

PEOPLING THE POWER STRUCTURE: URBAN ORIENTED OFFICEHOLDERS
IN YORK COUNTY, VIRGINIA 1699-1780

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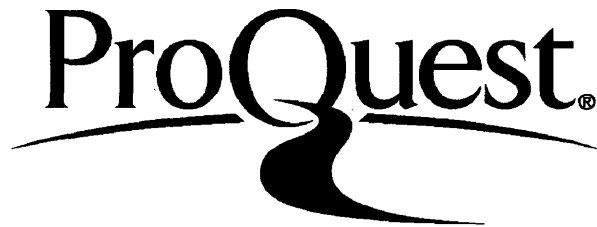
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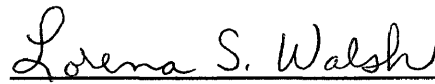
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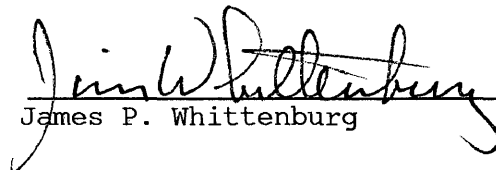
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In memory of EPH and GNH

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ABSTRACT

Williamsburg and its sister York County urban center, Yorktown, were local communities subject to regulation by county and municipal governments in which celebrated and lesser known urban residents served. Williamsburg is often considered in terms of provincial politics and important political events leading up to the American Revolution; Yorktown is best known as a colonial port town and scene of the British surrender to American and French forces in 1781. But the focus of this study is the significant role played by local urban magistrates and lesser officials in the stratified society of Williamsburg and Yorktown.

County and municipal officials active in Yorktown and Williamsburg shaped urban society in York County. The prestige of these officials--based on their official and extra-official duties, mirrored in their personal and economic characteristics, and perpetuated by their conscious manipulation of the public mind through the press and civic ritual--put them at the center of a web of influence in the towns and kept lesser officials further from that center of power. Urban justices' increasing influence over the York County court provides additional evidence of the political and social strength of magistrates who were active in Yorktown and Williamsburg. County and municipal magistrates' position in the upper echelons of urban society in the two towns was sustained through a well-developed network of mutual support that enabled them to ward off challenges to their authority.

In the early 1770s, there is evidence that new social bonds, based upon egalitarian principles fostered by the Enlightenment, had been forged among urban men of differing ranks who were members of the Williamsburg Lodge of Freemasons. These democratic associations sent a more equalitarian message than did the deferential relationships that characterized the dominant hierarchical arrangement of urban society. They did so, however, within the framework of familiar rituals and social ordering. At the beginning of the American Revolution, the stratified urban society was firmly entrenched and would not soon be replaced.

PEOPLING THE POWER STRUCTURE: URBAN ORIENTED OFFICEHOLDERS
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INTRODUCTION

Because it is not uncommon for political boundaries to define a locus for social activity as well, one of the several ways to approach a community study is to begin at the political level.¹ Williamsburg is often considered in terms of provincial politics and important political events leading up to the American Revolution. But Williamsburg and its sister York County urban center, Yorktown, were also local communities subject to regulation by county and municipal governing bodies in which celebrated and lesser known urban residents served. It was significant for the communities of Williamsburg and Yorktown that men who served in high local office in York and James City counties and in the Williamsburg municipal government chose to become active in one of the two towns because they played a distinctive role in shaping the urban community. Lesser county and municipal officials had correspondingly diminished roles in York County urban society, but they, too, were important elements in the stratified urban milieu.

The purpose of this study is to attempt to explain officeholders' influence on urban society in terms of: 1) their official and extra-official duties and responsibilities; 2) the personal and economic characteristics that suited them for local office; 3) urban justices'

¹Darrett B. Rutman, "Community Study," Historical Methods 13 (1980): 31-4.

increasing influence over the York County court; and 4) urban magistrates' skillful manipulation of the public mind through the press and public ritual. In addition, a sub-theme which runs throughout this thesis is the perpetuation of the magistrates' position in the upper echelons of urban society in Yorktown and Williamsburg through a well-developed network of mutual support that enabled them to ward off challenges to their authority.

Comparisons among groups of upper and lower level urban officers suggest that the boundaries between each level were not very fluid in the urban community. York County and James City County justices of the peace together with top officers of the Williamsburg city corporation formed a discernable group at the center of the social and political life of the towns. It is probable that inferior officers such as constables, deputy sheriffs and highway surveyors and surveyors of the streets and landings living in Yorktown and Williamsburg also formed a distinguishable social group--not so near the center of the local power structure and not as easily documented as the inner circle formed by their superiors. Each group of officeholders likely had counterparts among adult males who did not hold office but were of similar economic and social rank.² They

²Edward M. Cook in his study of eighteenth-century New England community structure viewed communities in terms of a series of concentric bands. The outermost band consisted of members of the general population who never held office, including women and children and about a fifth of a town's inhabitants who were adult males. Moving inward, the second band was made up of all who participated actively in local affairs and filled one or more town offices. The third band consisted of the town leaders who filled five major offices. At the center was an inner core of leadership--"Those men who, by experience and influence gained through long service, played a dominant role in the councils of the town." Edward M. Cook, Jr., The Fathers of the Towns: Leadership and Community Structure in Eighteenth-Century New England (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), p. 23-4.

were similarly distributed across the social web at varying distances from the inner circle dominated by the magistrates.

Officeholders were not a group of men who happened to hold office but otherwise were no different or regarded as no more important than their fellows at the same economic level. Most high level officeholders got in office because of who they were--usually through family connections and economic might--but they were also important because they were in office. By the expert handling of local crises and public processions that served to reinforce their authority in the urban community, political power and the influence of magistrates in the layered urban society was reaffirmed in multiple ways every year. In addition, as the eighteenth century wore on, justices of the York County court living in the towns even imparted a decidedly urban complexion to the county court and had considerable influence over the business conducted at monthly court sessions. Non-officeholders sometimes acted in concert with their officeholding fellows when officials exerted pressure on them to do so. The urban political influence of tertiary level officeholders in the two towns cannot yet be demonstrated, but it is a certainty that they continued to serve at that level throughout their careers, rarely moving up to the county bench or provincial office, suggesting that men of a different standing in the community held these positions.

Since the whole of Yorktown and about half of Williamsburg were within the bounds of York County in the colonial period, there is considerable information about officeholders among residents in both towns. By and large, York County, Virginia is well-documented in the

public record from 1633 onwards. Yorktown had no municipal government of its own in the colonial period, coming entirely under the jurisdiction of the York County court. For instance, constables in Yorktown were county officials. No separate records were kept for colonial Yorktown, so in a sense its "municipal records" are part of the extant records of the county unit.

Governmental jurisdictions overlapped one another in Williamsburg.³ The 1699 act that created Williamsburg the new capital of Virginia carried with it the assurance that the General Assembly would continue to have an impact on the capital town:

. . . it being of absolute Necessity that another Building be erected wth all the Expedition possible for the convenient Siting and Holding of the Generall Assemblyes and Courts at a healthy proper & comodius Place suitable for the Reception of a considerable Number and Concourse of People that of Necessity must resort to the Place where the Generall Assemblys will be convened and where the Councill and Supream Courts of Justice of this his Ma[jes]ties Colony and Dominion will be held and kept and forasmuch as the Place Commonly called and knowne by the Name of the Middleplantation hath been found by const[an]t Experience to be healthy and agreeable to the Inhabitants of this his Majestyes Colony . . .⁴

Though the governor and General Assembly took considerable responsibility for Williamsburg, local government meant county government

³John Hemphill II, "Preliminary Report on 'Local Institutions and Politics in Williamsburg and Environs, 1691-1776'" (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1988), p. 1-2. (Typewritten.)

⁴"Acts of the Virginia Assembly 1662-1702," Jefferson Collection, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., in 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: Dietz Press, 1972), pp. 335-6.

in eighteenth-century Virginia,⁵ an assessment especially pertinent for Williamsburg because it was situated astride the line between James City and York counties. At first, each of the two counties had jurisdiction over the part of Williamsburg that lay within its borders. By 1715 the James City County courthouse was moved from Jamestown to the capital town. Residents from the James City side of town could serve in the James City County government if they owned lots south of Duke of Gloucester Street; residents on the York County side of town could serve in the York County government (the courthouse was twelve miles away in Yorktown), if they owned lots north of the main street. Loss of the colonial records of James City County, however, necessarily focuses a study of Williamsburg on urban York County residents. Unfortunately, records of the Williamsburg common hall and hustings court have not survive either, further limiting information about the municipal government chartered in 1722.

This present study of county and municipal officeholders active in Yorktown and Williamsburg is based in part on biographies of individuals who were active in the two towns in the colonial period that were assembled by the York County Project in the Department of Historical Research at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Because the whole of Yorktown and about half of Williamsburg were located in York County, transcripts of York County Court records supplied the primary data from which biographical details were assembled. Court records were supplemented by limited extant records of local parishes, the local

⁵E. Lee Shepard, "Courts in Conflict: Town-County Relations in Post-Revolutionary Virginia," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 85 (1977):185.

newspaper (Virginia Gazette) published in Williamsburg, certain records of the College of William and Mary, selected records of the Virginia General Assembly and a limited number of private papers.⁶ The biographies were coded for computer so that characteristics of the populations in the two urban areas of York County could be analyzed.⁷

The project design dictated that once a man's residence or lotholding qualified him for the sample, his officeholding record was followed in its entirety whether or not his years in office coincided exactly with his years of activity in either town. In effect, this produced a pool of "once and future," or perhaps more accurately, "once, present, and future" officeholders who may have held office before, and/or during, and/or after their urban activity. Put differently, officeholding information collected for this study was entirely dependent upon evidence of "urban orientation" at some time during the lives of the men who held public office. The approach has strengths and weaknesses. The resulting information permits rather less insight into the social structure of Yorktown and Williamsburg than it does into the characteristics of a particular group of men who served in governmental institutions in the area during a specified period of time. On the other

⁶These materials were collected in the York County Master Biographical File under Grants RS-00033-80-1604 and RO-20869-85 from the National Endowment for the Humanities to the Department of Historical Research at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. A complete list of all documents consulted is available. All biographical information in this study was taken from the Master Biographical File and Biographical Worksheets on file in the Department of Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

⁷Computer files are stored at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia. Analysis was obtained by means of the statistical package produced by SAS Institute, SAS Circle, Box 8000, Cary, N. C.

hand, broadly defining as "urban oriented" a group of officeholders who lived in one of the two towns or who were active there through investment in urban lots afforded a larger number of men to analyze.⁹

Independent adults (usually males) with evidence of residence in either Yorktown or Williamsburg or who were economically active in either town⁹ make up the 2355 persons targeted by the York County Project for the urban sample.¹⁰ Out of that number, approximately 1180 were adult white males--representing (very roughly) a recovery rate of about two-thirds of the adult white males active in the two towns in the period 1699 to 1780. As shown in the tables in this thesis, about a quarter of them were county or municipal magistrates, county clerks and prosecutors, county or municipal enforcement officers, and grand and petit jurors. Only about 8% or 9% held high office in the county court or in the Williamsburg common hall and it was they who constituted the upper echelons of town residents. It has been said that the upper class "is

⁹This study thus concentrates on adult white males and involves women, minors, slaves and the poorest laborers and others on the margins of urban society only to the extent that they were part of the general populations of the towns who were sometimes the beneficiaries of, but were often at the mercy of, the hierarchical society in which they found themselves. A study of the politically powerful and their cronies sheds some light on the organization of a community but without an understanding of the circumstances of all elements in a given population, no community study can be considered complete. John B. Kirby, "Early American Politics--The Search for Ideology: An Historiographical Analysis and Critique of the Concept of 'Deference,'" The Journal of Politics 32 (1970):828-30.

⁹Including direct statements of residence, service in residence-related offices, residence in the household of another known urbanite, performance of an economic service in Yorktown or Williamsburg, or holding lots in one of the towns.

¹⁰This figure includes a few minors and independent women, students at the College of William and Mary, and a number of persons who owned lots in Williamsburg or Yorktown but lived outside York County.

that group which dominates or controls societal units and is not necessarily a constant percentage of the population."¹¹ Like other colonial communities, the societies in Yorktown and Williamsburg were consciously layered, but at any given time, the numbers of officeholders--high and low--present in either of the two towns was relatively small, so the urban communities were not so much affected by the numbers of officeholders as by their ranking positions in a deferential society. The urban centers in York County provided a "little pond" in which top level officeholders and some of their cronies were the "big fish."

The following chapters examine the mix of governmental responsibility, economic and demographic characteristics and deliberate maneuvering that contributed to status in the urban community. Chapter I examines the effect of the broad range of powers vested in upper and lower level officials living in Yorktown and Williamsburg in stratifying the urban community. Chapter II suggests that men wielding these powers had commensurate status based on economic and personal characteristics and that top level officials formed a network of influence designed to discourage inroads into their "little pond" by outsiders and deftly handled challenges to their authority. In Chapter III, the growing influence of urban justices over the York County court itself is examined, further exposing the strength of urban officials. Chapter IV reveals the magistrates' use of public ritual and manipulation of the press to perpetuate their positions in the upper echelons of urban society. The study concludes with an examination of members of the

¹¹Daniel Scott Smith, "Cyclical, Secular, and Structural Change in American Elite Composition," Perspectives in American History 4 (1970): 362-3.

Williamsburg Lodge of Freemasons among Williamsburg residents in the early 1770s who forged new bonds among men of differing social ranks.

CHAPTER I

"THE OFFICE AND AUTHORITY"

By the time Williamsburg was founded as the capital of the colony of Virginia in 1699, there was an established hierarchy in York County and its infant urban center, Yorktown, that was reflected in and reinforced by the nature and duties of offices of varying power and importance in which residents were selected to serve. As Williamsburg developed, social arrangement in the town, defined by officials among urban residents, conformed to the existing order. Darrett and Anita Rutman have written that "the most important imprimatur of status among the men of Middlesex that we have is the degree to which they served the public." Magistrates, clerks and prosecutors, enforcement officers and jurors among urban residents took differing degrees of responsibility for their community--the higher the office, the broader the powers and the more likely the officials to accept duties in extra-governmental institutions over and above the obligations of public office. Thus, patterns of officeholding can help define social stratification in Yorktown and Williamsburg more precisely.¹² Selection for a position of responsibility in county or municipal government indicated the townsmen so chosen were perceived as having the skills, trustworthiness, and

¹²Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia, 1650-1750 (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984), p. 143.

stature to keep the society stable and the wheels of government running smoothly. Especially in times of crisis or threat, the urban populace looked to their local officials to restore a sense of security and well-being. In turn, the very nature of the public service performed by local officers active in Yorktown and Williamsburg resulted in increased standing in the community for the men who filled those positions.

At the top of the urban hierarchy were the magistrates. Yorktown residents who served on the York County bench and Williamsburg residents who served on the York or James City County panels or in the Williamsburg municipal government had knowledge of and made decisions that affected many aspects of residents' lives. Appointed by commission of the governor from a list of names supplied by incumbent justices, county court magistrates in colonial Virginia counties served during the governor's pleasure--in effect, usually for life. They were participants in an institution, the local county courts, so identified with order in colonial Virginia society that it is sometimes credited with permitting the Virginia colony to function well during the period 1706-1710 when there was not a governor in residence in the colony nor meetings of the General Assembly.¹³

Justices of the county bench were empowered to act in a judicial capacity in such matters as recording deeds for the transfer of title to land; probating estates of deceased individuals by recording wills and appointing agents to take inventories of their personal property; passing judgment on free persons accused of lesser criminal offenses (not

¹³David Alan Williams, "Political Alignments in Colonial Virginia Politics" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1959), p. 87.

involving the death penalty); judging slaves in all matters criminal including felonies punishable by death; hearing grand jury presentments about everything from absence from Anglican church services to charges of bastardy and adultery; and settling civil suits and debt cases between parties seeking redress of grievances. In their administrative role, justices issued orders for improvement or repair of highways, bridges, and landings; protected estates of orphans; regulated prices charged in taverns for alcoholic beverages; issued yearly licenses to the tavern keepers themselves; and levied taxes to defray county expenses.

Members of the county bench were subject to appointment as sheriff, coroner, and tithetaker during their tenure in office. These additional responsibilities further concentrated local power in the hands of these men. The sheriff was the "principal Conservator of the Peace" in his county. He was also the chief tax collector responsible for receiving quit rents on land, and public and county levies from residents within in his jurisdiction and he or his estate was held responsible for uncollected taxes. Appointment usually passed from justice to justice in rotation, each serving for a year, though one successive term was not uncommon among urban York County justices.¹⁴ Although the sheriff delegated many of his responsibilities to undersheriffs and constables who served writs and administered punishments meted out by the county

¹⁴William Waller Hening, The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619, 13 Vols. (Richmond, Va., New York, and Philadelphia, 1809-1823); reprint ed., Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia for the Jamestown Foundation of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1969) 3:247; George Webb, The Office and Authority of a Justice of the Peace (Williamsburg, Va.: William Parks, 1736), p. 293-9. For example, Henry Tyler and Joseph Walker served from 1700-1703 and 1720-1722 respectively.

court, he was ultimately responsible for the performance of all these duties and was liable if they were not carried out. For instance, a sheriff's estate could be attached when a defendant failed to appear in court or when taxes went uncollected.

County coroners and tithetakers were also appointed from among senior justices for one-year terms. The coroner took charge of investigating deaths occurring under suspicious circumstances or without witnesses in which connection he could order constables to summon juries of inquest.¹⁵ Tithetakers for each of the several precincts in the county were appointed annually to prepare lists of individuals in the county who made up the tax base.¹⁶ Public (provincial), county and parish levies were apportioned among householders based on the number of males (white and black) at least sixteen years old and black females of the same age in each household. Heads of families delivered these lists to the tithetaker in their precinct on an appointed day. The tithetaker then took the lists to court at an appointed time. The clerk of court displayed them for all to see to aid in the better "Discovery of concealers."¹⁷

Characteristics and duties of municipal magistrates in Williamsburg resembled those of county justices. The Williamsburg municipal government described in the Charter of 1722 was a closed corporation.

¹⁵Webb, The Office and Authority, pp. 97-8.

¹⁶York county had eight precincts before 1707, two for each of its four parishes (Bruton, York, Hampton, and Charles). After York and Hampton parishes were combined in 1707, there were usually six tithetakers, but occasionally seven when three were appointed for Yorkhampton.

¹⁷Webb, The Office and Authority, pp. 211-2.

That is, the Charter named the first mayor, recorder, and six aldermen and provided for the election of twelve common councilmen. The first order of business in 1722 for the original mayor, recorder and aldermen was probably the election of the first twelve common councilmen called for in the Charter. Thereafter, a very limited electorate--the sitting mayor, recorder,¹⁸ aldermen and common councilmen--chose a new mayor yearly from among the only eligible candidates--the six aldermen. As indicated below, these officers acted together as a city council and city court. Once elected, common councilmen served for life.¹⁹ The only access other freeholders in the town had to positions in the town government was by election to the common council, but vacancies occurred there only when a councilman died or was named alderman to fill a vacancy at that level.²⁰

Williamsburg corporation officials performed an admixture of administrative and judicial functions akin to those of county magistrates. The mayor, aldermen, and common councilmen acting together as a city council, known as the common hall,²¹ governed the inhabitants of Williamsburg (except the governor and his household). They could

¹⁸Legal advocate for the town, similar in function to deputy king's (queen's) attorneys in Virginia counties.

¹⁹"Charter of Williamsburg," Earl Greg Swem Library Special Collections, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va., in Goodwin, A Brief & True Report, pp.351-2; Hening, The Statutes at Large, 5:206.

²⁰"Charter," p. 352.

²¹Collective name for mayor, recorder, aldermen and common councilmen. It appears in notices about activities of the municipal government in the Virginia Gazette. Appropriation of the term for this study was made to simplify discussion of mayors, aldermen and councilmen as a group.

adopt ordinances and regulations for the town as they saw fit and appoint minor officials such as constables and surveyors of the streets and landings in town. Limits on their jurisdiction were defined by the Charter, however. Fines or penalties assessed for breaking rules and ordinances in Williamsburg could amount to no more than 40 shillings current money of Virginia.²²

The Charter called for the common hall to sit as a hustings court, similar to monthly county courts, with jurisdiction in:

. . . Plea of Trespass and Ejectment and of all Writs of Dower for any Lands and Tenements within the said City, of all other Actions personal and mixt arising within the said City and Ports thereof; and as a Court of Record give Judgment, and award Execution thereon, according to the Laws and Statutes of England and of the Colony.

The sums in question in any personal or mixed action could not exceed £20 current money or 4000 pounds of tobacco.²³ Debt cases for sums above these amounts were entered in county courts or the General Court in Williamsburg.²⁴ Deeds, wills and inventories continued to be recorded in York and James City county courts.

Unlike county magistrates, municipal officers lacked the authority to levy taxes for salaries, public works and repairs, and operating expenses, but the mayor, aldermen and councilmen repeatedly went to the General Assembly, "hat in hand," to obtain acts allowing them to levy

²²"Charter," pp.353-4.

²³Ibid., p.356.

²⁴In order to prevent a glut of suits for insignificant amounts in the General Court, in original jurisdiction the high court could not hear cases for less than £10 or 2,000 pounds of tobacco. Hugh F. Rankin, "The General Court of Colonial Virginia: Its Jurisdiction and Personnel," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 70 (1962):143.

special taxes for specific purposes such as building a courthouse, market house or prison for the city when required, and keeping public buildings in repair.²⁵ Williamsburg magistrates saw their authority gradually increased as the Assembly granted them additional powers piecemeal. For instance, in 1723 they were allowed to hear and pass judgment on all complaints of masters, servants, and apprentices in the town. In the same year, they were granted authority to issue ordinary licenses in the capital though the county courts also had that same power until 1742 when regulation of ordinaries in Williamsburg became the exclusive preserve of the hustings court.²⁶ The hustings court gained the right in 1734 to make judgments on suits for small debt without a jury.²⁷ By 1744, they could arrest and commit to hard labor vagrants who created a nuisance in Williamsburg.²⁸ Gradual extension of their powers continued until the capitol moved to Richmond in 1780.

In short, these upper level county and municipal officials among Yorktown and Williamsburg residents took real responsibility for the urban and rural communities they served, sometimes for years on end, without significant financial recompense. Residents expected them to run the show. As we shall see, the citizenry was not unflinchingly deferential, yet it is clear they could not have imagined a society without officials who saw that services were provided and to whom they

²⁵Hening, The Statutes at Large, 7:186-7.

²⁶Ibid., 4:138-41, 5:207.

²⁷Ibid, 4:426.

²⁸H. R. McIlwaine and J. P. Kennedy, eds., Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1619-1776, 13 vols. (Richmond, Va.: Virginia State Library, 1905-1915), 7:105, 148.

could turn in times of trouble or threat. For instance, when the Capitol burned in January 1747, residents of Williamsburg were faced with the prospect of having the capital moved away from Williamsburg to a location more central to the expanding western population. Burgesses from inland counties began to press for the change and even Gov. William Gooch was in favor of the move.²⁹ The mayor, recorder, aldermen and common councilmen of Williamsburg protested the bill for moving the seat of government before the burgesses.³⁰ In the end, the forces in favor of rebuilding the Capitol in Williamsburg prevailed. How much influence on that decision protests by the common hall had is unclear, but residents of the town would not have expected less than that they try. In fact, the burgesses were aware of how much the move would hurt residents of the capital town economically. They resolved "That some Allowance be made to the Inhabitants of the City of Williamsburg, who are like to be Sufferers by the Removal of the Seat of Government."³¹

Municipal magistrates again took matters in hand when smallpox epidemics threatened Williamsburg in the late 1740s and again in January 1768. Common hall officers took swift action in '68 by imposing a fine of two pounds current money of Virginia on any inhabitant of the city who took anyone into his or her house who was not an inhabitant of the city.³² The magistrates removed those already afflicted to a house with

²⁹Ibid., p. 239.

³⁰Ibid., p. 244-5.

³¹Ibid., p. 243.

³²Undoubtedly, city officials responded to the earlier epidemic with similar concern. Details of their actions are not available because there are no Virginia Gazettes for the period and, as previously noted,

a guard stationed outside, thereby hoping to stem the spread of the dread disease and to reassure the residents. A week later, Mayor James Cocke, still determined to keep the disease under control, nevertheless hoped to persuade those who had business in Williamsburg that they had nothing to fear. According to Cocke, reported cases of smallpox were few and the sick were confined together in houses converted into hospitals "in a retired part of the city" with guards on constant duty. Further, the common hall met every other day to deal with new emergencies as they arose.³³ Mayor Cocke's updates continued to appear in the newspaper for several weeks, always in the most positive terms possible, finally announcing eradication of the disease in February. City magistrates inspected the final cleaning of the pest houses and securing of infected clothing.³⁴

Magistrates were expected to shoulder serious responsibility for the communities they served, but their qualification for office was not usually based on experience. Most colonial magistrates qualified for appointment to the courts without first gaining knowledge of the system in lower offices. Political career paths for Middlesex County suggest that only a few men rose by "beginning their public service as petit jurors and estate appraisers and rising . . . through grand jury service,

records of the municipal government are not extant. It is known that the epidemic began in late 1747 and continued until well into 1748 during which at least 754 persons were taken ill and 53 or more of them died. Cathy Hellier and Kevin Kelly, "The Capital at Mid-Century: A Population Profile of Williamsburg in 1747/8" (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1987), pp. 1-2. (Typewritten.)

³³Virginia Gazette (Purdie and Dixon), 21 January 1768 and 28 January 1768.

³⁴Ibid., 11 February 1768.

terms as constables or surveyors of the highway" before taking a place on the county bench.³⁵ The experience in Surry and Charles City counties seems to indicate a clear gap between justices on the one hand and members of grand juries, surveyors of the highways, constables and undersheriffs on the other.³⁶ In Richmond County, however, more than half the justices in the eighteenth century earned their way onto the county bench via stints as highway surveyors and grand and petit jurors but few as deputy sheriffs or tobacco agents. Still, the more prominent the family, the less likely Richmond justices were to serve in humble offices before being named to the county commission.³⁷ In the early colonial period on Maryland's lower western shore, there appears to have been little working up through the ranks from minor local office to positions of real power.³⁸

Urban York County justices in Yorktown and Williamsburg were no exception.³⁹ Their officeholding histories indicate that most of them

³⁵Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time, Explicatus (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984), p. 145.

³⁶D. Alan Williams, "The Small Farmer in Eighteenth-Century Virginia Politics," Agricultural History 43 (January 1969):98.

³⁷Gwenda Morgan, "The Hegemony of the Law: Richmond County, 1692-1776" (Ph.D. diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 1981), pp. 111-4.

³⁸Lorena S. Walsh, "The Development of Local Power Structures: Maryland's Lower Western Shore in the Early Colonial Period," in Power and Status: Officeholding in Colonial America, ed. Bruce C. Daniels (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1986), p. 61-2.

³⁹The loss of James City County records and municipal records of Williamsburg city government make it impossible to get meaningful figures regarding service in lower offices or on juries for James City County justices and mayors, aldermen and common councilmen living in Williamsburg. It can probably be assumed that their officeholding histories resembled those of their York County counterparts. The Williamsburg hustings court did not gain the power to summon grand juries

were already plugged into the upper echelons of local hierarchy before being named to the county commission.⁴⁰ Mayors and aldermen who sat as the hustings court in Williamsburg were required to have had previous appointment as justices of the peace elsewhere in Virginia.⁴¹ County and city magistrates usually did not qualify for these high level offices through previous service in lower level offices. Only about 38% of justices active in Yorktown and Williamsburg ever served on a grand or petit jury. About a quarter of them were called to grand juries; a little over a third of them served on petit juries; and around a fifth served on both kinds of juries. Neither did very many of them serve in peacekeeping positions prior to assuming a place on the county bench. Barely 13% of them ever held an office such as deputy sheriff, constable or surveyor of the highways. A scant 4% were former constables and less than 10% had been highway surveyors. It is clear that it was not necessary for county justices and high municipal officials living in the towns to earn their way onto the bench by "coming up through the ranks."

These magistrates avoided service at the low end of the bureaucracy but moved easily into service in local vestries, militia companies, and the provincial government, adding to their local prestige and power. At least a third of urban York County justices were officers in a militia company and at least 40% were vestrymen and churchwardens in Yorkhampton

until 1790. Hening, Statutes at Large, 7:200-1.

⁴⁰Economic and demographic characteristics of officeholders are examined in Chapter II.

⁴¹"Charter," p. 356. This requirement did not continue to be enforced as the Williamsburg community matured.

or Bruton parishes.⁴² Members of the common hall were repeatedly exempted from the muster (another sign of their influence), though they were required to provide sets of arms for the militia in 1757,⁴³ and at least six of them were militia officers, including John Dixon who was a colonel in the militia 1773-6 and mayor of Williamsburg for the year 1774. About a third of top city officials were vestrymen and churchwardens in Bruton Parish.

Urban justices of the York County bench held office in the Virginia colony government as well: 17% of county magistrates who resided in Yorktown or invested in lots there after 1699 were burgesses and one or two were appointed to the governor's council. Seven percent of county magistrates associated with Williamsburg were councilors and 29% were burgesses. About a third of members of the common hall were elected burgesses (14) or appointed to the governor's council (1). These figures for burgesses named from among county and municipal magistrates in York County's urban areas exceed those for Richmond County for about the same period.⁴⁴ That two counties in the local vicinity (York and James City), the College of William and Mary, and the City of Williamsburg all elected burgesses to the General Assembly making more slots available to urban residents than was usual in other areas, may account in part for the

⁴²Extant records for local parishes and militia companies are limited. It is probable that higher percentages of urban magistrates served in these institutions.

⁴³Hening, Statutes at Large, 4:531; 7:93, 95.

⁴⁴Gwenda Morgan found that only a fifth of Richmond's justices were elected to the House of Burgesses. Morgan, "The Hegemony of the Law," p. 114. The figures for "urban" burgesses may be somewhat high because a few magistrates were active in both towns and several others were members of the York County bench and the common hall.

percentage of local magistrates who also served in the General Assembly. As Table 1 shows, county and municipal justices also were numbered among speakers of the House of Burgesses, treasurers and attorney generals of Virginia, and secretaries of the colony, an indication that the location of the colonial capital in Williamsburg influenced the officeholding careers of men active in the urban areas in York County, magnifying their influence at the top of local society. Members of the colony-wide elite were fewer in number in more distant counties.

If the responsibilities that came with acceptance of high local office cemented an individual's relative position in the layered urban society in York County, magistrates living in Williamsburg and Yorktown further extended their authority and esteem in the urban community through trusteeship of important extra-governmental institutions located in the capital. The board of visitors at the College of William and Mary, the court of directors of the Public Hospital (opened in 1773 for the treatment of the insane), and trusteeship of a school for black children sponsored by the Associates of Dr. Bray in Williamsburg were among the opportunities for these "extracurricular" activities. Not only did these appointments further define the leadership role of primary level officeholders in the urban society but they also confirm their sense of community responsibility in areas beyond their official capacities that may reflect their commitment to public service.⁴⁵

⁴⁵Gwenda Morgan did not find justices in Richmond County to be dedicated public servants. Richmond justices often had poor attendance records, refused to serve at all, were guilty of a variety of moral offenses, and were motivated by blatant self-interest. Morgan, "The Hegemony of the Law," pp. 97, 100, 106-8, 117-9. It must be remembered, too, that institutions such as the college and hospital had no counterparts in Richmond County.

TABLE 1. URBAN OFFICEHOLDERS WITH EXTRA-GOVERNMENTAL SERVICE, PROVINCIAL OFFICES, AND MASONIC MEMBERSHIP

NAME	YCJP	JCCJP	W COM HALL	LEGAL	ENFORCERS	VWM	PUB H	BRAY	MASON	H OF B	COUNCIL	OTHER PROV
Edward1 Ambler	X					X				X		
Robert1 Andrews			X						X			
Edward Archer			X						X			
John1 Blair	X				X	X	X			X	presdnt, clerk	X
John2 Blair	X		X				X		X	X	X	
John Blair		X	X									
Richard1 Bland	X					X				X		
James2 Bray		X	X							X		
Frederick3 Bryan					X				X			
Lewis4 Burwell		X			X					X		
Lewis5 Burwell		X				X	X			X		
Edward Charlton			X						X			
James1 Cocke	X		X				X		X			X
William2 Cole	X					X				X	X	sec of Va
Dudley4 Digges	X				X		X			X		X
Beverley Dixon	X								X			
Haldenby Dixon		X	X									
John Dixon			X				X		X			X
Thomas Everard			X	X			X					X
William2 Hunter	X							X				
William3 Hunter					X				X			
Wm Lightfoot	X					X						
Philip3 Ludwell		X				X				X	X	
Thomas3 Nelson	X				X	X	X			X		
William2 Nelson	X					X	X			X	president	
Robt. C. Nicholas		X	X			X	X	X		X		treas of Va
Robert2 Nicholson	X								X			
Joseph1 Prentis	X		X				X					
William1 Prentis		X	X									
Edmund Randolph			X				X		X			X
John1 Randolph			X			X				speaker	clerk	X
John2 Randolph		X	X				X			X		X
Peyton Randolph	X		X			X	X		X	speaker		X
William Russell					X				X			
John Tazewell			X				X					
Benjamin Waller			X	X			X			X		X
Nathaniel Walthoe									X		clerk	
George Wythe			X			X	X			clerk		X

KEY

YCJP: York County justice; JCCJP: James City County justice; W COM HALL: Williamsburg common hall; LEGAL: county clerks and prosecutors; ENFORCERS: deputy sheriff, constable, highway surveyor, surveyor of streets and landings; VWM: William and Mary board of visitors; PUB H: Public Hospital court of directors; BRAY: trustee of Bray School; MASON: member Williamsburg Lodge of Freemasons; H OF B: burgess; COUNCIL: member governor's council; OTHER PROV: secretary of Virginia, treasurer of Virginia, judge of admiralty, customs collector, attorney general, or deputy auditor general

As Table 1 indicates, high-ranking local officials dominated these other institutions as a matter of course together with their county, municipal and provincial government responsibilities. A number of visitors, directors and trustees predictably came from local gentry living in the towns who were already ensconced in York And James City county courts, municipal and provincial offices. The charter of the College provided that eighteen to twenty trustees be nominated by the General Assembly. Thereafter, the body was self-perpetuating, giving the gentry who occupied the board the leverage to confine appointments to those of their own choosing. The trustees were responsible for the early development of the College from its founding in 1693. In 1729, control of the institution passed to the president and masters. At that point, the visitors, as they were then renamed, fulfilled a supposed advisory role. The visitors, however, were virtually all burgesses, councilors, and other high provincial and local officials and therefore continued to exercise considerable influence over the affairs of the College. The agreement for the transfer of control to the faculty, in fact, reserved to the visitors the election of the presidents and rectors of the College.⁴⁶

Local members of the court of directors of the Public Hospital also came from among that familiar group of prominent officials as shown on Table 1, except for Dr. John deSequeyra (a non-officeholder) named visiting physician because of his medical skills gained at the University

⁴⁶J. E. Morpurgo, Their Majesties' Royall Colledge: William and Mary in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Williamsburg, Va.: Endowment Association of the College of William and Mary of Virginia, 1976), pp. 35, 88.

of Leiden in the Netherlands. To give them their due, the directors' duties carried an obvious charitable dimension. They oversaw all expenditures and operations at the hospital. In addition, they determined which patients would be admitted to the hospital and when they could be released in what must have been an ordeal for officials and the afflicted alike in a society ill-equipped to understand mental illness.⁴⁷ Yet, the hospital was established as well with an eye toward protecting society from "persons of insane and disordered minds . . . frequently found wandering in different parts of the colony." Urban members of the board would have viewed the necessity for such an institution as the magistrates they were, charged with protecting their urban communities.⁴⁸

When the Associates of Dr. Bray, a missionary and philanthropic group in England affiliated with the Anglican Church, decided to establish formal schools in several locations in the American colonies for instructing slaves in the tenets of the Christian religion, it was out of concern for slaves' immortal souls, not a desire to change their temporal condition or to fully educate them.⁴⁹ The Associates needed local agents in the colonies to open the schools and oversee operations. In 1760 at Benjamin Franklin's suggestion, William² Hunter⁵⁰ (public

⁴⁷Shomer S. Zwelling, Quest for a Cure: The Public Hospital in Williamsburg, Virginia, 1773-1885 (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1985), p. 10.

⁴⁸Hening, Statutes at Large, 8:378.

⁴⁹John C. Van Horne, ed., Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery: The American Correspondence of the Associates of Dr. Bray, 1717-1777 (Urbana: University of Chicago Press, 1985), pp. 6, 20.

⁵⁰Refers to the third person of that name in the same family in Virginia, by York County project reckoning. This convention is used throughout this study to distinguish between two officeholders with the

printer, deputy postmaster general of the colonies, and printer of the Virginia Gazette) and the Rev. Thomas Dawson (president of the College of William and Mary, commissary of the bishop of London and rector of Bruton Parish Church) both of Williamsburg were recruited as trustees for one of these schools opened in Williamsburg in 1760.⁵¹ Dawson died shortly after appointment and Hunter recommended Robert Carter Nicholas (treasurer of the colony, James City County justice and member of the Williamsburg common hall) to replace him. After Hunter's death and until the school closed in 1774, Nicholas was principal administrator, receiving only nominal aid from successive rectors of the church.⁵² Nicholas, a staunch established church man in the coming conflict with dissenters, was dedicated to seeing the Associates' goals carried forward at their Williamsburg school. Non-clerical trustees of the Bray School in Williamsburg were few, but Nicholas was near the apex of society in Williamsburg and Hunter was also an important local resident.

It is clear, however, that the men who filled these extra-governmental positions were a small part of the group of top county and municipal officials who lived in Yorktown and Williamsburg. Only about a quarter of top level county and municipal officials active in Williamsburg and Yorktown between 1699 and 1780 served in these extra-governmental positions. The number of these positions was limited, an indication that the urban officers who filled them were at the core of

same name or between an officeholder and other members of his family by the same name.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 22.

⁵²Ibid., pp. 22-3.

the social and political hierarchy in the urban areas in York County.

Nearly important as the magistrates in urban officialdom were county clerks and their deputies and deputy king's attorneys, though as Table 1 indicates, they did not take on "extracurricular" responsibilities. Appointed by the secretary of the Virginia colony, not the county justices, the clerk of the county court was the trained legal professional among court officials. Future clerks were trained in England or received extensive legal tutelage in the secretary's office in Williamsburg.⁵³ Not directly answerable to the justices, county clerks exercised considerable independent authority and judgment over which cases made it onto the court docket. They had no fixed term in office and their service in this capacity in York County was often lengthy. It is likely that the York County court relied on its clerk to settle preliminary steps in current cases at a "rules day" preceding the first day of monthly court sessions. Since no justices were present on rules day, the clerk controlled the cases that reached the court. The cases heard in court frequently needed only final approval, a kind of rubber stamp, from the justices during the regular meeting of the court.⁵⁴ Deputy county clerks usually had the same training in the secretary's office as their superiors. Sometimes chosen and trained by the county clerk himself, a deputy honed his skills while awaiting official appointment to his own county clerkship. He drafted documents, was available to witness them, and, if commissioned by the secretary, could

⁵³Hemphill, "Local Institutions," p. 6.

⁵⁴David T. Konig, "The Courthouse: A Research Report and Interpretive Guide" (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1987), pp. 119-23, 169-70. (Typewritten.)

act in the clerk's stead.⁵⁵ The other legal operative in the county was the deputy king's attorney.⁵⁶ Appointed by the attorney general of Virginia, he was the prosecutor in the county court. He, too, trained in the secretary's office--certainly the case with Benjamin Waller, for many years deputy king's attorney for York County.

Below the magistrates, the current sheriff, the county clerks and prosecutors there was a corps of lesser officers including deputy sheriffs, constables, highway surveyors, surveyors of streets and landings, bailiffs⁵⁷, tobacco agents and jailers who were delegated by court principals to carry out their orders and enforce their decisions. Unlike the elite who had the right to refuse appointment to the bench with impunity, the middling sort usually had little choice but to agree to serve and were fined if they declined.⁵⁸ Terms of office were usually one or two years, but standing in the community may have been increased for those willing to serve repeatedly. As we shall see in Chapter IV, Frederick3 Bryan, one-time resident of Williamsburg who served for many years as deputy sheriff of York County, garnered considerable respect in

⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 122-3; Hemphill, "Local Institutions," p. 7.

⁵⁶Technically, deputy king's attorney or deputy queen's attorney, as appropriate. For simplicity, hereafter referred to as deputy king's attorney.

⁵⁷Although a few bailiffs were identified in the urban populations in York County, this low-level assistant to the sheriff is not very visible in the York County records. He probably performed an array of duties as needed by the sheriff.

⁵⁸Richard B. Davis, "The Colonial Virginia Satirist," Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series 57 (1967):23. In 1718, Florence Macarty declined appointment to the York County constabulary "by reason of his being illiterate," one of the few valid excuses, for he was not fined for refusing to serve. York County, Va., Deeds, Orders, Wills 15, p. 197.

the community.

The middling sort in York County's urban centers continued in lower level offices throughout their lives, for the most part on a separate track from ranking officers of the county and municipal courts living in the towns. Two-thirds of urban oriented deputy sheriffs, constables, and surveyors of highways and streets and landings served on petit juries-- nearly twice the number of justices who did so. Nearly half of them served on grand juries, again almost twice the percentage of urban justices who were once grand jurors. For many, conscription to jury duty occurred both before and after stints as enforcement officers, suggesting that, year in and year out, this group of middling urban residents were the backbone of local government, required to play a part that may well have had a stabilizing influence on urban and rural York County society but which did not confer high rank upon them.⁵⁹ Jury foremen were usually named from among men who served in enforcement offices, indicating that experienced foremen were wanted to lead jurors with less experience. Only about 10% of all enforcement officers active in the towns, however, went on to appointment to the county bench; only three were eventually elected burgesses; none advanced to the governor's council. Interestingly, surveyors of the highways were the most likely enforcement officers to be among these few who attained high office.

Although tertiary officials among residents of Yorktown and Williamsburg were essential to the effectiveness of magistrates and for the security of residents (especially important in an area with a large slave population), their duties were considered appropriate for men not

⁵⁹Morgan, "The Hegemony of the Law," pp. 114-5.

so near the center of local influence as justices, common hall members and court clerks and prosecutors. For example, it was the deputy sheriff rather than his superior (by whom he was appointed) who did the footwork of delivering writs, locating defendants and delivering warrants for their appearance in court. The sheriff probably delegated his deputy to administer punishments meted out by the county court, a grim chore that included execution of slaves. At meetings of the county court, deputy sheriffs were present to help the sheriff and court clerk keep the docket moving.⁶⁰ Undersheriffs probably assisted the sheriff in his role as tax collector as well. Constables⁶¹ appointed by the justices for each precinct in the county had duties resembling those of local police today. They were required to arrest parties who were disturbing the peace, disarm persons brandishing dangerous weapons, and apprehend escaped felons. Captured runaway seamen, servants, and slaves were transported from one constable to the next until they were delivered to the authorities in the precinct where their masters awaited their return. At the behest of the county coroner, the constable of the precinct in which a suspicious death occurred called a jury of inquest composed of residents of the district to review the evidence.⁶² By 1730, constables were charged with scouting for tobacco being grown contrary to a law designed to prevent exportation of poor quality tobacco from Virginia. A reward or fee was paid to constables to encourage them to perform these

⁶⁰Konig, "The Courthouse," pp. 159-60.

⁶¹Occasionally called headboroughs in the York County records.

⁶²Webb, The Office and Authority, pp. 91-4, 98.

inspections diligently.⁶³ They also delivered their share of writs and warrants, locked offenders in the stocks, and brought offenders to court.

The other highly visible enforcement officers were the surveyors of the highways and surveyors of streets and landings who lived in Yorktown and Williamsburg. Appointed by the court by precinct or area, these surveyors were charged with keeping the road system passable, repairing bridges such as the one over Queen's Creek on the road leading to Capitol Landing in Williamsburg, and even clearing new roads. They sometimes faced irate citizens unhappy about the poor condition of county roads or urban streets. Just as frequently, they were confronted by irritated planters who saw no reason to remove fences run across a road for their own particular convenience. Surveyors could impress tithables in their precincts to construct, repair, or clear streets and roadways. Undoubtedly, they sometimes found themselves in charge of an unfamiliar road gang composed of disgruntled laborers and slaves sent by the gentry in the area. No fees or other perks were available to these beleaguered officers. To add to their burden, surveyors were subject to fines if they failed to perform their duties to the court's satisfaction and it appears that justices looked over surveyors' shoulders frequently. An onerous office to be sure, but lacking some of the grim and even dangerous responsibilities of constables and undersheriffs.

Deputy sheriffs, members of the constabulary and other enforcement officers accepted, or were forced by the system to accept, that their political aspirations would be channeled into these lower level

⁶³Hening, Statues at Large, 4:241-3, 508. Tobacco agents previously performed this duty.

positions. Some evidence suggests that tertiary officers filled the same positions their fathers had, and their sons tended to stick with lesser offices as well, much as magistrates followed their forbears into higher offices.⁶⁴ They were entirely absent from extra-governmental positions on the college board of visitors and none were local advisors to the Bray School. On the other hand, one from among their number, James Galt, was hired as the first keeper of the public hospital, a position similar to his previous employment as public jailor (undoubtedly regarded by the directors as a recommendation for the position of keeper) and subordinate to the directors, again suggesting that men of a lower rank in the local urban society filled tertiary offices.

Jurors, both grand and petit, active in Yorktown and Williamsburg provide another window on the local urban hierarchy. County justices and city magistrates depended upon grand jurors to review evidence for bills of indictment and petit jurors to evaluate the evidence in civil suits as well as criminal trials. As we have seen, a comparatively small number of county justices living in the towns and a larger number of enforcement officials had jury experience, but overall, juries do not appear to have been a training ground for other offices. In fact, there was a fairly sizeable group of urban residents who performed minimal service to the public as grand and/or petit jurors in York County court and nothing else. It is worth noting, however, that out of 143 urban men who served

⁶⁴Williams, "The Small Farmer," p. 98; Cathleene B. Hellier, "'The Bigwigs,': The County Court of York County, Virginia 1700-05" (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1984), pp.10-11. (Typewritten.); Linda H. Rowe, "Keepers of the Peace: Constables in York County, Virginia 1700-1705" (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1984), pp. 7-8. (Typewritten.)

as grand jurors between the 1690s and the Revolution, only twelve filled no other position in the government but grand juror, an indication that grand jurors were a more select group, commonly destined for primary or tertiary offices. By contrast, about a third of the 300 men in Yorktown and Williamsburg were petit jurors who performed no other public service and about 40 others were both grand and petit jurors who held no other office.

Grand jurors in colonial Virginia were described as "grave and substantial" laymen and the law required that both grand and petit jurors have a stake in society, that is, that they be freeholders (own land or urban lots or be householders in Williamsburg).⁶⁵ Yet, these quasi-officials did not often rise beyond tertiary level offices and many remained exclusively jurors. There is little evidence that they refused higher office or were fined for declining to be undersheriffs, constables, highway surveyors, or the like. Nor were they appointed to the boards of extra-governmental institutions. A later chapter will show that some "jurors only" were comfortable economically and some like Henry Wetherburn were closely allied with the inner circle of local magistrates, but many who remained in these quasi-official positions--albeit performing a service that contributed to the stability of society--were on the outer edges of the urban web of prominence.

Confirmation of the elevated status of urban justices and common hall members is revealed in public reaction to less than honorable conduct by magistrates. When Lawrence² Smith, justice of the York County bench in 1722 asked an assistant in the county clerks office to falsify

⁶⁵Webb, The Office and Authority, p. 193.

the date on a writ, a physical struggle ensued when the assistant refused. Several residents encouraged a suit against Smith because "it was more scandalous in a Magistrate than an indifferent person to break the Peace" and that it was "but just to expose him in his own Court."⁶⁶ Forty-odd years later, William² Nelson of Yorktown (member of the governor's council and former justice of the York County bench) wrote to his cousin William Cookson in England in 1769: ". . . I was sorry to learn that your late sherriff should demean himself so far as to become the poor tool of any rich man & thereby sully the honors and reputation of so respectable a family . . . his rank & fortune make the crime worse in him than it would been in a little needy felon"⁶⁷

Officeholding patterns thus in part account for social stratification in Yorktown and Williamsburg. Urban active magistrates and county clerks and prosecutors; deputy sheriffs, constables, and surveyors of the highways and streets and landings; and jurors (both grand and petit) were all important for orderly operation of the government and the security of both rural and urban residents, but their specific duties conferred varying degrees of importance on them. It was the urban magistrates--whose positions gave them knowledge of, and control over, a great many areas of the lives of residents and qualified them to assume additional responsibilities in extra-governmental institutions--who naturally rose to the top of urban society in Yorktown and Williamsburg with lesser

⁶⁶Daniel Fisher, "The Fisher History," in Some Prominent Virginia Families, ed. Louise P. Du Bellet (Lynchburg, Va.: J. P. Bell, 1907), pp. 766-7.

⁶⁷William Nelson to William Cookson, 2 September 1769, William Nelson Letterbook 1766-1775, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Va.

officials arrayed below them at varying distances from the center of power.

CHAPTER II

"MEN OF SUBSTANCE AND ABILITY"

Urban residents expected the men who undertook the duties of public office and exercised the powers invested in the various level offices to have the status commensurate with those responsibilities. Such status can in part be defined by economic clout (including value of personal property, holdings in real estate and slaves, and occupational group), family connections, and birth or long residence in the local urban community. Some of these characteristics were similar for officers at all levels active in Yorktown and Williamsburg, but they differed in degree from one group of officials to the next and from urban white males who did not hold public office. A few non-officeholding residents of Yorktown and Williamsburg had characteristics similar to their officeholding counterparts, but most probably did not have the necessary mix of strong personal finances, familial and other connections, and identification with the local area to be appointed to office. Associations between men of similar status formed cliques, especially among high level urban officials, that held outsiders at bay, marshalled support when one of their own was threatened, and handled challenges to authority with aplomb.

Settled in 1633, York County by the 1690s had a large creole rural population. As the eighteenth century progressed, local origins and long

residence in York County and its urban centers was evident among urban magistrates, tertiary officials and jurors. Although the origins of some of them could not be determined, a healthy percentage of jurors, enforcement officers,⁶⁸ county clerks, justices of the peace, and Williamsburg common hall members were native-born Virginians whose families preceded them in the county, and often in the towns themselves. For instance, while townspeople as a whole continued to have a large immigrant contingent, as many as two-thirds of inventoried urbanites up to the revolution,⁶⁹ justices of the peace who took office in York County by 1780 and were active in Williamsburg or Yorktown, were overwhelmingly creole. A little more than half were born in York County and many of their birthplaces can be located more exactly to a particular parish in the county. Another fifth probably were born in Virginia, if not in York County, making a total of about three-quarters native-born, leaving another quarter immigrant from Great Britain.⁷⁰ Likewise, half of the James City County justices who lived in Williamsburg were born in Virginia, usually in the local area or a nearby county. Nearly half of Williamsburg common hall officials also were born in Virginia, many in Williamsburg itself or York County. In contrast, at least half the men serving as clerks and prosecutors in York County were born in England,

⁶⁸Deputy sheriffs, constables, surveyors of the highways, surveyors of streets and landings, tobacco agents, bailiffs and county jailers.

⁶⁹Lorena S. Walsh, "Urban and Rural Residents Compared," in Peter V. Bergstrom et al., "Urbanization in the Tidewater South, Part II: The Growth and Development of Williamsburg and Yorktown," final report to the National Endowment for the Humanities, Grant RO-20869-85, 1989, p. 12.

⁷⁰See Table 7 in Chapter III for comparison of origins of urban and rural justices on the York County bench in four target years.

suggesting that they immigrated after receiving professional training in England for these offices. Determining birthplace becomes more difficult for tertiary officers, jurors and non-officeholders. For instance, only 40% of enforcement officers can be traced to their places of origin. Although clearly a minimum number, most of those were born in York County or at least Virginia. Speculation about the other 60% is difficult, but it is interesting to note that a number of constables in York County between 1700 and 1705 were preceded in the county by two or three generations of their families.⁷¹

All groups of officeholders showed remarkable persistence in York County and its towns. Once they purchased urban lots, they usually held them for a decade or more, and once they made one of the towns their permanent residence, they remained there for a substantial length of time. For instance, only about 4% of York County justices who were urban residents remained in the area less than ten years. Eighty percent remained at least 21 years and some as long as 70 years. Nearly 60% were active in the area from 31 to 70 years, including a number who were born in the local area.⁷² Justices of the James City County court active in Williamsburg were also likely to remain for at least 30 years and as long as 60 years. The same was true of tertiary level officials such as constables and surveyors of highways. In fact, public servants usually

⁷¹Rowe, "Keepers of the Peace," pp.2-3.

⁷²Based on their first recorded activity in York County to their last. The figures include some men who were active in York County court before they can be shown to be resident in the county and after they may actually have left the county. Figure's are not restricted to years in the area as adults, so those born in York County account for some of the officers showing activity in the area of several decades duration.

remained in the county and probably its towns until they died. By contrast, less than a third of adult men who held no offices (including jury duty) among the residents of Yorktown and Williamsburg persisted in the local area for several decades.⁷³

Most of the men serving all levels of county and municipal government in York County were married at least once and perhaps several times during the course of their lives. If not a qualification for office, marriage frequently enabled these men to strengthen ties with families within their own circles and gave outsiders a way to enhance their social and political prospects by marrying locally and less prominent individuals the chance to do the same by marrying "up."⁷⁴ Connections by blood and marriage played an especially important role in binding urban grandees and other Virginia elite together. John Hatley Norton was a native of Yorktown, son of John Norton, successful merchant of Yorktown and justice of the county bench. The elder Norton left his son in charge of the family business when he returned to England in the 1760s. Subsequently, the son, too, was appointed a York County justice. William Reynolds of Yorktown wrote to Hatley Norton's brother about the difficult position in which Hatley found himself, ". . . situated as he is to collect money, and at the same time solicit consignments [he] must be posses'd of a great deal of patience & moderation not sometimes by an unguarded Expression to disoblige, for you must well know the family connections in this Colony are so numerous, that if a Person offends one

⁷³As we shall see, the marginality of some non-officeholders may have resulted in their leaving little evidence of themselves in local records.

⁷⁴See Morgan, "The Hegemony of the Law," p. 85-6.

they dont know where it may stop. . . ."75 Reynold's letter implies that even one bred amidst the layered society in York County's urban centers (and Virginia society at large) had to reckon with the bonds forged by intermarriage among the elite.

High level county and municipal officials active in Yorktown and Williamsburg were probably well-educated and most tertiary level officials and jurors could at least sign their names, probably an indication that they could read and write--a necessity for that corps of officials responsible for delivering writs and warrants, assisting sheriffs with tax collection, and carrying out other orders of the court. Magistrates were usually not trained lawyers, but they familiarized themselves with the law and legal precedent.⁷⁶

Like their rural brethren with whom they shared the bench, urban residents and investors among justices were supposed to be

Men of Substance and Ability of Body and Estate; of the best Reputation, good Governance, and Courage for the Truth; Men fearing God, not seeking the Place for Honour or Conveniency, but endeavouring to preserve the Peace and good Government of their County, wherein they ought to be resident; . . .⁷⁷

Such was the contemporary wisdom about the qualifications to be met by gentlemen aspiring to the county bench and local prominence in Virginia including the assumption they would be operating from a strong financial position. Justices of the peace served without compensation usually for

⁷⁵William Reynolds to George Flowerdew Norton, 25 May 1775. William Reynolds Letterbook, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

⁷⁶In 1738 the court recalled from Matthew Pierce (deceased), Samuel Timson, Edward Tabb and John Harmer "the law books which they recd. as being Justices of the Peace for this County. . . ." York County, Va., Orders, Wills, Inventories 18, p. 436.

⁷⁷Webb, The Office and Authority, p. 201.

years on end during which their plantations or merchant activities could have suffered. During shrievalty, however, they were entitled to certain fees for executing some of their duties. Fixed by the General Assembly, these fees ranged from, say, 10 pounds of tobacco for delivering a warrant, to 250 for an execution (no doubt carried out by an underling) on up to a significant 1000 pounds of tobacco for constant attendance to such routine matters as impaneling juries, attending court and publishing writs for burgess elections.⁷⁸ Sheriffs were limited to no more than two consecutive one-year terms in Virginia, perhaps not enough time to recover losses from delinquent taxes, for which they were liable, and turn a profit. However, the sheriff of York County had an extra perk-- he served as sheriff of the General Court in Williamsburg for which he was paid an extra allowance.⁷⁹ It seems clear from the discussion below, however, that while prudent management of the office by the urban York County sheriffs might have enhanced the already secure financial position of these men, the aggravations outweighed monetary advantage for many justices. In general, urban justices of the peace in Yorktown and Williamsburg were expected to be able to devote several days a month, without compensation, to formal court meetings and to duties they could

⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 304-5.

⁷⁹Rankin, "The General Court of Colonial Virginia," pp. 150-1. Sheriffs in Maryland were likely to lose money the first year and to realize a profit only after two or more years, if they managed the office prudently. When their terms were limited to four years in the 1680s, Maryland sheriffs urged that they be allowed an additional year to finish collections. Lois Green Carr, County Government in Maryland, 1689-1709, Vol. 1 (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1987), pp. 513-4. Virginia sheriffs who had served for two years could be reappointed only after one intervening term was served by another justice. Profits and losses for Virginia sheriffs have not as yet been studied.

perform as a single justice from their homes, an expectation bespeaking general recognition of their gentry status.

The situation was a bit different for tertiary officers among urban residents. A contemporary described the qualifications of a man appointed to the colonial constabulary that can just as easily be applied to the other lesser officers (deputy sheriffs, surveyors of the highways, tobacco agents, bailiffs and jailors) as well: Beyond honesty in executing his office impartially, and "Science; to know what he ought to do," a constable should be of sufficient estate and substance; physically fit; and diligent. "For if poor Men, who live by the Labour of their own Hands, are elected to this Office," they might neglect their duties in favor of their work, "by which their Wife and Children are to be maintained."⁸⁰ "Of sufficient estate and substance" resemble qualifications applied to justices by the same chronicler, although the implication is that these lesser officers might well be middling folk but probably did not come from the poorest ranks of society. Certain fees, stipends, and opportunities to make money attached to some enforcement positions may have been welcome supplemental income for a middling planter, craftsman, or ordinary keeper, perhaps ameliorating the troublesome and often grim responsibilities of these mid-level offices. Deputy sheriffs and constables were entitled to specific fees that sometimes averaged from 750 to 1000 pounds of tobacco per year for such duties as serving writs, summoning witnesses and jurors, or putting

⁸⁰Webb., The Office and Authority, p. 89.

offenders in the stocks.⁸¹ Economic characteristics of enforcement officers among residents in Yorktown and Williamsburg show, however, that many of these tertiary level officers were probably economically comfortable enough not to be wholly dependent upon the payments to them recorded in county levies. On the other hand, Frederick³ Bryan, longtime deputy sheriff of York County, was said to have acquired a "handsome" fortune via this tertiary office.⁸²

Comparison of occupations among officeholders, and between officeholders and non-officeholders, reveal that merchants and planters dominated upper level offices. (Table 2) Justices, members of the Williamsburg common hall, and clerks and prosecutors were usually merchants or planters and occasionally professionals such as lawyers or doctors. Though already a Williamsburg alderman and soon to be mayor, Dr. George¹ Gilmer's disingenuous self-effacing comment in a letter to John Blair, "As to politics I shall leave them to others being too ticklish a point for an Apothecary to cuddle with" nevertheless may indicate a generally accepted notion of what types of work were suited to what levels of officeholders.⁸³ It had never seemed reasonable to charge tailors, cobblers, ploughmen, and shepherds--or whatever the local urban

⁸¹Williams, "The Small Farmer," pp. 92-3; Rowe, "Keepers of the Peace," p. 97.

⁸²Virginia Gazette (Purdie and Dixon), 24 January 1771. Deputy sheriff of York County was probably a lucrative position. Since the sheriff of York County was also sheriff of the General Court in Williamsburg, his deputy undoubtedly collected more fees in assisting him than undersheriffs might have ordinarily.

⁸³George Gilmer to John Blair, 28 December 1753, Brock Manuscript Notebook, p. 159, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.

TABLE 2. OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF URBAN OFFICEHOLDERS AND NON-OFFICEHOLDERS

<u>OFFICE GROUP</u>	<u>MOST COMMON</u>	<u>LEAST COMMON</u>
YC justices	merchant, planter	craft, service*
JCC justices	merchant, planter	service, craft
Williamsburg common hall	professional,** merchant	craft, service
YC clerks, deputy clerks, deputy king's attorneys	professional clerks	----
YC deputy sheriffs, constables, highway surveyors, bailiffs, tobacco agents, jailors	craft, service (YT) service (Wmsbg)	professional, merchant professional, merchant
Yorktown surveyors streets/landings	merchant, planter, service	craft, professional
Williamsburg constables, surveyors streets/landings	craft craft	merchant, planter, professional
YC petit jury duty only	craft (Wmsbg) merchant (YT)	professional professional
YC grand jury duty only	craft	merchant, service professional
YC grand and petit jury duty only	craft	merchant, professional
Non-officeholders		
Williamsburg	craft, service	planter
Yorktown	craft, service	professional

* ordinary keepers, etc.

**doctors, lawyers

equivalent might be--with important matters of state.⁸⁴ Craftsmen and some providers of services therefore filled the ranks of enforcers and most "jurors only" groups, except in Yorktown where a number of merchants took time for petit jury duty but nothing else. Non-officeholders among Williamsburgers were least likely to have been planters and in Yorktown non-officeholders were not likely to have been professional men such as doctors and lawyers. The great majority of non-officeholders in both towns were craftsmen and providers of services such as ordinary keepers. In both towns, however, a noticeable number of merchants never held any public office and in Williamsburg, doctors and other professionals often held no public offices. Although they profited from the stable society provided by their peers in government offices, they may have had neither the time nor the desire to serve in office themselves. Their fellow urban merchants on the county courts and in the Williamsburg common hall may have honored their disinclination to be included in the pool of potential appointees, though it cannot be proven.

In eighteenth-century Virginia, a sufficient "stake in society" did to some degree define rank.⁸⁵ While, wealth is not a perfect surrogate for status because status is generated by a variety of social variables,⁸⁶ it is true that urban magistrates were usually well-to-do residents with substantial land and slaveholdings. Appraised inventories

⁸⁴John B. Kirby, "Early American Politics--The Search for Ideology: An Historiographical Analysis and Critique of the Concept of 'Deference,'" The Journal of Politics 32 (1970):826-7.

⁸⁵Rhys Isaac, The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), p. 118.

⁸⁶Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, pp. 128-9; Idem, Explicatus, p. 133.

extant for a broad range of officeholders provide rough indices of economic level through total estate values and numbers of slaves owned. Table 3 reveals that estate values of justices, top city officials, and county court clerks and deputy king's attorneys can be classified as very large.⁸⁷ Some York County enforcers and "grand jurors only" active in the towns also had large estates. A few of these well-to-do enforcers went on to higher office, of course, but some remained in tertiary positions. It is not altogether clear why a few wealthy residents of the towns have evidence of grand jury service alone. For instance, Henry Hacker and Anthony Hay, the two with the largest estates, were not obvious profligates and both men were adults when they are first known to have been active in York County. Hacker's court activities reveal nothing that would disqualify a successful merchant who was once named foreman of a grand jury for additional offices. It may be that he preferred to devote his time to his business and was able to use his influence to keep his name off lists of potential appointees. Hay, on the other hand, sold his cabinetmaking business to Benjamin Bucktrout in 1767 to buy the Raleigh Tavern in Williamsburg. Thereafter, he was frequently a defendant in York County court in debt cases, possibly stemming from obligations he incurred before he sold out to Bucktrout. In addition, his principal occupations, cabinetmaker and tavern keeper, set him apart from the merchants, planters and professionals who dominated the York County bench and Williamsburg common hall. Hay died a

⁸⁷All total estate values used in this report are stated in constant pounds as determined by St. Mary's City Commission. All amounts were rounded off to the nearest full pound by the author. The Commission defined a large estate as valued at £226 or more; middle level estates between £51 and £225; and small estates at £50 or less.

TABLE 3. COMPARATIVE TOTAL ESTATE VALUES OF URBAN OFFICEHOLDERS AND NON-OFFICEHOLDERS

<u>OFFICE GROUP</u>	<u># W/ APPRAISED INVENTORIES</u>	<u>WEALTH LEVEL</u>			<u>MEAN</u>	<u>MEDIAN</u>
		<u><£50</u>	<u>£51-£225</u>	<u>£226+</u>		
YC justices (90)	22	----	14%	86%	£1160	£901
JCC justices (21)	----	----	----	----	----	----
Williamsburg common hall (45)	5	----	----	100%	£2775	£830
YC clerks, d. clrks, d. king's attorneys (11)	3	----	33%	67%	£ 451	£387
YC d. sheriffs, constables, highway surveyors, bailiffs, tobacco agents, jailors (116)	38	13%	37%	50%	£ 381	£183
Yortown surveyors streets/ landings (25)	9	----	33%	67%	£ 653	£507
Williamsburg constables, surveyors streets/ landings (8)	----	----	----	----	----	----
YC pj duty only (110)	14	21%	50%	29%	£ 233	£117
YC gj duty only (11)	5	----	20%	80%	£ 804	£524
YC gj & pj duty only (40)	21	10%	47%	43%	£ 672	£164
Non-officeholders						
Williamsburg (520)	33	24%	55%	21%	£ 195	£ 60
Yorktown (206)	19	42%	47%	11%	£ 83	£ 54

wealthy urban tavern keeper who also owned about 200 acres of rural land in York County, but his wealth and secondary planter status may not have been enough to gain him appointment beyond conscription to grand jury duty.

In general, however, value of personal property in inventories of lesser officials comes out at the middling level. Officeholders with small estates were few (except for about a fifth of those that survive for the "petit jurors only" group). Numbers of slaves listed in surviving inventories are considerably larger for justices, members of the common hall and the few men who saw only grand jury duty than for inventoried deputy sheriffs, constables and other enforcers. While most enforcement officers owned slaves (some in fairly large numbers) their average slaveholdings were no higher than the low numbers owned by some jurors. Men who served only as petit jurors turned out to have the fewest slaves among officeholders. (Table 3) A few estates among "petit jurors only" and "grand/petit jurors only" had no slaves.

As Table 3 and Table 4 also reveal, surviving inventories for non-officeholding adult males amongst residents of Yorktown and Williamsburg are few--only about 9% for Yorktown and 6% for Williamsburg. Based on these few, it does appear that many urban residents who did not hold any kind of office were living on the margins of society. Many of those who did not leave inventories were doubtless poorer than those for whom there are inventories. Nearly a quarter of non-officeholders in Williamsburg and over a third in Yorktown had estates valued at £50 or below. About half of those with inventories probably enjoyed a comfortable mid-level living standard, but their proportion among all non-officeholders was

TABLE 4. COMPARATIVE SLAVEHODINGS OF URBAN OFFICEHOLDERS AND NON-OFFICEHOLDERS

<u>OFFICE GROUP</u> (# in urban sample)	<u># W/ APPRAISED</u> <u>INVENTORIES</u>	<u># SLAVES</u>	<u>MEAN</u>	<u>MEDIAN</u>
YC justices (90)	22	3-170	20*	18
JCC justices (21)	----	----	----	----
Williamsburg common hall (45)	5	8-108	15*	15
YC clerks, d. clerks, d. king's attorneys (11)	3	5-7	6	6
YC deputy sheriffs, constables, highway surveyors, bailiffs, tobacco agents, jailors (116)	38	0-34		3
Yorktown surveyors streets/ landings (25)	9	0-35	9	6
Williamsburg constables, surveyors streets/landings (8)	----	----	----	----
YC pj duty only (110)	14	0-13	2	1
YC gj duty only (11)	5	3-24	11	5
YC gj & pj duty only (40)	21	0-49	8	5
Non-officeholders				
Williamsburg (520)	37	0-12	2	0
Yorktown (206)	23	0-11	2	0

*Outliers not included in calculation

likely much smaller. Merchants, doctors, lawyers and craftsmen who had large-scale operations were among the 20% in Williamsburg and about 11% in Yorktown whose large estates were valued at £226 or above. On average, slaveholdings among non-officeholders were much lower than for most officeholder groups. It was, in fact, the norm for non-officeholders not to have any slaves.

Investment in land and urban lots by officeholders and non-officeholders further defines wealth levels. By the eighteenth century, rural York County land was subdivided into smaller but well-developed plantations which is reflected in the figures in Table 5.⁸⁸ Rural land owned by most urban members of the county bench in York and James City counties, members of the common hall, urban county clerks and prosecutors in addition to their town holdings were small to middling sized plantations in York County.⁸⁹ The same is true for most enforcers and jurors (grand and petit). The number of large landholdings, however, are fewer among lower level officers. The relatively small numbers of slaves

⁸⁸Exact and minimum amounts of rural York County acreage owned by urban residents were calculated at the point at which they died or disappeared from York County. These figures are available for only about 40% of the officeholders examined for this study. Presumably, all officeholders in the urban centers were freeholders, but they could have owned urban lots and no rural land. Even so, land information does not survive in the county records for many urban residents and for a number of others "plantation" or "parcel of land" is as definitive as the records get about size of rural landholdings. The assumption here was that officeholders for whom rural land information is poor or missing would be roughly equal to those with known acreage.

⁸⁹Classifications by numbers of acres devised by St. Mary's City commission: Large plantations contain 801 to 1500+ acres; middling sized, 351 to 800 acres; and small plantations from 1 to 350 acres. Many justices had acreage in other Virginia counties in addition to their York County plantations. A number of James City County justices living in Williamsburg probably had rural James City County land in addition to plantations in York County.

TABLE 5. COMPARATIVE SIZES OF RURAL YORK COUNTY PLANTATIONS OWNED BY OFFICEHOLDERS AND NON-OFFICEHOLDERS

OFFICE GROUP	# HOLDING YC RURAL LAND	PLANTATION SIZE			MEAN	MEDIAN
		1-350	351-800	801-1500+		
YC justices (90)	53	47%	36%	17%	509	399
JCC justices (21)	8	88%	12%	----	228	200
Williamsburg Common Hall(45)	13	69%	31%	----	284	200
YC clerks, d. clerks, d. king's attorneys (11)	4	67%	----	33%	941	255
YC d. sheriffs, constables, highway surveyors, bailiffs, tobacco agents, jailors (116)	49	67%	25%	8%	317	215
Yorktown surveyors streets/ landings (25)	7	85%	----	15%	211	130
Williamsburg constables, surveyors streets/ landings (8)		100%	----	----	150	150
YC pj duty only (110)	16	75%	19%	6%	282	150
YC gj duty only (11)	3	67%	----	33%	366	78
YC gj & pj duty only (40)	12	83%	17%	----	215	200
Non-officeholders						
Williamsburg (520)	11	46%	36%	18%*	100**	100
Yorktown (206)	9	33%	33%	34%	150	205

*Includes Samuel Beale who held 2272 acres at date last active in York County.

**Outlier excluded from calculation.

owned by most of these officeholders (Table 4) may coincide with the work requirements of their moderate sized farms in York County. Very few non-officeholders in Williamsburg and Yorktown (less than 5%) owned rural land when they died or disappeared from local records, but those who did had small to medium sized farms--smaller on average than those of officeholders in all groups.⁹⁰

Holdings in urban lots in Yorktown and Williamsburg are somewhat less indicative of economic status than estate values, amount of rural land, or numbers of slaves partly because the number of lots in each town was basically finite and space was at a premium in all but the first couple of decades in both towns. Individually, the heaviest investment in urban lots was among justices and members of the common hall, though clerks and prosecutors and peacekeepers also had some in their ranks who held multiple lots, but as Table 6 shows, two lots or less was the norm across all groups in Yorktown and in all but common hall officers, James City County justices and county clerks and prosecutors in Williamsburg. Fewer non-officeholders held multiple lots. However, while almost no non-officeholders owned rural land, nearly a quarter had at least one lot, perhaps because sales of original undeveloped lots by the trustees were complete by the 1740s.⁹¹ Thereafter, it was more difficult to acquire urban real estate and developed lots for sale by owners were more expensive. As it relates to officeholding, it is clear that it was not

⁹⁰York County Project coding did not include amounts of land leased or rented by non-officeholders at date last active or death.

⁹¹Cathy Hellier, "The Character and Direction of Urban Expansion in Williamsburg," in Bergstrom et al., "The Growth and Development of Williamsburg and Yorktown," p. 58-9.

TABLE 6. COMPARATIVE NUMBERS OF URBAN LOTS OWNED BY URBAN OFFICEHOLDERS AND NON-OFFICEHOLDERS

<u>OFFICE GROUP</u>	<u># w/YT</u> <u>LOTS</u>	<u># w/WMBG</u> <u>LOTS</u>	<u># YT</u> <u>LOTS</u>	<u>YT MEAN</u>	<u>YT MEDIAN</u>	<u>#WBG</u> <u>LOTS</u>	<u>W MEAN</u>	<u>W MEDIAN</u>
YC justices (90)	34	34	<1-21.25	3.72	2.00	<1-23	4.15	2.00
JCC justices (21)	----	13	----	----	----	1-20	4.62	3.00
Williamsburg common hall (45)	----	34	----	----	----	<1-23	6.00	4.00
YC clerks, d. clerks, d. king's attor(11)	5	3	1-10	3.60	2.00	2-7	4.00	3.00
YC d. sheriffs, constables, highway surveyors, bailiffs, tobacco agents, jailors (116)	40	19	<1-14	2.23	1.00	1-7	2.63	1.00
Yorktown surveyors streets/landings(25)	19	----	<1-10	3.70	3.00	----	----	----
Williamsburg constables, surveyors streets/ landings (8)	----	4	----	----	----	<1-10	4.37	3.00
YC pj duty only (110)	16	28	<1-4	1.60	1.00	<1-4	1.59	1.00
YC gj duty only (11)	3	6	1-2	1.67	2.00	<1-2	4.23	2.00
YC gj & pj duty only (40)	10	14	1-4	1.68	1.00	1-14	4.38	2.00
Non-officeholders								
Williamsburg (520)	----	103	----	----	----	<1-14	2.31	1.00
Yortown (206)	62	----	<1-3	1.23	1.00	----	----	----

enough to merely own real estate in town to qualify for office, even low office.

Urban justices of York and James City counties and officers of the Williamsburg common hall were a group of leading men of their societies. In large part locally born and committed to the urban areas for the long term, the component of the urban populations of Williamsburg and Yorktown who held high level county and city offices assumed duties and responsibilities that enabled the society to run smoothly. They usually accumulated personal property and real estate enough to be considered well-to-do. These "big wigs" at the center of power and influence in Yorktown and Williamsburg were bound together in protecting their common interests and authority. Daniel Fisher--tavern keeper, lodginghouse keeper and small merchant; immigrant and non-officeholder--bumped up against this web of local influence. It included prominent officeholders and certain successful businessmen who dealt uncharitably with people perceived to be on the fringes of the established social hierarchy or outside of it altogether. Fisher was a newcomer, but his case demonstrates the effect cooperative effort among urban magistrates and their cronies could have on outsiders and humbler urban residents alike.

During his two attempts (the first in the 1720s) to make a go of it in Virginia, Fisher ran afoul of local grandees as he noted in his diary. Before landfall in Virginia on his second emigration in the 1750s, one of his fellow travellers returning to Virginia on board ship:

. . . in speaking of the disposition of the Virginian, very freely cautioned us against disobliging or offending any person of note in the Colony we were going to; for says he, either by blood or marriage, we are almost all related, or so connected in our interests, that whoever of a Stranger presumes to offend any one of us will infallibly find an enemy of the whole nor

right nor wrong, do we ever forsake him, till by one means or other, his ruin is accomplished.⁹²

Making some allowance for Fisher's chariness, his comments, corroborated in part by local court records, reveal that his travelling companion was right about a network of local officials and prominent citizens and a well-developed "good old boy system" that effectively shut outsiders out.

Fisher came ashore in Yorktown with a load of tea he hoped to sell there. He was aware of the powerful Nelson family in Yorktown from his earlier sojourn in Virginia, so Fisher knew that a favorable reception from Thomas² Nelson (councilor and secretary of Virginia) and his brother William² Nelson (former York County justice of the peace and member of the governor's council), to whom he had letters of introduction, would improve his prospects. When he disembarked in Yorktown, a cool reception from the Nelson's awaited him and Fisher blamed it, at least in part, on an affront he had committed against a Nelson ally years before. Both Nelsons were merchants, so they may also have wanted to force a competing merchant out of the small port town. William Nelson derided Fisher for coming to Virginia at all and advised him to return to England by the first ship and was enthusiastic when Fisher intimated he might move on to Pennsylvania if prospects in Virginia were poor.⁹³ Thereafter, William Nelson blew hot and cold in his relations with Fisher depending upon the advantage to himself or his allies.

After five weeks of this treatment, Fisher moved to Williamsburg but

⁹²Fisher, "The Fisher History," p. 767. Note this additional testimony regarding the importance of connections through kinship and marriage.

⁹³Ibid., 755, 765, 766.

difficulties dogged him there as well, a situation he felt would have been different had "any of these people known or believed me to have been in the least degree of favor with his honor [William² Nelson], or at all under his protection, . . ." ⁹⁴ Fisher determined to rent the English Coffee House, an ordinary near the Capitol in Williamsburg. Nathaniel Walthoe (clerk of the governor's council and one of the few important officials to treat Fisher kindly) offered to arrange a lease from the owner, Henry Wetherburn, a prominent tavern keeper. Wetherburn's only public service was jury duty which he abandoned about the time Fisher arrived in Williamsburg, but he appears to have been allied with the men at the center of power in Williamsburg. Trouble with Wetherburn started for Fisher even before the lease was signed--Wetherburn sold a billiard table he had given Fisher permission to use in his tavern. Walthoe advised Fisher to ignore the affront, but when it came time to sign the lease, clauses regarding renewal of the lease and requiring Wetherburn to make repairs were omitted. Fisher wanted the items inserted, but the man who had drawn up the lease said the laws and customs of the country stipulated that landlords take care of repairs. Now coming to Wetherburn's defense, Walthoe enjoined, "As to the further grant of a Lease . . . Mr. Wetherburn's worth and honor were so well known, that no body who had any themselves would scruple taking his word for anything of much greater consequence; . . ." Fisher still insisted, eliciting a "What! do you distrust or do you doubt of Mr. Wetherburn's honor?" In the end, Fisher agreed to take Wetherburn's word and a handshake that he would renew the lease and make repairs.

⁹⁴Ibid,. 785.

Wetherburn was evidently intent upon accommodating provincial officials in town for business at the capital or governor's palace. After all, word of mouth favorable to Wetherburn passed among burgesses, councilors and other officers would have been an important source of business for a tavern keeper in Williamsburg. When Fisher refused to release the house he was renting from Wetherburn to Col. Philip Lee (soon to be named to the council), son of Thomas Lee, recently deceased president of the council, in exchange for one in a less advantageous location Lee had taken, Wetherburn was furious. He denied that he was responsible for making repairs to Fisher's house, and Fisher soon discovered that witnesses to the original lease and handshake had curious lapses of memory on the subject. "Whether this disingenuous behavior in Mr. Wetherburn was the result of his own mind, or that he was prompted thereto by Col. Lee," Fisher could not determine. Walthoe was willing to attest to Fisher's understanding about the repairs, but Fisher appears not to have pursued the matter.⁹⁵

Local officials and their cronies clearly ganged up on Fisher, intensifying their pressure on him the longer he remained in Williamsburg. None other than the mayor of Williamsburg, merchant John Holt, "a friend and known dependent of the honourable William Nelson Esq.," now joined the forces against Fisher. In March 1754, he lodged a complaint in the Williamsburg Hustings Court accusing Fisher of "selling Rum to Negroes contrary to law." Though the affair was dropped for lack of evidence, Fisher was convinced that the charge was cooked up because Wetherburn, Holt and possibly others were infuriated that Fisher's

⁹⁵Ibid., 776-7.

lodging house and merchant activities were going well at that time.⁹⁶ The very next month, a fire that began in a neighbor's house threatened Fisher's house as well. Ill-conceived orders issued by Mayor Holt, ostensibly to prevent the fire from spreading further into the town, resulted in damage to Fisher's house and looting of his goods. "An exploit like this, one would think, must have fully satisfied the vengeance of . . . Col. Lee, Mr. Holt, and Mr. Wetherburn, . . ." wrote Fisher.⁹⁷

During the fire, an exchange between Fisher and a group of slaves demonstrates the particular deference reserved for the men at the center of local political, economic and social power in Williamsburg. As the fire approached Fisher's property, he observed a large number of slaves viewing the fire from the vicinity of his house. "I spoke to a knot of those, exhorting them very civilly to assist in drawing or fetching water, etc, but received a surly reply with an Oath of who will pay us?" The slaves had no qualms about ignoring a request from a white merchant outside the network of the local elite, but when mayor John Holt ordered part of Fisher's house pulled down to prevent the spread of fire the "order was no sooner issued, than these Lazy fellows became the most active industrious people in the world."⁹⁸

The urban elite demonstrated their network of mutual support when they closed ranks behind one of their own. A spectacular example involved Dr. James Blair, son of John Blair (president of the

⁹⁶Ibid., 778-9.

⁹⁷Ibid., 780-1.

⁹⁸Ibid., 780.

governor's council, urban justice of York County and diarist) and brother of John² Blair (clerk of the council, member of the Williamsburg common hall and urban justice of the York court). Dr. Blair had studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh and had just returned to Williamsburg. In May 1771, Dr. Blair married Kitty Eustace who herself was not without good, though not local, social connections.⁹⁹ By all accounts a forward young lady who had come to Williamsburg to make a good marriage under the direction of her scheming mother, Kitty and Mrs. Eustace were already the subject of gossip letters exchanged among acquaintances they had made, but tongues really wagged when Kitty left Dr. Blair's house almost immediately after their marriage. In the midst of furious gossip about the separation, however, freeholders of Williamsburg elected Dr. Blair to the town's common council in September 1771, undoubtedly with the approbation of incumbent Williamsburg magistrates.

Reported James Parker of Norfolk in a letter to Charles Steuart after a reconciliation was attempted in April 1772, "A most damnable fuss has been at Williamsburg with Dr. Blair and his rib. Nothing was talked of but separation. Matters were painted blacker than they really were, and she is acquitted of everything but not allowing him to have a fair chance ever since they have been married."¹⁰⁰ Kitty was aware that the

⁹⁹Kitty was from New York, the daughter of a physician. John Murray, earl of Dunmore (governor of New York and then of Virginia) was a friend of her family and possibly a distant kinsman. She and her mother arrived in Williamsburg having been introduced to local society through letters from Charles Steuart of London. Frank L. Dewey, Thomas Jefferson, Lawyer (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1986), p. 58.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., pp. 58-9.

public blamed her, writing to her sister-in-law Anne Blair: "I have suffered as much & deserved it as little [as your brother].¹⁰¹ Matters worsened when more grist for the gossip mill appeared in the form of an anonymous note delivered to Mrs. Eustace impugning Dr. Blair's manhood as the principal difficulty between Blair and Kitty. When Blair learned that Mrs. Eustace had showed the note to others, all hope of reconciliation ended.¹⁰² While it seems unlikely that the gentry defending Blair were entirely blameless in the spread of rumors regarding the affair, it may also have been someone in the inner circle of Williamsburg society who delivered a blow to Kitty's reputation in the form of innuendo about adultery on her part with none other than Governor Dunmore.

Dr. Blair's advancement in politics continued unabated. He was elected alderman of Williamsburg by his fellow municipal magistrates in September 1772 though he probably was not able to function effectively in office in the face of personal embarrassment and ill health he had endured since contracting a serious illness in London in 1770. He died in December 1772 at the Albemarle home of a relative.¹⁰³ James Parker wrote Steuart, "Dr. Blair has very opportunely taken his departure for the other world" Parker implied that the difficulty of continuing in the face of cruel gossip may have been the reason that Blair's will made no provision for Kitty. Under the law, however, she was entitled to dower interest in his estate. Justices of the James City

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 61.

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 61-2.

¹⁰³Ibid., pp. 58, 61.

County court meeting in Williamsburg denied Kitty's suit for her dower rights. Although there appears to have been little ground for it, this group of area officials, including some who were also members of the common hall, rose to protect the interests of one of their own.¹⁰⁴

Blair's ability to get elected had not been affected by personal embarrassment. A similar attitude may have sustained public printer William² Hunter who evidently had a son out of wedlock (William³ Hunter whom he called his "natural son") with Elizabeth Reynolds of Williamsburg. If the documents have been interpreted correctly, this impropriety would likely have been common knowledge but it did not seem to reflect on his respect in the community--public printer, justice of the peace in York County and trustee of the Bray school whose stated purpose was to instill Christian principals in local black children.

In the layered society of the urban centers in York County, then, high officials in local government and prominent citizens in town had considerable influence and were not averse to using their power to confound competitors outside their inner circle or to advance their own interests. Reaction to the authority of the powerful are inevitable, however, and one does not have to look far to find challenges to authority figures in Williamsburg. Fisher's indignant responses to the coercion he felt from the local elite in Yorktown and Williamsburg were, in fact, a form of protest, but he also came up against them in court. Back in 1722, it had been Daniel Fisher--the hapless assistant in the county clerk's office in Yorktown--whom Lawrence² Smith, urban justice of

¹⁰⁴The case was finally decided in Kitty's favor in the General Court much to the surprise of Edmund Pendleton and George Mercer who defended for Blair's estate against Kitty's claim. Ibid., p. 64.

the York County bench, had asked to back date a writ. When Fisher refused, Smith struck him with his cane. Damages of six pence and costs were awarded Fisher in the suit he brought against Smith but, according to Fisher, Smith was never required to pay up.¹⁰⁵ It was anger at Fisher's perceived insult to Smith, remembered by local grandees for the next thirty years, Fisher believed, that contributed to his difficulties with the Nelsons when he came back to Yorktown in 1750. Even so, Fisher was not cowed by local magistrates. In Williamsburg Hustings Court, when Mayor John Holt charged him with illegally selling rum to slaves, Fisher in fact got the best of Holt when the mayor took refuge behind a legal system that would not accept slave testimony against a white person as the reason he could not produce evidence against Fisher. Fisher proceeded to declare to the court that he had not the least objection to testimony in the case from a black person "who would only say, I had ever let a Negro have any spirituous liquors without the leave or order of the Master or Mistress . . . I should esteem it a just reason for a restraining my selling; . . ." Fisher went even further when he told the court that he had turned away two slaves who had no authority from their masters to buy rum who then went to Holt's where they were served without compunction. Interestingly, merchant John Blair,¹⁰⁶ one of the Williamsburg hustings court magistrates, defended Fisher's right to accuse Holt on hearsay as Holt had done Fisher, an indication that magistrates in Williamsburg were not always of one mind.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵Ibid., 766-7.

¹⁰⁶This John Blair is not John1 Blair or his son, John2 Blair.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., 778.

Nevertheless, Holt, Wetherburn and the Nelsons must have viewed Fisher's move to Philadelphia in 1755 with satisfaction.

Provincial authorities (frequently the same urban residents who were local county and municipal magistrates) were sometimes challenged by those outside the accepted order who were emboldened by strong conviction. Such was the case of Rev. Samuel Davies, the famous Presbyterian minister who settled in Hanover County, Virginia and brother-in-law of merchant (later mayor) John Holt of Williamsburg. As a dissenter in pre-revolutionary Virginia, he was required by law to obtain a license to preach at a specific meetinghouse--one meetinghouse per preacher as Anglican priests were limited to one parish. Davies usually "played by the rules," but he ran into difficulty with the governor's council in Williamsburg when he applied for licenses to preach at additional meetinghouses in 1750. Rhys Isaac sees the council's reaction to Davies and other itinerants as "conditioned by considerations of social authority rather than religious doctrine as such" for the same officials objecting to licenses for Davies had no objection to exempting foreign protestants who settled in the western parts of Virginia from Anglican Church taxes. Itinerancy was anathema to the establishment for it ran counter to the regular lines of spiritual authority under which all Virginians were required to live.¹⁰⁸ Peyton Randolph, attorney general at the time (coincidentally York County justice and member of the common hall) and spokesman for traditional Virginians, presented a formidable adversary for Davies. When he came to Williamsburg in 1750 to press his case, Davies countered Randolph's assertion that the English

¹⁰⁸Isaac, Transformation, pp. 150-1.

Act of Toleration of 1689 was not binding in the colonies (an issue that remained unresolved until the Revolution) with enough legal savvy to impress Gov. William Gooch and Commissary James Blair. Perhaps with some hyperbole, Davies's traveling companion later reported that lawyers present whispered that the attorney general had met his match.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, the council continued to deny Davies additional licenses.

Perceived injustice at the hands of the authorities could result in another kind of challenge--disruptive behavior, but urban authorities usually turned such a situation to their advantage. A good example of one such set-to developed in Yorktown and Williamsburg and again serves to demonstrate that to take on any one part of officialdom in the urban centers was to confront them all. An act passed by the General Assembly in 1755 fixed Anglican clergymen's salaries at two pence per pound of tobacco regardless of the market value of the weed, thereby depriving the ministers of substantial earnings if the price rose higher than that in a given year. Most of the ministers directed their protests through the proper channels, but not so Jacob Rowe, Anglican clergyman and professor of moral philosophy at the College of William and Mary. In 1758 he publicly cursed members of the House of Burgesses over the issue.¹¹⁰ Although Rowe later offered a mild apology, his resentment led him to further affront college officials and local magistrates, among whom were several of the despised provincial officials such as Peyton Randolph (college visitor, York County justice and member of the common hall) of

¹⁰⁹George William Pilcher, Samuel Davies, Apostle of Dissent (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1971), pp. 120-1.

¹¹⁰Morpurgo, Their Majesties' Royall Colledge, pp. 119-20.

Williamsburg and Thomas² Nelson (councilor and secretary of Virginia) and William² Nelson (councilor and former York County justice), both of Yorktown and members of the board of visitors.

In 1760, based on reports from unidentified informants, Rowe and Goronwy Owen, Master of the Grammar School, were accused by the Visitation of being common swearers and drunkards. The pair not only violated standards of the College with abandon but also caroused in the public streets of Williamsburg and Yorktown, thumbing their noses at the municipal and county authorities as well. The visitors conducted a formal inquiry into the charges against Rowe. While they were appalled by the swearing and drinking, the board nevertheless was most disturbed by Rowe's attempts to undermine the regular authority of the College (he evidently had it in for President Thomas Dawson who had been less than eager to oppose the Two-Penny Act).¹¹¹ Their address of reprimand expressed the indignation and concealed anxiety undoubtedly shared by the urban magistrates:

. . . you have treated the President of the College, as President, with Respect to the Affair of the Small-Pox, with the greatest Indecency and Insolence, and . . . that you have attempted the very Destruction of the College, by proposing in a Meeting of the President and Masters, to surrender our Charter. You must know, Sir, or at least ought to be convinced, that in this, and every other Institution like it, 'tis necessary that a regular and due subordination ought to be preserved; and as the Professors or Master have a right to exact Obedience from the Students and Scholars, so is the President well entitled to a due Respect and Deference from the Professors and Masters; if these Rules are not strictly adhered to, the Affairs of the College must inevitably fall into the greatest Confusion, and of Course she must dwindle into nothing.¹¹²

¹¹¹Ibid.

¹¹²Fulham Palace Papers 15, Item #36, Lambeth Palace Library, London.

At this, Rowe evidently professed regret for his conduct and promised to behave in the future, for the Visitation did not dismiss him. It was to their advantage to be seen as bringing an errant subordinate into line, especially since anticlerical elements among the visitors would not be sorry to see a divine thus cowed.¹¹³

It was not long, however, before Rowe was again in trouble. This time his fate was sealed for his antics put students at the college, residents of Williamsburg and Peyton Randolph himself in some danger. Not only did he lead the Grammar School students at the College in a pitched battle with weapons against the apprentices in Williamsburg,¹¹⁴ he also brandished a pistol at

. . . Peyton Randolph Esqr. one of the Visitors, who was interposing as a Magistrate and endeavouring to disperse the Combatants: That the next Day he also insulted the President for enquiring of the Boys the Particulars of the Affair without a Convention of the Masters: And upon the Rector's sending to him to take Care to keep the Boys in that Night upon Apprehension of a second Affray, he also most grossly insulted him.¹¹⁵

Rowe, evidently relishing his confrontation with the estimable Peyton Randolph (visitor and urban magistrate) and college officials, admitted to the visitors that some of the charges were true but claimed he had not "used ill" the president since he did not deserve any better treatment. Rowe was summarily dismissed from the faculty. Goronwy Owen, on the other hand, was allowed to resign rather than face the visitors, evidently because he had been a frequent visitor at the governor's palace

¹¹³Morpurgo, Their Majesties' Royall Colledge, p. 125.

¹¹⁴This is the only evidence that has come to light of a rivalry between young students at the college and town apprentices.

¹¹⁵Fulham Palace Papers 15, Item #36.

before his notorious escapades began and he had married the sister of Thomas Dawson, president of the College--a case of the elite rising to protect its image by covering for one of its own, even if they disapproved of his actions.¹¹⁶

Whether that group of less affluent planters, middling craftsmen and providers of services who filled a broad range of lesser offices in county government formed a similar kind of network for their own benefit, albeit with less power to accomplish their ends than their superiors, is at present difficult to demonstrate. The majority of lesser officials were comfortable economically; some peacekeepers were nearly as well off as their superiors on the county bench; and marginality does not appear to have characterized many, even among men who performed public service only at the juror level. Even so, evidence suggests that once in a tertiary level office, the norm was to continue to serve in similar slots over the course of a lifetime. These men were either content with their positions further from the center of power, or more likely, were forced to accept it by the upper echelons who, as we have seen, successfully influenced the perpetuation of their own kind in office. Still, the non-officeholding population may have looked upon these lower level officials as part of a system important to their sense of security that therefore afforded lesser officials a certain amount of collective respect with their superiors, especially in the two urban areas where transients were numerous and slaves were counted at better than half the population of

¹¹⁶Morpurgo, Their Majesties' Royall Colledge, p. 125.

Williamsburg by 1775.¹¹⁷ Another possibility is that these lesser officials were instrumental in solidifying magistrates' power and prestige if they were generally expected to cooperate with them in matters outside the purview of the court. If so, they may have garnered special favors from the elite in exchange. Again, these possibilities are difficult to document.

Non-officeholders were alike and different from their officeholding counterparts. Some devoted themselves to their professions (like Henry Wetherburn) who nevertheless were near the center of the web of prominence spun by high level officials in Williamsburg or Yorktown, perhaps using that association to keep themselves out of the pool of potential magistrates or grand jurors. Non-officeholders also included outsiders such as Daniel Fisher who could not break into urban society in either Yorktown or Williamsburg, and poorer urban residents struggling to keep body and soul together on the outer edges of the social web who had no political or social clout whatever.

Status commensurate with the offices they held was expected for urban officeholders. The recipe for attaining a given position in the stratified urban community in York County included a mixture of public authority and economic characteristics, family connections, and persistence for a significant time in the urban community. Urban magistrates came out on top because of their extensive official powers, large estates consisting of valuable personal property and real estate holdings acquired through commercial activities and planting, and

¹¹⁷David Rittenhouse, Virginia Almanack for the Year of our Lord God 1776 (Williamsburg, Va.: J. Dixon & W. Hunter, [1775]), [p. 42]. Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.

intermarriage with other members of the elite.¹¹⁸ From there, mutual cooperation among high ranking officials and their cronies preserved their positions in the upper echelons of Yorktown and Williamsburg society, protected their mutual interests, and enabled them to successfully meet challenges to their authority.

¹¹⁸Family connections among urban oriented officeholders is a factor that should receive further work.

CHAPTER III

INFLUENCE OF URBAN JUSTICES ON THE YORK COUNTY COURT

Urban oriented magistrates dominated the social sphere in York County's towns as a result of the extensive authority and responsibility conferred upon them by the important offices they filled. Their economic clout further enhanced their standing in the stratified urban community, but their influence is cast in even higher relief through examination of the York County court at quarter century intervals--1700, 1725, 1750, 1775. This analysis confirms that over the course of the eighteenth century, urban justices gradually came to dominate monthly sessions of the York County bench itself and to gain for the court a reputation for conducting business brought before them in a way advantageous to their fellow merchant/planters who used the court.

As Table 7 indicates, at the monthly court session of 24 January 1699/1700, only one York County justice of the peace was actually a resident of either urban area--Maj. William Buckner lived in Yorktown from 1696 until 1715. Three others invested in Yorktown lots, but did not live there, making them essentially rural York County residents. One more, Henry² Tyler lived in Bruton Parish near the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg on land inherited from his father and mother. The remaining three justices were clearly rural residents of the county with no residential or investment interests in either Yorktown or

TABLE 7. COMPARISON OF URBAN AND RURAL YORK COUNTY JUSTICES ATTENDING COURT IN 1700, 1725, 1750, 1775

YEAR	NAME	POB	OCCUPATION	# URBAN LOTS OWNED	# YC RURAL ACRES OWNED	INV DATE	TEV	TEV DEFLATED	#SLAVES OWNED
1700									
<u>urban</u>	William1 Buckner	Va	planter/merchant	5.33 YT	332	---			
<u>rural</u>	Thomas Barbar	YC	planter/merchant	---	500	---			
	Thomas2 Ballard*	YC	planter	1.00 YT	unspec+	---			
	John1 Goodwin	Eng	planter	---	1200	1701	378.95	320.84	8
	Charles Hansford*	YC	planter/entrepreneur	---	250	1702	267.84	226.77	4
	Baldwin Mathews	YC	planter	---	1500	---			
	Thomas Nutting	unk	planter	---	375	1717	425.23	401.92	11
	Robert Reade*	Va?	planter/ordkeepr	3.00 YT	750	1713	978.7	908.65	23
	Joseph1 Ring*	Eng	planter/mrchnt/ordkpr	1.00 YT	614	1704	1522.7	1319.73	27
	Thomas1 Roberts	unk	planter	---	450	1719	220.1	208.02	3
	Daniel Taylor*	Eng?	ship captn/planter	---	unspec	---			
	Henry2 Tyler**	YC	planter	---	180	1730	665.34	653.13	20
	James Whaley	Va	planter/merchant	---	780	1701	791.89	670.41	16
1725									
<u>urban</u>	Archibald Blair (W)	Scot	doctor/merchant	9.00 V	JCC	---			
	John1 Blair (W)	Scot	merchant/planter	16.00 V	135	---			
	John Holloway (W)	Eng	lawyer/entrepreneur	14.00 V	unspec	---			
	Thomas1 Nelson (YT)	Eng	merchant	11.00 YT 4.00 V	422	---			
	Graves1 Packe*** (W)	Eng?	mariner/planter	4.00 V	unk++	d. London			
	Lawrence2 Smith (YT)	Va	planter	4.00 YT	200	---			
	William Stark (YT)	Va	planter/merchant	---	unspec	---			
<u>rural</u>	Mathew1 Pierce	YC	planter	---	200	1738	707.24	690.33	15
	Edward1 Tabb	ECC/YC	planter	---	492	1734	950.09	960.66	11
	Samuel3 Timson	YC	planter	---	200	1748	589.91	488.50	18
	Henry2 Tyler**	YC	planter	---	180	1730	665.34	653.13	20

*Invested in Yortown lots but remained rural residents

**Lived in a rural area near the College of William and Mary but not in Williamsburg proper

***Direct evidence of residence missing; owned lots at Capitol Landing; no strong rural connection

+Unspec: Had plantations at date last active, acreage unknown

++Unk: May have had rural land

TABLE 7 (cont.)

YEAR	NAME	POB	OCCUPATION	# URBAN LOTS OWNED	# YC RURAL ACRES OWNED	INV DATE	TEV	TEV DEFLATED	#SLAVES OWNED
1750									
<u>urban</u>	Dudley4 Digges (YT/W)	YC	planter	4.00 W	unk++	d. JCC			
	George2 Gilmer (W)	Vnsbg	doctor/entrepreneur	1.00 W	none	d. Albemarle Co.			
	John Holt (W)	YC	merchant	2.00 W	unk	---			
	John2 Norton (YT)	Eng	merchant	6.00 YT	none	d. London			
	Peyton Randolph (W)	YC	lawyer/planter	6.00 W	unspec+	1776	7360.2	4969.76	108
	Thomas Reynolds (YT)	YT	mariner/planter/merchant	1.00 YT	175	1762	1810.4	1293.16	16
	Robert5 Shields (YT)	YC	planter/merchant	---	63	1773	2311.09	1530.52	49
<u>rural</u>	William3 Allen*	YC	planter	0.01 YT	300	---			
	Arthur Dickenson	YC	planter	---	200	1766	1007.35	678.35	15
	John3 Goodwin	YC	planter	---	1200	1767	1455.66	980.24	33
	Daniel Moore	Eng?	ordykeeper/planter	---	625	---			
	Samuel Read	YC	planter	---	unspec	1759	unapp		42
	John Wormley	Va?	planter	---	none	---			
1775									
<u>urban</u>	Jauelin Ambler (YT)	YT	merchant	20.00 YT	3	d. Richmond			
	Dudley4 Digges (YT/W)	YC	planter	4.00 W	unk	d. JCC			
	John Dixon (W)	unk	unk	3.00 W	unk	---			
	Joseph Hornsby (W)	YC	merchant	5.00 W	357	---			
	David Jameson (YT)	unk	merchant/planter	3.00 YT	399	---			
	Augustine Moore (YT)	YC	ordkpr/merchant/planter	---	850	---			
	Hugh Nelson (YT)	YT	planter	2.00 YT	337	---			
	Thomas3 Nelson (YT)	YT	merchant/planter	7.00 YT	810	1789	11794	7764.32	249
	John H. Norton (YT/W)	YT	merchant/planter	2.50 YT 2.00 W	197	d. Winchester			
	Peyton Randolph (W)	YC	lawyer/planter	6.00 W	unspec	1776	7360.2	4969.76	108
	William Reynolds (YT)	YT	merchant	1.00 YT	109	---			
<u>rural</u>	William Graves	Va?	planter	---	1500	1782	2028	1207.86	35
	William4 Nelson	YC	unk	---	unk	---			
	Anthony5 Robinson	YC	planter	---	50 & plant	1776	2347.40	1585.01	45
	Starkey Robinson	YC	planter	---	350	---			

*Invested in Yortown lots but remained rural residents

+Unspec: Had plantations at date last active, acreage unknown

++Unk: May have had rural land

Williamsburg. The same pattern repeated itself at monthly court meetings throughout 1700--Williaml Buckner remained the only urban justice on the court. At the turn of the century then, all but one of the full commission and justices conducting monthly business of the court were rural residents of the county. In part, this was due to the undeveloped nature of Williamsburg at the time. However, not even Yorktown, on the rise since the early 1690s and with a population of about 150 people,¹¹⁹ appears to have been an attractive home for county magistrates.

Among rural justices in 1700, only a quarter were born in England. Over half were born in Virginia, most of them in York County.¹²⁰ Williaml Buckner, the one justice who moved from his rural plantation into Yorktown, was also born in Virginia. Table 7 shows that in addition to birthplace, these justices were a homogeneous group. It is no surprise that these men were all planters. Buckner and a few others had commercial interests as well, but only two had ever been engaged in the service sector. Ship captain Daniel Taylor was the most exotic but he, too, became a planter when he settled in York County. Three of the rural justices made a limited investment in Yorktown lots, but all of the justices, including Buckner had rural land. Only Baldwin Mathews, Johnl Goodwin, Robert Reade and James Whaley had large plantations ranging from

¹¹⁹Peter V. Bergstrom and Kevin P. Kelly, "'Well Built Towns, convenient ports and markets': The Beginnings of Yorktown, 1690-1720" (Paper presented at the Southern Historical Association, 18 November 1980), p. 3.

¹²⁰Birthplaces of another quarter of the rural justices could not be determined. Two-thirds of the commission in Richmond County in the period 1692-1720 were born in the county. Gwenda Morgan, "The Hegemony of the Law," p. 79. Though York's rural justices included a significant native-born element, immigrants with sufficient connections and economic clout could still find places on the York bench.

nearly 800 acres to 1500 acres. The remainder had middle-sized or small, but probably well-developed, plantations from 180 to 614 acres. One of the two justices who had small plantations was William¹ Buckner, the justice who moved into Yorktown. The other, Henry² Tyler lived very close to the newly founded capital Williamsburg. The seven justices for whom appraised inventories survive controlled large estates ranging in value from £208 to £1320. The slaveholdings of the group with appraised inventories ranged from just a few up to 27.

Within just twenty-five years, however, of a total of eleven justices who sat at regular monthly court meetings throughout the year, only three had no connection with Yorktown or Williamsburg. All of the court sessions were dominated by urban justices.¹²¹ If a rural justice did appear at regular court meetings, he was usually the only one. A further breakdown of the justices in 1725 reveals that four of the ten were Williamsburg residents and three residents of Yorktown.

In a 1722 address to Governor Spotswood, burgesses in favor of incorporation for Williamsburg included this phrase, "We are assured the People now Inhabiting this City of Wmsburgh. are in a Capacity of Supporting the honor and Charge of a Corporation . . . ," thus indicating that enough responsible, knowledgeable, and substantial citizens had congregated in town to run a municipal court and government.¹²² That appraisal was correct. The original sales of lots in town were just

¹²¹Graves Packe was almost certainly a Williamsburg resident, though his references contain only information about his having owned Williamsburg lots.

¹²²McIlwaine and Kennedy, eds., Journals of the House of Burgesses 5:348.

about complete by the end of the 1720s and residents in Williamsburg numbered about 150 by that time.¹²³ By extension, the "responsible" citizens were also likely candidates for the York County Court and the governor was evidently beginning to view them as such because he appointed several new county justices from among Yorktown and Williamsburg residents. Although it not possible to examine the James City County court in detail, it is evident that Williamsburg residents were also taking seats on that bench as well.

By 1725, Table 7 reveals new trends developing among the county magistrates. About 29% of the urban justices were born abroad, but when rural justices are counted in, native born Virginians continued to dominate the county bench. Rural justices were all planters in this target year, while urban justices were mostly merchants who had plantations to run as well. Investment in multiple urban lots was the norm. John1 Blair and John Holloway each died holding a large number of Williamsburg lots, from which they probably had earned significant rental income. Unfortunately, while it is known that all these urban justices held rural York County land, the exact amounts are known for just a few. John1 Blair's 135 acres was a small farm while Thomas1 Nelson's 422, middle-sized. Interestingly, plantations held by rural justices were not unusually large either. No appraised inventories survive for the urban justices sitting in 1725, probably a sign that their estates were large

¹²³Kevin P. Kelly, "Urban Pioneers: The Early Settlers of Yorktown and Williamsburg, 1690-1720" (Paper presented to the Washington Area Seminar on Early American History, College Park, Md., May 1987), p. 1.

and solvent.¹²⁴ The four rural justices who came to court throughout 1725 died possessed of large estates, with slaves numbering between eleven and twenty.

A new commission of justices recorded in court on 12 April 1749 contained twenty-two names of which nearly half (ten) were urban residents. It is also worth noting that by 1750, Thomas Everard of Williamsburg had been clerk of York County for six years. His control over the court docket further enhanced urban influence over the court. Of twelve justices named in the 1749 quorum only three were from Yorktown and one from Williamsburg. A subsequent commission recorded on 19 November 1750 also contained names of twenty-two men, half of whom were from Williamsburg or Yorktown. Eleven justices named to the quorum this time, however, included three from Williamsburg, none from Yorktown. This may have been an attempt to temper urban influence in court since urban justices had previously been more likely than their rural counterparts to attend court regularly. If so, the strategy may have had some effect for at monthly court sessions during 1750, rural justices were more in evidence than they had been twenty-five years earlier, though urbanites were also well-represented at monthly sessions. The numbers were usually about equal at the monthly court, though early in the year rural justices outnumbered or equaled urban justices in attendance. As the year progressed, urban justices attended in somewhat larger numbers than rural justices and by the December meeting of the court, seven out of eight justices were from either Yorktown (five) or

¹²⁴Virginia law did not require that financially solvent estates be inventoried and appraised. Hening, Statutes at Large, 5:464.

Williamsburg (two). The urban presence on the court was increasing.

By 1750 all but two rural or urban justices were born in Virginia, usually in the local area and one urban justice each was born in Yorktown and Williamsburg. Occupations remained similar to those of justices in earlier target years, planter and merchant, with only Daniell Moore in the service sector. Five of seven urban justices in this target group were merchants while rural justices remained exclusively planters. Investment in urban lots among urban justices was not so heavy as in 1725, probably a sign that lots were at a premium by that time.¹²⁵ Two had no evidence of rural acreage when they died. It is known, however, that Peyton Randolph of Williamsburg owned several large quarters in James City, Albemarle and Charlotte counties at his death and his inventory showed he owned 108 slaves. Rural acreage held by rural justices in this group was modest. Daniell Moore's 625 acres was an exception as was John³ Goodwin's 1200, which he inherited from his father John¹ Goodwin who had preceded him on the county bench (see 1700). Estate values for the three urban justices that survive are considerably larger than those for two rural justices, although they were very well off, too. Numbers of slaves were also large, with most justices, both urban and rural showing considerably larger holdings than their counterparts in 1700 and 1725.

Writing about town-county relations in Virginia after the Revolution, one historian has noted that when some, and often many, county justices lived in the towns, townspeople maintained considerable

¹²⁵Hellier, "The Character and Direction of Urban Expansion," pp. 50-1.

influence over county affairs, but "surprisingly, relations between most towns and counties remained reasonably calm" This was evidently the case between York County and its two urban centers.¹²⁶ The increasing urban merchant component of the county bench in York was having a discernable effect, however. By target year 1775, York County had gained an impressive reputation among merchants eager to find a court that would handle their debt suits with dispatch. In 1765, William Allason, Virginia agent for a Glasgow firm, knew that bringing suit for debt in the General Court in Williamsburg or the court in the county where the debtor lived "wou'd not be obtained in less than three years." The courts in the York County area apparently provided a remedy. Allason preferred the hustings court in Williamsburg where he could expect his suit "would come to triall in a few months." That bench was headed by mayor John Holt, himself a merchant and urban member of the York County bench from 1748 to 1754. York County justices expedited merchants suits just as speedily as did the Williamsburg city magistrates. A lawyer advised one firm to drop a suit in the General Court where one could wait years for a judgment in order to bring a fresh one "at Common Law in York County Court . . . and so shall be able to get the Money in a few Months."¹²⁷ Evidence suggests that in counties where there were few

¹²⁶Shepard, "Courts in Conflict," pp. 190-3. Town-county conflicts reached serious proportions only in Norfolk and Alexandria where it was felt merchants and tradesmen from the towns enacted measures detrimental to the best interests of the county. Removal of county courthouses out of Norfolk and Alexandria into Norfolk and Fairfax counties were part of the issue. The General Assembly finally prohibited members of Norfolk and Williamsburg city courts from acting as county magistrates in 1788.

¹²⁷A. G. Roeber, Faithful Magistrates and Republican Lawyers (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), pp. 130-2.

merchants active on the courts, debt cases routinely met with lengthy delays and debtors sometimes avoided judicial action altogether.¹²⁸ As creditors themselves, urban merchant justices would have been familiar with the problems of debt collection and so it was that merchants who came before the York court could expect a favorable hearing.

The January court session in 1775 was manned exclusively by urban justices, three resident in Yorktown, another two resident in Williamsburg and a third who was closely connected to both towns.¹²⁹ Two of these urban justices, Peyton Randolph of Williamsburg and Dudley Digges of Yorktown and Williamsburg, had been on the bench in 1750. Throughout the year, however, the monthly court sessions were dominated by Yorktown justices. Williamsburg justices were much less in evidence than previously (in several months, none at all sat), probably due to the effects of the changing political climate between the colonies and England. Peyton Randolph, for instance, was a delegate to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia and was elected president of that body in 1774 and 1775. He died in Philadelphia in October 1775.

Rural justices were all but invisible at regular monthly meetings of the court in 1775. There is no evidence that the rural minority who did come to court impeded the process so beneficial to merchant litigants. They may have been appointed to oversee other matters primarily of concern to rural residents, some of which could be discharged as single

¹²⁸Peter V. Bergstrom. Markets and Merchants: Economic Diversification in Colonial Virginia, 1700-1775 (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985), pp. 223-4.

¹²⁹Dudley Digges was resident in Yorktown from at least 1755 to 1773 and he held lots there 1754-1787 but he also held a lot in Williamsburg in the '50s and was resident in the capital 1776-1787.

justices outside regular court sessions. For instance, rural justices were routinely appointed to view sites for new roads and evaluate old roads that had become impassable. They often made judgments about which residents would most benefit from a proposed change in the highway system and assigned tithables to work on the road in proportion to the expected advantage. Rural justices were normally the agents who contracted with a builder to repair rural bridges as well.¹³⁰ It is worth noting that a road system kept in good repair would have benefitted commercial interests as well as rural residents.¹³¹

In 1775, thirteen of fifteen sitting justice were native born Virginians, five of the thirteen hailing from Yorktown itself. Birthplaces for three urban justices on the bench that year remain obscure but there is no good evidence that they were born abroad. Merchants continued to dominate the court, although most urban justices also continued to have planting interests. Rural justices again were exclusively planters. The 1775 urban justices held multiple lots in Yorktown and Williamsburg at their deaths and rural plantations were medium to large, ranging from 197 to 850 acres. William Graves, a rural justice, topped the list with 1500 rural acres. Appraised inventories for only four of the fifteen justices who came to court in 1775 are available. Those four, including Peyton Randolph of Williamsburg and Thomas³ Nelson of Yorktown died possessed of very large estates including

¹³⁰These rural justices did not take over duties of the surveyors of the highways, but they must have worked very closely with the men who would supervise laborers and slaves doing the work.

¹³¹Bergstrom, Markets and Merchants, p. 224.

large numbers of slaves, 108 and 249 respectively.¹³²

Across the eighteenth century, as this examination of York justices at four points in time shows, York justices from Williamsburg and Yorktown were appointed to the county bench in increasing numbers. Earlier in the century urban justices were likely to be immigrants. As a result they may have been less influential before 1750 than their rural fellows who frequently had been identified with the county and its elite since birth. Urban justices' economic characteristics were not markedly different from their rural counterparts on the bench at first, but they were slightly richer than their rural counterparts later. Though the numbers are very small this fact may have given them more influence on the bench. Increasing identification with the local area and urban orientation thrust them to the forefront after mid-century when governors began appointing them to the York County bench in larger numbers. Moreover, merchant justices from the towns consciously increased the effect of their appointments to the bench by attending court sessions regularly whether they came from across town (Yorktown) or from twelve miles away (Williamsburg). This powerful urban merchant clique, including magistrates and the county clerk, put its stamp on the official business of the York County court.

¹³²Randolph died in 1775; Nelson in 1789.

CHAPTER IV

REINFORCING DEFERENCE THROUGH PUBLIC RITUAL AND DISPLAY

Peopling the power structure of urban centers in eighteenth-century York County has thus far rested upon a modern perspective. Officeholders' broad powers over many aspects of the lives of local citizens and figures upon which to judge economic level for whole groups of officeholders and non-officeholders alike substantiate for us that urban active county justices, clerks and members of the Williamsburg common hall were at the top of the stratified society in the towns. These characteristics probably formed important impressions of the elite in the minds of the urban residents of eighteenth-century Yorktown and Williamsburg, but it was behavior revealing that top level urban officials relished their positions in the local hierarchy and consciously set about cementing the idea of themselves as social and political leaders in the minds of their urban constituents that had the most dramatic effect on urban residents, particularly in Williamsburg.

There were the familiar architectural features of courthouses and other public buildings that put public officials in elevated opposition to those come to court to face trial or bring suit before justices.¹³³ Seating arrangements in Anglican churches in Virginia visibly replayed

¹³³A. G. Roeber, "Authority, Law, and Custom: The Rituals of Court Day in Tidewater Virginia, 1720 to 1750," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d ser. 37 (1980):37 (hereafter cited as WMQ).

the hierarchical nature of the society outside the holy walls.¹³⁴ It is in other ritualistic behavior and communal activities, however, that important details about the local hierarchy surface. Public ritual, according to Peter Borsay, can be divided into three rough categories: Civic rituals largely associated with urban government including such events as elections, inaugurations, processions, and commemorations of particular events both civil and religious; elite rituals such as theater and musical presentations, assemblies and sporting events; and popular rituals, usually taking the form of recreational, subversive, calendrical or "legal" holiday activities.¹³⁵

The most important of the three to reinforcing the deferential urban society in Williamsburg was civic ritual. Parades, processions and ceremonies with attendant regalia such as maces and particular dress "played a major part in the way politics and society operated, . . ." and had a capacity "to mobilize deep-seated feelings of authority, consensus and conflict." Many civic rituals "sought to establish the innate power of corporate institutions and officers."¹³⁶ Elite rituals such as theater-going, balls and assemblies in Williamsburg and coverage of these activities in the local newspaper undoubtedly intensified the divisions between the upper crust and lowly elements of urban society, but it was the parades, processions and ceremonies in the capital town

¹³⁴Dell Upton, Holy Things and Profane, Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Architectural History Foundation and MIT Press, 1986), p. 179-82.

¹³⁵Peter Borsay, "'All the town's a stage': Urban Ritual and Ceremony," in The Transformation of English Provincial Towns, ed. Peter Clark (London: Hutchinson and Co., Ltd., 1984), pp. 230-238.

¹³⁶Ibid., p. 239.

that were especially significant for engendering deferential regard for upper level officeholders among Williamsburg residents. It is also true that these public events frequently took on recreational overtones and provided a break in the familiar routine of life in Williamsburg much as holidays do today.

Processions of several different types were routinely described in the Virginia Gazette between 1736 when the paper was first published, and 1780 when the capital moved to Richmond. They all bespeak a conscious effort by ranking urban officials to draw attention to their positions at top of the local hierarchy.¹³⁷ For example, in March 1737 it was reported that Sir John Randolph, speaker of the House of Burgesses and treasurer of the Virginia colony had died. The funeral was attended by "a very numerous Assembly of Gentlemen and others, who paid the last Honours to him, with great Solemnity, Decency, and Respect." A procession bore the remains from Randolph's dwelling just off Market Square to the chapel at the College of William and Mary where a funeral oration in Latin was delivered by one of the professors, the Rev. Thomas Dawson. On this solemn occasion, even a few of the lesser folk were specifically included in the procession. According to prearrangement made by Randolph himself, his body "was carried from his House to the Place of Interment, by Six honest, industrious, poor House-keepers of Bruton Parish; who are to have Twenty Pounds divided among them" This gesture was a continuation of the beneficence Randolph showed in life to the poor "whose Causes he willingly undertook, and whose Fees he

¹³⁷Some of these urban officers were, of course, also important provincial officials.

constantly remitted, when he thought the Payment of them would be grievous to themselves or Families." These gestures were evidence of noblesse oblige rather than comraderie with men beneath him in the social milieu of Williamsburg and surrounding area. The Virginia Gazette account of Randolph's funeral included a lengthy obituary befitting the only colonial resident of Williamsburg to be knighted. Eminent direct and collateral lines of his family in England were mentioned together with his early affinity for letters and his education was described in detail, followed by a rapturous description of his excellence as a husband, father and friend.¹³⁸

John Blair, himself one of the elite (councilor and former justice of York County), recorded in his diary in November 1751 the arrival of Gov. Robert Dinwiddie in Williamsburg:

Mr. Commiss[ar]y, Col. Ludwell and myself went out to meet the Governor, and with Col. Fairfax, Mr. Nelson and the secretary (who came up with him from York) attended him to his house. At the entrance of the town he was complimented by the mayor and aldermen, who (wth the gentn) were got together to welcome him, and invited him and the council to a dinner they had prepared at Wetherburn's, where we all dined.¹³⁹

Blair's account makes no mention of the local populace joining in this welcoming ceremony but it is likely some of them were on the sidelines enjoying the spectacle. In the days following this event, Blair continued to record the socializing associated with the governor's arrival. He noted that he and his wife had dined with the governor "by invitation" and that "many ladies and gentn" visited them in the afternoon. The Gazette account of the event stated that the

¹³⁸Virginia Gazette (Parks), 11 March 1736/7.

¹³⁹John Blair, "John Blair Diary," WMQ, 1st ser. 8 (1899):15.

"entertainment" was prepared by officials of the Williamsburg town government. Later, oaths of loyalty were drunk, "under a Discharge of the Cannon," perhaps for the benefit of the townspeople, although the newspaper did not refer to them.¹⁴⁰

In 1756 England's declaration of war against France was observed with a procession of provincial and urban dignitaries from the governor's palace to three different locations in town and a proclamation was read at each place:

His Honour the Governor, attended by such Gentlemen of the Council as were in Town, the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen of the City with the Mace, the Officers and Militia under Arms, attended the Procession from the Capitol (where it was first proclaimed) to the Market-place (where Proclamation was made a second Time) from thence to the College, where it was again proclaimed.¹⁴¹

The "Gentlemen" then returned to the palace where they drank toasts to the royal family. This newspaper account notes inclusion of the common sorts in the celebration. After the activities for officials and other gentlemen were concluded, punch was distributed to the general public with whom the dignitaries joined in expressions of loyalty and good feelings.

Upon newly arrived Governor Botetourt's entrance into Williamsburg in 1768, he was met at the capitol by the council and speaker of the House of Burgesses, the attorney general, treasurer and "many other gentlemen of distinction; . . ." who were also members of the Williamsburg common hall, and/or York and James City benches. Botetourt arrived about six o'clock in the evening at which time the city was

¹⁴⁰Virginia Gazette (Parks), 21 November 1751.

¹⁴¹Maryland Gazette, Sept. 9, 1756.

illuminated and "all ranks of people vied with each other in testifying their gratitude and joy that a Nobleman of such distinguished merit and abilities is appointed to preside over, and live among, them."¹⁴² While the scene did not threaten to become a riot as some public celebrations did in England, lesser folk of Williamsburg evidently did not restrain their aggressiveness during this public welcome. This boisterous greeting may have allowed them to work out in a nondestructive manner conflicts natural to an inherently divided society.¹⁴³

A more elaborate procession assembled for the state funeral of the by then popular Governor Botetourt who died in Williamsburg just two years later. Some of the players in this parade were the same groups who had welcomed Botetourt to town--councilors and mayor, recorder and aldermen of Williamsburg. These luminaries were joined by others, and this time the newspaper report included the precise order of the procession in which a hierarchical arrangement is clearly discernable:

The HEARSE,
 Preceded by two mutes, and three on each side the hearse,
 Outward of whom walked the pall bearers,
 Composed of six of his Majesty's Council,
 And the Hon. the Speaker, and Richard Bland, Esq;
 of the House of Burgesses.
 His Excellency's servants, in deep mourning,
 The Gentlemen of the Clergy, and
 Professors of the College.
 Clerk of the church, and Organist,
 Immediately followed the hearse, the Chief Mourners.
 Gentlemen of the Faculty
 Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and
 Common Council of the city,
 With the mace before them.
 Gentlemen of the Law, and Clerk of the General Court,
 Ushers, Students and Scholars,

¹⁴²Virginia Gazette (Purdie and Dixon), 27 October 1768.

¹⁴³Borsay, "'All the town's a stage'," p. 243.

of William and Mary college,
 All having white hatbands and gloves.
 And then the company, which was very numerous,
 Two and two.¹⁴⁴

As Rhys Isaac has noted, exceptions to hierarchical order were made for lowly members of Botetourt's household, the servants (probably including slaves and other staff) much below the exalted company but given a place just after the speaker of the House of Burgesses. Botetourt, a bachelor, had no family members present making his staff and town luminaries the chief mourners.

Magistrates in Williamsburg knew how to line up a parade to effect a sense of their innate power in the public mind, but civic rituals in Williamsburg also provided for a supporting role for the townspeople.¹⁴⁵ The newspaper account of the Botetourt funeral noted that the general public brought up the rear: ". . . then the company, which was very numerous, two and two." There would be little point in staging such events if, firstly, the citizenry failed to participate by swelling the size of the procession itself and secondly as onlookers, for what is a parade without an audience? Processions suggest something else, too-- that the "company" expected a public ceremony to mark an important event such as the death of a governor and would have been disappointed had there not been one. To suggest that a carnival atmosphere prevailed on such a solemn occasion is overstating the case, but it is probable that residents in Williamsburg found a welcome break from their regular

¹⁴⁴Virginia Gazette (Purdie and Dixon), October 28, 1770; Isaac, Transformation, pp. 326-8.

¹⁴⁵Borsay, "All the town's a stage'," pp. 230-7.

routine even in the events surrounding a funeral.¹⁴⁶ The townspeople in Williamsburg were probably fulfilling a real need to express sorrow for a popular colonial governor as well as enjoying events that interrupted the familiar routine of the town. The general populace expected their officials to make the arrangements that in the end both entertained and provided them with an emotional outlet at same time encouraging sentiments of authority and consensus.¹⁴⁷

Special civic ceremonies also appear to have the same overtones of enhancing authority as the spectacular events. For instance, John Blair (president of the governor's council, justice of the peace in York County) in his mid-century diary mentioned several events probably reserved for VIPs: "I laid a found[atio]n Brick at Capitol." he wrote on April 1, 1751 and "I laid the last top Brick N[orth] End." in December of the same year. And later that month:

"This afternoon I laid the last top brick on the capitol wall, and so it is now ready to receive the roof, and some of the wall plates were raised and laid on this day. I had laid a foundation brick at the first buildg of the capitol above 50 year ago, and another foundation brick in April last, the first in mortar towards the rebuilding, and now the last as above."¹⁴⁸

It is likely that this kind of commemorative rite was reserved for officials and was evidently important in Blair's own eyes in terms of continuity and meaningful participation in the construction of the principal government building in the colony. Laborers and slaves may have lost their lives during construction, but laying the memorial brick

¹⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 244-5.

¹⁴⁷Ibid., p. 252.

¹⁴⁸Blair, "Diary," WMO, 1st ser. 7 (1899):138, 149; 8 (1899):16.

was reserved for the elite.

Both the newspaper and personal diaries confirm that the urban elite limited their social activities to a closed group. The Gazette is rife with notes about balls and dinners given by members of the council, the speaker of the House of Burgesses and others. There are Blair's entries in his diary chronicling who dined with whom. Blair, or Blair and his wife, were frequently involved, but he also made note of soirees to which he apparently was not invited: "Govr dined at Doctr Hay's wth his Lady." The next day "They dined wth Mr Dawson."¹⁴⁹ In every case these dinner companions were important officials living in town or the surrounding area, or colonial officials come to town for the General Assembly or General Court sessions. Blair had no reason to doubt his own prestige so his entries about the social activities of others are unselfconscious, yet they were important enough to record in his diary.

A little later in the century, George Washington also recorded many social occasions when he visited Williamsburg. "Dined with Mrs. Dawson [wife of the commissary of the bishop of London] & went to the Play" or "Dined with the Speaker [of the House of Burgesses]" and "Dined at the Mayor's. Ent[ertaine]d at the Govr. in Ditto [Williamsburg]" and again "In Williamsburg Dined at the Speakers--with many Gentlemen."¹⁵⁰ While Washington often spent the evening alone in his room while in Williamsburg, and sometimes at a local tavern, these social occasions with other gentlemen were important contacts for him as well as a

¹⁴⁹Ibid., 7 (1899):148.

¹⁵⁰Donald Jackson, ed., The Diaries of George Washington, Vol. 2 (Charlottesville: 1976), pp. [54], [58], [103].

pleasurable way to pass the time.

Social notes in the Virginia Gazette present additional evidence of the polarization between the upper echelons of urban society and the lower reaches of society. The elite intended to keep ample distance between themselves and the lesser folk. Deaths notices for urban and colonial elite carried reverential tones. For instance, upper level officeholders such as councilors, justices of the peace, mayors and common councilmen were routinely eulogized in the paper: "Last Saturday evening died, at his house in this city, Mr. William Waters [York County justice of the peace, former York County sheriff, and overseer of treasury notes in the provincial government]; he was a Gentleman universally respected for his amiable disposition, which makes his death justly regretted."¹⁵¹ Officials were not the only members of the elite who received praise at their deaths. Dr. John deSequeyra, a prominent physician in Williamsburg for 50 years "was born in London, and studied physic at Leyden under the Boerhaave and was reputed to be an eminent famous physician."¹⁵² Death notices of the upper crust often stressed personal qualities possessed by the deceased --"Christian and social virtues"--in addition to enumerations of important offices held, sometimes noting their passing as "a publick loss."¹⁵³ Lower level officials were held in some regard, though the tone of this obituary carries a slight air of condescension not evident with top officials:

¹⁵¹Virginia Gazette (Purdie and Dixon), 4 June 1767.

¹⁵²Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser, 18 March 1795.

¹⁵³These notations span the whole of the period the Virginia Gazette was published in Williamsburg (1736-1780). For example, see (Parks), 18 November 1737 and (Purdie and Dixon), 30 April 1767.

"This morning died, at his House near this City, Mr. FREDERICK BRYAN, for many years Deputy Sheriff of York County; an Office which he discharged to universal Satisfaction, and by which, joined to his own good Conduct, he acquired a handsome Fortune, with the fairest Character."¹⁵⁴

Wives of the gentry were also extravagantly eulogized. Take for instance Mrs. Margaret Hornsby, spouse of local merchant/planter Thomas Hornsby who was frequently appointed to grand and petit juries but held no other public offices:

. . . her life (not in the number of years, but in the discharge of every religious and moral duty) may truly said to have been long. To the most exemplary piety she joined the most extensive charity, wherever she found an object deserving it. Her death is sincerely regretted by all who had the happiness of her acquaintance, and her loss will be severely felt by the poor. Her remains were accompanied to the grave on Tuesday last by all the principle inhabitants of this city.¹⁵⁵

The wife of the Hon. Robert Burwell, Esq. of Yorktown was as "a wife, a mother, a mistress, a friend and neighbor . . . surpassed by none, equalled by few . . ."¹⁵⁶ Less frequently, the newspaper gave a middling woman her due: "Mrs. Catherine Blackley [Blaikley], of this City, in the Seventy fifth Year of her Age: an eminent Midwife, and who, in the Course of her Practice, brought upwards of three Thousand Children into the world."¹⁵⁷

Announcements of upper class marriages included details about the groom's offices or lineage and the bride's pedigree, frequently alluding

¹⁵⁴Ibid., 24 January 1771.

¹⁵⁵Virginia Gazette (Rind), 1 March 1770.

¹⁵⁶Ibid.

¹⁵⁷Virginia Gazette (Purdie and Dixon), 24 October 1771.

to the size of the fortune she was bringing to the marriage and sometimes going so far as to note the amount.¹⁵⁸

Health updates on the governor or other important officials in Williamsburg sometimes appeared as in the case of Peyton Randolph, urban magistrate and speaker of the House who bruised his leg when his carriage overturned and who "has been at Wilton some time for his recovery, is looked for daily, having got perfectly well."¹⁵⁹ A family member or friend was no doubt usually responsible for forwarding the items to the publisher, but cooperation from the publisher was necessary and willingly supplied, to get news of the refined elements in society into the papers.

Editors of the Virginia Gazette usually obliged a special request from the gentry that a notable accomplishment of one of the inner circle be noted in the paper. John Blair noted in his diary that "Mr. Hunter [publisher of Virginia Gazette] applied to me for my speech at passing sentence agt Jackson as sev[era]l Gent desired to see it in his Gazette, he said." Blair had presided at the General Court in April 1751 when Lowe Jackson was convicted of counterfeiting.¹⁶⁰ While the press was one of the best purveyors of the glories of the upper crust, the Virginia Gazette was also a watchdog that sometimes helped purge the government of undesirables. Reportedly, William Parks, having learned that a burgess from Orange County had once been convicted of stealing a sheep, printed the story in his Williamsburg newspaper in 1742 without naming the

¹⁵⁸Virginia Gazette (Rind), 16 February 1769.

¹⁵⁹Ibid., 16 July 1767.

¹⁶⁰Blair, "Diary," WMQ, 1st ser. 7 (1899):139, 150; Hugh F. Rankin, Criminal Trial Proceedings in the General Court of Colonial Virginia (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, 1965), pp. 179-87.

burgess. Apparently, the identity of one Mr. Henry Downs was no mystery and the burgesses charged Parks with libel for having "scandalized the government by reflecting on those who are intrusted with the administration of public affairs." Parks asked that the records of the court where Downs was originally tried be produced. They were, proving Parks not guilty of libel, Downs unfit for office, and Parks right that a sheep stealer ought not to be a burgess.¹⁶¹ The burgesses had not denied Parks justice, but before they saw the evidence, they assumed he was the one in error.

Notes about the non-gentry of the kind just described did not sprinkle the pages of the newspaper, presumably because publishers would have wondered what purpose could have been served by printing such information about the lower orders if they had received it. A hint of less willingness on the part of publishers to include social notes for some may be indicated in a letter one John Cole wrote to publishers Alexander Purdie and John Dixon of the Virginia Gazette in Williamsburg saying that rival publisher William Rind had refused to put an announcement of his daughter's marriage in his Virginia Gazette. Purdie and Dixon were no doubt happy to publish both Cole's letter to them and the announcement:

Mr. Purdie & Dixon,
 Mr. Rind says his Paper is open to all Parties, but influenced by non; but I deny his Assertion, for I had a Darter marred lately, and desired him to put my Gal's Marreg in the Paper, but this Request he would not comply with, tho I'm shore Dolley is as clever a Gal as you will see in a Dussen. What could be his Reasin I can't say, but hope you won't refuse this Request;

¹⁶¹Isaiah Thomas, The History of Printing in America (Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell, 1874), pp. 333-4; McIlwaine and Kennedy, eds., Journals of the House of Burgesses 7:11.

and, if you please, you may put in this Note too, and lett him
 se I resent his ill Ussage. So remains One who will be your
 Costomer for the future. JOHN COLE

Purdie and Dixon's Gazette then carried the announcement itself, "Mr. WILLIAM HUBARD, of Glo'ster, to Miss DOLLEY COLE, a very agreable Gal."¹⁶² Although nothing is known about Mr. Cole, the fact that his dialectal usage, "gal", was retained in the announcement suggests that Purdie and Dixon, while happy to get the best of Rind, nevertheless were making sport of Mr. Cole, too, perhaps because he was perceived to be outside the gentry class.

The Gazette publishers frequently printed accounts of deaths among the lower classes to be sure, but they were usually hapless criminals hanged on the outskirts of Williamsburg after sentencing in the General Court or other deaths notable not for the person's sake, rather for the sensational nature of the death sometimes combined with a moral lesson for the community. For example, "Last Friday was executed at the gallows, near this city, John Hamilton, from Frederick, for murder."¹⁶³ Or this account that does not include the deceased person's full name, "On Tuesday last one Tedd, a Butcher, being in a Public House, in this City, and seemingly in good Health, was suddenly taken with a Fit, fell out of his Chair, and died instantly."¹⁶⁴ When a person was severely injured reloading one of the cannon being fired during a celebration on the anniversary of the coronation of George II, the Gazette account of the incident described the gunner's error that had caused the explosion,

¹⁶²Virginia Gazette (Purdie and Dixon), 6 February 1772.

¹⁶³Ibid., 31 May 1770.

¹⁶⁴Virginia Gazette (Parks), 18 April 1751.

his injuries in some detail, and his likely recovery--all without reporting the man's name.¹⁶⁵ A lengthy expose on the evils of drinking came at the expense of one William Hunt and his family. Hunt died as a result of injuries received when he was intoxicated. William Parks almost acknowledged the insensitivity of publishing the account when he prefaced it with ". . . we cannot avoid publishing it, as a warning to others" Whatever good reputation Hunt had for being "diligent in his business, and [maintaining] his Wife and Children decently" was compromised by these revelations:

. . . [He] would now and then take a Frolick, and get drunk 3 or 4 Days together: In one of these Fits he happened to be last Week, and continued much disguis'd in Liquor 'til Sunday Morning, when he stagger'd to a Neighbour's House, who perceiving him in Liquor, prevail'd on him to lie down and Sleep. The People having Occasion to go out, lock'd the Door, and left him asleep. Some Time after he awoke, and finding himself lock'd up had not Patience to wait, but rashly jump'd out at the Window, (in Church-Time) and broke his Leg, . . .¹⁶⁶

If their publicity is to be believed, then, it appears that high colonial officials, county justices and to some degree, lesser public officials, successfully used public ritual, ceremony, and recreation among the gentry to cement the innate power of governmental institutions and the men who filled attendant offices.¹⁶⁷ With the cooperation of Virginia Gazette editors, the instrument of the local newspaper all but advertised their fine qualities and contrasted them with undesirable elements in society.

In spite of urban magistrates' broad powers, economic strength, and

¹⁶⁵Ibid., 27 October 1752.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., 8 April 1737.

¹⁶⁷Borsay, "All the town's a stage'," p. 239.

careful orchestration of events and newspaper coverage for their own aggrandizement, not everyone was favorably impressed by elite urban society and self-satisfied officeholders. In 1753, Presbyterian "New Light" minister Rev. Samuel Davies wrote his brother-in-law John Holt, mayor of Williamsburg, from Hanover County:

Amid the Hurries of a busy Life, and the refined Nonsense of the polite Vulgar, of which you have copious Entainments [sic], I believe at Times it may give you the Pleasure of Variety to hear from a happy Preacher, whose life differs as much from yours as a Mole's or an Oyster's from the Aerial Eagle's or a polite Lap-Dog's.¹⁶⁸

Not a surprising attitude given evangelical criticism of Anglican gentry society, but even from among their own number one wryly observed the grandiose show around him. Dr. Georgel Gilmer of Williamsburg, a physician educated in Edinburgh, local entrepreneur and common councilman of Williamsburg, noted in a letter in 1753 to John Blair:

Our time here rocks on as usual[.] Weddings, Funerals, Gaming, Drinking, and Politics engrossing more attention of late than ever by the extravagances in each[.] Mr Ludwell's funeral began the farce; who after being buried privately for a fortnight had a most grand public burial attended by the Governor and all the grandees of the Country under the direction of the Adjutant General and Major of James City militia with two platforms of 30 pieces of Cannon, one at the House and the other on the bank at Jamestown. They were fired six times round. Weddings are as pompous, . . .¹⁶⁹

Daniel Fisher's appraisal, also coming in the early '50s, was more caustic:

(But there's a Vanity and Subtilty in the generality of Virginians, not unobvious to persons . . . at all accustomed to a more genuine generous way of acting or thinking). . . .

¹⁶⁸Samuel Davies to John Holt, 13 August 1751, in Pilcher, Samuel Davies, p. 37.

¹⁶⁹George Gilmer to John Blair, December 28, 1753, Brock Manuscript Notebook, pp. 159-160, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.

[They] . . . may be justly be esteemed the Fountains of baseness, the leaders of the Fashion or promoters of mean and vicious habits among the opulent, or as they are fond of styling themselves--Persons of Note.--¹⁷⁰

These nay sayers were few and of little effect, so things "rocked on" as usual in the Williamsburg community. Top level urban officeholders did much themselves to weave the social web in which they were centered. Through the newspaper, public rituals and ceremonials, they and their cronies perpetuated their own myth and kept the supposed qualities differentiating them from outsiders and the poorer classes alive. In the process, however, magistrates also responded to the need of the general urban populace for opportunities to relieve boredom, be entertained, express real grief and feel pride in their little community thereby mobilizing those deep-seated feelings of authority and consensus noted by Peter Borsay. Despite doubts about the efficacy of the layered urban society, whether expressed by one of their own such as Dr. Gilmer or outsiders Daniel Fisher and Samuel Davies, the urban elite successfully perpetuated the stratified nature of their community and continued to distance themselves from the humble residents of Williamsburg.

¹⁷⁰Fisher, "The Fisher History," p. 773.

CONCLUSION

Broad responsibility for the urban community in which they lived combined with economic might, strong identification with the urban community and a conscious effort to perpetuate their authority through manipulation of the public mind firmly placed magistrates at the center of the web of influence in the layered society in eighteenth-century York County's urban centers with lesser officeholders arrayed further from the center of power. Some affluent non-officeholders acted in concert with high level urban officers, but humbler residents and outsiders often found themselves without any leverage in the layered urban society. Although the evidence appears to overwhelmingly confirm this hierarchical arrangement of urban society, the Williamsburg Lodge of Freemasons offers a different perspective on the urban community because men of different ranks forged extraordinary bonds in this organization. That these bonds crossed the usual social and economic parameters separating high officials from those who did not participate in the government at all, or did so only in low level positions, is suggested by the make up of the membership of the Williamsburg Masonic Lodge.

Minutes of the Williamsburg Lodge and notices in the Virginia Gazette confirm a membership made up of gentry and middling urban residents, officeholders (both high and low) and non-officeholders. A brotherhood whose internal operations and meetings were secret, colonial

Freemasonry was primarily a charitable and social organization that provided members with useful social contacts, recreation, and an efficient machinery through which to dispense assistance. Names of some members of the Williamsburg Lodge are known from treasurer's records that survive from 1762-3, but the minutes of meetings of the Lodge from 1773 onwards allow the breadth of membership in the organization to be studied.¹⁷¹ There were several components in the membership. Most of the members hailed from the local York and James City county areas, including a large number from Williamsburg and a few from Yorktown. Many Masons in the Williamsburg Lodge, however, were not local residents. They were government officials who came to Williamsburg regularly for meetings of the courts or the General Assembly. Moreover, young men who joined the organization while they were students at the College of William and Mary made up a third element. For purposes of this study, just those Masons resident in Williamsburg and Yorktown before the Revolution were examined in detail.

Upper level officeholders in Williamsburg who served in the provincial government, on the York County bench or in the municipal government of Williamsburg were outnumbered in the local Masonic Lodge by brothers who were craftsmen or ordinary keepers, not doctors, lawyers and merchants. They usually served only in low level offices such as sergeant of Williamsburg or keeper of the magazine or limited their public service to petit or grand juries only. Many held no public offices whatever. (Table 8)

¹⁷¹Excerpts from the Minutes of the Williamsburg Lodge of Freemasons, in George Eldridge Kidd, Early Freemasonry in Williamsburg, Virginia (Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press, 1957), pp. 5-164.

TABLE 8. URBAN FREEMASONS WHO WERE NON-OFFICEHOLDERS OR HELD MINOR OFFICES ONLY

NAME	NO OFFICE/MINOR OFFICE	OCCUPATION(S)
Matthew Anderson	petit juror	merchant
Samuel Beall	no office	planter/merchant
Charles Bellini	no office	W&M faculty
Williaml Bland	no office	minister
Benjamin Bucktrout	petit juror	cabinetmaker/undertaker/storekeeper/paperhanger
Thomas Cartwright	no office	ordinarykeeper
Richard Charlton	petit juror	ordinarykeeper/wigmaker
John Clarkson	public printer/postmaster	printer
Robey Coke	petit juror	wheelwright/house joiner
Jessel Cole	no office	coachmaker/chairmaker/shipwright/planter
Samuel Crawley	petit juror	planter
Joseph2 Davenport	no office	minister
Cornelius DeForrest	petit juror	baker
Archibald Diddup	no office	tailor
John Dixon	no office	W&M faculty/minister
James Douglas	petit juror	staymaker
John Ferguson	no office	gardener
Alexander Finnie	petit juror/grand juror	barber/wigmaker/ordykeeper/vinter
William Finnie	petit juror	planter/[doctor]
James Galt	public jailer/kpr Public Hosp	watchmaker/silversmith/goldsmith
John Minson Galt	no office	doctor/apothecary/surgeon/midwife
Thomas7 Gibbons (YT)	petit juror	unk
William Goodson	petit juror	merchant
Humphrey2 Harwood	petit/grand juror	builder/brickmaker/bricklayer/planter
Peter Hay	no office	apothecary/doctor
Thomas Hay	writer in Secretary's Office	
James Honey	petit juror	cabinetmaker
James Innes	no office	lawyer/W&M faculty
John Lewis	no office	merchant/entrepreneur
John Lockley	no office	barkeeper/boardinghouse keeper
David Low	petit juror	merchant
James McClurg	no office	W&M faculty/doctor/surgeon
Gabriel3 Maupin	p & g juror/keeper of magazine	ordinary keeper/saddler/harnessmaker/planter
Stephen Mitchell (YT)	no office	cabinetmaker
James Moir	no office	tailor/boardinghouse keeper
Matthew Moody	no office	ferrykeeper/ordykeeper/cabinetmaker/carpenter
Philip Moody	no office	carpenter/joiner/ordykeeper
David Morton	petit juror	tailor
Henry W. Nicholson	no office	planter
Thomas Nicholson	no office	printer
William Nicholson	grand juror	tailor
Peter Pelham	public jailer	musician/organist
Hawkins Reade	petit/grand juror	wheelwright/chairmaker
John Rowsay	sergeant of Williamsburg	jeweler/silversmith/merchant
James B. Southall	petit juror	ordinary keeper/planter/entrpreneur
John Thompson	no office	merchant
Edward Travis	no office	planter
William Trebell	petit juror	merchant/ordinary keeper/planter
John Turner	no office	mercant
William Waddill	no office	goldsmith/silversmith/engraver
Thomas2 Wyld (YT)	no office	ordinary keeper

The large number of non-officeholders and low level officials among Williamsburg Masons was counterbalanced by the relatively small number of gentry Masons from Williamsburg who held a number of high level political offices. As Table 1 (in Chapter I, p. 24) shows in more detail, gentry Masons were burgesses, and councilors; common councilmen, aldermen and mayors of Williamsburg; and justices of the peace in York County.¹⁷² They also held other high level provincial offices such as speaker of the House of Burgesses, clerk of the council, and held extra-official appointments as well. Frederick³ Bryan and William Russell served in tertiary offices throughout their public careers--both were York County deputy sheriffs for extended periods. A small number of other urban Masons who later attained high office were tobacco agents or surveyors of streets and landings early in their careers.

The consequences of such mixing among different elements in this urban community stood to change the old hierarchical arrangement of Williamsburg society into a more egalitarian one. Although little research has been done on colonial Freemasonry, this local lodge offers some insight into how this non-homogeneous group might have found common ground in the Masonic order. Shared philosophical outlook brought men of different backgrounds into Freemasonry. Masons in the eighteenth century were "strongly tinged at that time with anti-dogmatic illuminism and tolerationism" both earmarks of Enlightenment influence.¹⁷³ This characterization is borne out in the membership of the Williamsburg

¹⁷²None of the Williamsburg residents identified as James City County justices of the peace were Masons.

¹⁷³Isaac, Transformation, p. 226.

Lodge. Peyton Randolph, scion of a family known for its anticlericalism,¹⁷⁴ was a Mason and a member of the board of visitors at the College of William and Mary. Another Mason, Robert² Nicholson, may have been a Presbyterian. His father Robert¹ Nicholson petitioned York County court in 1765 along with sixteen other Presbyterians for permission to use a house in Williamsburg as "a place for the Public Worship of God according to the Practise of Protestant Dissenters of the Presbyterian denomination . . . according to . . . the Act of Toleration." Nothing more is known about this congregation, nor about Robert² Nicholson's religious affiliation but it appears he was raised in a dissenting household. His membership in the Williamsburg Lodge would have coincided with the toleration manifest in Masonic philosophy.

A controversy over the Bruton Parish benefice in Williamsburg is also revealing of Masonic principles. The Reverend Samuel Henley in 1772 and again in 1773, applied to the Bruton Parish vestry to fill the pulpit left vacant when two successive rectors died. Henley was an ambitious heterodox Anglican divine and standard bearer of the Enlightenment on the faculty of the College of William and Mary. His candidacy was strenuously opposed by Robert Carter Nicholas, an orthodox Church of England man. Peyton Randolph, William Russell, and students at the College of William and Mary supported Henley in his bid for the Bruton Parish pulpit.¹⁷⁵ Randolph and Russell, both Masons, were of different

¹⁷⁴Morpurgo, Their Majesties' Royall Colledge, pp. 88, 125.

¹⁷⁵Isaac, Transformation, p. 222-35. Isaac tentatively identified the Mr. Russell who helped promote Henley as William Russell, the Mason. Biographical materials on William Russell assembled by the York County Project support his assertion.

ranks in the layered society in Williamsburg. Russell was a small merchant or storekeeper in Williamsburg. He owned two Williamsburg lots and a respectable 500 acres of rural York County land when he died in 1812, but the highest office he had held by the mid-'70s when the Henley affair occurred was deputy sheriff of York County. As we have seen, Peyton Randolph was at the apex of Williamsburg society in terms of his important offices in the common hall, York County court and provincial government together with his personal wealth, large land and slaveholdings. In spite of these differences, the two men were joined in a common cause--the support of a divine whose theology strayed from Anglican orthodoxy--that coincided with the anti-dogmatic strain in Masonic tenets.

For evidence of the Masonic benevolence, minutes of the Williamsburg Lodge carry numerous references to charitable activities of the local order. For instance, in May 1775 a committee was appointed to distribute to persons "who may appear to them Real objects of Charity such Relief as their fund may enable them to do." After fellow Mason William Rind, publisher of the newspaper died, the Lodge appointed a committee in December 1775 to care for his children, including providing them with board and schooling. Two years later, Dr. John M. Galt, a brother Mason, was to continue his care of the Rind children as he saw fit. In 1779, another brother, Walter Battwell, lived for a time rent free in the Lodge itself until his "distressed circumstances" should improve.¹⁷⁶

The brotherhood that encompassed several high level local and provincial officials and a larger number of the middling sort (see Tables

¹⁷⁶Kidd, Early Freemasonry, pp. 32, 35, 36, 39, 49.

1 and 8), engaged in a good deal of public ritual similar to the civic functions arranged by the town fathers when welcoming a new governor or burying an old one. Masonic processions in Williamsburg, complete with special dress and other regalia, would have sent a more equalitarian democratic message than did the deferential hierarchical relationships that were an important element in the civic displays arranged by local magistrates around important events. When Masons laid a cornerstone at the Capitol Landing bridge, the Gazette noted that "Yesterday the Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the City went in Procession, in the proper Insignia of their Order, to the Capitol Landing, . . ." ¹⁷⁷ The several miles to Capitol Landing probably required horses and wheeled vehicles in the parade. Processions were often a part of the yearly ceremonies on December 27. On the Feast of St. John the Evangelist in 1773:

the ancient and honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, all habited alike, and in the proper Insignia of their Order, went in Procession from their Lodge in this City to Bruton Church, where an excellent Discourse, delivered by the Reverend Mr Andrews, a Brother Mason, was preached from Hebrews xiii.I. Let brotherly Love continue. ¹⁷⁸

Minutes of the Williamsburg Lodge indicate that anywhere from 18 to 45 Masons took part in funeral processions. ¹⁷⁹ When a fellow Mason died, his body was usually laid out at the Lodge from whence the other Masons carried the deceased in procession to the church for a funeral sermon and burial according to Masonic rites. If the deceased was laid out at home, the other Masons met at the Lodge and in procession arrived at the

¹⁷⁷Virginia Gazette (Purdie and Dixon), 6 October 1774.

¹⁷⁸Ibid., 30 December 1773.

¹⁷⁹Kidd, Early Freemasonry, pp. 21, 32, 37, 45.

deceased's house to transport the casket to the church. Parades to the Capitol Landing bridge or to the church for a sermon preliminary to the celebrations on December 27 probably included a similarly numerous company.

Accounts of the purely social functions shared by non-homogeneous membership of the Williamsburg Lodge frequently appeared in the Virginia Gazette. Nearly every year on the Feast of St. John the Evangelist (December 27), the Lodge held a dinner or dinner and ball to which "ladies in Town be invited as usual" and sometimes the governor.¹⁸⁰ On the occasion of the ceremony mentioned above at the Capitol Landing bridge:

. . . The design of the Meeting being to lay the Foundation Stone of the stone Bridge to be built at the Capitol Landing-- the Lodge accordingly repaired thereto and after the Usual Libations and having placed a medal under the cornerstone and laid the same in due form.¹⁸¹

The Gazette, co-edited by fellow Mason John Dixon, elaborated on the "Libations" reporting that "they repaired to the House of Mr. Matthew Moody, Junior (a Brother) and spent the Afternoon in Mirth and good Humour."¹⁸² Moody, ferrykeeper, cabinetmaker and carpenter, also kept tavern at the lower end of Capitol Landing Road. This mixed group evidently enjoyed each other's company.

Masonic parading, funeral corteges and social gatherings in which the association among men of high and middle rank were just as visible to the populace in Williamsburg as were the traditional public rituals

¹⁸⁰Ibid., pp. 31, 39, 43, 44.

¹⁸¹Ibid., p. 30.

¹⁸²Virginia Gazette (Purdie and Dixon), 6 October 1776.

arranged by magistrates, had an entirely different purpose. They confirmed mutual support based on principals of brotherhood and toleration rather than perpetuation of authority and influence. Still, a Masonic lodge had existed in Williamsburg at least as early as 1751.¹⁸³ Yet, twenty-five to thirty years later it was still a Peyton Randolph or a John Blair who dominated high Masonic offices such as grand master, just as they claimed top level county, municipal and provincial offices and occupied the upper echelons in the layered society in Williamsburg. And, it was a William Russell or one of the Moodys who filled lower offices in the lodge, much as they carried on in lower public offices--or avoided public service altogether--and found themselves further from the center of urban influence. If new egalitarian bonds, growing out of the same Enlightenment ideas already being marshalled to justify a break with England and a more democratic form of government, were forged among men of varied backgrounds and social standing in Williamsburg, they did so within a familiar framework of existing social arrangements and ritual. The stratified urban society born of political power and personal prestige continued to show its strength having served the urban community's needs well, if not always evenhandedly. It would not soon be replaced.

¹⁸³Virginia Gazette (Parks), 18 April 1751.

APPENDIX A
LIST OF URBAN JUSTICES OF THE PEACE OF YORK COUNTY

IDENT	NAME	FYRJP	LYRJP	FYRWRES	LYRWRES	FYRWLOT	LYRWLOT	FYRYTRES	LYRYTRES	FYRYTLOT	LYRYTLOT
294	DIGGES WILLIAM1	1671	1679							1691	1692
259	COLE WILLIAM2	1675	1677							1691	1693
437	MOSS EDWARD2	1676	1691							1692	1693
424	PAGE FRANCIS	1679	1688							1691	1692
115	CHISMAN THOMAS1	1680	1691							1691	1692
17	ARCHER JAMES	1682	1688							1691	1691
144	READE ROBERT	1682	1712							1691	1712
498	RING JOSEPH1	1682	1702							1691	1702
573	TIMSON SAMUEL1	1682	1688							1691	1692
461	PARK DANIEL2	1686	1688							1691	1692
291	DIGGES DUDLEY1	1688	1692							1691	1692
345	HANSFORD CHARLES1	1691	1702							1691	1692
22	BALLARD THOMAS2	1691	1710							1692	1692
355	HARWOOD THOMAS3	1691	1695							1691	1691
441	MOUNTFORT THOS1	1691	1695					1692	1705	1692	1705
231	BUCKNER WILLIAM1	1694	1715					1696	1715	1696	1715
581	TYLER HENRY2	1694	1727	1702	1705	1702	1705				
474	PAGE JOHN2	1699	1699			1704	1709				
571	TAYLOR DANIEL	1699	1707							1691	1707
554	SMITH LAWRENCE2	1704	1739					1738	1738	1706	1738
576	TIMSON WILLIAM1	1704	1718			1715	1717				
223	BLAND RICHARD1	1710	1715	1708	1711	1708	1716				
451	NELSON THOMAS1	1710	1744			1739	1745	1707	1745	1706	1745
606	WALKER JOSEPH	1710	1723					1719	1719	1706	1723
358	HAYWARD HENRY2	1715	1720							1707	1708
31	BALLARD MATTHEW1	1717	1718							1711	1719
2844	PACKE GRAVES1	1717	1728			1720	1728				
3326	HOLLOWAY JOHN	1717	1733	1716	1732	1715	1734				
124	CHISMAN THOMAS2	1718	1722							1691	1716
222	BLAIR ARCHIBALD	1721	1732	1714	1724	1700	1732				
3325	STARK WILLIAM	1721	1730					1730	1730	1721	1730
2972	BUCKNER WILLIAM2	1722	1722					1722	1722	1716	1722
740809	AMBLER RICHARD	1724	1737					1720	1753	1720	1765
740850	BLAIR JOHN1	1724	1745	1702	1771	1718	1771				
740874	BUCKNER JOHN4	1726	1747							1722	1747
740059	SMITH EDMUND	1732	1750							1734	1750
740205	NELSON WILLIAM2	1734	1745			1745	1772	1711	1772	1735	1772
740206	NELSON WILLIAM1	1734	1739					1736	1746	1728	1746
740486	KING WALTER	1736	1738	1736	1747	1735	1751				
740546	HARMER JOHN	1736	1747	1736	1746	1735	1769				
740690	DAVIDSON ROBERT	1737	1738	1735	1737	1737	1738				
36	BALLARD JOHN2	1738	1745					1744	1744	1727	1745
740658	GILMER GEORGE1	1738	1756	1736	1755	1735	1757				
740981	MOSS FRANCIS1	1738	1738							1735	1738
2619	REYNOLDS THOMAS	1745	1759					1750	1756	1739	1759
740403	NELSON THOMAS2	1745	1780			1745	1782	1716	1780	1745	1782
740466	LIGHTFOOT WILLM	1745	1751			1749	1764	1745	1750	1747	1764

IDENT	NAME	FYRJP	LYRJP	FYRWRES	LYRWRES	FYRWLOT	LYRWLOT	FYRYTRES	LYRYTRES	FYRYTLOT	LYRYTLOT
740197	BOOTH MORDECAI	1746	1751					1745	1746	1745	1752
2836	NORTON JOHN2	1747	1770					1746	1764	1745	1764
740029	SHIELDS ROBERTS	1747	1773					1745	1758	1742	1761
740037	ALLEN WILLIAM3	1747	1771							1713	1776
740008	WRAY JAMES1	1748	1749	1736	1747	1736	1749				
740380	HOLT JOHN	1748	1754	1744	1754	1744	1784				
740167	RANDOLPH PEYTON	1749	1775	1746	1774	1770	1775				
740696	DIGGES DUDLEY4	1750	1776	1776	1787	1755	1755	1755	1773	1754	1787
3328	ARMISTEAD WM2	1753	1754			1753	1755				
2786	SMITH ROBERT	1754	1774					1768	1768	1754	1766
3217	PRENTIS JOHN	1754	1772	1747	1774	1768	1775				
3304	WATERS WILLIAM	1754	1767	1760	1767	1754	1767				
4897	AMBLER EDWARD1	1754	1768					1767	1767	1766	1768
2581	JAMESON DAVID	1759	1787	1744	1744			1751	1793	1752	1793
2631	TARPLEY JAMES	1759	1764	1753	1762	1755	1764			1753	1753
2989	HUNTER WILLIAM2	1759	1761	1750	1761	1751	1761				
3549	LIGHTFOOT ARMIST	1759	1768					1764	1770	1748	1771
3283	BLAIR JOHN3	1760	1774	1764	1799	1763	1800				
740229	COCKE JAMES1	1761	1766	1751	1786	1750	1788				
2670	DIXON NICHOLAS	1762	1768					1756	1768	1751	1769
3089	NELSON THOMAS3	1762	1783			1788	1789	1738	1788	1761	1788
4520	HOLT WILLIAM	1762	1771	1760	1775	1760	1791				
740039	PRIDE JAMES	1762	1767			1767	1782	1746	1770	1745	1771
740730	STEPHENSON WILL	1762	1771					1745	1776	1748	1776
1200	MOORE AUGUSTINE	1767	1783					1769	1779	1754	1763
4553	AMBLER JAQUELIN	1767	1779					1767	1780	1766	1797
3989	DIXON JOHN	1771	1779			1782	1786				
4655	NELSON HUGH1	1771	1789	1777	1783			1774	1799	1772	1799
4271	DIGGES WILLIAM4	1773	1775								
5213	HORNSBY JOSEPH1	1773	1775	1767	1774	1772	1797				
2620	REYNOLDS WILLIAM	1774	1791					1772	1800	1772	1800
4397	NORTON JOHN HAIL	1774	1775	1773	1776	1778	1785	1745	1775	1772	1785
4698	PASTEUR WILLIAM	1774	1782	1759	1787	1760	1778	1779	1779		
3970	DICKENSON JOHN	1777	1778								
3983	DIXON BEVERLEY	1777	1779	1773	1778	1771	1787			1773	1778
4740	PRENTIS JOSEPH1	1777	1778	1774	1809	1779	1809				
4742	PRENTIS ROBERT	1777	1778	1764	1779	1782	1802				
3623	WEBB GEORGE2	1778	1779	1776	1777						
4728	POWELL BENJAMIN	1778	1783	1758	1788	1753	1782				
5123	SMITH LAWRENCE6	1778	1783					1753	1784	1763	1784
3170	SHIELDS JAMES3	1780	1783	1760	1779	1751	1785				
4079	GOOSELEY WM1	1780	1791					1769	1794	1770	1800
4093	GRIFFIN CORBIN	1780	1812					1773	1811	1772	1813
4720	NICHOLSON ROBT2	1780	1780					1779	1796	1785	1796
4725	POPE MATTHEW	1780	1782					1766	1791	1767	1791

NOTE: SAS INSTITUTE, SAS CIRCLE, BOX 8000, CARY, N.C. 27511-8000

IDENT: York County Project identity number; FYRJP/LYRJP: First/last year justice; FYRWRES/LYRWRES: First/last year known Williamsburg resident; FYRWLOT/LYRWLOT: First/last year held lots in Williamsburg; FYRYTRES/LYRYTRES: First/last year known resident in Yorktown; FYRYTLOT/LYRYTLOT: First/last year held lots in Yorktown.

APPENDIX B
 LIST OF URBAN JUSTICES OF THE PEACE OF JAMES CITY COUNTY
 RESIDENT IN WILLIAMSBURG

IDENT	NAME	WRSMIN	WRSMAX
741232	BRAY THOMAS2	1702	1751
740163	PRENTIS WILLIAM	1714	1765
495	RAVENSCROFT THOS	1715	1736
843	BRAY JAMES2	1716	1725
740890	BURWELL LEWIS4	1718	1742
2867	PARKS WILLIAM	1731	1750
741073	BOOKER RICHARD2	1733	1743
3718	LUDWELL PHILIP3	1736	1736
741210	GRAHAM JOHN	1737	1745
2938	BURWELL ARMISTEA	1745	1752
3288	NICHOLAS ROBT C	1745	1774
740888	BURWELL LEWIS5	1745	1785
740944	TALIAFERRO RICH1	1748	1779
740848	BLAIR JOHN	1750	1755
3276	RANDOLPH JOHN2	1752	1775
3336	JOHNSON PHILIP	1753	1789
4972	BURWELL NATH3	1759	1772
4520	HOLT WILLIAM	1760	1791
3985	DIXON HALDENBY	1761	1779
3222	TRAVIS EDWARD CH	1765	1779

SAS INSTITUTE, SAS CIRCLE, BOX 8000, CARY, N.C. 27511-8000

IDENT: York County Project identification number
 WRSMIN: First date of Williamsburg residence
 WRSMAX: Last date of Williamsburg residence

APPENDIX C

LIST OF WILLIAMSBURG MAYORS, ALDERMEN, AND COMMON COUNCILMEN

IDENT	NAME	FYRCOMHL	LYRCOMHL	FYRWRES	LYRWRES	FYRWLOT	LYRWLOT
222	BLAIR ARCHIBALD	1722	1722	1714	1724	1700	1732
390	JONES THOMAS1	1722	1722	1708	1751	1715	1751
500	ROBERTSON WILLIAM	1722	1722	1717	1737	1707	1723
843	BRAY JAMES2	1722	1722	1722	1725	1716	1725
3024	RANDOLPH JOHN1	1722	1722	1722	1736	1723	1736
3326	HOLLOWAY JOHN	1722	1722	1716	1732	1715	1734
740795	CUSTIS JOHN3	1722	1722	1722	1749	1716	1749
740401	SCOTT PETER	1735	1775	1735	1765	1755	1768
3214	NICHOLAS ABE	1736	1736	1736	1736		
741063	BARRADELL EDWARD	1736	1737	1736	1741		
740546	HARMER JOHN	1737	1746	1736	1746	1735	1769
740690	DAVIDSON ROBERT	1738	1738	1735	1737	1737	1738
3049	KEMP MATTHEW2	1739	1739	1739	1739	1739	1739
740658	GILMER GEORGE1	1745	1755	1736	1755	1735	1757
2867	PARKS WILLIAM	1746	1746	1736	1750	1731	1750
2954	AMSON JOHN	1746	1748	1746	1752	1742	1760
740163	PRENTIS WILLIAM1	1746	1753	1714	1761	1724	1765
740167	RANDOLPH PEYTON	1746	1746	1746	1774	1770	1775
740486	KING WALTER	1746	1746	1736	1747	1735	1751
3276	RANDOLPH JOHN2	1751	1770	1751	1770	1762	1775
740848	BLAIR JOHN	1751	1751	1750	1755	1755	1755
740380	HOLT JOHN	1752	1753	1744	1754	1744	1784
3288	NICHOLAS ROBT C	1757	1757	1751	1774	1753	1761
3217	PRENTIS JOHN	1759	1759	1747	1774	1768	1775
740625	EVERARD THOMAS	1766	1771	1734	1778	1745	1780
2408	CRAIG ALEXANDER	1767	1776	1748	1773	1748	1776
2475	GEDDY JAMES2	1767	1767	1760	1777	1760	1778
3484	GILMER GEORGE2	1767	1767	1742	1770	1757	1774
4728	POWELL BENJAMIN	1767	1767	1758	1788	1753	1782
4836	TAZEWELL JOHN	1767	1769	1764	1781	1764	1781
740229	COCKE JAMES1	1767	1772	1751	1786	1750	1788
2944	WYTHE GEORGE	1768	1772	1752	1791	1752	1791
3283	BLAIR JOHN3	1769	1773	1764	1799	1763	1800
3985	DIXON HALDENBY	1770	1770	1768	1773	1761	1779
3362	BLAIR JAMES5	1771	1772	1765	1772	1771	1772
3986	DIXON JOHN	1772	1774	1766	1777	1766	1777
3069	MILLER ROBERT	1773	1773	1752	1771	1760	1773
4698	PASTEUR WILLIAM	1773	1775	1759	1787	1760	1778
3393	CHARLTON EDWARD	1776	1776	1752	1777	1774	1791

IDENT	NAME	FYRCOMHL	LYRCOMHL	FYRWRES	LYRWRES	FYRWLOT	LYRWLOT
4740	PRENTIS JOSEPH1	1776	1776	1774	1809	1779	1809
4743	RANDOLPH EDMUND	1776	1776	1775	1776	1788	1795
3623	WEBB GEORGE2	1777	1777	1776	1777	.	.
3745	ANDREWS ROBERT1	1779	1779	1778	1802	1778	1803
3750	ARCHER EDWARD	1779	1779	1778	1779	.	.
4096	GRIFFIN SAMUEL	1779	1780	1779	1786	1778	1810

NOTE: SAS INSTITUTE, SAS CIRCLE, BOX 8000, CARY, N.C. 27511-8000

IDENT: York County Project identification number; FYRCOMHL/LYRCOMHL: First/last year member Williamsburg common hall; FYRWRES/LYRWRES: First/last year Williamsburg residence; FYRWLOT/LYRWLOT: First/last year held Williamsburg lot.

APPENDIX D

LIST OF URBAN CLERKS, DEPUTY CLERKS, AND DEPUTY KING'S ATTORNEYS OF YORK COUNTY

IDENT	NAME	FYRCLKDKA	LYRCLKDKA	FYRWRES	LYRWRES	FYRWLOT	LYRWLOT	FYRYTRES	LYRYTRES	FYRYTLOT	LYRYTLOT
441	MOUNTFORT THOS1	1680	1680					1692	1705	1691	1707
382	JEWINGS EDMUND	1681	1691							1691	1727
545	SEDGWICK JOHN	1686	1691							1691	1692
569	TUNLEY WILLIAM	1703	1707					1706	1707	1706	1709
500	ROBERTSON WILLIAM	1707	1739	1717	1737	1707	1723				
740351	LIGHTFOOT PHIL2	1707	1733	1740	1740	1747	1747	1719	1748	1709	1748
741046	FRAYSER THOMAS	1731	1733							1738	1739
1239	HUBBARD MATTHEW4	1733	1745					1738	1744	1735	1745
740002	WALLER BENJAMIN	1738	1776	1739	1783	1748	1786				
740625	EVERARD THOMAS	1744	1781	1734	1778	1745	1780				
3434	DAVENPORT MATT	1773	1773	1734	1777						

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 FYRWRES/LYRWRES: First/last year of Williamsburg residence; FYRWLOT/LYRWLOT: First/last year
 held Williamsburg lots; FYRYTRES/LYRYTRES: First/last year of Yorktown residence; FYRYTLOT/LYRYTLOT:
 First/last year held Yorktown lots

APPENDIX E

LIST OF URBAN DEPUTY SHERIFFS, CONSTABLES, SUVEYORS OF THE HIGHWAYS, TOBACCO
AGENTS, BAILIFFS, AND JAILORS OF YORK COUNTY

IDENT	NAME	FYRPEACEK	LYRPEACEK	FYRWRES	LYRWRES	FYRWLOT	LYRWLOT	FYRYTRES	LYRYTRES	FYRYTLOT	LYRYTLOT
417	LANSON JOHN1	1667	1673							1703	1705
542	SEBRELL NICH2	1668	1684							1691	1692
539	SEABORN JOHN	1674	1679					1694	1694	1691	1694
357	HAYWARD HENRY1	1675	1682							1692	1692
626	WISE WILLIAM1	1677	1699							1692	1692
355	HARWOOD THOMAS3	1678	1681							1691	1691
436	WOODY HUMPHRY1	1679	1680					1707	1707	1706	1707
607	WALKER RALPH	1679	1694							1691	1702
246	COWDON DAVID1	1680	1687							1691	1699
349	HARRISON NICH	1680	1688							1692	1698
305	FLOWERS RALPH1	1681	1690							1691	1692
458	OVERSTREET JEFF1	1682	1682							1691	1692
567	TROTTER RICHARD	1682	1682							1691	1699
441	MOUNTFORT THOS1	1684	1685					1692	1705	1691	1707
287	DAVIS OWEN	1687	1688							1691	1694
581	TYLER HENRY2	1687	1690	1702	1705	1702	1705				
631	WYTHE JOHN	1688	1691							1691	1692
442	WYHILL JOHN	1689	1698							1691	1692
534	STOWER DAVID	1691	1691							1691	1704
261	COLLIER THOMAS1	1693	1699							1691	1692
371	HYDE ROBERT1	1694	1694								
309	FULLER EDWARD	1699	1702							1706	1708
464	PATE THOMAS	1699	1699					1699	1703	1699	1703
554	SMITH LAWRENCE2	1699	1727					1738	1738	1706	1738
220	BATES JAMES1	1700	1722			1715	1716				
87	CALTHORPE JAMES2	1701	1706							1711	1711
204	ALLEN WILLIAM2	1702	1704							1708	1713
362	HILL THOMAS3	1704	1706							1691	1692
526	SHERMAN WILLIAM1	1705	1707	1705	1708	1705	1708				
529	SOMERWELL WUNGO	1706	1706					1702	1702		
1694	CROMBIE JOHN	1706	1707					1704	1708	1704	1708
263	COX CHARLES	1707	1708					1714	1716	1706	1716
426	MAROT JOHN	1707	1713	1705	1717	1705	1717				
124	CHISMAN THOMAS2	1708	1717							1691	1711
490	POWERS EDWARD1	1708	1708					1709	1719	1709	1719
580	TYLER FRANCIS1	1708	1736			1715	1720				
1	ANDREWS JOHN	1709	1709					1707	1717	1705	1717
74	BROOKS JOHN	1709	1712	1709	1726	1709	1726				
622	WILLS JOHN1	1710	1710					1707	1712	1707	1721
358	HAYWARD HENRY2	1711	1714							1707	1708
429	HAUPTIN GABRIEL1	1711	1714	1714	1719	1718	1719				

IDENT	NAME	FYRPEACEK	LYRPEACEK	FYRWRES	LYRWRES	FYRWLOT	LYRWLOT	FYRYTRES	LYRYTRES	FYRYTLOT	LYRYTLOT
2983	HAYNES CHARLES	1711	1713					1711	1718	1716	1716
4280	CLAY JOHN	1711	1711					1712	1712		
2875	SMITH WILLIAM	1712	1712	1710	1712	1710	1726	1716	1717	1716	1717
265	CUNNINGHAM DAVI	1713	1717	1712	1719	1712	1719				
283	DREWITT JONATHAN	1713	1726			1716	1726				
4281	GILBERT JOHN	1713	1713	1713	1713						
499	RIPPING EDWARD	1717	1718	1713	1732	1713	1732				
2592	BAKER RICHARD1	1717	1719					1717	1735	1717	1735
435	WOODY GILES2	1719	1730	1714	1726	1715	1728				
2678	EATON SAMUEL	1719	1719					1719	1719		
3224	TROTTER JOHN	1719	1720					1719	1744	1717	1744
308	FREEMAN JOSEPH	1720	1721	1719	1721	1718	1721				
342	HOOK NATHANIEL	1720	1720					1720	1720	1714	1721
372	HYDE SAMUEL	1723	1732			1717	1729				
2551	WCKINDO JAMES	1723	1725					1723	1728	1725	1730
2691	LAUGHTON ROBERT	1725	1727	1718	1730	1718	1734	1732	1732	1732	1732
3249	WILLS ROBERT	1725	1726	1739	1739	1738	1740	1721	1727	1721	1727
3307	MOSS BENJAMIN1	1726	1729							1735	1735
741052	GOMER JOHN1	1726	1727					1726	1728	1722	1728
2495	PACKE RICHARD	1727	1728	1727	1730	1725	1729				
740700	DIXON THOMAS	1727	1730	1725	1742						
256	COBBS SAMUEL1	1728	1728	1719	1730	1716	1757				
2801	BLAIKLEY WILLM1	1728	1729	1722	1722	1728	1733				
740059	SMITH EDMUND	1728	1734							1734	1750
740434	IRVIN JONES	1728	1736					1732	1739	1732	1751
2524	HENDRIKIN GARRET	1729	1729			1734	1734				
741073	BOOKER RICHARD2	1734	1735			1733	1743				
740149	PHILLIPS THOMAS1	1735	1740							1738	1745
740210	ORTON REGINALD	1735	1737					1735	1755	1736	1755
740890	BURWELL LEVIS4	1736	1738	1736	1738	1726	1742				
2961	BROWN STEPHEN	1737	1738	1749	1749	1749	1749				
740154	POTTER EDWARD1	1737	1748					1741	1741		
740273	WOODY MATTHEW1	1737	1747	1734	1775	1738	1775				
740433	IRVIN THOMAS WIL	1737	1742					1736	1739	1736	1737
740981	MOSS FRANCIS1	1738	1738							1735	1738
740256	MATTHEWS PATRICK	1742	1747			1757	1757	1743	1761	1743	1761
740558	HARWOOD WILLIAM	1743	1744					1720	1746	1720	1744
740037	ALLEN WILLIAM3	1745	1748							1713	1776
2370	BOWCOCK EDWARD	1746	1752	1768	1768	1759	1759				
740088	SHIELDS MATTHEW	1746	1746			1739	1763				
2492	GOOSELEY EPHRAIM	1747	1748					1747	1751	1748	1749
740508	MORGAN JOHN	1748	1749					1740	1749	1740	1754
740996	WILLS JAMES	1749	1750					1749	1762	1750	1762
2798	BENTLEY WILLIAM	1750	1752					1750	1752		
3512	HORDAY RICHARDI	1750	1750							1752	1759
740151	PHILLIPS AARON	1750	1759					1738	1738		
2963	BRYAN FREDERICK2	1751	1771	1771	1771	1764	1771				
3039	BURT MATTHEW	1752	1753					1751	1755	1752	1756
740201	MOSS WILLIAM2	1753	1769					1753	1771	1743	1763
740656	GIBBS THOMAS	1753	1754					1753	1756	1756	1756
4518	POWELL SEYMOUR3	1754	1754					1750	1780	1750	1780
2586	MCCLARY JOHN	1759	1759					1748	1800	1759	1800

IDENT	NAME	FYRPEACEK	LYRPEACEK	FYRWRES	LYRWRES	FYRWLOT	LYRWLOT	FYRYTRES	LYRYTRES	FYRYTLOT	LYRYTLOT
3120	ROBINSON ANTH4	1759	1762					1754	1768		
741126	ARCHER THOMAS1	1759	1759					1749	1780	1749	1775
3490	GLANVILLE EDMUND	1761	1763					1751	1759	1759	1778
740468	LEBE JAMES	1763	1769	1747	1747	1744	1744				
2934	WILKINS THOMAS1	1764	1766	1752	1752						
3170	SHIELDS JAMES3	1764	1780	1760	1779	1751	1785				
4039	FREEMAN JOSEPH	1764	1769					1758	1758		
4859	VALENTINE JOSEPH1	1764	1772	1767	1771						
741158	HUGHES EMERY	1764	1764								
4624	MITCHELL WM1	1766	1777					1763	1786	1770	1786
2855	PRESSON DANIEL	1767	1767							1756	1782
5167	BARHAM WILLIAM	1769	1771	1783	1786						
2967	BRYAN FREDERICK3	1771	1776	1758	1764						
4062	GIBBS MATTHEW	1771	1771					1770	1770	1768	1785
5058	RUSSELL WILLIAM	1771	1775	1771	1811	1768	1811				
3089	NELSON THOMAS3	1772	1775			1788	1789	1738	1788	1761	1788
4568	HIGHLAND ROBERT	1773	1773	1764	1773	1772	1774				
4655	NELSON HUGH1	1775	1776	1777	1783			1774	1799	1772	1799
2664	CARTER JAMES1	1776	1779	1751	1794	1751	1794				
3673	SMITH LAWRENCE5	1776	1779					1769	1772	1738	1772
4061	GIBBS JOHN	1776	1776					1776	1780	1773	1780
4058	GIBBONS JOHN5	1778	1782					1786	1786	1785	1786
4578	HUNTER WILLIAM3	1780	1780	1769	1781	1761	1782				

SAS INSTITUTE, SAS CIRCLE, BOX 8000, CARY, N.C. 27511-8000

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APPENDIX F

LIST OF YORKTOWN SURVEYORS OF THE STREETS AND LANDINGS

IDENT	NAME	YRSMIN	YRSMAX
441	MOUNTFORT THOS1	1692	1705
1	ANDREWS JOHN	1705	1717
263	COX CHARLES	1706	1716
740351	LIGHTFOOT PHIL2	1709	1748
513	ROGERS WILLIAM1	1711	1739
2983	HAYNES CHARLES	1711	1718
332	GRYMES RICHARD	1713	1713
3224	TROTTER JOHN	1717	1744
3325	STARK WILLIAM	1721	1730
36	BALLARD JOHN2	1727	1745
740652	GIBBONS JOHN3	1727	1772
740314	MOODY ISHMAEL	1732	1748
740313	MITCHELL JAMES	1736	1772
3089	NELSON THOMAS3	1738	1788
740106	ROGERS WILLIAM2	1741	1741
740256	MATTHEWS PATRICK	1743	1761
2836	NORTON JOHN2	1745	1764
3729	JERDONE FRANCIS	1746	1753
741126	ARCHER THOMAS1	1749	1780
2670	DIXON NICHOLAS	1751	1769
740696	DIGGES DUDLEY4	1754	1787
4725	POPE MATTHEW	1766	1791
2620	REYNOLDS WILLIAM	1772	1800

SAS INSTITUTE, SAS CIRCLE, BOX 8000, CARY, N.C. 27511-8000

IDENT: YCP identification number;

YRSMIN/YRSMAX: First/last year resident in Yorktown

APPENDIX 6

LIST OF WILLIAMSBURG CONSTABLES AND
SURVEYORS OF THE STREETS AND LANDINGS

IDENT	NAME	WRSMN	WRSMX	WLOTMN	WLOTMX
740687	DAVENPORT JOSEPH1	1726	1760	1738	1760
740637	FORD WILLIAM	1733	1745	.	.
740181	PENMAN THOMAS	1739	1759	1742	1759
740605	DOBSON EDMUND	1746	1748	.	.
5129	SMITH WILLIAM	1765	1766	.	.
3848	BUCKTROUT BENJAMIN	1769	1781	1766	1812
3913	CRUMP JOHN	1775	1789	1775	1790

IDENT: YCP identification number; WRSMN/WRSMX: First/last year of
Williamsburg residence; WLOTMN/WLOTMX: First/last year held Williamsburg
lot.

APPENDIX H

LIST OF URBAN MEN WHO SERVED AS GRAND JURORS ONLY

Williamsburg

IDENT	NAME	WRSMIN	WRSMAX	WLOTMN	WLOTMX
2372	BOWCOCK HENRY1	1716	1729	1716	1729
740676	HACKER HENRY	1733	1740	1736	1742
740779	COSBY MARK	1739	1751	1737	1752
740702	DIXON JOHN1	1750	1752	1742	1751
2515	HAY ANTHONY1	1757	1770	1755	1767
4514	DE FOREST CORNLS	1776	1780	1778	1780
5097	NICHOLSON WILLM	1779	1779	1779	1802

Yorktown

IDENT	NAME	YRSMN	YRSMX	YLOTMN	YLOTMX
3181	WALKER MATTHEW	.	.	1723	1733
740702	DIXON JOHN1	1736	1745	1736	1743
2745	GIBBONS THOMAS5	1753	1763	1727	1772
3052	BALLARD WILLIAM2	1760	1760	1745	1774

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APPENDIX I
LIST OF URBAN MEN WHO SERVED AS GRAND AND PETIT JURORS ONLY

Williamsburg

IDENT	NAME	WRSMN	WRSMX	WRSMN	WRSMX
328	GILBERT GEORGE			1719	1720
3785	BARTLE JOHN			1758	1767
463	PASTEUR JOHN1	1715	1741	1713	1741
547	SHARP FRANCIS1	1717	1726	1713	1739
2528	HOLLAND LEWIS	1720	1731	1720	1731
740630	FERGUSON PATRICK	1724	1724	.	.
394	KING RICHARD	1727	1727	1716	1727
740016	WETHERBURN HENRY	1734	1760	1731	1760
740815	ANDERSON ANDREW1	1734	1752	1736	1752
2937	WILKINSON SAMUEL	1737	1739	1739	1739
740413	KEITH WILLIAM1	1737	1743	.	.
740798	COKE JOHN	1739	1764	1739	1767
740770	COLLETT JOHN	1740	1749	1740	1749
740381	HORNSBY THOMAS	1745	1770	1740	1772
740386	HUBBARD WILLIAM1	1747	1751	1745	1749
740065	SPURR SAMUEL2	1751	1773	1749	1781
740761	COBBS THOMAS	1755	1768	1750	1768
3795	BELL JOHN	1758	1766	1761	1764
4736	POWELL PETER1	1758	1772	1755	1770
4245	TUELL MATTHEW	1760	1762	1754	1774
4541	PEARSON WILLIAM	1760	1775	1760	1776
4726	POTTER EDWARD2	1762	1762	.	.
3338	NICHOLSON ROBERT	1766	1796	1751	1799

Yorktown

IDENT	NAME	YRSMN	YRSMX	YRSMN	YRSMX
35	BALLARD ROBERT1			1717	1734
440	MOUNTFORT JOS1			1708	1738
453	NORTHERN JOHN1			1706	1708
2980	FULLER WILLIAM			1717	1717
523	SESSIONS THOMAS1	1695	1701	.	.
633	YOUNG ALEXANDER	1697	1701	1697	1701
402	LEIGHTON HOUSE R	1698	1699	.	.
470	PHILLIPS NICHOLA	1713	1714	1708	1715
740185	BREWER THOMAS	1743	1746	1740	1746
3117	RICHARDSON JOHN	1750	1753	1751	1753
3489	GINTER JNO CONRD	1770	1795	1762	1795
4616	MENNIS CHARLES	1775	1778	1773	1773

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APPENDIX J
LIST OF URBAN MEN WHO SERVED AS PETIT JURORS ONLY

Williamsburg

IDENT	NAME	WRSNN	WRSNY	WRSNN	WRSNY
866	COBBS ROBERT3			1720	1725
3175	SHIELDS WILLIAM			1739	1747
4247	TURNER JOEL			1771	1771
4530	MOORE FILMER			1766	1767
4579	INGE WILLIAM			1770	1770
4759	RATCLIFFE JOHN			1775	1790
4997	HOLT MATTHEW			1771	1773
740782	COULTHARD JOHN1			1751	1751
740838	BASKERVYLE JOHN			1751	1751
550	SHIELDS JAMES1	1706	1727	1706	1727
111	CHERMISON JOSEPH	1708	1708	1708	1712
268	CRAIG WILLIAM	1714	1719	1711	1719
434	MORRIS JAMES1	1717	1717		
286	DAVIS JOHN3	1723	1723	1718	1727
229	BRUSH JOHN	1726	1726	1717	1726
3643	BROWN JOHN1	1744	1755		
740880	BYRD JAMES	1745	1756	1745	1757
3690	CLARK JOHN	1746	1747		
740228	COCKE JOSEPH	1746	1747	1746	1748
740212	PAGE JOHN	1747	1747		
740619	DUNN WILLIAM1	1747	1747	1752	1752
2689	HUTCHINGS ROBERT	1748	1748		
2405	COVENTON RICHARD	1750	1750		
2795	BARROW JOHN	1751	1751		
2467	FORD CHRISTOPHER	1752	1758	1752	1758
2497	GREENHOW JOHN	1754	1787	1754	1787
3910	CRAIG THOMAS1	1755	1778	1755	1778
740633	FERGUSON COLIN	1757	1763	1757	1768
3773	BAILLEY BENJAMIN	1758	1762	1758	1762
2684	FRANK GRAHAM	1760	1760	1757	1779
4120	HATTON MATTHEW W	1761	1783	1761	1762
4241	TREBELL WILLIAM	1761	1767	1755	1767
4731	POWELL GEO JACK	1761	1761		
4399	ORMESTON JOHN1	1762	1766	1766	1766
4585	JEGGITS JOHN1	1764	1768		
5011	WHITAKER SIMON	1764	1764	1764	1766
4556	CHARLTON RICHARD	1765	1779	1767	1777
4573	HOYE DANIEL	1765	1767	1762	1767
3905	COSBY WILLIAM	1766	1775	1766	1775
3947	CHOWNING JOSIAH	1766	1766	1766	1766
4403	PATTISON JAMES	1766	1771	1768	1771
4522	LENOX WALTER	1766	1780	1768	1779

IDENT	NAME	WRSMN	WRSMX	WRSMN	WRSMX
3898	CONNELLY JOHN1	1767	1775	1769	1775
3999	DOUGLAS JAMES	1767	1771	.	.
4738	PRENTIS DANIEL	1767	1774	1776	1795
4160	JACKSON ROBERT	1768	1778	1773	1781
4633	MORCE HENRY	1768	1768	.	.
5079	SKINNER THOMAS	1768	1778	1773	1774
3631	SINGLETON RICH H	1769	1773	1769	1773
4002	DRAPER JOHN	1769	1780	1770	1784
2676	DURFEY SEVERINUS	1770	1773	1773	1783
4586	JEGGITTS JOSEPH	1770	1771	.	.
4145	HORNSBY WILLIAM	1771	1789	1771	1804
4157	JACKSON GEORGE	1771	1793	1777	1793
4049	GARDNER JAMES	1772	1774	1771	1774
4252	TYRIE JAMES	1772	1775	.	.
3193	CAMP JOHN1	1773	1773	.	.
740852	BOND ROBERT	1773	1783	1762	1783
4609	LINDSAY JOHN	1775	1775	.	.
4539	ORRELL THOMAS	1776	1779	1777	1780
4569	HONEY JAMES	1776	1787	1776	1787
5078	SINGLETON JOHN	1776	1776	.	.
5187	LOWE DAVID	1776	1786	.	.
3887	COKE ROBEY	1777	1780	1767	1784
4635	MORTON DAVID1	1777	1790	1777	1798
4791	ROSS DONALD	1777	1777	1777	1777
5175	CRAWLEY SAMUEL	1782	1791	1783	1789
5184	HOYE ALEXANDER	1782	1782	.	.
3955	DAVIS JAMES	1783	1840	1783	1840
5165	ANDERSON MATTHEW	1784	1803	1785	1803

Yorktown

IDENT	NAME	YRSMN	YRSMX	YRSMN	YRSMX
281	DOWSING JOHN	.	.	1706	1721
543	SEBRELL NICH3	.	.	1692	1695
608	WALKER THOMAS	.	.	1702	1703
2595	MOODY EDWARD	.	.	1748	1767
3525	HUBBARD WILLIAM2	.	.	1745	1767
4164	JAMESON THOMAS	.	.	1768	1770
4966	BURROUGHS THOMAS	.	.	1773	1773
740277	GIBBONS LAWRNCE1	.	.	1727	1742
740757	CLIFTON BENJ3	.	.	1728	1732
248	COOPER SAMUEL1	1719	1719	1716	1719
740816	ARCHER ABRAHAM	1730	1748	1729	1748
740072	TAYLOR WALTER	1734	1742	1734	1742
740590	PAYRAS JOHN	1741	1752	1748	1752
3158	RIDDELL GEORGE1	1748	1779	1754	1779
2473	GALT WILLIAM	1750	1751	.	.
1188	TABB EDMUND	1751	1758	1748	1761
3690	CLARK JOHN	1752	1752	.	.
2684	FRANK GRAHAM	1757	1757	.	.

IDENT	NAME	YRSMN	YRSMX	YRSMN	YRSMX
2405	COVENTON RICHARD	1758	1766	1758	1766
4564	HARWOOD JOHN	1759	1762	1759	1764
3185	BALLARD ROBERT2	1761	1761	1745	1767
3872	CARY EDWARD1	1767	1767	1764	1769
4545	POOLE WILLIAM	1767	1767	1762	1767
3064	MAITLAND ALEX1	1768	1769	1761	1761
4588	JONES ALLEN	1771	1785	1768	1787
5150	THOMPSON DAVID	1771	1771	1772	1772
4777	ROBERTSON ROBERT	1772	1783	1772	1772
5023	MILLER ARTHUR	1772	1772	1772	1774
3955	DAVIS JAMES	1775	1780	1773	1775
4252	TYRIE JAMES	1776	1786	1784	1786
4287	GIBBONS JOHN6	1776	1781	1776	1782
4122	HAY JOHN5	1777	1777	1777	1777
3931	HAY ROBERT	1780	1780		
3992	DIXON THOMAS	1780	1780		
4292	GIBBONS THOMAS7	1780	1786	1784	1810

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