their unique historical relevance as the two municipal port sites of Virginia's eighteenth-century colonial capital. While a number of historical research reports and archaeological reports have been produced to complement salvage archaeology efforts around Capitol Landing and College Landing (as discussed in Chapter One of this thesis), little public interpretation has been undertaken at the city's former port sites by either the City of Williamsburg, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, state of Virginia, or National Park Service (as of yet) to discuss the port social histories, port activities, or maritime cultural landscapes of Capitol Landing or College Landing. The former Capitol Landing port community and its residents are currently receiving no public interpretation of any kind, whether in the form of historical markers, outdoor exhibit signage, or the like. The City of Williamsburg's College Landing Park has a small plaque erected at the top of a stairwell on a hill above the park, but it is very general in nature as well as being out of

public view. Many park visitors probably miss it when driving by or strolling around the grassy lawns and creekside marshwalk of this former port landing site, and those with health problems may also elect to avoid the journey to the top of the stairs to see where it leads. Overall, something more should be done to bring the histories of the city's former eighteenth-century port communities to the public's attention.

In terms of a state-level public history project that might be advanced to better interpret Williamsburg's ports, an application should be filled out and submitted to Virginia's Department of Historic Resources in the hopes of receiving permission to erect a Virginia Historical Highway Marker alongside the eastern shoulder of Capitol Landing Road (heading northbound, just before crossing the bridge over Queen's Creek), at the former port site of Capitol Landing. In addition, a second Virginia Historical Highway Marker might be erected along the southbound shoulder of South Henry Street, just before making a right-hand turn into the entrance driveway that leads down to the parking lot and creekside location of the city-owned College Landing Park. Both sites have already been nominated into the Virginia Landmarks Register, and the sites of both highway markers would receive a lot of public exposure to drive-by traffic. The highway shoulders in these locations would also permit enough space for cars to pull off and safely park while reading the highway markers.<sup>160</sup>

In terms of a national-level public history project that might be advanced to publicly acknowledge the national significance of Williamsburg's ports, the former

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<sup>160</sup> Capitol Landing/Queen Mary's Port (44WB0005) was added to the Virginia Landmarks Register on June 21, 1977 (File #137-0056); College Landing (44WB0003) was added to the Virginia Landmarks Register on December 21, 1976 (File #137-0057). For more information, see the Virginia Department of Historic Resources website, "Virginia Landmarks Register/National Register of Historic Places Master List" (updated through DHR December 13, 2012 and NPS December 14, 2012 Announcements), accessed March 30, 2013, <http://www.dhr.virginia.gov/registers/RegisterMasterList.pdf>.

historic port site of Capitol Landing still awaits nomination to the National Register of Historic Places (though College Landing has already been approved for the National Register).<sup>161</sup> This is important as National Register status may help to preserve and protect this unique archaeological site and maritime cultural landscape from further alteration or damage, particularly if any building or redevelopment projects are proposed in the vicinity of Capitol Landing in the future (as one may already be in progress via the Mahone Family).

Finally, at the local city level, one final suggestion might be to develop an interpretive plan for College Landing Park that presents a variety of topics for display on a “reading rail” of exhibit signage along the marshwalk at College Landing. This marshwalk reading rail would be designed to withstand the environmental weathering of this riparian environment, and would interpret the site’s natural and historic maritime cultural landscape according to a few major topics. Discussion points would include the history of Williamsburg’s port development and settlement; the functional and civic roles of the port’s landowners and residents; activities relating to waterborne transportation and maritime trade (e.g. public ferries and tobacco inspection stations); site features of the port’s historic maritime cultural landscape that are still visible today; archaeological results of Carter Hudgins’ and Gregory Brown’s 1977 and 1986 excavations; as well as information relating to the port’s natural environment (e.g. its ecology, geology, hydrography, flora, and fauna). Funding in support of this project could be raised through local residents, students, businesses, grant writing, and city council members.

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<sup>161</sup> College Landing was nominated into the National Register of Historic Places on July 12, 1978. See the Virginia Department of Historic Resources website, “Virginia Landmarks Register/National Register of Historic Places Master List,” <http://www.dhr.virginia.gov/registers/RegisterMasterList.pdf>

## CONCLUSION

The social histories of Williamsburg's port-resident workers – people like the Moody Family, who lived and worked for over sixty years in Capitol Landing's port community on the maritime periphery of the city – have been consigned to the margins of the colonial capitol's scholarly history and public interpretation for far too long. Though prior scholars have stated that Williamsburg's port communities were “mainly populated by transients,”<sup>162</sup> the evidence presented in this thesis about the Moody Family is significant. Specifically, the unique details pertaining to each Moody member end up merging into a larger generalized portrait of a family whose residential permanence, key portside occupational services, and other community affairs likely helped to create a sense of community stability, social support, reliability, and connectedness amongst the port's residents and landowners, as well as for neighboring members of the Williamsburg, Bruton Parish, and adjoining York County plantation community. These general conclusions support a theory previously suggested by archaeologist Gregory Brown in his 1986 excavation report for College Landing (though it has never been explored or substantiated in any way until now), stating that:

*Certain individuals, of course, built or maintained homes near the landing, indicating some degree of stability... [and] ties to the neighborhood community, and to the larger social entity that made up Williamsburg, are to a great extent a function of permanency. A fully transient society, of course, would not be expected to maintain a powerful identity, whereas a stable, immobile society would establish strong and lasting bonds.*<sup>163</sup>

Whether due to the family's middling to upper-middling class social status, social connections, long-term family ties in York County, long-term occupational licenses at the

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<sup>162</sup> Brown, “Phase I and II Archaeological Investigations of the Port Anne Development, Williamsburg, Virginia,” 10.

<sup>163</sup> Brown, 10.



port, relative financial stability, landownership, homeownership, slave ownership, or a variety of other considerations, these factors allowed the Moodys to become intricately bound up within the larger social culture and surrounding landscapes of Williamsburg. In the process, they were able to participate and contribute more fully to the port's and city's settlement, transportation infrastructure and maintenance, commercial trade regulation, law enforcement, and other civic and community affairs in and around the port and Williamsburg throughout the eighteenth century. Members of the third generation of the family are even documented as contributing to important building and military defensive efforts going on around Williamsburg during the American Revolution.

Perhaps in the broadest sense, this evidence pertaining to the Moodys' lifeways supports (among other concepts) the notion that residential permanency, community stability, and the formation of "strong and lasting bonds" was not only possible, but was also apparent, among some long-term residents living amidst Capitol Landing's more highly transient port society. This adds a more nuanced depth, texture, and richness to a growing body of scholarship regarding Williamsburg's port residential population and occupational workforce. In the words of Gregory Brown in his 1986 study, he states that:

*...the College Landing excavation can be seen as an important study of lifeways on the margin between town and country, in a little understood area of James City County, and within an area of commercial activity that was vital to, yet separated from, the functions of the Capitol of the colony.<sup>164</sup>*

This statement points to the broader significance of this thesis within the disciplines of American Studies and public history. If studies like this one (that seek to explore the

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<sup>164</sup> Brown, 8. Though Brown's ideas refer to College Landing's port society and port residents, these concepts also generally apply to Capitol Landing and this research on the Moody Family.

social histories, interactions, and community contributions of lesser-known residential groups or occupational groups) are not pursued, we lose a unique opportunity to deepen our understanding of the potentially distinctive lifeways of people living along the margins or periphery of society. Furthermore, if these topics are not addressed, we also risk losing an opportunity to improve our knowledge of the maritime-oriented people, practices, and perspectives of Williamsburg's port society – some of whom we now know interacted in valuable ways within the urban and rural communities and environments surrounding them. Indeed, though the Moodys lived in a peripheral zone on the outskirts of Williamsburg, they were hardly peripheral members of the city's society and culture.

In sum, the scholarly consignment of port resident-landowners' lives and landscapes to the periphery needs to change, so as to bring these people and places back to the core of Williamsburg's scholarly and public history interpretation. In doing so, it seems possible that a greater awareness of the colonial capitol's dependence and reliance upon its port communities and port workers may also be reawakened in the city's public audiences, allowing for an even more inclusive and dramatic theatre of life and landscape to emerge in the scholarship and public history programming of eighteenth-century Williamsburg.

It is hoped that this thesis research will stimulate further dialogue into the identities, social histories, functions, community relationships, and significance of Williamsburg's port landscapes and maritime-oriented people. This study attempts to “bridge the divide” between the scholarship of Williamsburg's urban landscape and populace with the landscapes, activities, and port residential community of the city's “periphery” at Capitol Landing. Future research still remains to be done, however. A

complete social profile and analysis of Williamsburg's lot owners and residents still needs to be completed, determining how these individuals collectively lived, worked, interacted with, adapted, and utilized this waterfront landscape throughout the eighteenth century. Synthesized written biographies still need to be compiled for each port resident and landowner, analyzing their functions and contributions to the port, Williamsburg, and further afield. A complete analysis and detailed statistical breakdown of the socio-cultural, economic, and political demographics of Capitol Landing's residents (showing change over time) needs to be undertaken to better understand how these residents' lives compare to those of Williamsburg as a whole, as well as those living in other port communities such as Yorktown and its waterfront residents "under the hill."

Our understanding of the community of landowners and residents located on and around Queen's Creek would also benefit from further study in the same ways.<sup>165</sup> Deeper inquiry into the social networks binding Capitol Landing's lotowners and residents with those of Capitol Landing Road and the Queen's Creek area should also be pursued, as my data collection regarding the Moody Family and the neighboring areas surrounding them indicates that many of the individuals living in these locales interacted with each other in business, neighborly, and kinship relationships; though the extent, depth, and distance of these connections and social networks vary and require further study.

In terms of research limitations, it is important to raise a special point. Due to the narrow focus of this research on the Moody Family, it should be stated that this thesis does not presume to make "blanket assumptions" (or even suggest that broad or definitive conclusions can or should be made) about Williamsburg's or Capitol Landing's port

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<sup>165</sup> For scholars interested in researching any Williamsburg-area water transportation providers or maritime-oriented workers identified during the course of this study (but existing outside the scope of this research), please see Appendix C for further discussion.

residents or port society based merely on the evidence of this singular three-generational case study. Indeed, given the limited scope of this thesis, the research presented here barely scratches the surface of a variety of questions and topics that not only require, but beg, for more extensive examination and analysis.

Therefore, as there are indeed other port residents and landowners known at Capitol Landing – some of whom have documentary records that are extensive enough to support further in-depth research – it is hoped that this study may serve as a framework against which other individualized case studies of port residents may be developed and compared. With more extensive study, it may eventually become possible to compile and present a more comprehensive biographical and social profile of Capitol Landing’s port residents, landowners, and workers for closer examination and analysis.

In the event of additional archaeological investigations at Capitol Landing, more exciting material evidence about Capitol Landing’s port society, landscape, and activities will also undoubtedly be discovered. In the process, it may become possible for researchers to more effectively and comprehensively incorporate these findings into Williamsburg’s larger body of scholarship and public history programming, in the hopes that a more inclusive historical interpretation of the integrated nature of maritime and terrestrial life, society, and landscape will not only be revealed in Williamsburg, but also around Tidewater Virginia and the Chesapeake as well.

As we look toward the future, this research study and its applied concept proposals tie in loosely with larger state, national, and global revitalization efforts to research and present local maritime heritage, waterfront workers, and maritime-oriented

society to the public.<sup>166</sup> The maritime cultural landscapes of our nation’s “working waterfronts” – including the stories of waterfront workers, landowners, and residents, natural and human-built environments, as well as the specialized activities and events that took place in these maritime-oriented sites – are currently undergoing a revival of increased public attention, scholarly study, and private and public preservation efforts in recent years. Archaeological remnants of port landscapes, buildings, and people continue to be discovered, excavated, and recorded. Public buildings and private vernacular structures along waterfronts are being restored, repurposed, and returned to service. Historical records, photographic and object collections, and oral histories of past and present waterfront workers, shore-based residents, and waterfront communities are being compiled, researched, preserved, and interpreted by museums, universities, historical and genealogical societies, and other organizations around the country. Little by little, the historical significance of waterfront people and the landscapes they inhabited – like the Moodys of Capitol Landing – are being revealed, restored, and returned to the collective memory and community consciousness of the American public.

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<sup>166</sup> Evidence of a growing trend in maritime cultural landscape studies has become apparent through an increasing volume of academic scholarship over the past fifteen years. Maritime social and labor history studies have also advanced in the last fifteen years or so beyond the popular (and traditional) emphasis on deep-sea maritime work and voyaging, and have begun to explore the integrated maritime and terrestrial nature of sailors’ lives (not only on board, but also onshore). Research has also commenced into the diverse shore-based social histories and lifestyles of coastal communities and other types of waterfront workers and port community residents. Increasing interest in maritime environments, coastal community studies, and the nature of waterfront work is also evidenced by the increasing frequency of annual conference themes and panel sessions on these topics over the past five to ten years, hosted by a number of professional organizations, governmental agencies, and academic institutions around the globe (especially in the United States and Europe, with a heavy emphasis in Scandinavia and the UK). In addition, community- and government-led public history efforts are continuing to gain momentum around the world. Local citizens, in combination with museums, historic sites, research organizations, and a variety of city, state, and federal agencies are working together to preserve, restore, document, and interpret maritime-oriented landscapes, historical and modern “working waterfronts,” and the archival and oral histories of waterfront workers and residents living in coastal environments.

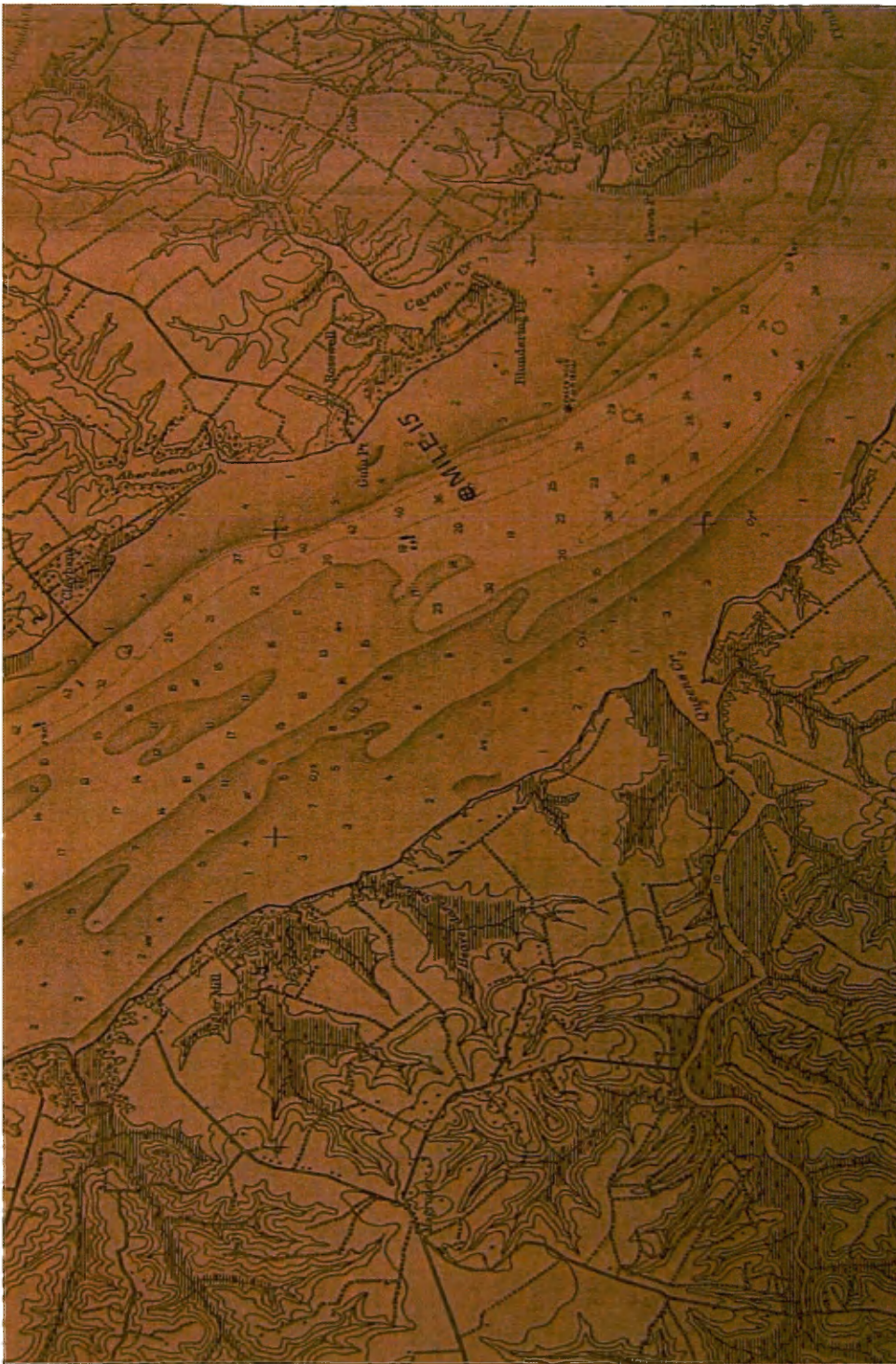
## APPENDIX A



**Figure 9.** “A new map of Virginia, Mary-land, and the improved parts of Pennsylvania & New Jersey” by John Senex, 1719. This map and the Augustine Herrman map of 1673 (see figure 5 in this thesis) are the only two maps identified by this author that denote “Clay Banke Creek,” the approximate location of the ferry terminus from Queen Mary’s Port (Capitol Landing) to Gloucester County. “Clay Banke Cr.” is on the north side of York River, west of “Karter’s Creek” and across from “Queens Creek.” (Source: Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, Washington, D.C, Call # G3790 1719. S4; LOC catalog # 2007625604).



**Figure 10.** “Preliminary chart of York River, from Entrance to King’s Creek, and King’s Creek to West Point,” 1857-1858, by A.D. Bache, U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. This view depicts the route the Capitol Landing ferry would have taken in the eighteenth century from the Capitol Landing bridge (upper left), down Queen’s Creek, and across York River to Clay Bank Creek (presumably Aberdeen Creek today). The modern-day “Clay Bank” place name is marked just above Aberdeen Creek. (Source: John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Special Collections, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Map # MP/01/1857-8?/71.6a-d; original in the National Archives).

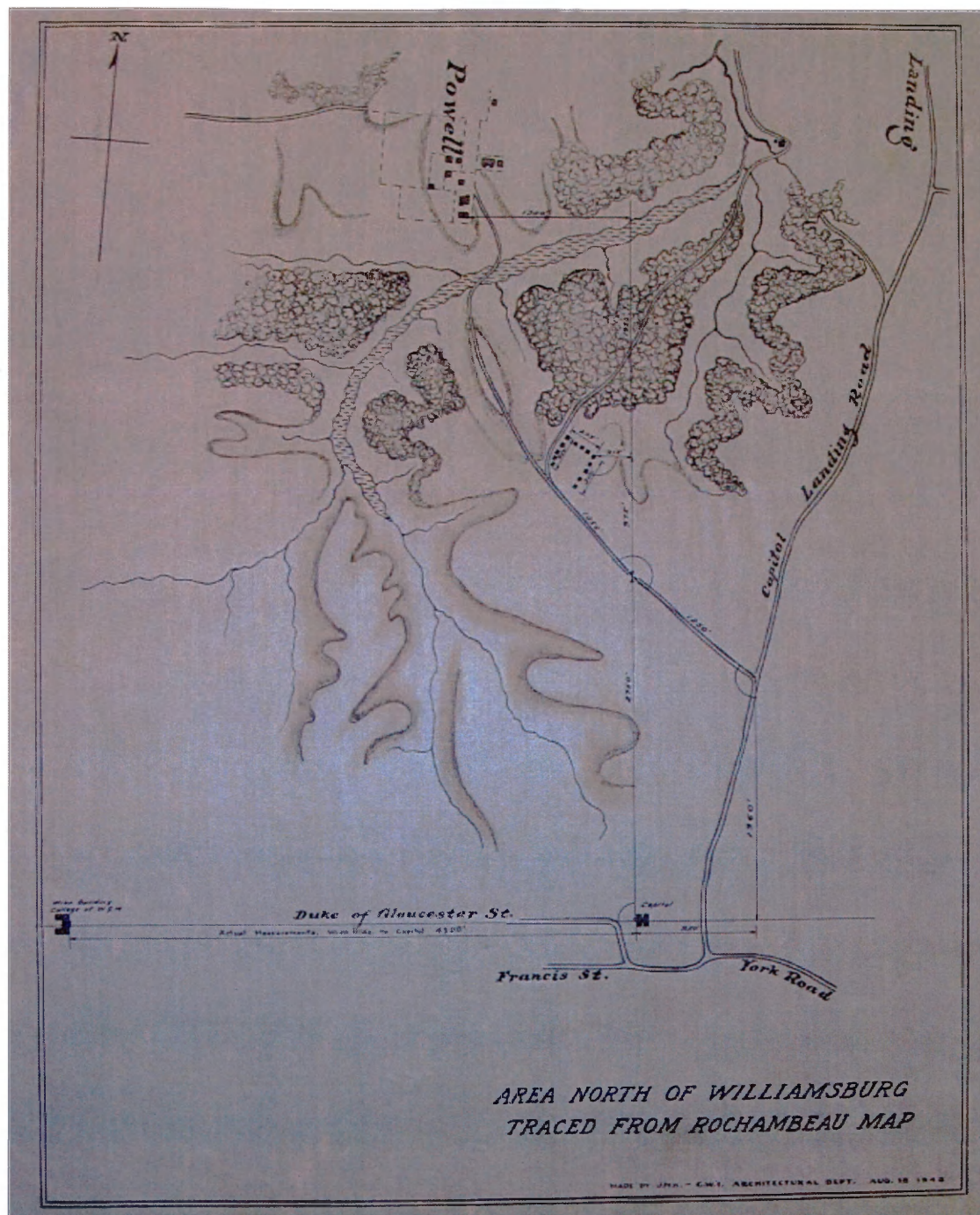


**Figure 11.** “Detail of 1912 mileage map of York River (Yorktown to West Point),” by U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. This map depicts the route the Capitol Landing ferry would have traveled from Capitol Landing at the head of Queen’s Creek (bottom left), down to the mouth of Queen’s Creek, and across the York River to Clay Bank Creek (presumably Aberdeen Creek today), northwest of Carter’s Creek. (Source: John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Special Collections, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Map # MP/01/1912/2001.63).





**Figure 12.** “Armée de Rochambeau, 1782: Carte des Environs de Williamsburg en Virginie où les Armées Française et Américaine ont Campés en Septembre 1781,” by Jean Nicolas Desandroüins. Produced by a cartographer in the army of French General Rochambeau, this map detail of Capitol Landing is part of a larger map of Williamsburg and its surroundings prior to the Siege at Yorktown. Local topography features a mixed landscape of cleared and wooded land, marshland, and Queen’s Creek (with its original oxbow, as well as the newly dredged channel at the landing). Also featured are the port’s causeway and two bridges, Capitol Landing Road, and a few structures around Capitol Landing (presumably of military interest or importance), including the location of a Continental Army piquet (“20”) at the port. Since Philip Moody was involved in the building of many military structures around Williamsburg, he may have helped construct the two structures noted at this piquet (though it is uncertain whether these buildings were erected for military use or if they were already in existence at this time). These structures may have once belonged to the Moodys (as they are in the approximate location of Matthew Moody, Sr.’s former 30-acre landholding next to the port), but this is purely speculative. (Source: Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, Washington, D.C.; Call # G3884.W5S3 1781.D4; LOC Catalog #: gm 71002174).



**Figure 13.** “Area north of Williamsburg, traced from Rochambeau map, 1781” (re-drawn by a Colonial Williamsburg draftsman in 1942). Depicts the large Continental Army troop barracks built by Philip Moody off Capitol Landing Road to the left, just before Capitol Landing. (Source: John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Special Collections, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Map # MP/00/1781?/2000.47).



**Figure 14.** “Position of the Combined Army Under Command of Major General Marquis de la Fayette from the 8<sup>th</sup> to 26<sup>th</sup> September, 1781.” This map detail depicts Capitol Landing Road and the Continental Army piquet situated on the left side of the road at Capitol Landing, overlooking Queen’s Creek. The road beyond Queen’s Creek bridge is also depicted, jogging eastward to Travis Point on the York River, where a Continental Army “Observation Post” was also located. It is possible that Philip Moody may have helped build military structures associated with Continental army piquet and observation post in this area. (Source: John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Special Collections, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Map # MP/00/1781/2001.152; original in French National Archives, Source technique du genie, carte #74).



**Figure 15.** “Plans des differents camps occupés par L’ Armee aux ordres de M<sup>a</sup> Le Comte De Rochambeau,” 1781, by Louis-Alexandre Berthier. This map detail of General Rochambeau’s Continental Army camp at Williamsburg depicts another view of the Continental Army troop barracks near Capitol Landing which Philip Moody helped build (about halfway down Capitol Landing Road on the left, down a sideroad in a clearing). This map also shows the piquet stationed at Capitol Landing, seemingly noted by a shaded rectangle, which Philip Moody may also have helped build, though this is only speculation. (Source: John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Special Collections, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Map # MP/00/1781/61.240; original in Private Collection of Count de Longvilliers, Chateau de Rochambeau).



**Figure 16.** “Position, a Williamsburg de l’Armee Combinee aux Ordres des Generale Washington, et Rochambeau...,” October 1781, by Major Michel Capitaine du Chesnoy. This map detail clearly depicts an oxbow in Queen’s Creek at Capitol Landing with two bridges and a causeway built over the creek. A military “Poste” is also pictured to the left of Capitol Landing Road at Capitol Landing, overlooking the creek. It is possible that Philip Moody may have built a military structure here, though this is only speculation. (Source: John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Special Collections, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Map # MP/00/1781/1961.226; original in the Bibliothèque National, Paris, France).

No. 125.  
Form of the Declarations for Assurance.

I the undersigned Philip Moody residing at Williamsburg in the County of Stafford do hereby declare for Assurance in the Mutual Assurance Society against Fire on Buildings of the State of Virginia, established the 16th December, 1792.

The said Buildings are The Tavern situated at Williamsburg now occupied by John Brown situated between the street of St. James and that of St. James in the County of Stafford. Their dimensions, Situation and contiguity to other buildings or wharves, what the walls are built of, and what the buildings are covered with, are specified in the returns annexed description of the said Buildings on the plat, signed by me and the appraisers, and each valued by them as appears by their certificate hereunto, to wit:

The Tavern marked A.	at 1120	Dollars, say	One thousand & Twenty Dollars
The Room marked B.	at 120	do.	one hundred & Twenty do.
The Kitchen do. C.	at 120	do.	one hundred & Twenty do.
The Stable do. D.	at 120	do.	one hundred & Twenty do.
The do. E.	at 120	do.	one hundred & Twenty do.
The do. F.	at 1500	do.	do.
The do. G.	at 44	do.	do.

by Fifteen hundred Dollars in all.

I do hereby declare and affirm that the above mentioned property is not, nor shall be insured elsewhere, without giving notice thereof, agreeably to the public, that may issue in my name, upon the filing of this declaration, and provided the whole sum does not exceed four-fifths of the verified value, and that I will abide by, observe, and adhere to the Constitution, Rules, and Regulations as are already established, or may hereafter be established by a majority of the insured, persons in person, or by representatives, at a general Meeting to be agreed upon for the said Assurance Society. Witness my hand and seal at Williamsburg the 19th day of Apr 1796.

Philip Moody Tall

WE the undersigned, being each of us Hoops-Owners, declare and affirm that we have examined the above mentioned property of Philip Moody and that we are of opinion that it would not in all Three thousand & Sixty Dollars to build the same, and agree actually worth one thousand four hundred Dollars in ready money, and will contribute the sum as above specified to the best of our knowledge and belief.

James Tall  
Wm. Piggot  
Wm. Bryson

The foregoing valuation given to me in due form before me, Richard for the said City of Williamsburg Given under my hand this 20th day of April in the year 1796.

Richard  
Richard Alden

Eagle Tavern wood house  
57 feet by 24 feet

Room B  
20 by 16 feet

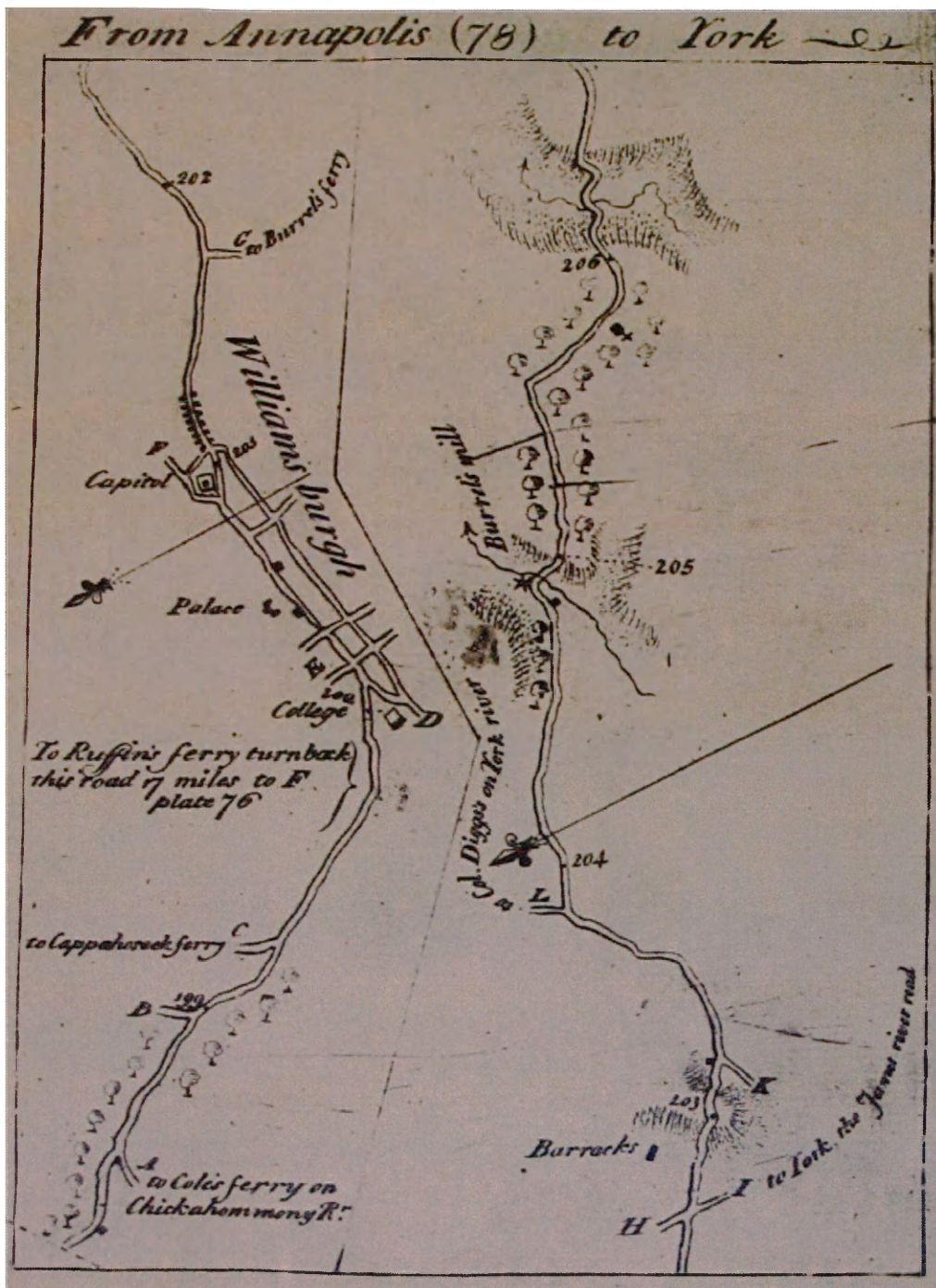
within 12 feet

wood kitchen  
20 by 16 feet

Stable wood  
55 feet by 28

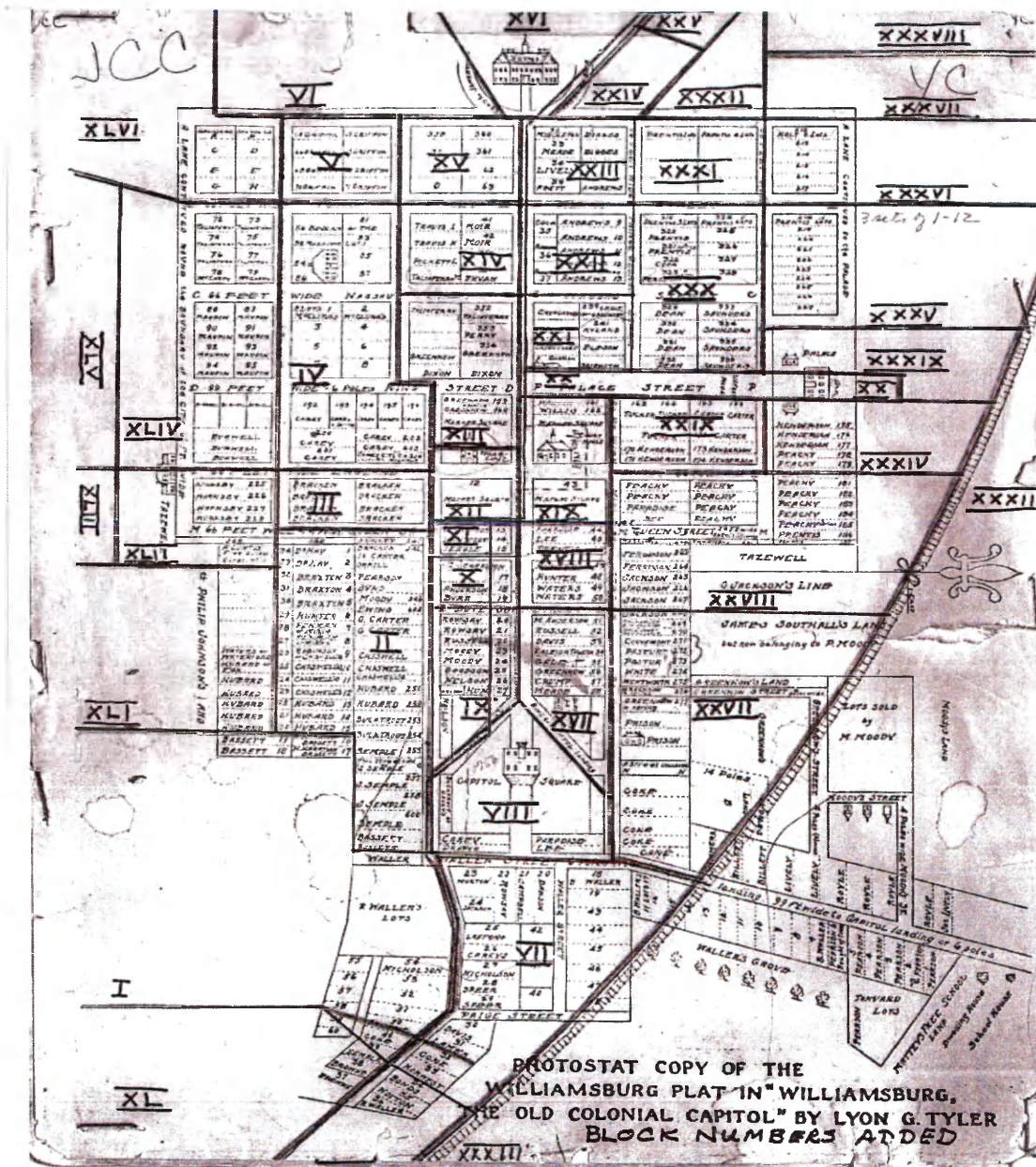
Figure 17. "No. 125 Form of the Declarations for Assurance," 1796, by the Mutual Assurance Society. This insurance paperwork was drawn up for Philip Moody's Eagle Tavern, formerly the King's Arms. (Source: John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Special Collections, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Photostat # PH69; original on microfilm at the Library of Virginia).



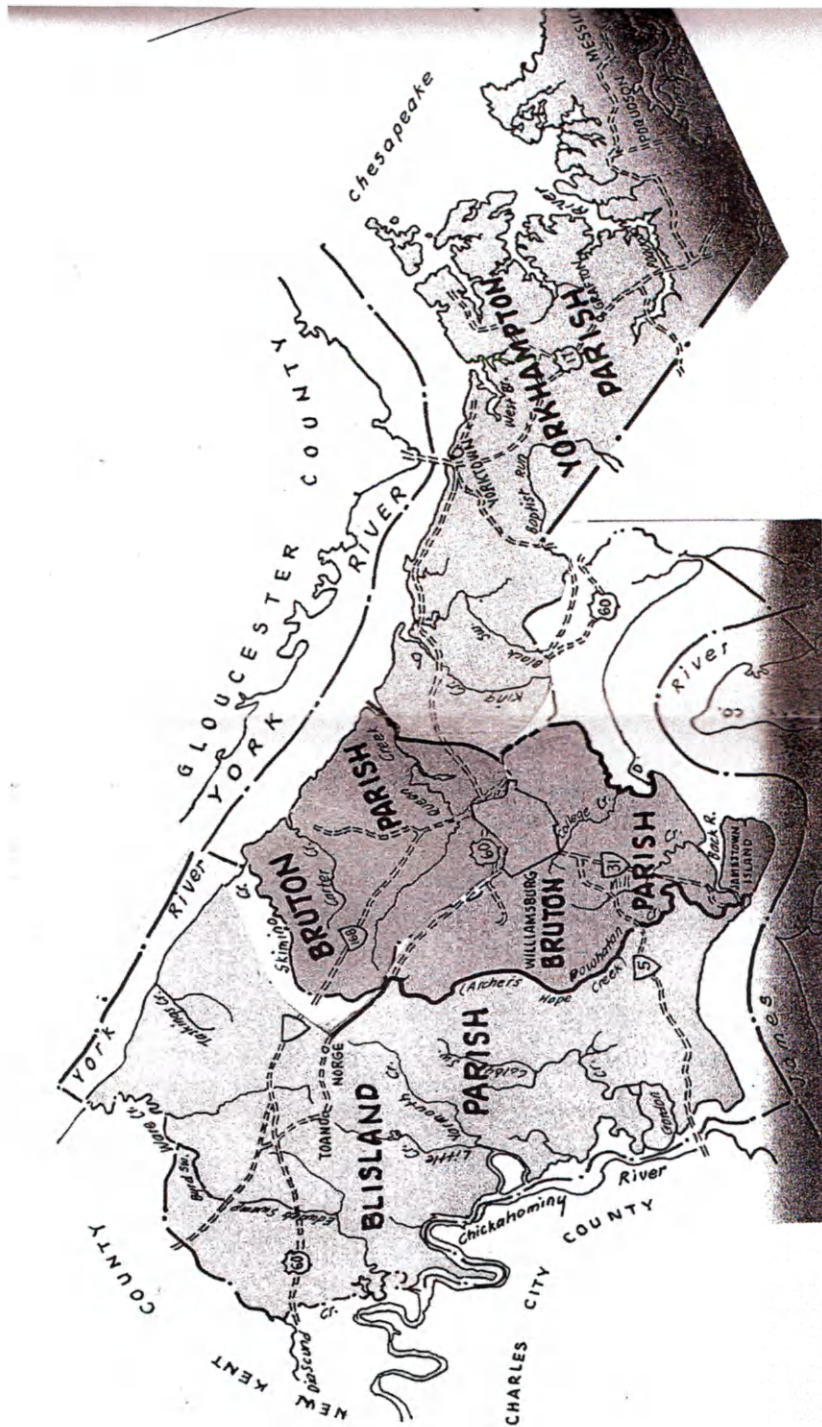


**Figure 19.** Plate 78 of *A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America*, 1789, by Christopher Colles. This map, part of a guidebook for travelers, depicts traveling directions through Williamsburg for a journey from Annapolis to York. Though not specified, letter F on this plate appears to be Capitol Landing Road, extending to the left behind the Capitol building, toward Capitol Landing. (Source: John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Special Collections, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Map # MP/04/1789/61.288.61.299; original in the Library of Congress).





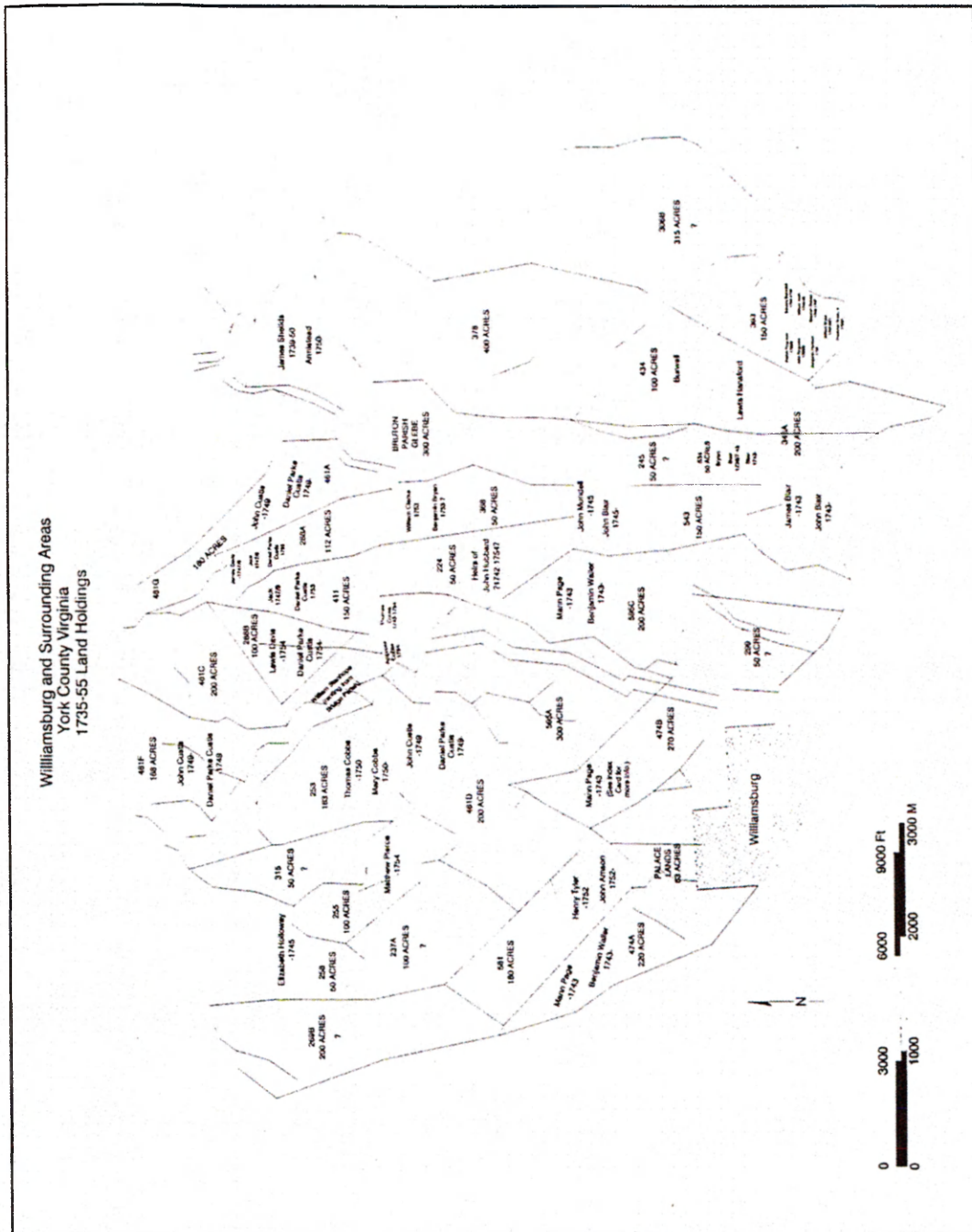
**Figure 20.** Modern reproduction of the 1792 Benjamin Bucktrout plat of Williamsburg (entitled “Photostat copy of the Williamsburg Plat in ‘Williamsburg, the Old Colonial Capitol,’ by Lyon G. Tyler, block numbers added”). This map depicts Capitol Landing Road and the “Moody Subdivision” area to the lower right (west of Capitol Landing Road). Modern-day railroad tracks are also featured, which run through part of the former subdivision. Colonial Williamsburg’s Bruton Heights Educational Center now occupies a large swath of Matthew Moody, Sr.’s historic subdivision – approximately where “Lots Sold by M. Moody” and “Moody’s Land” are indicated on the plat. (Source: Visual Resources Collection, Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).



**Figure 21.** Map of parishes and parish lines in and around eighteenth-century Williamsburg. (Source: Charles Francis Cocke, *Parish Lines, Diocese of Southern Virginia* [Richmond, VA: Virginia State Library, 1964], 272; courtesy of the Library of Virginia).







**Figure 24.** Map of landowners and land parcels, 1735-1755, around Williamsburg's Capitol Landing in York County, VA. The central zig-zagging double line represents Capitol Landing Road, leading to Capitol Landing (located in center of picture), while Queen's Creek is represented by the zig-zagging double line in the upper right. (Source: Lorena Walsh, et al, "Provisioning Early American Towns. The Chesapeake: A Multidisciplinary Case Study, Final Performance Report" [Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1997], 395).



## APPENDIX B

**Table 1. Inventory of Estate of Giles Moody, 16 February 1730**

An Inventory &amp; appraisement of the Estate of Giles Moody decd:

**Store Room**

25 Gallons Rum @ 3/	£3.15.-
10 lb. Hopps @ 1/	-.15.-
4 large Stone butter potts	-.14.-
pcell. small butter pots	-.4.6
4 Stone Juggs 6/. 3 Carboys 15/	1.1.-
Pcell. Case bottles, Stone bowls & stone & earthenware	-.15.-
pr. Garden Shears, old warming pang, old Scales & [illegible]	-.10.-
Box with a pcell. of pipes	-.15.-
Stilliards Lanthorn & Lumber	-.12.6
5 lb. Wool @ 12d	-.5.-
pcell. of Nails of sevl. sorts	1.12.6
41 lb. old Iron	-.3.5.

**Little Room**

1 feather bed bolster blanket Quilt bedstead Cord & hide	4.-.-
One old black dressing Glass	-.4.-
1 Oval Table Trunk 2 Chairs, hearth brush and Comb	-.2.-

**Back Room**

1 feather bed bolster silk rugg, cotton curtains and vallins bedstead Cord and hide	3.-.-
Old table 3 Chairs, Chest Trunk & Brush	-.10.-

**Back Shedd**

2 mens saddles &c	1.10.-
pcel. feathers	1.10.-
Lumber	
Some Salt in a barrel	-.5.-

**Chamber**

1 feather bed bolster 4 pillows rugg blanket Curtains and Vallins, bedstead Cord & hide	8.-.-
a Desk	1.-.-
Oval table 6 Chairs & pr. bellows	1.-.-
3 table Cloths 7 napkins 5 Towels 6 pillowbrs	1.5.-

**Above Stairs**

2 feather beds 2 bolsters rugg Curtans & vallens bedstead & hide	8.-.-
1 old table 2 old Chairs & a table of drawers	-.16.-
a Violin	[illegible]
1 old feather bed bolster rugg blanket Curtains & vallens bedstead Cord & Hide	3.-.-
Trussel a bolster and old Chair	-.7.6
Woms. Saddle & furniture	5.-.-
a red Do.	2.10.-

**Kitchen**

49 ½ lb. old pewter @ 12d	2.9.6
50 ½ better do. @ 14d.	2.18.11
a pewter Still	-.17.6
46 lb. old brass @ 12d	2.6.-
1 brass [Bowl?] and Cover	1.-.-
a Skillet 2 Candlesticks 1 Snuff dish drudging box Copper Chocolat pot & Sauce pan	-.13.-
Spice mortar and old bellmetal	-.1.6
3 Candle moulds	-.3.-
4 Iron pots	1.5.-
2 pot racks and a hook 5/ old Iron Kettel 5/	-.10.-
3 Spits, 1 dripping pan, flesh fork, fish kettle, Cleaver Gridiron, frying pan and trowel	1.3.-
Old firdogs, Shovel, tongs, pestle, broad ax 2 naro. hoes	-.17.6
4 Cart hoops and old Iron	-.7.-



4 pails and other wooden ware	-6.-
Stone Jugg pot a d earthen pans	-5.-
pcell. knives and forks	-7.6
Search Sifter & lumber	-3.-
<b>Hall</b>	
1 Scratore 40/ 2 tables 17/6 5 Chairs 18/ 1 looking glass 18/ pcell. Glass ware 8/	4.18.6
A China bowl 2 small Do. cups & sausers	1.10.-
A Silver Watch	£ 3.10.-
Money Scales and weights	-10.-
19 ozn.10 pwt. plated @ 5/6	5.7.6
3 ozn. 19 pwt. old Do. 4/	-15.9
a pcell. of books	1.6.-
Cash	1.19.7
1 Razor [Hone?] & other small things	-7.6
<b>Cellar</b>	
1 ½ Gross bottles	1.10.-
4 dozn. Madera Wine	3.-.-
2 dozn. Cyder	-10.-
5 bottles beer	-3.9
A Wine pipe & Chicken Coop	-12.6
<b>Without</b>	
a Grey Gelding	10.-.-
10 barrows	£4.-.-
5 Sows	1.15.-
10 Shoats	1.5.-
2 horses a mare and Colt	7.-.-
17 Cows @ 25/	21.5.-
4 Steers	4.5.-
1 do. 3 years	1.-.-

10 2 years old @ 12/6	6.5.-
2 yearlings	-12.-
	33.7.-
a 12 hhd. Flatt	5.-.-
a Cart and harness	3.10.-
a small Cart a plough and X cut Saw	-12.6
a pr. of Oyster tongs	-9.-
16. 50 lb. weights and other small weights	4.-.-
Old Grind Stone	-2.-
a parcel of damaged hides	-5.-
a bucket and rope	-5.-
2 Casks	-5.-
Casar a negro man	35.-.-
George Do	30.-.-
Phillis Negro	<u>15.-.-</u>
	253.15.5
	½

In obedience to an order of York County Court we the Subscribers being first sworn did meet & appraise the Estate of Giles Moody decd. amounting as by the above accot. to Two hundred fifty three pounds fifteen shils. and five pence half penny.

Witness our hands this 16th. day of January 1729/30.

Joseph Davenport

Ralph Graves

Robert Crawley

At a Court held for York County Feby. 16th. 1729/30 This Inventory & appraisement of the Estate of Giles Moody decd. was presented in Court by Mary Moody the Adminrix. and admitted to Record.

Test. Phi: Lightfoot Cl. Cur.

Creation of machine-readable version:

Wayne Graham

Creation of digital images:

Conversion to TEI.2-conformant markup:

Wayne Graham

Revised by

York County Wills & Inventories 17, 1729-1732, pp. 34-37

The digital version has been made from transcripts on file in the Department of Historical Research, CWF.

THIS DOCUMENT WAS TRANSCRIBED AND THEN EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL. ELECTRONIC TRANSCRIPTS ARE NOT LEGAL RECORDS OF THE CLERK OF THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE COUNTY OF YORK, VIRGINIA.

December 2000

Wayne Graham

Staff

Transcription editing

**Table 2. Tavern account for Queen's Creek resident and Capitol Landing neighbor, James Morris, carpenter, at Giles Moody's tavern, 1 March 1716 – 5 December 1717.** Food and beverages listed here are wine, lemonade, flip, rum, cider, cherry rum, oysters, madeira (wine), punch, and gin. Other tavern customers listed here are William Babb, Cunningham, Blanch, Kindall (Kendall), Finigan, Mr. Jackson, Ogilby, and Druitt (Drewitt). Kendall, Jackson, and Drewitt were Queen's Creek-area residents, and Drewitt was a Capitol Landing lotowner. Cunningham was a local ordinary keeper in Williamsburg. **NOTE:** In historian Patricia Gibb's Master's thesis, "Taverns in Tidewater Virginia, 1700-1774" (pg. 102), this tavern account record is misattributed as belonging to Capt. Graves Packe instead of Giles Moody. Rather, Graves Packe proved this record – presumably as a witness and as a York County justice. The separate notation (included at the bottom of this entry) repeats that the account was between James Morris and Giles Moody. Interestingly, Gibbs states that this 1716 record is the first account of a "Club" in a tavern in Williamsburg, with the next "Club" being listed in another tavern account in 1725.

<b>Record</b>	<b>Full Description</b>		
Jones Family Papers, "James Morris of James City County, Carpenter, Estate Account." Pre-1743. Pg. 75. Microfilm# M-1397.1 in the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Special Collections, Williamsburg Foundation.	<b>James Morris Dec 1716</b>		
		£ . §. d	
	Mar ye 1	To 3 bottles of wine and a [Diet?] wth [illegible]...5.6	
		To a bot[l] of Lomonad for yr wife.....1.0	
	Mar 18	To mugs of flip for yr [wife?].....1.3	
	Mar 24	To a Pint of Rum.....1.0	
	Mar 28	To 3 mugs of flip wth Wm Babb.....1.10 ½	
		To 2 half Pints of Rum.....1.0	
	Apr 2	To 3 half Pints of Rum.....1.6	
	Apr 8	To your Club wth Cu[nn?]ingham and Blanch.....1.0	
		To braking a glass.....0.[7?]. ½	
	May 12	To a [hand vise?].....3.0	
		To 2 qts of sider with Kindall.....0.7 ½	
	May 15	To ½ a pint of Rum.....0.6	
	July 5	To your Club wth Finigan.....4.2	
		To [illegible] to Finigan.....4.2	
	July 10	To [Mandy?] wanting in a Bottle of Rum.....0.6 ½	
	July 14	To four bolos [bowl?] of Punch.....2.6	
	July 30	To a quart of Rum.....1.3	
	Sept 22	To 2 mugs of Sider.....1.3 ½	
	Oct 12	To half a Pint of Cherry Rum.....0.4 ½	
		To oysters with Mr Jacson.....0.4 ½	
	Nov 14	To a Pint of wine with [Chop?] with [Grooms?].....1.3	
		<b>1717</b>	
	Mar 14	To a mug of flip.....0.7 ½	
	May 17	To 5 bottles of meddara and mug of flip.....10.3 ½	
	May 20	To 2 bolos of Punch.....2.0	

May 22	To a bolo of Punch.....	0.7 ½
June 4	To 2 bolos of Punch wth Ogilby.....	2.0
Sept 22	To 2 half Pints of Rum.....	1.0
Nov 27	To 2 half Pints of Rum and 2 quarts [gin?].....	1.7 ½
Dec 4	To 4 quarts of [gin?] with Druitt.....	1.3
Dec 5	To 3 half pints of Rum.....	£1.0
		02.15.8 4/5
Errors Excepted pr Mr G Moody		
This acct was provd before me March 9 <sup>th</sup> 1718		
Graves Packe		
[Separate receipt]		
Morris		
His Act		
G Moody		
£2.15.[?] ¾		

**Table 3a. Remarks concerning nuncupative will of Giles Moody, 17 November 1729.**

<b>Record</b>	<b>Full Description</b>
<p>York County Records, DOW(17)7-8</p> <p>From York County Project Master Biographical Files, Dept. of Training &amp; Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.</p>	<p>Name: Giles Moody</p> <p>Residence: York County</p> <p>Married: Mary Moody</p> <p>Probated: 17 Nov 1729</p> <p>Ref: DOW(17)7-8, nuncupative (will apparently lost)</p> <p>Legatees: Mary Moody (wife), Matthew Moody (son), Philip Moody (son), Mary Moody (daughter), Anne Moody (daughter). Deponents: Mary Moody, Joseph Davenport. Executor/Administrator: Mary Moody &amp; John Holloway – not held to give security &amp; Estate not be appraised.</p> <p>Remarks: nuncupative Will – Giles Moody: (1) Wife Mary should have whole Estate during her life if she remain a widow; but if she should marry, then she should pay (if she contd in the possession of the houses) £5.0.0 per annum to son Philip for 10 yrs. After her decease the houses &amp; lots should descend to son Matthew, who was to pay the sd £50.0.0 to Philip, or so much as remained unpaid at her decease, wch payments were to be made by £25.0.0 to Philip when he comes of age, and the rest at £5.0.0 p annum; After the death of Matthew the houses and lots were to go to Philip for life, then to the male issue of Matthew, and in default the male issue of Philip. (2) To his daughter Mary (after his wife's decease) his Negro Slave George, and if she should die without heirs of her body, then to Matthew &amp; his heirs; and to Philip his Negro Slave Cesar, and in case he should die w/out lawful heirs then to his daughter Anne. And further his daughters while sole might not be destitute of a place of abode should have free use of the Chamber next to the Kitchen. That the personal Estate after the wife's decease should be equally divided among the children. (3) If his wife should marry then three diff persons were to be chosen by his wife and son Matthew or some other of the children who were to divide the whole Estate into equal parts and to assign and deliver them to his wife and children. (4) The Subscriber (Joseph Davenport) having been employed by Giles Moody to write his Will did take the [illegible] from his own mouth and do believe that within writing contains the whole purport of the Will.</p>

**Table 3b. “Interrogatories put to Matthew Moody pursuant to the Order of York County the 7<sup>th</sup> of February 1729” concerning the nuncupative will of Giles Moody, 17 August 1730.**

Record	Full Description
<p>York County Records, OW(17)102-103</p> <p>From York County Project Master Biographical Files, Dept. of Training &amp; Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.</p>	<p>Interrogatories put to Matthew Moody pursuant to the Order of York County [torn] the 7<sup>th</sup> of Feb 1729.</p> <p>When did you see your father’s Will before or [after his] death and where did you see the same? He said that his father sent him [to Jos.] Davenport for the paper which contained his last Will [torn] delivered the same to his father who signed and sealed it [torn] the Deponent [illegible] after his father’s death he [found the] said Will in [torn] among other papers and took it [torn] read it, but did [torn] into the said drawer, but buried [torn] hole shich [torn] did find the place since nor has [torn] saith he will look for it. [Can you] remember the contents of the sd Will? He saith he remembers his father gave his houses and lands to [his wife] during her life, and after her decease to this deponent [torn]ing to his brother five pounds a year for ten years And after [the] deponent’s Decease the sd Land and houses were to go to his [bro]ther; but he doth not remember whether the devise was to his [bro]ther, if he the Depont should leave issue, or only in case he died without issues But he remembers that if the depont’s mother [should] marry she was to pay the five pounds a year to his brother [illegible] of the ten years as she should thereafter hold the sd houses and Lands after his brother’s coming of age. Sworn to by Matthew Moody before Jn Holloway Aug 4<sup>th</sup> 1730. –Matthew Moody.</p>

**Table 4. Inventory of estate of Matthew Moody, 21 August 1775**

In Obedience to an Order of the Worshipful Court of York bearing date the \_\_\_ day of July 1775 We the Subscribers being first sworn did appraise in Current Money the Slaves and personal Estate of Matthew Moody decd as follows

Joe a Negro Man £80 Jupiter £20, Rachel £32 Philis	132..0..0
1 Bay Mare £2 1 Black Ditto £15 1 Horse £20	37..10..0
21 Sheep (three Young)	10..10..0
2 Yoke Oxen £20 1 Steer £4..10 4 Cows £12	36..10..0
1 Sow and 6 Shoats	3..0..0
1 Riding Chair and Harness	3..0..0
1 Ox Cart 2 Yokes and a Chair £4 2 Horse Carts &c. £5	9..0..0
1 Table 10/ a Chest and old Iron 10/ 1 pr Stilyards and 3 Roap Hooks 5/	1..5..0
1 Tea Chest 1/3 1 Lott old silver 30/	1..11..3
4 Wine Glasses 2/ 1 pr. Brass Candlesticks 2/6	..4..6
5 pewter Dishes and 4 Plates 10/ 1 Queen China Dish & 6 plates 5/	..15..0
2 Stone Water Juggs 5/ 1 Tea Board 5/ 1 Caster 2/6	..12..6
1 China Bowl 5/ 1 Stone Pott 2/6	..7..6
1 Skillet, Trevit, Mortar, 1 pr. Scales and a pr. Sheep Shares	..5..0
1 old Chest, Screen &c. 10/ 1 Bed and a pr. Blankets 60/	3..10..-
a parcel Feathers 20/ 28 lb Wool 17/6	1..17..6
1 large Iron Pott, Hooks, Rack, frying Pan &c.	1..10..0
a Still and a Bell Metal Skillet	1..10..-
2 Sives, 1 Half Bushel, and 2 Wooden Pales	..8..0
1 Large Copper £4 1 Dutch Oven and flat Iron 2/6	4..2..6
29 Prints 60/ 1 large looking Glass 40/	5..-..-
1 smaller ditto 5/ 2 large Oval Tables 70/	3..15..-
2 small ditto 30/ a Corner Table 10/ 1 square ditto 10/	2..10..-
1 ditto 5/ 1 old Desk and Book Case 50/	2..15..-
1 old Desk 30/ 26 Leather bottom Chairs £7	8..10..-
1 Groce Bottles 30/ 2 Old Harrows 7/6 1 Bedstead 12/6	2..10..-



1 Boat £8 1 Paint Stone &c 7/6	8..7..6
The Crop of Corn as it stands £20 1 Sein 52/6	22..12..6
1 pr money scales and Weights	..2..6
1 Cask Perry	7..-..-
1 ditto Cyder	<u>5..7..6</u>
	<u>£317..18..9</u>

Humphrey Harwood

Ben: Powell

Wm. Pearson

Returned into the Court of York County the 21st day of August 1775 And Ordered to be recorded

Examd. Teste

Thos. Everard Cl: Curr.

Creation of machine-readable version:

Wayne Graham

Creation of digital images:

Conversion to TEI.2-conformant markup:

Wayne Graham

Revised by

Wayne Graham

York County Wills & Inventories 22, 1771-1783 pp. 296-297

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August 2000

Wayne Graham

Staff

Transcription editing

**Table 5. Will of Matthew Moody, Sr.**

<b>Record</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Description</b>
York County Records, WI(22)292-293  From the York County Project Master Biographical Files, Dept. of Training and Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.	16 Nov 1773 (DD);  17 July 1775 (RD)	Name: Moody, Matthew Residence: Capitol Landing Will dated: 16 Nov 1773 Probated: 17 July 1775 Ref: WI(22)293  Legatees: Philip Moody (son), Ishmael Moody (son), William Godfrey (son), Matthew Moody. Witnesses: John Sclater, Nancy Sclater, Ann Sclater Exec/Admin: William Trebell, William Pearson, Gabriel Maupin  Remarks: Slaves: Thomason, Cutty, London, Rachel. Mentioned: William Black, James Hubbard, William Holt, Elizabeth Godfrey (mother of William Godfrey), mother of Matt Moody.
York County Records, WI(22) 292-293	16 Nov 1773 (DD);  17 July 1775 (RD)	IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN. I Matthew Moody of the Capitol Landing in the county of York being sick & weak in body but of sound & disposing mind & memory do make this my last will & testament.  FIRST. I give unto my son Philip the three following negroes Thomason, Cutty & London & their future increase to him & his heirs upon this express proviso & condition that he shall pay unto my exrs hereinafter named for the use of my estate the full sum of money which William Black recovered of me in York Court upon a pretended assumsit sd to be made by me for my sd son with all the interest that shall be due thereon.  THIRDLY. I give unto my son Ishmael & his heirs the choice of my Indian Field plantation or my negro wench named Rachel provided there shall be a sufficiency of my estate to pay my debts without selling the house or land where I now live. I do also direct & appoint that the debts which my sd son Ishmael owes my friends Mr. James Hubbard of Williamsburg & Mr. William Holt shall be paid out of my estate.  FOURTHLY. After all my just debts are paid I give unto my son William Godfrey [the son of Elizabeth Godfrey born] <del>born</del> in my house here all the rest & remainder of my estate both real & personal of what nature or kind soever unto him & his heirs forever. I also give unto my sd son William Godfrey my gold watch.  LASTLY. I do appoint my loving friends Mr. William

		Trebell, Mr. William Pearson, & Mr. Gabriel Maupin exrs. of this my last will & testament hereby revoking all former wills. IN WITNESS whereof I have hereto set my hand & seal this 16 <sup>th</sup> day of November 1773. – Matthew Moody [L.S.?)
York County Records, WI(22) 292-293	16 Nov 1773 DD & 17 July 1775 RD	Witnesses: John Sclater, Nancy Sclater, Ann Sclater. Codicil made the 6 <sup>th</sup> day of June 1775: I made the [arrasment ?] in the will that day: Item. I give to Phill Mody my house Bible & Coll. Custis picture, I give to Mat Moody his mother's pickter & black jacks, I give to Ishmael Moody my gun & all my wearing cloath. –Mattw. Moody
York County Records, WI(22) 292-293	16 Nov 1773 DD & 17 July 1775 RD	At a Court held for York County the 17 <sup>th</sup> day of July 1775 This Will was proved according to Law by the Oaths of John Sclater, Nancy Sclater, and Anne Sclater the Witnesses thereto and William Russell being sworn deposed that he is well acquainted with the Testators hand Writing and verily believes the Codicil there under Written and the name Subscibed are of the proper hand Writing of the said Testator Whereupon the said Will and Codicil were Ordered to be Recorded The Executors named in the said Will having Refused to take on themselves the Burthen of the Executorship and no Person being willing to administer on the Testators Estate It was ordered that the Sherif take the said Estate into his hands and dispose thereof according to Law and the direction of the said Will and Codicil and that he summon Philip Moody the Heir at Law to appear and Contest the said Will and Codicil at the next Court if he thinks fit And at a Court held for the said County the 21 <sup>st</sup> day of August 1775, The said Philip Moody having been summoned was called but did not appear. Teste Thos. Everard Cl: Cur:

## APPENDIX C

### **Further research suggestions for studying water transportation providers identified as possible residents of Williamsburg, in or near city bounds.**

For scholars interested in researching water transportation providers or maritime-oriented workers who may have lived and/or worked in or around Capitol Landing and the Queen's Creek area, please see the discussion below. As port residency could not be definitively proven with regard to these individuals – and because their documentary records pertained to a time period either too early or too late for character-actor interpretation in Colonial Williamsburg's "Revolutionary City" programming (1774 to 1781) – these individuals were excluded from the research parameters and scope established for this study. The York County Records of a few of these individuals (among other sources) appear to retain enough evidence to support deeper study.

#### **1. SHIPPING OCCUPATIONS**

For those individuals documented with *shipping occupations* (e.g. "mariner" or "sailor") who appear to have been living in the Williamsburg area and may have been associated with its nearby ports, I found two individuals who were referenced as ship captains, were York County citizens, owned land along Queen's Creek, and whose York County records were extensive enough to support further study in a Williamsburg context.

The records of **Captain Graves Packe**, “**Mariner**,” occurred early in Williamsburg’s history, between approximately 1718 and 1731.<sup>167</sup> I did not pursue Packe as a research subject because I was interested in an individual who was actively engaged in providing or supervising some form of on-the-water work out of the local city ports, who demonstrated a longer-term presence in the city via more extensive documentary records (spanning at least two decades), and was someone whom I could clearly identify as a port resident at one of Williamsburg’s ports. While Packe owned four lots at Capitol Landing on Queen’s Creek, it is uncertain whether he actually lived there (though it seems possible).<sup>168</sup> Furthermore, I was interested in an individual who was living closer to the time of the Revolution and could potentially be included in a character-interpreted role in Colonial Williamsburg’s public history setting. Since Packe died in 1731, that made his story less feasible for public interpretation in the “Revolutionary City” programming of Colonial Williamsburg’s Historic Area.

**Captain Francis Bright** is the only other resident mariner associated with Queen’s Creek whom I was able to identify.<sup>169</sup> He may have settled in the Williamsburg area later in time after the capitol had already moved to Richmond in 1780, but this requires further verification and study. Francis Bright served in Virginia’s Continental Navy during the Revolution and in the Virginia State Navy afterward. Though Bright is not recorded as a lot owner at Capitol Landing, he apparently purchased Governor Dunmore’s former plantation at Porto Bello on Queen’s Creek sometime after it went up

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<sup>167</sup> For more information on Graves Packe, see the “Graves Packe” biographical file in the York County Project Master Biographical Files, Dept. of Training & Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

<sup>168</sup> For reference to Packe’s lots, see York County Records, DAB(3), 356-358.

<sup>169</sup> For more information on Francis Bright, see the “Francis Bright” biographical file in the York County Project Master Biographical Files, Dept. of Training & Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

for sale in November 1779. He was noted as trying to sell this property in 1790, though it apparently remained in the family for a few more generations.<sup>170</sup>

Finally, there are a number of references to [presumably] **visiting ship captains** in the Anne Pattison Tavern Account Book, 1743-1744 and 1748-1749.<sup>171</sup> These mariners were generally referenced by last name only in this account book, and sometimes these individuals' records also included interesting notations regarding maritime-related foodstuffs they had purchased from the tavern such as limes or rum, or other services they required from the tavernkeeper, such as wheeled transport to locations like Burwell's Ferry, Hampton, or other ports and landing sites. Scattered references to ship captains may also be found in other Williamsburg-area account books, private papers, or in the *Virginia Gazette*, though Anne Pattison's account book provides perhaps the greatest number of names linked to a single primary source and an identifiable location (e.g. a tavern, where shipmasters are known to have gathered while visiting Williamsburg). The James River Naval Office Manifest Book, 1773-1775, also references a long list of shipmasters' names, their vessel names and types, their destinations, cargoes, and dates of entry or clearance; though it does not identify any of these individuals as Williamsburg residents, or indicate if any of them may have traveled into Williamsburg on business.<sup>172</sup> These mariners were presumably residents of the homeports to which their ships were returning (e.g. London, Glasgow, Liverpool, or other British outports).

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<sup>170</sup> For Bright's attempt to sell Porto Bello, see the *Virginia Independent Chronicle & General Advertiser*, Davis (publisher), 6 Jan 1790; for history of Porto Bello, see Helen Campbell, "Porto Bello: Bruton Parish, York County, VA," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* Vol. 69, No. 4 (Oct. 1961):466.

<sup>171</sup> Anne Pattison Tavern Account Book 1743-1744, 1748-1749 (oversize photostat #PH-72) in the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Special Collections, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; original manuscript in Virginia Historical Society, Mss 5:3 P2783:1.

<sup>172</sup> James River Naval Office Manifest Book, 1773-1775 (microfilm #M-53) in the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Special Collections, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.

## 2. MARITIME SUBSISTENCE OCCUPATIONS

For those individuals documented as having *maritime subsistence occupations* like fishermen, oystermen, or crab harvesters, I found references in the Anne Pattison Tavern Account Book to **Daniel Hughes**, “Oysterman” (living along Queen’s Creek, possibly as a tenant), and **Mr. and Mrs. Lewis**, “Oysterman” and “Oyster woman” (possibly living in Williamsburg on Capitol Landing Road).<sup>173</sup>

## 3. VESSEL BUILDING AND VESSEL MAINTENANCE OCCUPATIONS

I found only one reference to an individual in the Williamsburg/Queen’s Creek area who was specifically noted for having a *vessel building/maintenance occupation* (e.g. as a ship carpenter, boatbuilder, etc.). This individual was **Richard Major**, “Boatwright,” a York County landowner, who sold 200 acres of land on Queen’s Creek to Daniel Park in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> For references to Daniel Hughes and Mr. and Mrs. Lewis, see the Anne Pattison Tavern Account Book, 1743-1744, 1748-1749 (oversize photostat #PH-72, pgs. 130 and 153 respectively) in the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Special Collections, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. For further information on these individuals, see their biographical files in the York County Project Master Biographical Files, Dept. of Training and Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

<sup>174</sup> See York County Records, DOW(1)115, dated 17 Jan 1650, recorded 13 Dec 1652.

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## VITA

### Angela Maria Scott

Angela Maria Scott was born on October 23, 1974 in Long Beach, California. She received a Bachelor's degree in Anthropology from the University of California, Berkeley in 1996, with a sub-emphasis in California Indian archaeology and a minor in Classical Civilizations. After college, Ms. Scott began work on a multiple-subject teaching credential, taught in the Long Beach Unified School District for two and a half years, and worked in a variety of public outreach and education positions in parks and recreation, aquaria, and museums before deciding to pursue professional and academic interests in maritime history and nautical archaeology, museum curation and collections management, exhibit development, and education.

In pursuit of these goals, Ms. Scott served as both the Assistant Curator and then Curator and Collections Manager of the Santa Barbara Maritime Museum from 2000 to 2005, where she was intimately involved in the early growth and development of the museum's curatorial department, exhibits, collections, docent training program, and other operations since its opening to the public in July 2000. In the summer of 2005, she attended the Mystic Seaport Museum's Frank G. Munson Institute of American Maritime History, an intensive summer program of graduate courses jointly sponsored with the University of Connecticut. In Fall 2005, Ms. Scott entered The College of William and Mary as a Master's candidate in the American Studies Program, as well as enrolling in the History Department's National Institute of American History and Democracy (NIAHD) graduate certificate program in Early American History, Material Culture, and Museum Studies.

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